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Original
Czernowitz to Chernivtsi by Cernui. A multicultural townscape as heritage of a plural society / Cornaglia, Paolo. - ELETTRONICO. - (2016), pp. 105-117. (Intervento presentato al convegno Fourth International Conference of the European Architectural History Network, EAHN Dublin 2016 tenutosi a Dublin (IE) nel 2-4 giugno 2016).

Availability:
This version is available at: 11583/2644048 since: 2016-06-17T16:23:20Z

Publisher:
UCD School of Art History and Cultural Policy

Published
DOI:

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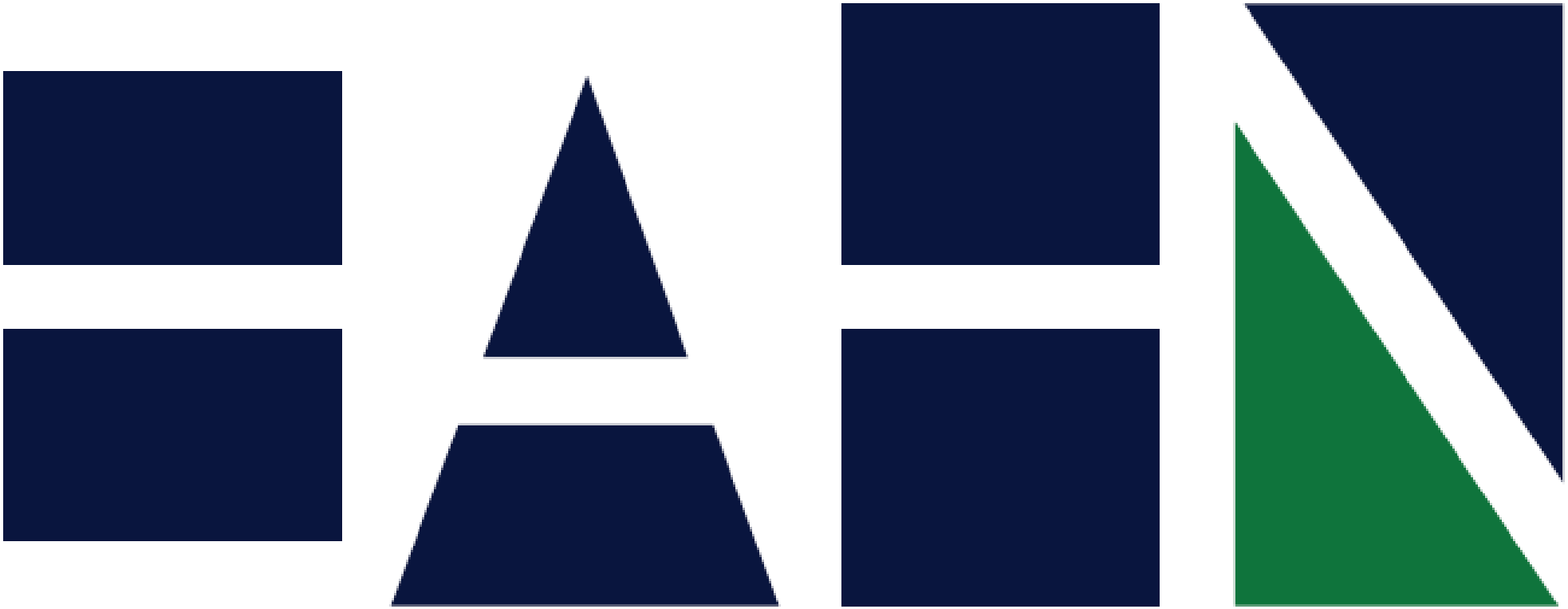
12 October 2024



EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY NETWORK DUBLIN 2016

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY NETWORK

Edited by Kathleen James-Chakraborty

Published by UCD School of Art History and Cultural Policy

University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin, Ireland.

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ISBN 978-1-5262-0376-2

* Indicates full paper included

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THURSDAY: 2 JUNE 2016

KEYNOTE

At the Crossroads: Perspectives and Impasses of Architectural History Professor Jean-Louis Cohen

As the discipline of architectural history, or rather of the history of architecture, or else of historical work in architecture, blossoms, as can be measured by the quantitative explosion of dissertations, publications and exhibitions, it faces new challenges. The fragmentation of the objects of research, the miniaturization of the investigations, and the centering on the media, are expanding the field of knowledge, but sometimes result in the weakening of in-depth efforts to understand buildings and urban schemes. New frameworks are needed in order to shape interpretations conveying the architectural equivalent of the pleasure of text celebrated by Roland Barthes.

Jean-Louis Cohen is Sheldon H. Solow Professor in the History of Architecture at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts. Cohen habilitated at the École des hautes etudes en science sociales in Paris. His books include *Le Corbusier and the Mystique of the USSR, Theories and Projects for Moscow, 1928-1936*; Scenes of the World to Come:*European Architecture and the American Challenge, 1893-1960*, which won the Grand Prix of the Academie d'Architecture in Paris for the best architectural book of the previous year; *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures*, co-authored with Monique Eleb, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War*, which won the Alice Davis Hitchcock prize from the Society of Architectural Historians (US);*The Future of Architecture since 1889;* and *France: Architectures in History*, co-authored with Christian Hubert. Cohen is a Chevalier des Arts et Lettres, and a member of both the Academy of San Luca, and the Russian Academy of Architecture.

FIRST PAPER SESSION

SESSION: Architectures of Waiting in the City Henriette Steiner, University of Copenhagen

Visual representations of contemporary urban milieus commonly suggest precise or uninterrupted activity. People move unhindered in and out of buildings and vehicles pass smoothly through the city. However, we must acknowledge that as everyday users of the city, our activities are often punctuated by intermissions, halts, interruptions and delays. In fact, a significant amount of our time in the city is spent doing very little—simply waiting.

In contemporary culture, the places where we tend to wait are frequently pigeonholed as neutral or even unremarkable spaces; interstitial settings that are patently functional but devoid of wider consequences and meaning. Despite being a modality of participation in urban life, waiting or loitering is seen as a negative that contrasts with more active, goal-oriented activities. This session presents an opportunity to reappraise the significance of urban architectures of waiting. In doing so, it will also uncover how the phenomenon of waiting is fundamental to how we negotiate not just individual buildings or architectural settings but also the wider urban realm. More often than not, places of waiting are important thresholds, liminal spaces that communicate between two or more different locations or activities. The session proposes to explore the intricate relationship between waiting as an urban praxis—something people incontrovertibly do in the city—and the urban places or architectures of waiting that support it. It will thereby cast new light on a phenomenon that we know all too well, but whose significance an explicitly urban phenomenon remains unexplored.

We seek innovative proposals that examine not only well-known typologies of the modern or contemporary city, such as airport departure lounges and the waiting rooms of railway or bus stations but also atypical or improvised settings that have, for one reason or another, become spaces of waiting—what, for instance, Jeremy Till refers to as 'slack space' (Architecture Depends, MIT Press, 2009). A case in point is the main entrance of Trinity College Dublin where a covered archway serves as a prominent and very public waiting space in the heart of the city. But the history of architecture provides a much larger body of material that deserves interpretation, and therefore we welcome proposals from broad chronological as well as geographical contexts. For example, papers might deal with one of the sophisticated places for waiting in a pre- or early-modern city, such as the colonnaded stoas that bordered the ancient Athenian Agora, or the loggia of the Ospedale degli Innocenti of Renaissance Florence. They may also equally consider something like the lobby and plaza of the modernist Seagram Building in New York City or the

main entrance lobby of Adler and Sullivan's Auditorium Building in Chicago or contemporary examples.

What are you waiting for? Passing time in the Classical Athenian Agora

Samantha Martin-McAuliffe, University College Dublin

"What has happened, Socrates, to make you leave your usual haunts in the Lyceum and pass your time here by the Stoa Basileios? Surely you are not prosecuting anyone before the Archon Basileios as I am?" (Plato, Euthyphro 2a). This opening exchange in Plato's Euthyphro is momentous because it broadcasts Socrates' indictment in charges of impiety and the corruption of Athenian youth. Yet this dialogue indirectly reveals other significant information that is routinely overlooked in modern scholarship: The identification of two architectural settings – the Lyceum and the Stoa Basileios – and more specifically, the allusion to how Socrates occupied these particular places, have the potential to enhance our understanding of Classical Greek urbanism. In other words, by reading between the lines of ancient testimonia, we can begin to trace the ways by which civic spaces accommodated, and even fostered, the act of waiting.

This paper examines how one kind of building, the stoa, was a typical setting for waiting in Classical Athens. Stoas are essentially freestanding colonnaded halls, and until now, research on these buildings in the Athenian civic center, the Agora, has focused on their role as discrete civic monuments, such as trophy halls and key political offices, However, on a daily basis, stoas were equally likely to be places for lingering, loitering and for pausing while en route somewhere else. Belonging to no one exclusively, they inevitably became common to all.

Stoas play a supporting role in several dialogues and speeches that are set in the Agora, often as locations of happenstance encounters. In antiquity these buildings were so common as conversational settings and places for waiting or passing time that an ancient audience would have understood their spatial characteristics implicitly. Yet it is precisely this typicality that makes such situations ripe for further study. Through a close re-reading of texts, and with the aid of digital reconstructions, this paper shows how the Greek stoa was instrumental to the ways civic space was perceived, shared and structured in antiquity. Ultimately, it argues that the act of waiting in the Greek city was understood as something more than customary or casually presumed: rather than 'merely happening', it was considered a useful and intentionally planned aspect of urban order.

While You Walk: Waiting on the Pavements Philip Schauss, The New School

Sidewalks are various. There are the narrow and somewhat uneven calçadas of the backstreets of Lisbon, whose individual stones have painstakingly been hammered into a bed of sand; along the far wider streets of New York City there are often large, rather old-looking slate slabs; and, more in keeping with the modern duty to ensure safe passage, there are more generic sidewalks, which consist of prefabricated, modular paving stones or poured concrete. There are, furthermore, stairs and there is street furniture: bus stops, benches, kiosks, bollards etc.

Waiting, as I see it, is a form of preparation. For instance, journeys to and from work in the city mean that we are physically on the way. In our minds, however, as we ready ourselves for coming tasks or meetings, we are elsewhere, that is, we are not necessarily concentrating on the path. A secondary moral of "The Story of Johnny Head-in-Air," one of the ten cautionary tales from Heinrich Hoffmann's Struwwelpeter, is then that guardrails should have been fitted along the canal, which Johnny walked straight into. The fact that he felt confident enough to stroll while staring at the clouds also points to his faith in a clear and smooth pavement. Indeed, such trust in the continuity and regularity of our public footways, which is far from a given, is essential to our ability to "wait" while we walk. Where this faith is broken, it is maybe best to verify the safety of each next step.

I propose, specifically, to identify and describe several types of urban walkway. Then, in a second section, I will give a phenomenological account of the modalities of pedestrian waiting, reflecting on the manner in which those modalities might be reflected in streets' arrangement or equipment (or in the lack thereof).

Stop Motion. Slussen, Stockholm Tim Antsey, Oslo School of Architecture and Design/KTH School of Architecture

From its presentation as a futuristic solution to the existing traffic chaos of 1920s Stockholm, Slussen, commissioned and constructed between 1931 and 1935, was celebrated and denigrated for the extent to which it brought "modernist" car-bound city planning into the centre of a dense historical urban fabric.

Slussen is often understood as an evolutionary ancestor of the multi-lane high-speed traffic interchange (structures like the Santa Monica/San Diego Freeways circulatory that Reyner Banham would later Love in Los Angeles). However although it may look like a monument to uninterrupted flow, Slussen was conceived equally as a station – a point of hiatus between one kind of journey

and another. It housed three transport termini – for trams, trains and a subway – and the apparatus was intended to choreograph transitions between all of these by foot, as well as journeys by car, truck, barrow, bicycle boat and – not unimportantly, lift. The design revolved very definitely around the experience of the single passenger as the quantum that made such journeys meaningful. As the documents concerning its inception show, the experience of time, waiting, spectating and transition were crucial concerns. While dedicated to movement, Slussen provided an experience of the city as intense momentary stasis.

From a standpoint informed by early Science and Technology Studies (Bijker 1995) as well as recent Film Studies work on the k(c)inematic in urban experience (Hallam 2010), this paper uses archival sources, contemporary film footage and photo images to argue Slussen 's significance as a machine for curating the extended moment of waiting in the city. The paper shows how Slussen destabilizes categories we often take for granted in the analysis of urban space (interior/exterior; temporary/permanent; traffic/infrastructure; flowing/stationary) and re–positions Slussen in a discourse on the urban that includes Banhams' Los Angeles the Four Ecologies and Koolhaas' Delirious New York.

'Those Who Wait'. Siegfried Kracauer, architecture and the 21th-century 'precariat'

Christophe Van Gerrewey, École polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL)

In 1922, Siegfried Kracauer publishes an essay entitled 'Those Who Wait'. He describes how inhabitants of urban environments have lost their faith in religious truth. At the same time, they have cut themselves off from the restorative capacities of community. Kracauer discerns 'three kinds of behaviour that are by and large possible' to deal with this double deadlock of modernity. The first attitude is that of someone who is 'a sceptic as a matter of principle'; the second attitude is that of 'the short-circuit people', who succumb to involuntary self-deception. And then there is a third and final attitude – that of those who wait: 'one neither blocks one's path toward faith', nor 'besieges this faith'. It is remarkable how many architectural metaphors Kracauer uses: he writes about 'people's intellectual space', 'the gate through which they wish to enter', 'entering into a community bound by form', 'a new homeland of the soul' and the desire for 'a sheltering abode'.

What would happen if these metaphors were taken at face value almost hundred years later? What kind of architecture can be imagined today that corresponds with the modern ways of life that Kracauer presents? And what are contemporary citizens really waiting for? The first sentence of Kracauers essay goes like this: 'There are a lot of people these days who, although unaware of each other, are nevertheless linked by a common fate.' The first task of architecture, as for

example the Communal Villa from 2015 by Dogma and Realism Working Group shows, may be to bring these people together, and to make them conscious of their common waiting.

Shadowy Figures and Strange Interiors: the optician's waiting room Susan Hedges, Auckland University of Technology *

The waiting room can be imagined as a frequently visited place, a place to loiter, sit or perhaps stand, walk and converse. A transitional point before entering or moving to another in which no actual movements of the journey occur but time is implied. As equally the waiting room becomes a world of objects, boots, hats, papers and toys, transient temporal landmarks. Markers of time that are now, yesterday, tomorrow, last week or hours and moments of the day. The detailed study of the interior offers a kind of still life, a material existence where nothing exceptional occurs, where states appear continuous and there is a wholesale eviction of the event. The room imagined forces close attention, to look at the overlooked, to bring into view objects that perception normally screens out, and in this things appear radically unfamiliar and estranged.

This paper attends to the 'Sparrow Collection' of the Auckland Museum and a series of photographs of the interior of an optician's waiting room (1947). Here the photographer has constructed a hall through which we pass unawares and in this waiting, the door jams and the hall is endless. The hour does not pass, the line does not move, time is borne rather than navigated, felt rather than thought. In waiting, time is slow and heavy.

Architectural historians deploy photographs as indexical records of artifacts, an automatic drawing or a direct imprint of the constructed world, as equally it can be an image crafted toward a particular communicative goal. Photography and architecture are intertwined in the discussion of this project, raising questions about representation and the actual experience of the building, the photographic surface becoming an endless process of transforming the tectonic and spatial into the spectacular where things appear estranged and even not of this world. The waiting room in this paper is seen, not as an answer but rather as a marking of time and is explored through the waiting room as a point of mobility and temporary arrest, a place where the fixed and mobile converge.

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'When there is nothing to do, you do nothing slowly and intently.'

Haruki Murikami [1]

The waiting room is seen as a transitional point, a place to loiter, or sit and talk. A place in which no actual movements of the journey occur but time is implied. As equally the waiting room becomes a world of objects, boots, hats, papers and toys, transient temporal landmarks. Markers of time that are now, yesterday, tomorrow, last week or hours and moments of the day. A detailed study of an interior could be seen as offering a kind of still life, a material existence where nothing exceptional occurs, where states appear continuous and there is a wholesale eviction of the event. The room imagined forcing close attention, an opportunity to look at the overlooked, to bring into view objects that might normally be screened out, and in this, things may appear radically unfamiliar and estranged.[2]

This paper attends to the 'Sparrow Collection' of the Auckland Museum and a series of six photographs of the interior of an optician's waiting room (1947). Here the photographer has captured a narrow hall that connects a shadowy waiting room with an optometrist's work rooms. Time appears heavy and slow. Looming figure mark the entrance and exit, controlling devices that become a sign of occupation and are sentinels destined to wait forever.

Architectural historians often used photography as a record of artefacts and an imprint of the constructed world. As equally they can be images crafted toward a particular communicative goal.[3] Photography, still life and architecture are intertwined in the discussion of this project, raising questions around representation and the actual experience of the building, the photographic surface transforming the tectonic and spatial into the spectacular, where things become estranged and not of this world. The waiting room in this paper is seen, not as an answer but rather as a marking of time and is explored as a point of mobility and temporary arrest, a type of still life, a place where the fixed and mobile converge.

> 'Although waiting rooms, train stations, airports, or hotel lobbies are merely to be passed through…waiting is not simply a passage of time to be traversed. Although time is

[1] Murakami, Haruki, *Dance dance dance*, trans. Alfred Birnbaum, London, Penguin, 1994. Pg. 59

[2] Bryson, Norman, *Looking at the overlooked: four essays on still life painting*, London, Reaktion Books, 1990. Pg. 87

[3] Maria Antonella Pelizzari, and Paolo Scrivano, 'Intersection of Photography and Architecture - Introduction', *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation, vol. 27*, no. 2, 2011, pp. 107-112. Pg. 107

> supposed to function like a door or a hall through which we pass unawares, in waiting, the door jams and the hall is endless. The hour does not pass. The line does not move. Time must suddenly be endured rather than traversed, felt rather than thought. In waiting time is slow and thick.'[4]

A waiting still life

The still life in its ordinariness and familiarity is the depiction of mostly inanimate objects, commonplace objects offering a different way of viewing a familiar world. The comforting familiarity everyday objects invite may alter ways of thinking through the habitual and unexamined. The eye moving from point to point, vision shifting unhurried over a familiar scene and becomes a narrative. Art historian Norman Bryson writes in 'Looking at the overlooked',

> 'But in these narratives, which tell only of a brief journey across a corner of everyday life, nothing significant happens: there is no transfiguration or epiphany, no sudden disclosure of transcendence. The eye moved lightly and without activity: it is at home.'[5]

In this light a still life offers close attention and brings into view objects that may normally be missed. Objects and ephemera, setting the structure of the scene. The absence of form making it '… precarious if all that were needed to destroy it were the body's physical return…if the body is just around the corner, and likely to re-enter the field of vision at any moment.'[6] Without human scale the narrative is lost and objects take centre stage. But what of the narratives that build between objects, a narrative that is elaborated by the juxtaposition of objects and their relationship to their surroundings? The life of a table and chairs, the artefacts that surrounds the subject, the world of routine and repetition, small scale, inconsequential, unremarkable acts of things standing still.[7] In that effacement of human attention and the unassuming objects, coats, boots, vases and flowers, toys and magazines, everyday objects make the work. A still life functions as a part of a construction, concealing uncertain connections, interrupting space and

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[4] Schweizer, Harold, *On Waiting*, Thinking in action, Edited by Richard Kearney Simon Critchley, London, New York, Routledge, 2008. Pg. 2

[5] Bryson, Norman, *Looking at the overlooked: four essays on still life painting*, London, Reaktion Books, 1990. Pg. 93

[6] Bryson, Norman, 'Chardin and the Text of Still Life', *Critical Inquiry,* vol. 15, no. 2, 1989, pp. 227-252. Pg. 228

[7] Bryson refers to the Xenia of things, '…things standing still, nature repose, things at rest; such things as fruit baskets of flowers, loaves of bread, ewers, pitchers, platters, fish, seafood, game – the familiar repertoire…' Bryson, *Looking at the overlooked.* Pg. 17

reaffirming connections. Obscure subjects and symbolic clues become part of a narrative that is framed within a space.

Space, time and object create a strange weave, where uniqueness and duration merge.[8] The negation of waiting and the distractions by which it can be forgotten, entertainment on a television, computer games, toys and snacks and where clocks appear to have stopped. The waiting room becomes a world of objects, boots, hats, coats and clocks, a lack of securely fixed temporal landmarks. Markers of time (now / yesterday / tomorrow / days of the week / hours and moments of the day]. The measuring of time, isolating hours and rhythms of present instants, figures linger at the doorway, compelled to wait. The waiting room becomes a room of anticipated action, stillness and narrative waiting to unfold.

Sparrow Industrial Pictures and the Lister Building

The optician's clinic sited in the Lister Building, 9 Victoria Street East Auckland was designed by architect Thomas Mullions and constructed in 1924-25. Named for a British surgeon and medical scientist Joseph Lister, the corner site followed the Chicago style intended as offices for medical practitioners and dentists.[9] Architect T.F. Haughey remodelled the rooms in 1947 for Thomas F. Lowes and Son.

Documenting the interior was photographer Arthur Sparrow who began Sparrow Industrial Pictures in 1939 and by the 1960's was the largest commercial industrial photographic firm in New Zealand. [10] Advertising agencies, civil engineers and architectural firms, department stores, manufacturers, building contractors and oil companies were clients and pictures of construction sites and window displays were amongst their regular assignments.[11] Sparrow was a regular contributor of articles to periodicals such as 'Home and Building' and 'New Zealand Manufacturer' writing about methods of photography and the 'work of the photographer'.[12]

The remodelled room is described as a long narrow corridor, 55ft. in length and only 9½ feet in width, including a mezzanine floor and a number of recessed details. 'As seen in the illustrations

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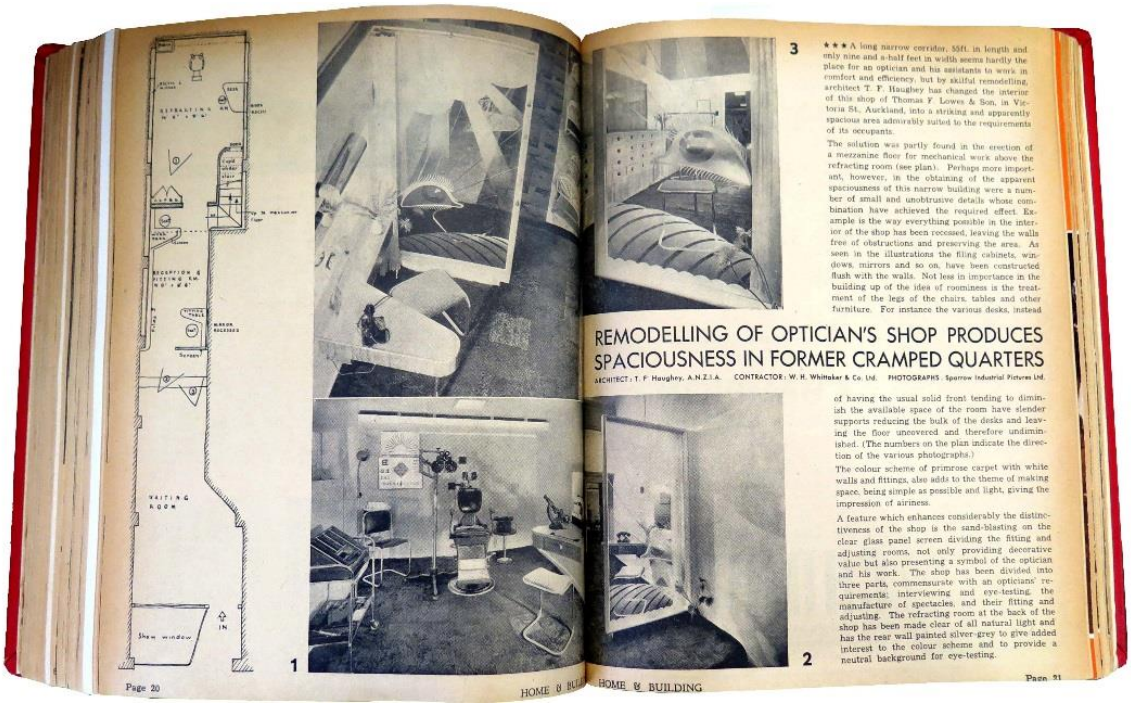
[8] Borden, Iain 'A short history of Photography'. Pg. 250. In, 'Imaging architecture: the uses of photography in the practice of architectural history', *The Journal of Architecture,* vol. 12, no. 1, 2007, pp. 57-77. Pg. 71

[9] Historic Places Category 2, 9-17 Victoria Street East, Auckland. http://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list

[10] Arthur Sparrow died in 1966 and the firm's photographic negative collection was donated to the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Maitland, G. (August 1989). The Sparrow Photograph Collection. *Auckland War Memorial Museum News,* pp. 1-2.

[11] Maitland, Gordon, 'Dictionary of New Zealand Biography', *'Sparrow, Arthur George William from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara- the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* , http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5s36/sparrow-arthur-george-william.http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5s36/sparrow-arthur-george-william

[12] See Sparrow, A. G. W. (March 1945). Photographing Homes: How a Professional Photographer works. *Home and Building, 8*(1), 16-17, 39. Sparrow, A. G. W. (June 1945). Photographing that Interior. *Home and Building, 8*(2), 22 - 23, 45.



★★★ A long narrow corridor, 55ft. in length and only nine and a-half feet in width seems hardly the place for an optician and his assistants to work in comfort and efficiency, but by skilful remodelling, architect T. F. Haughey has changed the interior of this shop of Thomas F. Lowes & Son, in Victoria St., Auckland, into a striking and apparently spacious area admirably suited to the requirements of its occupants.

The solution was partly found in the erection of a mezzanine floor for mechanical work above the refracting room (see plan). Perhaps more important, however, in the obtaining of the apparent spaciousness of this narrow building were a number of small and unobtrusive details whose combination have achieved the required effect. Example is the way everything possible in the interior of the shop has been recessed, leaving the walls free of obstructions and preserving the area. As seen in the illustrations the filing cabinets, windows, mirrors and so on, have been constructed flush with the walls. Not less in importance in the building up of the idea of roominess is the treatment of the legs of the chairs, tables and other furniture. For instance the various desks, instead

REMODELLING OF OPTICIAN'S SHOP PRODUCES SPACIOUSNESS IN FORMER CRAMPED QUARTERS

ARCHITECT: T. F. Haughey, A.N.Z.I.A. CONTRACTOR: W. H. Whittaker & Co. Ltd. PHOTOGRAPHS: Sparrow Industrial Pictures Ltd.

of having the usual solid front tending to diminish the available space of the room have slender supports reducing the bulk of the desks and leaving the floor uncovered and therefore undiminished. (The numbers on the plan indicate the direction of the various photographs.)

The colour scheme of primrose carpet with white walls and fittings, also adds to the theme of making space, being simple as possible and light, giving the impression of airiness.

A feature which enhances considerably the distinctiveness of the shop is the sand-blasting on the clear glass panel screen dividing the fitting and adjusting rooms, not only providing decorative value but also presenting a symbol of the optician and his work. The shop has been divided into three parts, commensurate with an opticians' requirements; interviewing and eye-testing, the manufacture of spectacles, and their fitting and adjusting. The refracting room at the back of the shop has been made clear of all natural light and has the rear wall painted silver-grey to give added interest to the colour scheme and to provide a neutral background for eye-testing.

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Figure 1: 'Remodelling of Optician's Shop Produces Spaciousness in Former Cramped Quarters', *Home and Building,* vol. X, no. 1, March / June 1947, pp. 20-21. Architecture Archive, Architecture + Planning Library / Te Herenga whaihanga, University of Auckland Libaray / Te Tumu Herenga

Figure 2: Sparrow Industrial Pictures Ltd. (1947). [Opticians clinic]. Auckland War Memorial Museum – Tāmaki Paenga Hira. PH-. – NEG – 3292E + PH-.-NEG-.-3292C.

the filing cabinets, windows, mirrors and so on, have been constructed flush with the walls. No less in importance in the building up of the idea of roominess is the treatment of the legs of the chairs, tables and other furniture. For instance, the various desks instead of having the usual solid front tending to diminish the available space of the room have slender supports reducing the bulk of the desks and leaving the floor uncovered and therefore undiminished.' [13]

Of particular interest are a series of six images of the remodeled interior, four of which were published in Home and Building (1947).[14] Two of the images focus on the waiting room; two are of the optician's practice room and the others the reception room. Two of the six images show a figure lurking in the background at the edges of the waiting room, manipulating light and forcing strange perspectives the length of the room, a mise en scène lost in the published images.

Strange interiors and the dentist's photographs

A dramatic play of light reaches across the waiting room of the optometrist's office. Shadows are driven across surfaces and hang in gathered folds at the end of a slender hallway. Photographs of ghosts and other presences hover at the limits the frame of the photograph, a residue of a past moment caught in the light and frame imaginative engagement. Objects plucked from the everyday are given purpose and made invisible as they become actors in a strange still scene. An inventory of objects under the lingering gaze of the waiter, primrose carpets, white walls, fittings, two side tables, three chairs, one couch, two vases and six chrysanthemums, a stool, an ashtray stand, four cushions, a clock, magazines and papers.[15] Everyday detail and objects that wish to rejoin the whole and become a narratives of waiting.

> 'Just as the waiter cannot listen to the melody of her inner life with her eyes closed, the room that waiting prepares for her is no longer the quotidian space of functional, invisible objects among which she lives and moves blindly are but a location in which objects acquire uncanny particularity…each object is dragged out of its invisibility to have its particularity exposed to the curious, indifferent gaze of the waiter who finds in the accidental phenomenology of things, only a mirror image of her own fortuitous existence.'[16]

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[13] 'Remodelling of Optician's Shop Produces Spaciousness in Former Cramped Quarters', *Home and Building,* pp. 20-21.

[14] 'Remodelling of Optician's Shop Produces Spaciousness in Former Cramped Quarters', *Home and Building,* pp. 20-21.

[15] 'Remodelling of Optician's Shop Produces Spaciousness in Former Cramped Quarters', *Home and Building,* pp. 20-21.

[14] Schweizer, Harold, *On Waiting*, Pg. 6

The fixing of the shadow becomes an ephemeral moment to a permanent representation, the photograph seizes the instant, the shadow connecting the observer, objects and their representation. Freezing time, the still life renders the room and its occupant's prisoners of a particular moment. Patterns and striations shape the light into monsters, luminescence and shadow extend arms and legs fracturing them into foreboding patterns.

> 'All I would see behind me would be the ordinary constituents of whatever happened to be there at that moment making up the scene, not some unnerving hallucination. It's not as if some limping doppelganger has been born into substance to stalk me. There is no such disfigured embodiment of the mind's invisible preoccupation lurking at my side. Yet I still feel something akin to the prickling of the scalp that supposedly betokens such theatrical hauntings.'[17]

Projected shadows are exaggerated, distorted and magnified transforming objects into hybrid beings. Here the interior becomes a passive machine, where the casting of shadows animates the structures and objects it plays across. Shadows transform, obscuring objects and highlighting their details, evoking space and time, past and future, embodying and disembodying, a counterpart and an echo.[18]

As equally this waiting room offers a kind of stability, in things not changing. Objects appear to have given themselves over to disuse, abandoned by human attention, suspended and waiting. The observer is excluded from the scene picturing a world before the subject entered, or after departing from it. Objects are robbed of clues, their cause and context appear fragmented, discontinuous whose relation to one another is concealed or re-configured. Space is made uncanny, or haunted by the slippage between their everyday function and the ideas or myths implied.

In these images a shadowed figure appears to turn his back to the scene of the still life refusing the connection with the objects that fill the scene. The camera offers another implication of a world, a life beyond the material context of architecture, capturing bits and pieces of life. What

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[17] Arthur, Chris, 'Room, Empty', *Irish Pages,* vol. 3, no. 2, The Home Place, 2006, pp. 43-58. Pg. 43

[18] 'Shadows describe objects at rest making possible projections which speak of absent objects, objects which belong to memory and therefore to the power of imagination.' Frascari, Marco, 'A Secret Semiotic Skiagraphy: The Corporeal Theatre of Meanings in Vincenzo Scamozzi's Idea of Architecture', *VIA,* vol. 11, 1990, pp. 32-43.

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results is not a finished designed architectural interior but a means of visualizing the world as a constructed allegorical scene. The scene of the waiting room appears less about the designed vision and more about the space itself. The interior becomes almost dream like, consigned to a veiled past, requiring the viewer to reconstruct its place in history. Reducing the somewhat complex scene to two dimensions, without sound, smell or other sensations. The photographer perhaps, addressing the conceptual source of the project through its corporeal form. The room imagined.

Conclusion

In waiting the mundane becomes visible and the writing of this paper has perhaps offered a kind fiction, taking real facts and weaving them into something else, much like the photographs and the mise en scène that it reveals. The shaping of the space as designed, its impact of the forms as aesthetic '…in the obtaining of the apparent spaciousness of this narrow building were a number of small and unobtrusive details whose combination have achieved the required effect.'[19] The interpretive function of reading architecture or the built environment as a text or picture allows the symbolic and the representational to be seen. Looking at indeterminate spaces disorder instead of order, indeterminacy in places of order as they are used, distorted and reinvented with meaning.

The waiting room proposes returning movements of time in which nothing happens or changes, empty planes of duration where waiting opens into infinite lack. To reveal the strange in the familiar releases the hidden narrative of objects that are frequently overlooked or taken for granted. Through depicting the world through a different set of eyes may give life to what are often considered empty objects. The photograph of shadows and still objects blurs the moment of detail and plays with recognition and misrecognition, a haunted material trace. Waiting is no longer the ordinary space of functional invisible objects among which we move blindly but a location in which object have acquired uncanny particularity. Magazines, lamps, chairs, flowers, carpets and wallpaper expose their invisibility and yet in the whole resume their invisibility. Waiting becomes still life neither moving forward or backward, space and time expands to flat, tedious dimensions, a waiters enforced passivity. Sitting somewhere between absentmindedness and awkwardness the waiter sits within the spell of the story, an uncanny sense of duration unfolds the materiality of the space.

[19] 'Remodelling of Optician's Shop Produces Spaciousness in Former Cramped Quarters', *Home and Building,* pp. 20-21.

'…the waiter must live the hour, feel it, embody it, perform it willy-nilly, in his characteristic vacillation which manifests itself, as we shall see, in his agitation, his pacing, his glances and his watch, his fixation on objects.'[20]

[20] Schweizer, Pg. 17

SESSION: Modern Nature: The Architecture of Gardens and Landscapes

Imke van Hellemondt, VU University Amsterdam; Bruno Notteboom, University of Antwerp

In the history of modern garden and landscape design the relationship between nature and culture tends to be reduced to simple schemes. Landscape is either considered as nature (in contrast to architecture) or as architecture in itself (as an extension of the built environment). Recently, architectural historians, such as David Haney in his study of the German landscape architect Leberecht Migge, have demonstrated that these interpretations need to be revised, both theoretically and historically.

Also (landscape) architects themselves handled the nature-culture relationship in various ways, especially in the heyday of modernism. Le Corbusier, for example, conceived landscape in the first place as nature, an arcadian landscape as a setting for the white box on pilotis. A more architectural way of intervening was propagated by landscape architects who defined themselves as modernist, such as the Canadian Christopher Tunnard and the Belgian Jean Canneel-Claes. In 1937 they founding the Association Internationale d'Architectes de Jardins Modernistes (AIAJM) whose program adhered to the form follows function credo and the use of geometrical forms. However, a third position can be discerned in the work of landscape architects, such as MIgge or the Dutch Jan Bijhouwer and Wim Boer, who considered gardens and landscapes as the outcome of a more ecocentric design attitude and the integration of nature and culture.

This third position is embedded in the expertise of landscape architects rather than in that of architects. Although modern landscape architects shared social and aesthetic ideals with architects and urbanists, they approached nature differently in their designs. To include this design perspective in (landscape) architectural historiography opens up the possibility of expanding the field of study with other disciplines such as biology, geography and ecology. Such a historiography then would be rooted in a discussion about the relationship between nature and culture that goes back to the nineteenth century, for example to the influential German Reformbewegung.

This session aims at exploring the possible expansion and repositioning of architectural history in Europe, but inviting reflections on the relationship between nature and culture in both design praxis and discourse of (landscape) architects in the first half of the twentieth century. It will include discussions of terms like modernity and modernism, of attitudes of (landscape) architects towards nature in design and of theoretical and historiographical issues of modern landscape architecture.

Nature Worship or effective landscape planning? Reconsidering the narrative of Swedish Modernist landscape Architecture Catherine Nolan, Stockholm University

When landscape architect Ulla Bodorff (1913–1982) reviewed Geoffrey Jellicoe's Wolverton Town and Country plan in 1946, she criticized him for designing too formal parks. According to her, this classical landscape architecture did not meet the requirements of ordinary peoples' needs for everyday use. Or, Bodorff continued, had Sweden's isolation during the war driven her and her colleagues into a park style based upon flower meadows and nature worship that made it impossible for her to appreciate the fantasy and love of Jellicoe's design? When Danish landscape architects accused their Swedish colleagues of "fear of designing with form", Bodorff argued that this design discourse showed respect for the landscape. With the sentence "The landscape planner does not heal scars in the mountain – she gives the mountain another face", did she in a metaphoric way express her opinion that the landscape planner could not repair damages caused by large-scale industrial building projects. The solution was to cast the landscape anew, with a kind of plastic operation; not the same as the original, but as interesting or effective.

The nature-culture relation in Swedish Modernist landscape architecture is contradictory. The landscape architecture is often described as very homogenous and very Swedish, inspired by Swedish nature and natural sceneries. Nature is regarded as an antithesis to artificial, but also as a Swedish ideology. How does this narrative of the concept "Swedish" rhyme with the narrative of Sweden as a progressive and modern country? Although they were meticulously planned and partly artificially constructed, Bodorff's landscapes are today perceived as either cultural landscapes or pure nature. I am interested in discussing the validity of this canonical narrative. Is Swedish Modernist landscape architecture a result of introspection, nature worship and landscape architects working in a vacuum as has been underlined in historiography? Are there ideological and political reasons for this homogenous narrative and is it possible to analyse the nature-culture discourse in a more multifaceted and complex web?

The Architectural versus the Natural: The Birth of Modernist Landscape Design Theory in Hungary Luca Csepley-Knorr, Manchester School of Architecture

The first decades of the 20th century brought a vivid discourse into Hungarian landscape design theory. Although the main question was who should be responsible for the layout of public spaces, architects or landscape gardeners, the debate also expressed an on-going change in design theory: the birth of modernism. During this period, designers from either architectural or horticultural backgrounds and from various generations aimed at introducing a new Hungarian landscape design theory, simultaneously to the German Garden Reform Movement.

The main question of the debate seemed only to be about the scope of professional duties; however, arguments were much more complex. Landscape gardeners with a horticultural background aimed at creating a shift by turning away from the use of exotic plants towards a more ecological and informal way of planting, deriving from the natural flora of the country. Architects, on the other hand, believed in the modernization of landscape design theory through formal solutions and in the introduction of strictly architectural layouts, not putting much emphasis on plants.

Learning from their predecessors, a new generation of Hungarian landscape designers succeeded in fundamentally reshaping design theory in the 1930s. One of the leading figures of this new generation, Imre Ormos, argued that although the process leading to the new (modernist) design theory was initiated by architects as a formal style, the new way of design must merge architecture (in structural base plan) with nature (in informal planting).

Ormos's and his contemporaries' principles shaped landscape design theory in 20th century Hungary. This paper examines foreign influences that had originally triggered this change and investigates the theoretical writings of Ormos and other individual designers from the first half of the twentieth century to shed light on the question of how a merger of nature and architecture in design was able to support a new way of thinking in Hungarian landscape design called modernism.

From "Natural Architecture" to the "Environment" or: The Legacy of Holism in Systems-Thinking in Vienna's Garden Settlements, 1921-1953 Sophie Hochhäusl, Boston University

In the late 1940s, the Austrian architect Franz Schuster postulated that the building of garden settlements in reconstruction efforts based on the ordering of systems offered a chance to re-envision the entirety of the "human environment," thus providing a term to rethink natural-cultural dichotomies. This novel approach positioned Schuster along with his colleague Roland Rainer prominently in post-war environmental debates on settlements and built on their longer discursive traditions.

The idea of holism for example – the unity of mind, body, and landscape – had been a major objective of turn-of-the-century life reform movements, which culminated in design discourse in the 1920s. Put forth by the German landscape architect Leberecht Migge as "natural architecture," the concept stipulated that garden settlements could "grow" from their surroundings and through the labor of their inhabitants over time. In Vienna, Adolf Loos and

Grete Lihotzky, were major proponents of "natural architecture." But in contrast to Schuster's post-war notion of the "environment," which was planned by the architect as sole ordering-entity, Loos's and Lihotzky's ideas on "natural architecture" incorporated inhabitant participation and non-human agency in the building process.

In the proposed paper, I will thus link 1920s settlement debates on "natural architecture" to those of the so-called "environment" in the post-war years in an effort to illuminate architectural concepts that emerged at the intersection of nature-culture. Despite dramatic differences, I will argue, that the post-war notion of order through systems emerged from ideas on holism. In addition, I will demonstrate how Schuster's notion of "environment" redressed National Socialist ideology such as "blood and soil" and re-introduced it to settlement and environmental debates in the 1950s. The paper thus analyzes not only the great potentials of concepts that derived at the intersection of modern architecture, landscape, and garden debates but their inherent historical problematics as well.

"Empathetic modernism": Hermann Mattern's new naturalism and the modernisation of German landscape architecture around 1930 Lars Hopstock, Technical University of Munich *

Historical contextualized, the seemingly general term 'naturalism' helps to illuminate a specific tradition in German garden culture. From around 1900, 'naturalism' can be associated with discourses in aesthetics that were informed by sensation physiology and psychology, revolving around notions of 'empathy' ('Einfuhlung') and 'expression' ('Ausdruck'). This may be seen in connection with nature-inspired art practice, as dealt with in several recent publications. The little-researched contribution of landscape architecture to modern naturalism combined opposites: natural principles of formation and the will for abstract expression.

German scholars sometimes describe landscape architecture as an inherently conservative profession, stating that modernist expression was limited to few examples and cut short by the rise of National Socialism. The avant-garde has also been largely defined in formal terms: as geometric. Designers of non-geometrical organic spatial concepts were often suspected of an anti-democratic longing for natural order and 'organic' social systems—a perspective defined by historicism during the 1960s. However, the widespread belief during the early 20th century in a typically German sense of nature, superior to an alleged 'Latin' ratio, is only part of the picture. In the 1920s, a second, progressive naturalism developed. Its two best-known proponents were Herta Hammerbacher (1900-1985) and Hermann Mattern (1902-1971). Mattern was personally

connected to the art scene and the Bauhaus, and his organicist maxim did not contradict an affirmative stance towards the modernization of an increasingly urbanized society.

Around 1930, new scientific findings, above all from phyto-sociology (Pflanzensoziologie), influenced the work of many leading garden designers. However, 'ecological' guidelines were not considered mandatory but used as a catalyst for design ideas. Mattern's and Hammbacher's biographies reveal a distinct aestheticism and spiritual leanings. Thus, for an understanding of modernist naturalism it is important not to underestimate the idealist dimension.

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1939 again the outrage made massive waves, this time about a colleague, who seemed to throw into disarray everything we had learned about architectonic garden design since 1907.[1]
(Alwin Seifert, 1940)

This quote by one of the most influential people in the field of garden design and landscape planning of the 'Third Reich' points at the fundamental dichotomy that had defined the modern German garden discourse until then. The 1907 Mannheim jubilee exhibition gardens by Max Laeuger symbolised the assertion of the geometric design mode of the so-called Architectonic Garden. At least since then, naturalistic form was widely regarded as romantic or even effeminate, and un-German.[2] The defiant 'colleague' of 1939 was Hermann Mattern (1902–1971).[3] He had won the competition in 1935 for a large park to be built into an exploited sandstone quarry at the occasion of the Third Reich Garden Show 1939 at

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1 Alwin Seifert, 'Über die Stuttgarter Reichsgartenschau' (contribution to 'Reichsgartenschau 1939 im Mittelpunkt fachmännischer Kritik'), *Gartenkunst*, 53, 02 (1940), 16–28. All translations from German sources by the author. Due to the limited space, quotes will not be repeated in original German wording in footnotes.

2 See the February edition of Gartenkunst of 1940, containing four different critiques by G. N. Brandt, Wilhelm Hübotter Alwin Seifert, and Carl Wilczek under the following title: 'Reichsgartenschau 1939 im Mittelpunkt fachmännischer Kritik', *Gartenkunst*, 53, 02 (1940), 26–8 (26).

3 About Mattern in English, see the entries 'Hermann Mattern' by Vroni Heinrich in *The Encyclopedia of Gardens: History and Design*, ed. by Candice A. Shoemaker (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 859–62, and by Richard Stiles in *The Oxford Companion to the Garden*, ed. by Patrick Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 301–2. Cf.: Lars Hopstock, 'The Kraiger garden at Helmstedt in Germany: the first private garden commission for landscape architect Hermann Mattern (1902–1971)', *Garden History*, 42/2 (2014), 215–33; Grit Hottenträger, 'New flowers – new gardens. Residential gardens designed by Karl Foerster, Hermann Mattern and Herta Hammerbacher (1928–c.1943)', *Journal of Garden History*, 12/3 (1992), pp. 207–27. A comprehensive introduction without academic pretensions is: Vroni Heinrich, *Hermann Mattern: Gärten – Landschaften – Bauten – Lehre. Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Verlag der Technischen Universität Berlin, 2013, 2nd rev. edn). A comprehensive monograph in English is planned as a revised version of the author's dissertation thesis (under a three-years embargo): Lars Hopstock, 'Hermann Mattern (1902–1971). Building gardens to live in', Ph.D. dissertation thesis at the University of Sheffield (2015).

Stuttgart Killesberg.[4] His unusually organic, symmetry-avoiding design vocabulary led to heated discussions both in journals and behind the scenes. The Danish landscape architect Gustav Nyeland Brandt, for example, applauded the 'risks' that Mattern had taken for certain spatial-formal solutions and which demanded mastery of one's art:

> Hermann Mattern reminds us of certain composers who break with traditional sequences of notes, creating disharmonies that shrill in the ears of the musical middle class – but which still stand under full control of the composer.[5]

Other colleagues referred to the same formal aspects in a radically negative way, which culminated in the dangerous accusation of 'cultural Bolshevism'.[6] Naturally, like everything in those days, the debate on matters of artistic form was imbued with ideology. This fact has strongly informed German 20th-century garden historiography.

Questions of historiography

With regard to societal concepts, an organic ideal can lead straight into völkish thinking.[7] Broadly speaking, it can be linked with the neo-Darwinian notion that a people with its culture and characteristic physiognomy is formed by the landscape it developed in. Many landscape architects of the early 20th century saw naturalism in garden design as an expression of a Nordic sense of nature.[8] Taking this historical discourse as a point of departure, much of today's respective scholarly writing evaluates design decisions with

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4 The Killesberg park is today probably best-preserved and largest reference project for a German public park from the 1930s, cf.: http://www.100-jahre-landschaftsarchitektur.de/ausstellung/#epoche-2 (website maintained by the BDLA, the Federation of German Landscape Architects). An upcoming publication containing a series of conference papers celebrates the 75th anniversary of the park's creation under the title 'Gartenschau – Gedenkstätte – Gartendenkmal: 75 Jahre Höhenpark Killesberg' (ed. by. Roland Müller and Stadtarchiv Stuttgart, 2016).

5 G. N. Brandt, 'Über die Stuttgarter Reichsgartenschau', *Gartenkunst*, 53, 02 (1940), 18–9 (19). Quite obviously Brandt was referring to Arnold Schönberg's then much-maligned atonality.

6 For a brief summary of the Nazis' concept of their enemies, see: Jost Hermand, *Kultur in finsteren Zeiten: Nazifaschismus, Innere Emigration, Exil* (Berlin et. al.: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 15–25.

7 Cf., e.g.: Stefan Körner, 'Zur Humanität eines Rassisten. Ein Appell zur Reflexion', *Garten+Landschaft*, 106, 6 (1996), 33–6 (33–4); Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn and Gert Gröning, 'The ideology of the nature garden. Nationalistic trends in garden design in Germany during the early twentieth century', *Journal of Garden History*, 12, 01 (1992), 73–80. Simply speaking, according to this way of thinking, the temperate climates allowed the evolution of superior physical features and skills, while the extremer colder climates only made possible a survival of less refined races, and the milder climates did not make higher development necessary for survival.

8 This has been discussed intensely in Germany garden historiography, most influentially by Gert Gröning and his former student Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, e.g.: Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn and Gert Gröning, 'The National Socialist Garden and Landscape Ideal: Bodenständigkeit (Rootedness in the Soil)', in Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich, ed. by Richard Etlin (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 73–97. A third important author in this respect is Körner, see, e.g., his doctoral dissertation thesis: Stefan Körner, *Theorie und Methodologie der Landschaftsplanung, Landschaftsarchitektur und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Freiraumplanung vom Nationalsozialismus bis zur Gegenwart*, series Landschaftsentwicklung und Umweltforschung / Schriftenreihe im

AUS GARTEN 4 (VGL. SEITE 20 UND GRUNDRISZ SEITE 6) AUSFÜHRUNG DER PERGOLEN: BAUM & SCHÄFER, MANNHEIM

Figure 1: Max Laeuger, Mannheim, 1907.

Figure 2: Valley of the Roses at Stuttgart, Killesberg by A. Ohler, 1939.

Fachbereich Umwelt und Gesellschaft der TU Berlin, 118 (Berlin: Technische Universität Berlin, 2001).

Figure 3

Figure 4: Mattern garden, c1934.

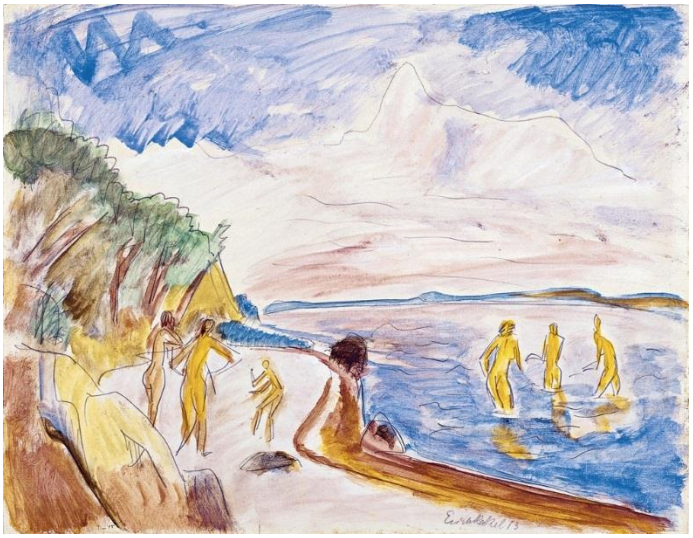

Figure 5:

regard to ideological motivations, which often entailed a bias against organic or naturalist form.[9] This led to a situation where we know a lot about ideology but little about influences from the arts and art theory on the evolution of the modern garden.

'Modernism' is a problematic term, especially when spelled with a capitalised 'M'; the more we learn about 20th-century culture, the more awkward it feels to define it as a label for artefacts.[10] A similar lack of clarity befalls the term 'avant-garde' when used as the kind of spearhead movement that defined cultural modernism in the first place. Who was progressive and original enough to merit this designation and who wasn't? It has been said that, amongst liberals, the interest in New Objectivity, technology and physical exercise after WWI led to 'cleaned-up' and 'useful' garden designs.[11] A Rousseauan nature-centrism allegedly contradicted the rationalism of the liberals who '[…] were fascinated by the metropolis, technology, sports, and leisure activities, but not by the patient work of gardening', thus leaving '[…] the field of garden planning to national-conservative circles.'[12] Interpreting an organic ideal or naturalism in design in this ideological way is in line with a certain consensus amongst liberal historians of earlier decades.[13] As late as 2003, one author claimed: 'It is commonly held that there was no modernist movement in German landscape architecture.'[14] However, since the 1990s the perspective has shifted as a growing body of literature deals with 20th-century naturalism in different creative fields.[15] In this context it has

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9 A telling example is a paper that presents almost exclusively geometrical gardens as examples of Modernism in the field and discusses naturalism mainly in connection to racist ideology, see: Barbara Bacher, 'Auf der Suche nach dem neuen Garten: Gartengestaltung zwischen 1919 und 1933/38 in Deutschland und Österreich', *Gartenkunst*, 7, 2 (1995), 282–90. Wolschke-Bulmahn has identified geometry and the right angle as main formal characteristic of the modernist avant-garde in garden design, cf.: Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 'The Avant-garde and Garden Architecture in Germany. On a forgotten phenomenon of the Weimar period', *Centropa*, 05, 02 (2004), 101–9 (102–3).

10 For a critical discussion of 'Modernism', see Christopher Wilk's introduction to an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, 6 April–23 July 2006: Christopher Wilk, 'Introduction: What was Modernism', in *Modernism. Designing a New. World, 1914–1939*, ed. by Ch. Wilk (London: V&A, 2006), pp. 312–26.

11 Jost Hermand, 'Rousseau, Goethe, Humboldt: Their Influence on Later Advocates of the Nature Garden', in *Nature and Ideology: Natural Garden Design in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, series Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, 18 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), pp. 35–57 (51).

12 Ibid. (J. Hermand, p. 51). Cf., for a similar definition applied to parts of the avant-garde: Steven Mansbach and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 'Introduction', *Centropa*, 04, 02 (2004), 99 [?].

13 'Organism'/'the organic' has been described as a key concept of reactionary forces in the Weimar Republic, e.g.: Kurt Sontheimer: *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Die politischen Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933*, 2nd edn, (München, 1968), pp. 255–9.

14 Ursula Poblotzki, 'Die zaghafte Moderne / The faltering progress of modernism', in *Texte zur Landschaft: Essays über Entwurf, Stil, Zeit und Raum / About Landscape: Essays on design, style, time and space*, ed. by Topos European Landscape Magazine (Basel et. al: Birkhäuser, 2003), pp. 17–29 (17).

15 Oliver A. I. Botar and Isabel Wünsche (eds), *Biocentrism and Modernism* (Farnham/UK & Burlington/USA, 2011);

been argued that '[…] even at the heart of high Modernism, reference to nature was never absent […]'.[16] In fact, countless contributions in the respective journals suggest that during the second half of the 1920s naturalism came to represent the equivalent of the new architecture in the field of garden design.

Mattern's naturalism in context

Since the early 1930s, Mattern and his first wife, the well-read Herta Hammerbacher (1900–1985), counted amongst to the best-known landscape architects of the Berlin area.[17] In publications their language was predominantly rational, and each design decision was explained with functional, economic or psychological motivations (e.g. the optical enlargement of a space by rendering boundaries invisible). Romanticisms were generally rejected, but Mattern's and Hammerbacher's emotive relation with the garden theme occasionally revealed itself in their writing:

Plant and stone tempt each other to play, they challenge, and all a game's rules want to be applied, and then the gardener's experience opposes these rules. The framing *Santolinas* were intended to remain un-pruned; they grew wide and pushed the gardener from the path, and now he takes his pruner, and it becomes something completely different from what we wanted to play.[18]

Annette Geiger, Stefanie Hennecke und Christin Kempf (eds), *Spielarten des Organischen* (Berlin 2011); Isabel Wünsche, 'Life into Art. Nature Philosphy, the Life Sciences and Abstract Art', in: *Meanings of Abstract Art. Between Nature and Theory*. ed. by Paul Cowther and I. Wünsche (New York & London 2012), pp. 9–29. The mentioned exhibition catalogue from the V&A Museums in 2006 (see fn. 9) represents another impressive example for a more comprehensive perspective: Christopher Wilk (ed.), *Modernism. Designing a New. World, 1914–1939* (London 2006). For naturalism in 20th-century landscape architecture, cf.: Thorbjörn Andersson, 'Erik Glemme and the Stockholm Park System', in *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review*, ed. by Marc Treib (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), pp. 114–33; Th. Andersson, 'To erase the garden: modernity in the Swedish garden and landscape', in *The Architecture of Landscape: 1945–1960*, ed. by Marc Treib (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 2–27 (13–26); Alan Powers, 'Landscape in Britain', in *The Architecture of Landscape*, ed. by M. Treib (2002), pp. 27–81; Jan Woudstra, 'Jacobus P. Thijsse's Influence on Dutch Landscape Architecture', in *Nature and Ideology*, ed. by J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, (1997), pp. 155–85; For a more general account about the dissemination of a naturalistic garden style around 1930, see also: Johannes Stoffler, *Gustav Ammann: Landschaften der Moderne in der Schweiz*, (gta-Verlag: Zürich, 2008), pp. 81–3; Jan Woudstra, 'The changing nature of ecology: a history of ecological planting', in *The Dynamic Landscape: Design, Ecology and Management of Naturalistic Urban Planting*, ed. by. Nigel Dunnett and James Hitchmough (London and New York: Spon Press, 2004), pp. 23–57.

16 Tim Benton, 'Modernism and nature', in *Modernism: Designing a New World*, ed. by Christopher Wilk (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2006), pp. 311–39 (312).

17 In his memoirs, Mattern's colleague Walter Rossow names theirs and Heinrich Friedrich Wiepking's as the two most influential garden design offices in Berlin: Walter Rossow, 'Zeitabschnitte. Sechs Jahre beruflicher Arbeit im heftigen Wandel der Zeit' (lecture on the occasion of his bestowment with the honorary doctorade at the Technische Hochschule Darmstadt, April 1985), *Walter Rossow: Die Landschaft muss das Gesetz werden*, ed. by Monika Daldrop-Weidmann (DVA, 1991), pp. 142–52 (144). Cf.: G. Hottenträger, 'New flowers', *Journal of Garden History*, 12/3 (1992), pp. 207–27.

18 Hermann Mattern, 'An der Havel', *Gartenschönheit*, 14, 2 (1933), 26–9.

Such phrasing resonates the pathos-laden writings of Karl Foerster (1874–1970, in whose journal *Gartenschönheit* the quoted article appeared. Both Foerster's literally empathetic look at plants, as promoted in his widely-read publications, and his commercial distribution of then uncommon perennials were instrumental in the development of naturalistic garden design in Germany. In 1927, after entering into collaboration with the famous nurseryman, Mattern's and Hammerbacher's careers took off. The innovative spatial concepts, though, sprung from the couple's intense occupation with the culture of their time.[19]

With regard to landscape architecture, careful analysis discloses a variety of fundamentally different lines of reasoning and sources of inspiration for a turning-away from symmetry and clipped plants. In the case of Mattern, the organic functionalism of Hugo Häring and Hans Scharoun must be mentioned – the architects were personally connected with him.[20] Another theme would be the rising appreciation of the individual plant and a new attention on vegetal 'tectonics' that also found expression, for example, in the work of photographers associated with New Objectivity.[21] The writings of Willy Lange (1864–1941), Germany's infamous promoter of naturalism in the vein of William Robinson's 'wild garden', can be assumed to be a mediate source of inspiration, too.[22] Two established older colleagues have to be named in particular, as Mattern briefly worked in their offices before making a name for himself: the artistically progressive Georg Béla Pniower (1896–1960) and the more rationalist Leberecht

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[19] Foerster preferred less useful, amphitheatre-like gardens to exhibit the full diversity of his breeds, which led to heated discussions without Mattern, cf.: Hermann Mattern, 'Rundum ein Gärtner (Ansprache von Prof. Hermann Mattern bei der Verleihung der Karl-Foerster-Anerkennung.', *Garten+Landschaft*, 3 (1971), 80.

[20] For organic modernism in architecture, see in particular the work and thinking of Hugo Häring and Hans Scharoun respectively: T. Benton: 'Modernism and Nature', in *Modernism*, ed. by. Ch. Wilk. (2006) pp. 311–39 ; Peter Blundell Jones, *Hugo Häring: The Organic Versus the Geometric* (Stuttgart et. al.: Edition Axel Menges, 1999); P. Blundell Jones, *Hans Scharoun* (London: Phaidon, 1995); Christine Hoh-Slodczyk, Norbert Huse, Günther Kühne and Andreas Tönnesmann, *Hans Scharoun: Architekt in Deutschland 1893–1972* (München: C. H. Beck, 1992).

[21] Gert Mattenklott: 'Karl Bloßfeldt - Fotografischer Naturalismus um 1900 und 1930', in *Karl Blossfeldt: Urformen der Kunst - Wunderganen der Natur [das fotografische Werk in eincm Band]* (München; Paris; London: Schirmer-Mosel, 1994), pp. 9–64. Cf.: David H. Haney, *When Modern Was Green: Life and Work of Landscape Architect Leberecht Migge* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 233–6.

[22] Lange is never mentioned by Mattern himself, but his early collaborator and first wife, Herta Hammerbacher, has stressed Lange's important rôle: Herta Hammerbacher, 'Die Hausgärten', in *Berlin und seine Bauten*, ed. by Architekten- und Ingenieurverein zu Berlin (AIV) (Berlin et. al.: Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn, 1972), pt 4 ('Wohnungsbau'), vol. C ('Die Wohngebäude – Einfamilienhäuser'), pp. 293–416 (314–5). About Lange, cf.: Gert Gröning and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 'Willy Lange', in *The Encyclopedia of Gardens: History and Design*, ed. by Candice A. Shoemaker (London: Routledge, 2001), 757–60; J. Woudstra, 'The changing nature of ecology', in *The Dynamic Landscape*, ed. by. N. Dunnett and J. Hitchmough (2004), pp. 23–57 (30–34).

Migge (1881–1935).[23] However, exploring any of these influences further would go beyond the limits of this paper.

Opposed to reactionary ideologies, Mattern and Hammerbacher aimed at spaces that suited the lifestyle of a citizen emancipated from traditions and adapted to a modern life in an urbanised society. This found particular expression in their variation on the modernist topos of the *Wohngarten*, the 'inhabitable garden'.[24] With hindsight, regarding form, Hammerbacher has stated that non-geometric arrangement of space was 'something new and different' even as late as 1936,[25] claiming that Mattern's design vocabulary '[…] displays analogies with the tendencies in the arts and in architecture, and shows connecting channels with […] the democratisation of the society in the Germany of the 1920s.[26]
Mattern openly rejected a scientifically founded, regionalist "German" nature garden and a concentration on native plants. Instead, his idiosyncratic type of naturalism can be understood as artistic volition for abstraction. Mattern and Hammerbacher were bibliophile idealists who spent their free time visiting exhibitions and performances. Their social environment of the 1920s contextualises the couples' early correspondence. The latter contains phrasing that seems to resonate aspects of a specific theoretical discourse that exerted a crucial influence on artistic practice and on architecture at the beginning of the 20th century.

The Aesthetics of Empathy

Generally, artistic naturalism can have a variety of different meanings, partly inspired by literary theory.[27] 'Naturalism' as understood here, with reference to early 20th-century garden

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23 On Pniower in English, whose legacy has been rediscovered only about 10 years ago: Gert Gröning, 'Teutonic Myth, Rubble, and Recovery: Landscape Architecture in Germany', in *The Architecture of Landscape*, ed. by M. Treib (2002), pp. 120–53 (125–8); Peter Fibich and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, '"Garden Expressionism": Remarks on a Historical Debate', *Garden History*, 33 (Summer, 2005), 106–17. Migge is better known internationally, especially since Haney excellent monograph, see fn. 22. Cf. Haney's foreword to: Leberecht Migge, *Garden Culture of the Twentieth Century*, ed. and transl. by David H. Haney, series ex horto Dumbarton Oaks Texts in Garden and Landscape Studies (without no.) (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2013; 1st German edn 1913), pp. 1–43 (1–10).

24 Or 'dwelling-garden', 'domestic garden', 'garden for living'. The best-known of many books that use the term in their title and are noteworthy primary sources are: Guido Harbers, *Der Wohngarten. Seine Raum- und Bauelemente* (revised four times: München: Callwey, 1933; 1937; 1952; 1954); Otto Valentien, *Zeitgemäße Wohngärten. Eine Sammlung alter und neuer Hausgärten* (München: Bruckmann, 1932).

25 Herta Hammerbacher, 'Gruß an Wilhelm Hübotter', *Garten+Landschaft*, 12 (1976), 722–6 (723–4). However, while free composition surely was not the mainstream, regarding the many corresponding examples appearing in publications since about 1926, Hammerbacher's evaluation may be an exaggeration.

26 H. Hammerbacher, 'Die Hausgärten', in *Berlin und seine Bauten*, ed. by AIV (1972), pt 4, vol. C, pp. 293–416 (332).

27 About the terms 'realism'/'*Realismus*' and 'naturalism'/'*Naturalismus*' generally in art, compare the entries '*Nachahmung*' (Valeska von Rosen, pp. 240–4) and 'Realismus' (Anja Zimmermann, pp. 297–9) in: *Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft. Ideen, Methoden, Begriffe*, ed. by Ulrich Pfisterer (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2003); *Lexikon der Kunst.*

design, only indirectly corresponds to the classical principle 'imitation of nature', '*mímesis*' in Greek. It is, however, a matter of *mímesis* in the sense of an emulation of formative principles as observed in nature. Especially in early 20th-century Germany, 'naturalism' as creative mode can be associated with the aesthetics of sensory form perception and its empirical-psychological dimension that became known under the heading '*Einfühlung*' ('sympathy', later translated as 'empathy').[28] Even during the later 1920s, these theories were far from forgotten, when they were either re-edited like in the case of the essays of Robert Vischer, who had been first in discussing the term *Einfühlung* systematically, or incorporated into new theories like in the writings on the 'Gothic spirit'.[29] In Mattern's letters from these years we come across expressions and entire phrases reminiscent of the mentioned discourse. Occasionally, he reflects his design ideas on a highly abstract level:

> It interlaces, bends, slots together, flows calmly, breaks off, translates itself and halts. At one moment it converges smoothly, only to spill over vociferously at another. And yet [it is] lucid, self-evident, clear, distributed, equated, and still vividly new.[30]

Such expressionistic outpourings resemble the description that Vischer gave about the appreciation of nature. The philosopher's ideas revolved around an aesthetic sense that was set into work whenever the eye traced the outlines of a form, be it artefact or natural object:

Architektur, Bildende Kunst, Angewandte Kunst, Industrieformgestaltung, Kunsttheorie, vol. V: Mosb–Q (lemma '*Naturalismus*'), ed. by Harald Olbrich et. al. (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1993), pp. 106–8.

28 *Einfühlung* literally translates as 'in-feeling' in the sense of projecting ones feeling into an object or a person. One publication in particular has drawn much attention to late-19th-century German perceptual aesthetics: *Empathy, Form, and Space. Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893*, ed. and trans. by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), pp. 1–85. As early as 1927, Herbert Read has introduced the notion of empathy to an English readership an essay accompanying his translation of a fundamental German text: Wilhelm Worringer, *Formprobleme der Gotik*, 1st edn (München: Piper, 1912), published in Engl. as *Form in Gothic*, trans. by Herbert Read (London: Putnam, 1927). As concise introduction see chapter 'Theodor Lipps' in: Norbert Schneider, *Geschichte der Ästhetik von der Aufklärung bis zur Postmoderne* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1996), pp. 134–40. For another general introduction to the empathy discourse, see: Robin Curtis, 'Einführung in die Einfühlung', in Robin Curtis and Gertrud Koch (eds), *Einfühlung. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart eines ästhetischen Konzepts* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2009), pp. 11–29; Ursula Franke, 'Ästhetische Einfühlung – ein Sesamschlüssel visueller Erfahrung: Theodor Lipps und die Tradition der subjektiven Ästhetik', in *Freiheit der Linie: Von Obrist und dem Jugendstil zu Marc, Klee und Kirchner*, ed. by Erich Franz, exh. cat. (Bönen: Kettler, 2007), pp. 264–71.

29 About Robert Vischers and his better known father Friedrich Theodor Vischer, a prolific writer, and their discussion of *Einfühlung*, cf.: U. Franke, 'Ästhetische Einfühlung', in *Freiheit der Linie*, ed. by E. Franz (2007), pp. 264–71 (267–9). About 'Gothic spirit', see: Magdalena Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst* (München: Schreiber, 1990). Cf.: Neil H. Donahue (ed.), *Invisible Cathedrals: The Expressionist Art History of Wilhelm Worringer* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1995).

30 Letter from Mattern to Hammerbacher, sign. '26–9' (11 november 1926), estate of Herta Hammerbacher in the University Archive at the University Library of Technische Universität Berlin.

> The sense that agitates behind [the glance] feels also the corporeality of a shape. It clasps, for example, a tree, experiences its woody force and feels […] its formal character from within; bristles, sprouts and sways with it, gropes inside its tips. It struts and surges in the wave. It masses itself together dully in the cloud.[31]

A similar tone pervades Hammerbacher's and Mattern's descriptions of their common artistic aims, when they describe the 'garden of today' as forming a unity between the natural and the built, being designed 'from the clear structure of the garden's framework all the way through to the last oscillation of plant growth'.[32] An iconic definition of naturalism in aesthetics that appears to further outline the two landscape architects' approach is contained in the widely-read essays of Theodor Lipps, further disseminated by the art historian Wilhelm Worringer: 'aesthetic enjoyment is objectivated enjoyment of self'.[33] Worringer construes the principle behind artistic naturalism as realisation of one's own corporeality and being bound to nature, as empathy with the natural. But even though Worringer introduced it as the complementary pole to abstraction, he did not use 'naturalism' in the sense of imitation. Rather, he presented it as an equally valid creative mode, drawing on Alois Riegl's idea that even in naturalist art the principle of abstraction precede the principle of *imitatio naturae*.[34] The dichotomy 'Abstraction and empathy', which forms the title of Worringer's spectacular dissertation thesis (*Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, 1907, first published in 1908), is considered a type of insignia of the new tendencies in art

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[31] Robert Vischer, quoted in U. Franke, 'Ästhetische Einfühlung', in *Freiheit der Linie*, ed. by E. Franz (2007), pp. 264–71 (268) [trans. LH]. Original source: Robert Vischer, 'Über ästhetische Naturbetrachtung', in: idem, *Drei Schriften zum ästhetischen Formproblem* (Halle/Saale, 1927), p. 61, originally published in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 19/11 (1893), 192–207 [lecture held in 1890]. Robert Vischer's theories were based on notions that he took up from his father Friedrich Theodor (Ibid.). About stylistic characteristics of literary Expressionism such as strings of words, personification and objectification, see: Silvio Vietta and Hans-Georg Kemper, *Expressionismus*, series Deutsche Literatur im 20. Jahrhundert, 3 (München: Fink, 1975), esp. pp. 30–81 (chapter 2.1 and 2.2).

[32] Hermann Mattern and Herta Hammerbacher, 'Aus Hausgärten', *Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau*, 17 (1933), 202–9 (203).

[33] Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, new edn (München: Piper, 1959 , 1st edn 1908), pp. 37, 40. The English translation is taken from: H. F. Mallgrave and E. Ikonomou, 'Introduction', in *Empathy, Form, and Space,* ed. and trans. by id. (1994), pp. 1–85 (29). Lipps influence is summarised in: N. Schneider, *Geschichte der Ästhetik* (1996), pp. 134–40.

[34] W. Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (1959), e.g. pp. 44, 61–69. Riegl's view contrasted the wide-spread materialist notion made popular by (a misreading of) Gottfried Semper in the 19th century, cf.: Matthew Rampley, 'Alois Riegl (1858–1905)', in *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by Ulrich Pfisterer, vol. I ('Von Winckelmann bis Warburg') (München: C.H. Beck, 2007), pp. 152–162 (154). Cf.: Sonja Hildebrand, 'Gottfried Semper (1803–1879), in *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by Ulrich Pfisterer, vol. I ('Von Winckelmann bis Warburg') (München: C.H. Beck, 2007), pp. 62–75 (72–3).

that Mattern admired in his youth, namely Expressionism. Mattern's raving for Erich Heckel's sketchy watercolour paintings with bathing nudes or Christian Rohlfs's abstract flowers represent his enthusiasm for the natural, partly inspired by his hiking expeditions with the Wandervogel youth movement in the wild wooded landscapes around the northern-Hessian town of Hofgeismar, where he grew up. Already at the age of 24, Mattern expressed thoughts about form finding that appear to resonate the writings from this context, such as Wassily Kandinsky's or Paul Klee's, with whose work he was familiar. For example, he refers to an 'internal necessity', one of the key concepts in Kandinsky's writings, or he claims '[…] that each shape immediately makes a rapport with me, and, depending on the position, penetrates us more or less strongly.'[35]

The scope of artistic expression that Worringer outlined could serve to set out Mattern's work: on one side the 'beauty of life-negating inorganic', 'crystallinic [form]', and on the other side 'naturalism' as the 'inner vital feeling's' rewarding empathy with an object of contemplation.[36] Decades later, Hammerbacher words echo this:

> Crystalline structures that belong to the realm of the inorganic form a coherent whole with buildings and the built components in the garden such as paths and walls, while the vegetation establishes free spatial compositions by itself. […] In the domestic gardens the mentioned characteristics are only barely discernible, while Hermann Mattern's great achievements manifest themselves in the garden exhibitions in Stuttgart 1939 (where, partly respectfully, partly derisively one spoke of 'Matternism'), in Stuttgart 1950 or at the Federal Garden Show in Kassel 1955 […].[37]

The diversity of 20th-century garden culture

Mattern and Hammerbacher emphasised the idea of a space for a self-determined life, free from social conventions. They conceived their gardens as "uncontrived" and un-coerced, and eventually as an expression of liberal opposition to the authoritarian regime. From

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35 Letter from Mattern to Hammerbacher, sign. 'HH. Nov. 26-7', 08/11/1926, estate of Herta Hammerbacher (as fn. 37). Mattern was closeness to the Bauhaus and people connected to Klee and Kandinsky; both names appear in his letters of 1926, the year that for example Kandinsky's highly anticipated *Point and Line to Plane* (*Punkt und Linie zu Fläche*) appeared. According to Selz, Kandinsky adopted the expression 'internal necessity' – which he never defined clearly – from Conrad Fiedler (1841–1895), cf.: Peter Selz, *German Expressionist Painting* (Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1957).

36 Cf. Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (München: Piper, 1959, 1st edn 1908), p. 36, and chapter II 'Naturalismus und Stil', pp. 62–86 (68). However, Hammerbacher and Mattern did not consider the 'cristallinic' an opposing pole to nature, but rather one aspect of it.

37 H. Hammerbacher, 'Die Hausgärten', in *Berlin und seine Bauten*, ed. by AIV (1972), part 4, vol. C., pp. 293–416 (348).

today's perspective, to say the least, this aestheticism appears naïve. However, this does not negate their original contribution to 20th-century garden culture, which comprises acting as bearers of ideas from modern art and architecture. In their approach to the garden plant we can find a subject-centeredness that is an essential component of modern aesthetics.

In Worringer's words we could claim that an 'in-feeling' into, or empathy with, the formation principles of organic growth was one of Mattern's central aesthetic motivations. The physiological focus of the perceptual aesthetics promoted by Lipps, Vischer and others, may today seem reductionist. Around 1900, however, it meant moving away from an elitist view on art. This shift could be transferred onto landscape architecture of the late 1920s: instead of visually representing the garden owner, gardens became a place where the human senses were supposed to be inspired in an introverted way, bringing along awareness of man's inner nature. This approach represented another type of idealism that somewhat contrasted Mattern's rationalist image of self – a reminder that as historians we have to accept contradictory aspects in biographies we deal with. It is not the question here, whether aesthetics can be separated at all from ideology. However, the fact that the Nazis exploited naturalistic trends has somewhat clouded the view on socially progressive motivations for respective formal solutions. Acknowledging these contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of 20th-century landscape architecture.

ROUNDTABLE: Cities, Preservation and Violence

Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, Technion; Heghnar Watempaugh, University of California Davis

The location of this meeting in Ireland, an island that has witnessed violent political and religious conflict over the last century, presents an opportunity to explore the spatial dimension of civil war and the ways in which it affects the practice of preservation.

Repeated eruptions of strife in recent decades, as well as of former and continuing spatial division, have been inscribed on the built fabric of cities around the world, and testify to the ongoing entanglement of destructive force with national, ethnic and racial politics. The persistence of the traces of these conflicts raises questions about the prospect of consensual peace or whether the halted violence in places like Belfast and Kosovo can possibly achieve a transition to residing in shared urban spaces. To recover a city does not mean to suppress or eclipse the physical legacy of its conflicts but rather to manage their repercussions and institutionalize the legitimacy of opposing claims, including for symbolic monuments.

Chantal Mouffe, who insists on accepting such antagonism as inevitable in human society, argues for the role of institutions in maintaining "conflictual consensus." This roundtable probes the potential of architecture, and the preservation in particular, to function as such an institution. How can we allow for conflicting interpretations of buildings and the urban spaces in which they sit? How can such claims co-exist without denying the competing meanings them embody? We seek to explore these questions through topics ranging from case studies, such as the Mostar Bridge, a symbol of conflict but also of peace that provokes debate regarding the ambiguity of cultural heritage, to institutional frameworks, of which the vulnerable regulating power of UNESCO, who does not list the world heritage site of Jerusalem's Walled City under a particular country, is an example. We are particularly interested in the tension between preservation as an institution and the power structure of the nation state through which it is usually practiced.

We invite statements that elaborate a theoretical position and/or analyze an exemplary case study that can provoke further discussion.

Beyond Preservation: An Argument for Social Engagement in Post-Conflict Heritage Practice

Emily Bereskin, Technical University Berlin

What does architectural heritage do in the post-conflict city? What problems can it cause and what good can it bring? Drawing on ten years of onsite research in Belfast, Nicosia, Berlin, and Beirut, I argue that in order for heritage to impact peace-building, practitioners need to move beyond architectural preservation and support social programs around heritage that engage those affected by conflict. It is only through sustained social engagement with architecture that its potential to aid the conflict transformation process can be realized.

Cultivating more-inclusive narratives is an essential part of post-conflict reconciliation, and heritage plays a vital role in that process. Conflicts over heritage sites are essentially conflicts over competing group narratives. What's more, the highly symbolic nature of heritage sites means that any dispute concerning them, whether destruction, preservation, legitimization (e.g, UNESCO inscription) or interpretation—provokes strong emotional reactions and can radically escalate or mitigate intercommunal tension. Parties such as UNESCO, the EU, and the UN Development Program that intervene in heritage disputes often take a technocratic approach and avoid the interpretive issue—the criticisms of UNESCO's intervention in Mostar is one frequently cited example of this tendency. At best, a vague statement is produced about heritage and inclusive identities, but there is no sustained exploration or experimentation on how best to accomplish that. Parties interested in promoting reconciliation need to move beyond simply physical conservation to create opportunities for social practices that explore the meaning of heritage and create dialogue between communities.

Cyprus provides a positive example of the importance for social practice to be integrated with physical preservation. For over forty years, bicommunal teams have meticulously restored sensitive sites destroyed in the conflict, and yet few on the island are even aware of their work. Widespread interest in cultural heritage has instead only arisen in the past three years as a result of urban photography groups and local walking tours. These practices, through an exploration of built heritage, have radically encouraged young people to explore their identities, question divisive state narratives and acknowledge multiple interpretations of the conflict.

Institutions often face great constraints and touching upon sensitive issues is not always a possibility. However, heritage preservation needs to move out of the technocratic realm if it will have any impact on reconciliation. Whether this job falls to nation-states, intergovernmental organizations, civil society organizations, or grassroots organizations may have to be determined on a case-to-case basis. Even we, as architectural and urban theorists, should reflect upon and develop roles we can play in the process.

A Prison for an Armenian Past. Serp Astvadsadsin Church in Gazientep Gül Cephanecigil, Istanbul Technical University

During the years of I. World War and followed by the period of British and French occupations, the city of Aintab – today's Gaziantep in southeastern Turkey - was not only the place of a war against the allied forces, but also witnessed the confrontation between its Armenian and Turkish communities, the two main ethnic constituents of the population of the city. After this period, which resulted in the removal of the Armenian population, both the religious buildings and the neighborhoods inhabited by the Armenians lost their former users. Houses were confiscated and sold to new residents. Churches were given different functions such as warehouse, movie-theater or school dormitory, or destroyed in the fires. The American College that served mainly to the Armenian students, remained in ruined conditions until the mid 20th century, and was used as a store of building materials, though it was one of the landmarks of the cityscape at the turnover of the century. When, in 1932-39 an urban development plan was prepared by Herman Jansen, a new "government quarter" was proposed partly on the Armenian neighborhoods.

In this context, the main Armenian Gregorian church of the city – Surp Astvadsadsin - was transformed into a prison. It kept this unusual function for a church until 1988 when it was transformed into a mosque. As a registered cultural entity the building is currently under legal protection and its physical integrity is being "preserved" with restoration works. However, its original cultural context is neglected both in legal and social grounds and its Armenian past is not included in the notion of "heritage" on which the bureaucratic preservationist practices are based. This paper aims to examine the transformation/adaptation processes of Surp Astvadsadsin church/ Kurtuluş Mosque as a case study, to discuss the heritage policies of the nation-sate and its impact on the Armenian heritage of the city.

Heritage as a Battlefield. Diffuse and Direct Patrimonial Violence Celia Ghyka, Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urban Planning Bucharest

My position will look at violence in space and violence upon space – a combination of actions that I will refer to as spatial violence. In doing so, I intend to bring forth the case of Bucharest. The recent history of this city has been marked by spatial, urban, institutional and symbolic conflicts, targeting the architecture of the city.

Bucharest in the 80s has suffered dramatic changes in its formal substance - under the name of totalitarian communist ideology. The 90s, and especially the two last decades have been marked by a more diffuse and subtle, yet constant aggression against built heritage. A continuous change

of legislation, as well as the inheritance of a disputed ownership landscape - due to retrocession of previously confiscated houses - lead to an extremely conflicted situation of the architectural heritage. Abandon and destruction of monuments or historical buildings have been a recurrent strategy for investors, in order to clear the land and build anew. The pressure of corporate real-estate investments, as well as large infrastructure projects of the Municipality (resulting in the demolition of 8ha of the historical city) have further complicated this already fragile context, especially at the end of the 2010. The local administration's difficulties in implementing the existing laws of heritage protection have contributed to this rather grim perspective. Recently (September 2015), changes in the construction laws propose ambiguous modifications to the status of the historical monuments and the historical areas. Moreover, a tragic fire occurring in October 2015 revealed the extent of corruption in municipal offices that issue construction permits and triggered a series of extraordinary legislative measures, that resulted in the immediate closing of most of the public facilities in the city centre, neglected for over 25 years for the imminent seismic danger. Many of these are situated in historical buildings, and are privately owned. The economic incapacity of the owners to renovate the buildings will further contribute to the decay of the architectural heritage.

In discussing the case of Bucharest, I will approach the violent landscape of architectural heritage from several standpoints: the gap between the heritage protection legislation and the professional community involved in preservation, the ambiguous position of the Bucharest Municipality regarding the protection of heritage, the interests of different stakeholders (owners, tenants, investors) and finally, the slow but steady process (with outbursts during the last five to eight years) of acquiring an urban and patrimonial conscience by the civil society.

A Difficult Heritage: The legacy of fascism in contemporary Italy Lucy Maulsby, Northeastern University

This paper considers the legacy of fascism in Italy through the example of Fascist Party headquarters or case del fascio, relatively modest buildings that served as centers for the party's operations in cities and towns throughout Italy. Following fascism's collapse most of these buildings were adapted to serve as military or police outposts (a function that maintained their association with state power and control) while others were demolished, abandoned, turned into community centers, or used as government offices. In most cases iconographic programs were left intact, as were distinctive formal elements (namely towers and balconies) thus allowing them to serve as a reminder, intentional or otherwise, of a discredited regime. The recent effort to make the ex-Fascist Party Headquarters in Predappio, the town identified with Mussolini's birth and a

center for neo-fascist pilgrimages, a national museum about Italian fascism has brought to the fore some of the challenges of remembering a difficult history and of preserving its physical remains. It also raises questions about the degree to which the silence and decay that characterizes many of these buildings might be used to challenge the continued allure of fascism's myths.

SESSION: Exploring Regionality in the Architecture of the Late Medieval Tower House Andrew Tierney, Dublin

This session invites papers that explore regional patterns in the architecture of the late medieval tower house. Commonly found in both rural and urban contexts from Scotland to northern Spain, and beyond, tower houses are thought to have proliferated in kinship-based aristocracies. However, there have been few comparative studies of their architectural development, distribution and socio-political context. Unusually for a building type that has attracted many detailed regional studies, there is little research that looks beyond provincial or national borders. This session aims to bring together researchers from different parts of Europe (and potentially elsewhere) with the aim of querying issues of mutual concern.

Recent research into the use and meaning of castles has stressed their social and symbolic role within cultures embedded in courtly traditions, but there has been less attention to the social context of castle building in clan-based societies on the periphery of centralised monarchies, such as Gaelic Ireland, where tower house building was more prolific. A key question is whether the tower house form is a response to the emergence of particular socio-political conditions or whether similarities in morphology are potentially superficial. Comparative approaches on a broader scale may demonstrate cultural cross-currents in the conventions of militaristic display between diverse regions, as well as common practical concerns of security, economy and estate management. Alternatively, densities of distribution, variations in scale, the differing quality and character of ornamentation (or its absence), as well as variations in approaches to internal planning and defence, may all serve to highlight distinctive regional concerns, or instances of unique architectural responses to similar social, economic and political problems. Only through a broader comparative approach can regional patterns and differences in tower house architecture be properly appreciated and contextualised.

The Southern Tower House in Portugal João Vieira Caldas, Universidade de Lisboa

Almost all the tower houses that remain in Portugal are late medieval or even early modern. There is evidence in written documents that they have existed since the beginning of the Portuguese nationality (12th century), but most of the identified tower houses were built or rebuilt in the 15th century, despite being located in the old North of the country. Situated mainly in a rural context, they were built in the oldest estate of the family whose name and noble lineage were born there. Only a few noblemen were allowed to build tower houses and under express Royal permission.

In fact, the medieval archives keep several Royal orders to demolish unauthorized tower houses.

In the 15th century, as it happens in many other European regions, the militaristic display had no defensive purpose, but rather a social meaning. However, if this kind of tower house has been a subject of research, we can't say the same about the southern tower houses built in the 16th century. Being true tower houses in a medieval sense, they differ from the former in several ways: the South, mainly the Alentejo region, is their actual territory; they are larger and more comfortable, having several compartments in each floor; the construction is stronger and the use of vaults is very common; they were often commissioned by owners of recent or lower nobility who needed to forge the social origins of the family.

This paper focuses on late medieval tower houses from the very southwest end of Europe and it aims to develop the little knowledge we have about them, from the geographic distribution to the building chronology, and from the internal plans to the construction specifics, including the conventions of militaristic display.

A Mediterranean Late-medieval Network: The Defensive Towers of Puglia Angelo Maggi, Università IUAV di Venezia

From the late Middle Ages and throughout the sixteenth century, Puglia, a region of Italy situated at the heart of the Mediterranean sea, was open to attack by invaders of many different kinds. Hundreds of towers, from different periods, remain as witness of the constant struggle of inhabitants in the heel of Italy against many dangers that threatened their land. Almost half of the towers are found along the coast, the others are scattered within the hinterland. From an historical and architectural point of view the maritime and inland towers are completely different. The first were built under Spanish domination as a line of surveillance towers to defend the region against raids by pirates. The internal ones served instead as a protection for the small villages that once surrounded them while others were built as fortified places of retreat – secure country-houses – into which noble families could withdraw when the shift of power within a city, or the rise of an opposing faction, made it necessary to do so. The towers of Puglia provided observation points linked together. Aided by the men and women who lived there, towers could communicate with each other warning of any attacks from the coast by smoke signals during the day and by fire at night. The aim of my paper is to focus on this architectural typology, shifting attention from the analysis of these buildings primarily as autonomous formal objects, to see them – through the change from cylindrical to rectangular plans, and to rectangular plans on a pyramidal base - as an evolving structural type adjusting to changes in methods of attack and the progress of and development of artillery.

The Kulla or Tower House, in Kosovo: Is it a Specific Ottoman House or a "Classical" Tower House Implanted in the Balkan Peninsula? Valérie Maire, Paris-Est University

The main object of the paper is the development of the kulla, as tower houses made during the Ottoman Empire within the Balkans area.

Based on the situation of the kulla after the ex-Yugoslavian conflict (1998-1999) in Kosovo, and mainly in Pejë-Peć and Deçan-Dečani municipalities, we study how these historically significant buildings were used in a private way with a communal purpose.

The first part of the paper analyses the original functions of the kulla, its distributive typology, its use and its implementation in the urban fabric. This includes not only the buildings in Kosovo, but also other areas where they are numerous such as Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro.

In addition, the paper will examine Kosovan tower houses within the context of the Ottoman Empire, looking at them comparatively with the ottoman house, in terms of the regional patterns of their architecture, their social and symbolic role, and even to what extent the kulla might be identified with the main community in Kosovo.

In south-eastern Europe, at a crossroads between the West and the Near East, we try to understand the influence of the kulla on the wider development of defensive buildings, analysing them comparatively with French and Italian examples.

Between Residential Tower and Military Fortification: the example of Torre Caracciolo (c. 1500) Paolo Sanvito, DIARC University Federico II Naples *

The case study is an example which presents extreme features from multiple points of view. In fact, the torre is syncratic between an actual castle (it is still surrounded by a moat) and an average border controlling tower; it has sometimes been considered a watchtower, because of its position at the extreme northern end of the plateau protecting the northern entrance to Naples. On the other hand, it is also evidently residential, possessing huge kitchens and opening itself to pergolas for feasts and receptions of large amounts of guests. A military origin of Torre Caracciolo cannot therefore be excluded, as it finds itself on a spot overviewing the entire coast from Cape Circeo at its northern end (ca. 120 Km distance) to Capri in the south. Comparisons with the Catalan watchtowers system are self-evident, originating from the much greater urgency of defending a northern Spanish coast which had been constantly attacked through the 1500s. One possible model among others is the earlier Castell de la Trinitat, at the border between Roussillon

and Catalunya /Spain, a spot which has been continuously pillaged despite its distance from Africa.

The tower is also located in the middle of a huge hunting park, which had already been used by the Angevin kings (but without building any towers); later, the Aragonese frequented this corner of the Phlegraean Fields continuously, as witnessed by documents from the local chancellery, such as Codex Aragones (1458–1460). Its use for courtly hunting activities does not exclude a relationship to defensive and military theory. The Aragonese, a warlike nation, were skilled in experiments in such fields and can be considered European innovators; in the new kingdom, they distinguished themselves for major fortification works (at Castel Nuovo, Sant'Elmo and many towers across the country).

The paper basically addresses three issues: the question of who used the tower before 1590, when it belonged to the Ricca family; the significance of hunting for architectural design here and in other cases; and the relationship of the tower to the Catalan examples and in the genealogy of military architecture from the Iberian peninsula.

PAPER

The case study Torre Caracciolo is a tower house example which presents extreme features from twofold points of view: from the one of military traditions and the one of residential usages.

[1. Military meanings] In fact, the *torre* is syncretic between an actual fortification (it is still surrounded by the original moat, fig. 1) and an average border controlling tower; sometimes it has been considered a watchtower, because of its position at the extreme northern end of the plateau protecting the northern entrance to Naples' outskirts. It can indeed hardly have had any defensive or offensive function: the tower is much too elevated above the surrounding landscape, which is in order to dominate and also observe it, but it offers itself much too easily to being shot by artillery or other fire weapons of the early sixteenth century, when such warfare systems came up, and later.

[2. Residential function] On the other hand, the tower is also evidently a residential building, possessing huge kitchens in the ground floor and opening itself to pergolas for feasts and gatherings of large amounts of guest corteges. It also possessed, again on the ground floor, stables and the rooms dedicated to personnel for the stables. An enormous water cistern occupies all the space beneath the ground floor.

The tower could therefore have been intended, by its completion, as an emblematic residence in an idyllic landscape, independent of contemporary architectural fashions or innovative trends of

the Cinquecento; in the kingdom as elsewhere, also moneyless *Ministeriales*, or the suburban aristocracy could afford to demonstrate their sovereignty in a provincial territory and this was the case of the Duke Ricca, the tower's earliest recorded owner, or of the other families who might be indicated as the plausible patrons of its construction.

Joachim Zeune's investigation *Burgen. Symbole der Macht*, (Castles. Symbols of Power) which refers to tower-like castles, in fact tries to demonstrate that the architectural typology of the tower house was repeatedly resuscitated, in order to express symbolic values, long after its feudal sense and function had disappeared.

However, even arguing with its possible later construction date, which should not be earlier than the early sixteenth century due to the structural characteristics of the walls, the site of *Torre Caracciolo* - on a spot overviewing the entire Tyrrhenian coast from Cape Circeo at its northern end (ca. 110 Km distance) to Capri in the southern corner (map, fig. 2), suggests some military function. Comparisons with the Catalan system of watchtowers, originating from the much greater urgency of defending the northern Spanish coast which had been constantly attacked through the 1500s, are self-evident. One possible comparison, among others, is the slightly earlier Castell de la Trinitat, at the border between Roussillon and Catalunya, a spot which has been continuously pillaged despite its apparent distance from Africa. The same applied even later to the entire defensive systems located on the coasts of the Balearic islands: square towers from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries are still preserved there, for example in the so called Avançada (a location near the village Port de Pollensa) and Punta de n'Amer (at Sant Llorenç des Cardassar). (fig. 3; from Rosselló Bordoy)

The stylistic context

The Sienese architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini's fortification works for the Kingdom of Naples and his military architectural treatises have been already mentioned as a possible source by Lucio Santoro (Santoro 1982, p. 193). Francesco was a key figure in the theory of architecture nationwide and maybe beyond the limits of the Peninsula. His studies on Vitruvius were well known among all architectural milieus across the country. This is one of the reasons why he was commissioned the restoration of major towers and castles in the immediate vicinity of the capital, such as Baia Castle, on the shore a few kilometres away from Torre Caracciolo. Duke Alfonso of Calabria, the future king, hired him since 1491. While Francesco was going, during these years, back and forth from Siena, where he was also working in the service of the local Republic, he also supervised the reconstruction of castles in the border region of Abruzzi. After 1494, Antonio

Figure 1: Moat

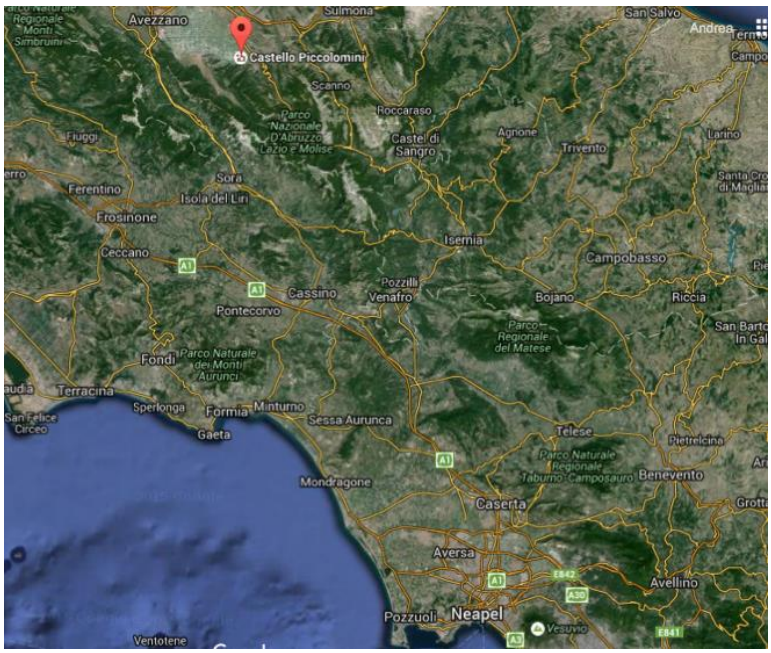

Figure 2: Ortucchio, Cape Circeo, Gulf of Pozzuoli.

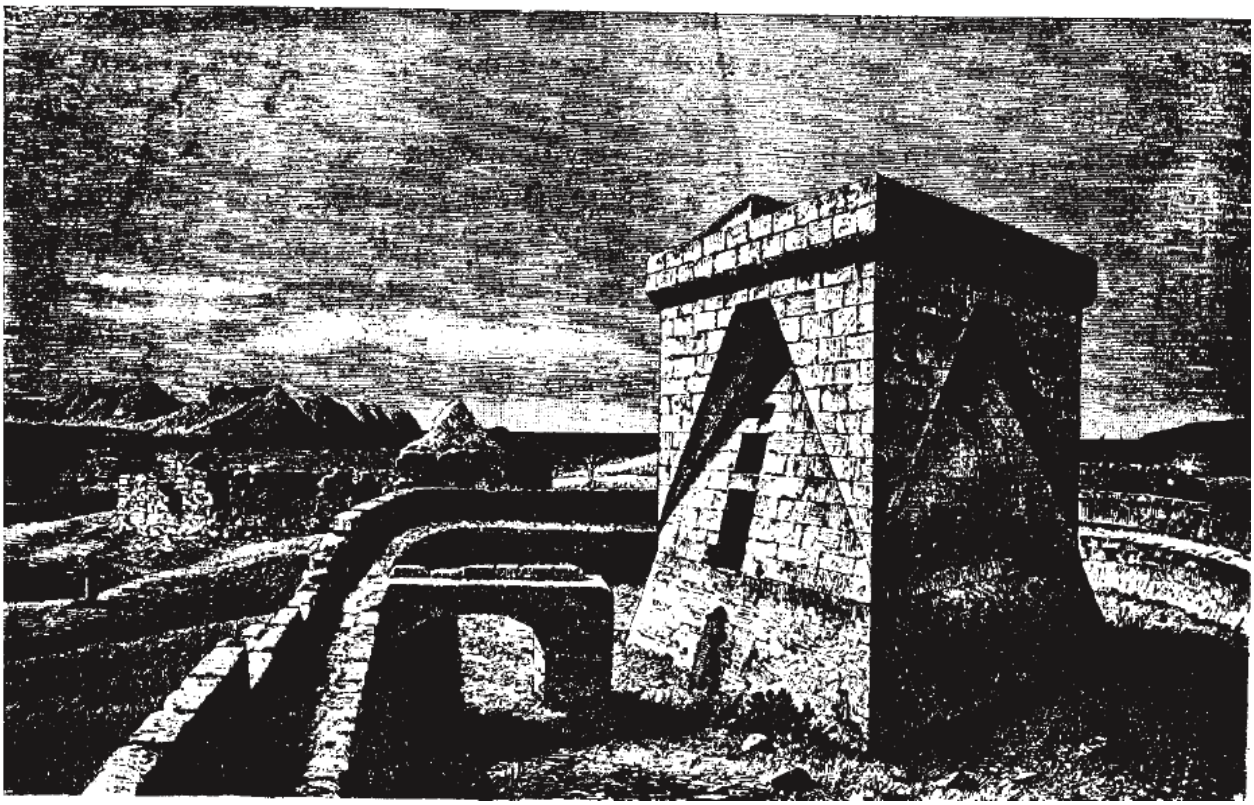

Figure 3: Tower at Sant Llorenç des Cardassar; from Rosselló Bordoy 2005, fig. 17.

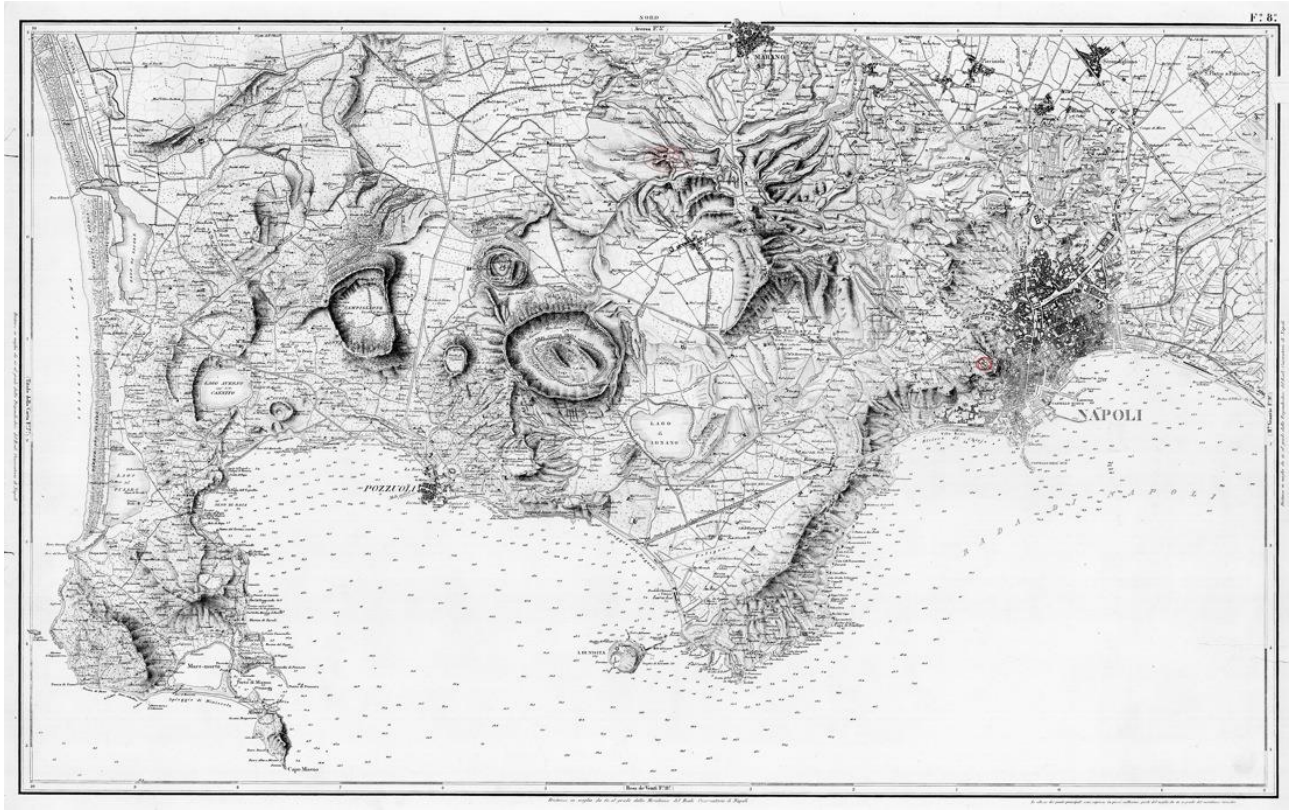

Figure 4: Napoli, map of the "Real ufficio topografico", 1817-19, (red circle): Torre Ricca/Caracciolo ("Piscicelli") upper central circle; lower right circle: Castel S. Elmo.

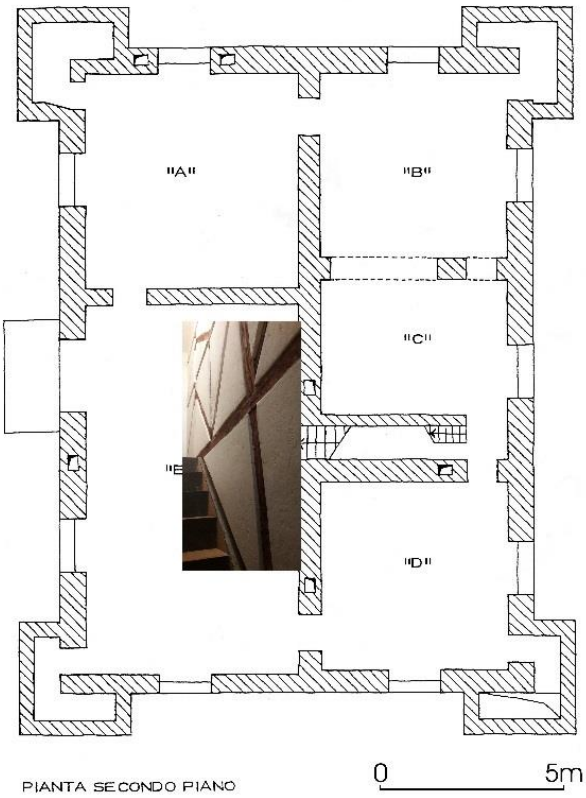

Figure 5: Walls in half-timbered work.

Marchesi da Settignano and Baccio Pontelli, both Francesco's disciples, were accepted in the service of the Neapolitan Kingdom to perform the same tasks which had been Francesco's.

In fact, it has been recognised that the Aragonese kings were not new to such experiments of defensive devices: on the contrary, they were innovators, first in Naples itself, with the Castel Nuovo, finally also with the unrealised project of a new royal palace. They transferred from their homeland to the Kingdom several patterns from the courtly civilisation they already had fostered in Navarra and Aragon. In this regard, it is relevant that the future duke of Ferrara, Ercole I, came to receive his education at their court in Naples from 1445 through 1460; since 1471 he governed his own duchy, in which the suburban residences, dedicated to hunting as well as to *otium*, had a similar importance as in the Kingdom (such as in the *Delizia di Belriguardo*, from 1435; or *di Benvignante*, since 1464, after Ercole's return). The Neapolitan, or even Ferrarese, precedents might explain the richness and variety of the architectural invention at the Torre complex: the general harmony of the structure, the revivification of such attributes as a moat (fig. 1) and a drawbridge to enter the building.

It might be assumed there was a garden according to the typically humanistic *ars topiaria* in the Torre, which was subsequently lost. Such a garden was recreated in the 1930s, although there is no evidence for the faithful reconstruction of the flower and tree beds. On the contrary, the presence of forests is precisely witnessed in the sources, especially in the testament signed by Fabio Ricca in 1580, and the neighbourhood of the Phlegraean Fields was already famous for being a pleasant hunting ground. Neighbouring the Torre is a wood, whose name is *Silva Friderici*, and whose origin might date at least to the last Aragon king's name, Federico I of Aragon (died 1504), as Ambrogino Caracciolo reasonably proposed.[1] This fact however does not necessarily prove that the forest was really property of the crown, nor that Federico gave it its name; another explanation for the toponym is impossible so far.

Most of the tower houses in Naples have been destroyed, so if we search for comparable examples, we must look at Western Abruzzi, such as the one in Ortucchio (see map fig. 2), enclosed in its tiny *Castello of Antonio Piccolomini Duke of Amalfi* (completed in 1488), who, born in Siena, was related both to the Aragonese and to Pope Pius II – and indirectly to Francesco di Giorgio as well, state architect from the same city Siena.[2] Its link to the Aragonese dynasty and its architectural models is explainable via Antonio's marriage with Maria d'Aragona in 1461, one of King Ferdinand's daughters. Here the central tower, vaguely deriving from French *donjon* models, has a perfectly square ground plan - at Torre Caracciolo it is rectangular.

[1] Caracciolo 1952, p. 158: no member of the Ricca family ever bore the name Federico, whereas it is very likely that the name goes back to the Aragons.
[2] See on him: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-piccolomini_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

The tower in any case is located in the middle of huge hunting parks, always named *silva* in the Renaissance sources, which had already been used by the Angevin kings (but without them building any towers there). Later, the Aragonese frequented this corner of the Phlegraean Fields continuously, as documents from the local chancellery, like the Codex Aragonese (1458–1460), witness. The tower's use for courtly hunting activities however does not exclude a relationship to defensive and military theory. The Aragonese, a pretty warlike nation, were skilled in experiments in such fields and can be considered European innovators; in the new kingdom, they distinguished themselves for major fortification works (such as Sant'Elmo and many towers across the country; alone Duke Alfonso should have commissioned 300 of them). If we look for similar fifteenth-century residential towers in Spain, they are found in Fuensaldaña (Valladolid region); but they are not unique at all in the European context.

The actual owners in the Sixteenth century

We cannot ascertain who used the tower before around 1570, when it belonged to Fabio Ricca and his son Gaspare († 29.06.1625), possibly the first owners of the tower. The Ricca family (Dukes of Apellosa and Castelpoto) stemmed from an influential dynasty, who later sold one of its most lavish palaces to the Bank of the Poor of Naples in 1616;[3] it must remain unclear who owned the tower before, as there exist no testament before 1580 mentioning the Torre.

The presence of the Ricca family is proved by the use of the Ricca coat of arms on the entrances of the Torre. Besides, the family had received special rights since the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic (simultaneously King of Naples and Spain) which granted them the use of the quarries for precious *piperno* stone in nearby Soccavo (between Naples and the Torre).

The spatial distribution in the tower complex reflects the typical functions of residential or representational spaces (camerae and aulae) for southern Italy, and even include a prayer space (chapel, capella), comparable to Southern Italian Gothic examples.

In the 1817 military map (fig. 4. But also other maps, such as Pacichelli's one, could be mentioned) the name of the tower changed to Piscicelli, the property having passed into Piscicelli's hands in 1642 : first there was Ricca – Piscicelli marriage that year; and later (in 1649) Duke Giovan Battista Piscicelli refurbished the second floor. Parts of this floor remain in the fashion of this period or earlier: as our fig. 5 shows, the walls today are mostly preserved in half-timbered work and have not been substituted since.

[3] De Rose 2001, p. 218.

Conclusions. Open questions

As hunting seems to have been the most important function for the tower's occupants, we should address the issue of its significance for architectural design here as well as in other cases; and the relationship of the tower to the Catalan examples and in the genealogy of military architecture from the Iberian peninsula. The towers from the Iberian world we have compared are all related to warfare. But most tower houses in Italy, even later than this case study, were rather originating from feast and ceremonial occasions than from defensive needs. Most Italian states experienced a period of peacefulness, even if of depression, after the Spanish occupation of Milan and of Naples: they could not involve themselves in major wars, as Spain itself could (and France, and Germany). This matter of fact had a backlash on the form of such fortificated buildings.

In fact, according to Leonardy,[4] at the end of the Middle Ages in the northern Meseta, in the region Castilla y León, a typology of castles with moat was conceived, which became a model for the rest of Spain and finally the Spanish castle par excellence. This surely applies to the Phlegraean case as well, whether we accept a construction date as early as the transition from the Aragonese Kingdom (1501-1509) or afterwards, during the reign of the Viceroys. In this neighbourhood, the symbolic character of courtly activities seems to be even more highlighted. The major Viceroy in the first Spanish century, Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, also had since ca. 1530 his lavish suburban residential castle, for himself and a great cortege, in Pozzuoli, quite close to Torre Caracciolo.

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SESSION: Constructing the 'Georgian': Anglo-Palladianism, Identity and Colonialism, c. 1700 to the Present Elizabeth McKellar, Open University

The Anglo-Palladian style which became popular in Britain from the 1720s, under the Georgian (German) monarchs, was then transmitted throughout the British colonies. In locations as varied as Ireland, India, America, Australasia and the Caribbean it was used both for official buildings and the residences of the ruling elite. It thus became a widely understood and powerful international signifier of Anglophone culture and imperialism. However, the forms and associations that 'Georgian' architecture developed in subsequent centuries varied enormously in different locales and have been little researched within an international context. In the United States there was a reaction against the 'colonial style' post-Independence. But then in the twentieth century it was reappropriated as a symbol of 'traditional' national and historic values. The American timber form of the Georgian in turn became the model in other dominions, such as New Zealand and the Caribbean, where the British brick or stone original was less feasible. Dublin is a particularly appropriate place to explore the vicissitudes of approaches to the Georgian as the Irish relationship with its British architectural legacy remained a particularly fraught one, as was seen in the conservation battles over the historic townscape from the 1960s onwards. However, at the same time in a further twist under modernism neo-Palladianism became the most admired historical style due to its shared formal similarities with the functionalist white cube approach. Subsequently in the postmodern classical revival of the 1980s the Georgian was again widely adopted, particularly by the new 'townscape' movement in the US. Thus reinterpretations and adaptations of the Georgian have been a constant theme over the past three centuries and constitute a powerful and enduring strand in Anglophile culture across the globe.

This session seeks to address how varying and sometimes contradictory ideologies have been attached to the Georgian internationally. Papers might explore the central themes of notions of home, nation, gender, race and class in Anglo-Palladian architectural, town planning, landscape and interior design. They might also investigate museological and curatorial constructions of the Georgian or its treatment in theoretical and historiographical texts. The overall aim of the session is to investigate how, where, when and why the Georgian has been represented since the eighteenth century and to assess its impact as a global cultural phenomenon.

Placemaking among the trees: Building Inns and being British on the Early American Frontier Daniel Maudlin, University of Plymouth

Over six hundred miles from the coastal towns and cities of colonial British America, at the end of the Wilderness Road blazed across the Appalachians by Daniel Boone in 1775, the British built a town: Bardstown, founded 1780, in the heart of present day Kentucky. In a sea of endless trees, a 'regular' Georgian town was laid out, focussed on a public square around which were built a courthouse, church and an inn: The Old Talbot (built in 1779, predating the town). The Old Talbot exemplifies the importance of a good inn in the British colonial process of taming the wilderness and making British places. Across the British Atlantic world, whether in a provincial English market town or colonial centres such as Boston, Philadelphia or Williamsburg, a good inn was not just essential to accommodate (and encourage) travellers it was also the centre of civic life hosting meetings, dinners and dances (the Old Talbot features an upstairs public room used by the Bardstown Pleiades Astronomical Society and was used for trials and public hearings while the court house was built). Inns like the Old Talbot extended the British world into the western forests. Once inside, abstraction from the surrounding wild was pursued through the interior spaces of inns where familiar spatial design and decoration – everyday Georgian neoclassicism – created a visual and body-spatial experience of being somewhere British. Through a set of case studies drawn from Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and Kentucky, this paper juxtaposes the aboriginal forest landscape of the western frontier with the interior landscape of Britishness experienced within frontier inns such as the Old Talbot. These buildings are typical of eighteenth-century British America, however, they are remarkable because of where they were built and how, in their very everyday Britishness, they redefined the edge of the known world as somewhere British.

The Elephant in the Room: Irish Palladianism in British architectural histories Conor Lucey, Trinity College Dublin

In the wake of twentieth-century political realities and new academic methodologies, post-war historians of eighteenth-century British architecture abandoned the broad strokes of late nineteenth-century narratives in favour of an increasingly anglocentric position; an approach further compounded by an inevitable centre-periphery thesis. But a history of Palladianism with England as its principal fulcrum is undeniably problematic. Given that the representative qualities of the Palladian style have long been associated with the Whig ascendancy and the Hanoverian Succession, the singular lack of a paradigmatic public building of any consequence in London, for example, remains a stubborn obstacle. More significantly, superlative examples of Palladian

public architecture, such as the monumental Parliament Building in Dublin (1729-39) designed by Sir Edward Lovett-Pearce, are either routinely diminished (Summerson, 1953; Worsley, 1995) or entirely ignored (Salmon, 2013), in these histories. Although acknowledging the debt of Irish Palladianism to the Burlington school, the efforts of Irish historians (McParland, 2001) to rescue important buildings from the 'peripheries' of Anglo-Palladianism have also failed to stem the tide of anglocentrism that continues to dominate architectural histories of the wider British Atlantic world.

Is Irish eighteenth-century public architecture the elephant in the room? Is it possible to narrate the cultural reach of the Anglo-Palladian style—via the rubrics of identity and imperialism—from multiple, multivalent viewpoints? Focusing on the reception of Pearce's Parliament Building in nineteenth and twentieth-century British architectural histories, and taking a methodological cue from recent historiographical studies on British classicism (Arciszewska & McKellar, 2005; Harrison-Moore & Rowe, 2006) and from new perspectives on Ireland's place in the British empire (McGrath, 2012), this paper will explore the systemic problems that arise when national boundaries are drawn between eighteenth-century British and Irish architectures.

Americans, "Georgians," and Colonials, c. 1898 Leslie Herman Klein, Columbia University

In 1898 William Rotch Ware, editor of the successful Boston journal American Architect, published the first volume of his series on the "Georgian 'Colonial' Period." While perhaps the result of historiographical uncertainty over geographical and temporal divisions and stylistic nomenclature, it could also be read as an implicit attempt to foster Anglo-American unity. Appearing at a critical moment in the British-American "Great Rapprochement," one built in part on a projected trans-Atlantic Anglo-Saxonism, Ware's attempt to mediate between competing cultural identities functioned as a form of architectural diplomacy. However Ware's counterparts at New York's Architectural Record were collectively engaged in countering Ware's anglophile "New Englanders" through representations of an array of alternative "Americans," from "Dutch colonials" to trans-national cosmopolitans. Thus the historically re-imagined foundation of an Anglo-American "Special Relationship" was understood as a form of post-colonial re-colonization.

Further complicating matters, that year's Spanish-American War introduced "Georgian-style" political architecture into the United States through the acquisition of new territorial "possessions" in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. This in turn provoked the Scottish-American Andrew Carnegie, just settled into his newly purchased ancient Scottish castle, to frame the crucial question facing the United States as one of "Americanism versus Imperialism." Yet

while Carnegie ultimately sought to foster closer British-American ties, New Yorker Thomas Addis Emmet, descendent of famed United Irishmen Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, published a memoir commemorating the centenary of the failed Irish Rebellion of 1798 and a century of Irish-American relations. In fact it would be the "Irish Question," and Emmet's trans-Atlantic audience, that potentially constituted the greatest stumbling block to a British-American alliance. Locating 1898 as a pivotal point amid myriad intersecting interests, this paper will examine the various architectures linking Georgians, Colonials and Americans.

Hardy Wilson, Georgian Revival and Race in 20th-century Australia Deborah van der Plaat, University of Queensland

In 1924 the Australian architect Hardy Wilson published Old Colonial Architecture in New South Wales and Tasmania. The publication brought together Wilson's drawings of Georgian buildings of the early Australian colonies, specifically the work of the English trained architect (later convict) Francis Greenway (1777-1837). Lauded as the first book to look positively at the architecture, Western or otherwise, produced in Australia, the appeal of the book is said to lay in its use of the Georgian style to evoke an Australian vernacular and a Modern aesthetic of 'simplicity' and 'grace'. In 1923 the drawings were exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum (South Kensington) for three months at the invitation of the Board of Education (London). The Queen, who visited the exhibition, accepted an early copy of the book.

The aim of this paper is to look at the value of Georgian architecture and its revival in twentieth-century Australia not from the perspective of Wilson's audience but the architect himself. It will be argued that the Georgian architecture of penal Australia represented for the locally born architect the peak of Anglo culture in colonial Australia but one, that from the point of settlement, was in dramatic decline. For architecture to develop and thrive in Australia the continent had to look to new and nearby influences, and specifically China. It will be argued that Wilson's thesis has it origins in a theory of civilisation and its progress common to the eighteenth century that identified geographical properties (including climate) as the determinant of racial character and appropriate architectural form. It will also be argued that Wilson's turn to the Georgian must be seen as a response to a biological theory of race and its growing influence in national policy (the White Australia policies), architecture, and the careful exclusion of Asia in both.

From national recreation ground to luxury playground: the Chateau Hotel and the re-ordering of New Zealand's Tongariro National Park in the 1930s

Jacqueline Naismith, Massey University *

Designed in Georgian style by Herbert Hall for the Tongariro Tourist Company, the construction of the Chateau Hotel at New Zealand's Tongariro National Park in 1929 resulted in a radical reordering of the park as social formation. This paper investigates the ways in which the Georgian architecture of the Chateau hotel reconfigured the National Park archiscape of the 1930s. The hotel is contextualized in terms of its relationship to colonial Georgian architecture, and to the international expansion of tourism and the leisure class in the 1920s and 1930s. Representations of the hotel, including archival publications are analyzed to identify the dominant discourse at work in shaping the specific co-constitutions of the park hotel and subject in this time period.

Women in particular, formerly minor participants in the male gendered 'national recreation ground', featured in publicity for the hotel and park throughout the 1930s. This paper discusses how the hotel materialized a new social space for women in the park. Further the relationship between the architecture of the hotel and the female consumer, it is shown, played an important role in the fashioning of the 'luxury playground' as lifestyle commodity and as elite social space. It is argued that the traditional historicist design of the Chateau supported the advance of a new form of modern capitalism in New Zealand that was reliant on the commodification of luxury and leisure.

The paper concludes that the use of Georgian style was central to the production of the hierarchy on which the Chateau/park as elite destination concept was premised. The architecture of the hotel functioned as a powerful symbol, mediating new kinds of relationships between visitor subjects and the park. The Chateau hotel at the park of the 1930s represented the confluence of architectural imperialism and ideological shifts, specifically those related to class, gender and aspirational lifestyle emerging in New Zealand at that time.

PAPER

Introduction

The Tongariro Park Tourist C., Ltd has acquired a lease of about 63 acres in the National Park and is erecting a commodious and up to date hostel, to be known as the "Chateau", which will be completed by 1st December 1929. The "Chateau" which will cost £80,000 will be modern in every respect, and with its Georgian architecture, plate glass, lounge of 5000 square feet, special parquetry dancing floor, rock garden, sun porches, central steam heating, steam cooking apparatus, cinema room, room telephone connections, garage, children's play room, electric

elevators and with suites and a bathroom to every room, it will be the most up-to-date hotel in Australasia.

Tongariro National Park Timetable, Fares and Tariffs, Tongariro Park Tourist Company Ltd brochure, 1929.

Designed in Inter-War Georgian revival style by Herbert Hall for the Tongariro Tourist Company, the construction of the Chateau Hotel at New Zealand's Tongariro National Park in 1929 resulted in a radical reordering of the park as social formation. As Edward Soja has pointed out "social life is materially constructed in its spatiality".[1] Framed within a critical socio-spatial understanding of architecture, this paper draws on archival texts and publicity to support a discussion of the dominant discourses at work in shaping the specific co-constitutions of the park, the hotel and the visitor subject in this time period. This follows the position that Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley propose when they state,

> … architecture structures and defines many of the social spaces in which different gendered identities are rehearsed, performed and made visible as a form of shared private and public spectacle. Architecture and the spaces it creates are continuous, thus architectural space is not the container of identities but a constitutive element in them.[2]

Specifically, the paper investigates the ways in which the Georgian architecture of the Chateau hotel reordered the Tongariro National Park archiscape[3] and how it co-consituted the gender, class and race of the park visitor in the 1930s.

In announcing the construction of the hotel, the above excerpt from the 1929 brochure demarcates a new era of socio-spatial coding in the National Park. It demonstrates the extent to which the material expanse of the new hotel radically departed from the discourses of material reduction that characterised the park of the 1920s named by James Cowan as "a national recreation ground".[4] The rudimentary hut structures at Whakapapa were, up until 1929, the primary accommodation at the park. As Margaret McLure has noted the lack of 'suitable' accommodation had been widely identified as limiting the wider use of the park. The provision of

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[1] E. Soja, *Postmodern geographies : the reassertion of space in critical social theory,* London, Verso, 1989.
[2] M. Durning, and R.Wrigley, (eds.) *Gender and architecture*, Chichester, Wiley, 2000, p.1.
[3] the hybrid term 'archiscape' is used here to refer collectively to the architectural, landscaped and natural elements of the park environment. (see M. Hellstrom, 'Situating Knowledge in Archiscape: A Travellers Guide.', in M Belderbos and J. Verbeke (eds.), *The Unthinkable Doctorate: Procedings of the International Conference,* Brussels, Sint-Lucas Architecture, 2007, pp. 421-30.
[4] J. Cowan, *The Tongariro National Park New Zealand: its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folklore*, Wellington, New Zealand,The Tongariro National Park Board, 1927, p.138.

accommodation of a 'quality' that would attract international visitors was a priority of the 1922 Tongariro National Park Board.[5] Although a suitable hostel at the National Park had been promised a decade earlier, the Georgian architectural programme of Hall's design was a later development. The Chateau project came about as a result of the Tongariro National Park Board's entry into a franchise venture with private enterprise, The Tongariro Park Tourist Company, in which a large percentage of the development capital consisted of a government loan raised by the Board on behalf of the developer.[6]

Figure 1: Chateau Tongariro, Mount Ruapehu. New Zealand Railways: Photographs. Ref: 1/1-003836-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Ca 1930. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23041429

[5] M. McLure, *The Wonder Country; Making New Zealand Tourism*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2004, p.133.
[6] McLure, p.134.

The photograph of the recently completed Chateau (Figure 1) shows the radical revisioning of the park formation following the hotel's construction. As proposed concept, the hotel was the subject of public discussion well before it opened with established recreational users of the park divided in their response to the idea of a luxury hotel. It was supported by some, but for others the elitist values of the luxury hotel clashed with the egalitarian principles embedded in the national park idea.[7] One commentator noted in the Dominion newspaper in 1928 "that between the extremes of a rough hut and a palatial hotel the ordinary New Zealander would have nowhere to stay".[8] When the foundation stone of the hotel was laid in February 1929, it embedded a new structure that would irrevocably change the identity of the park and underpin its subsequent formations. The grand vision and scale of the hotel, was an assertion of an entirely new set of values, arising out of the progressive imperative associated with New Zealand's recent Dominion[9] status and the context of 1920s entrepreneurial and expansionist visions for tourism in New Zealand. The dominant power codes and scale of this French named, Georgian revival structure in the landscape, however, were to overwrite the park's indigenous history and meaning as place, and displace its foundational values based on the egalitarian idea of the national park.[10]

Re–ordering the Tongariro National Park

i. Symbolic connections and precedents

The hotel, named by the Tongariro Park Tourist Company as 'The Chateau', initiates a clear semiotic investment of European cachet at the Tongariro National Park site. Its realisation, however, does not engage with the architectural lexicon of the chateau, but with the codes of Georgian design. The selection of Georgian style for the hotel in the Inter- War period in New Zealand was a strategic choice to assertively position the hotel as part of an established international network of luxury tourist destinations located in spectacular settings. As the Company's 1929 Prospectus ambitiously states, the vision for the hotel was to be "*the most commodious and up-to-date Tourist and Family Hotel in the Dominion, … rivalling in comfort and*

[7] The proposal and development was received with mixed response, as the Tongariro National Park Board from 1930 documents. The Tararua Tramping Club initially opposed the proposed as elitist. The Ruapehu Ski Club supported the proposal and subsequently made frequent use of the Chateau facilities (TNP Board report 1930, and McClure 2005 p136)

[8] The Dominion, September 7, 1929, cited by M.McLure, 2004, p.136 .

[9] The Proclamation of Dominion Status in 1907 shifted New Zealand's status from that of British colony to that of Dominion. This was primarily a matter of naming that pointed towards the country's development as independent nation, rather than a shift in structural changes to the colonial relationship at this point. (See 'Becoming a dominion', URL: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/dominion-day/becoming-dominion, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 3-Sep-2014)

[10] see Waitangi Tribunal, 'Te Kahui Maunga, The National Park District Inquiry Report ', Lower Hutt, New Zealand, 2013, for further discussion of the park's indigenous history, and M. McLure, 2003 for further discussion of the park's instititutional histories.

convenience the great mountain resorts of America and the Continent".[11] The "*handsome and imposing Geogian exterior"* of the hotel described in the Company's 1929 Prospectus,[12] together with the developer's vision for the site, re-inscribed the Tongariro National Park with a new narrative of American and European alpine leisure.

The selection of Georgian Revival style for the Chateau in the late 1920s produced a complex set of symbolic codes with meanings drawn from American Colonial Georgian revival from the same decade, New Zealand's own colonial, Edwardian and Victorian architectural histories, alongside those of the style's Anglo-Palladian origins. Georgian style held an important place in the early history of colonial relations in New Zealand, being the style of choice for the architecture of early colonial institutions in the north including the Waitangi Treaty House (1833)[13] and the Waimate Mission House (1830). These modest timber structures retained the classical principles of the style executed at a small scale and established a foundational connection between the symbolic codes of Georgian style and sites of colonial power.

In the late Victorian and Edwardian periods in New Zealand, Gothic revival was frequently the more popular style of choice for eccelesiastical architecture as well as educational and medical institutions, and in its vernacular adapted forms, domestic houses. Georgian and other classically derived revival styles including Renaissance and Greek were often selected for significant public buildings including banks, courthouses and Government buildings.[14] This further consolidated the style's association with authority and governmentality- at a grander scale than the colonial precedents. Peter Shaw has suggested that the appearance of neo- Georgian style in domestic architecture was "both longlasting and widespread" with Elliot House in Cambridge Terrace, Wellington, designed by William Gray Young in 1914, an early example.[15] In the 1920s large neo-Georgian houses were designed by Cecil Wood in country and urban settings in Southland and Canterbury. [16] These were large, imposing houses, that as Shaw notes, drew on adaptations of the style consistent with that of American Colonial Revival, sharing features in common with the colonial architecture of Virginia.[17] These include the bowed and balconied columnar portico – a noteable departure from the gabled portico of English Georgian.

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[11] Tongariro Park Tourist Company, *The Chateau (Tongariro Park Hostel); prospectus of the Tongariro Park Tourist Co., Limited'*, Dunedin, 1929, p.5.
[12] Tongariro Park Tourist Company, p.5.
[13] The Waitangi Treaty House. 1833, designed by Sydney architect John Verge and shipped in prefabricated components to New Zealand.
[14] Noteably the William Clayton designed Government Buildings in Wellington, constructed in timber in 1876.
[15] P.Shaw, *A History of New Zealand Architecture*, Auckland, N.Z., Hodder Moa Beckett, 2003, p. 92.
[16] These included Anderson Park (now Anderson Park Art Gallery) in Invercargill in 1925, Waimahaka Homestead, 1929, and Bishopcourt in Christchurch in 1926. See P.Shaw, *A History of New Zealand Architecture*, Auckland, N.Z., Hodder Moa Beckett, 2003, p. 92-95.
[17] P.Shaw, 2003 p.95.

Herbert Hall, the designer of the Chateau, is recorded in the Tongariro Tourist Company Prospectus as located in Timaru.[18] Given the vicinity of this town to Invercargill and Christchurch it was possible that he was aware of Wood's neo-Georgian houses. The design of the Chateau, adheres to the conventions of Georgian style with its symmetrical design, hipped roof, window hierarchies, sashed and dormer windows, and brick (veneer) cladding. Its construction however, as recorded by Heritage New Zealand, is of reinforced concrete[19], a practice widely used in New Zealand in the construction of the more prevalent Stripped Classical style structures.[20] More significantly in terms of the semiotics of the architecture, it adopts the American Colonial adaptation of the balconied columnar portico (designed for the Chateau as a Doric columned porte cochere) also evident in Wood's southern houses. It is significant that the modification to include a balcony above the portico provided an exterior space for the subject to be in a position of power and display in relation to the architecture of the building. When occupying this space the subject was visible as element within the front elevation of the structure and at the same time was afforded a commanding view of the domain surrounding the house.[21]

The neo-Georgian architecture of the Chateau, therefore, was situated within a network of multiple connections. In the first instance to New Zealand's own colonial relationship with Georgian style; in the second to the new meanings generated by the American Colonial Georgian revival at a time when the style was deployed as statement of affluence, success, status and power; and finally as I will address in the following section, the vision of the project, as Peter Shaw has observed,[22] looked towards the precedents of Canadian luxury railway hotels.

ii. Tourism: spectacle and speculation

By aspiring to be the "*most up-to-date hotel in Australasia",* in a remote alpine environment, the Chateau project was ambitious. While the urban grand hotel was well established, the idea of a grand and luxurious hotel at a national park, accessible by rail was a first for New Zealand. Its precedents, however, were well established in the North American railway hotel/national park model. These included, for example, the Canadian Pacific Railway's palatially scaled Banff Springs Hotel in Banff National Park completed in the late 1880s and then rebuilt after destruction by fire to an even grander scale in the late 1920s.[23] Situated in spectacular environments these hotels

[18] Tongariro Park Tourist Company, p.3.
[19] with the exception of the 3rd level which is timber framed , see Heritage New Zealand, Historic Places List Entry , 7318.
[20] Heritage New Zealand, Historic Places List Entry, 7318.
[21] Models are seen positioned in this space in Chateau publicity material.
[22] Shaw, 2003, p.95
[23] Fairmont Banff Springs*, History of the Fairmont Banff Springs* [website], 2016, http://www.fairmont.com/banff-springs/promotions/hotelhistory/,(accessed 1 April 2016).

were conceived as destinations for the 19th C North American (and European) leisure class. Their architectural language of historicism linked them to the style's associated aesthetic and social hierarchies. North America also provided precedents for the entrepreneurial development of the luxury hotel in urban settings. These hotels were important places in terms of social networking and social mobility. They provided as Caroline Brucken has noted (classed) public spaces for both genders to perform significant social interactions such as introductions, courtship and business.[24] The railway luxury hotels were an extension of this concept and its social networking function, but took on a new identity as holiday /vacation resorts. The symbolic power and scale of the architecture of these hotels inscribed their locations with a signature of elite, consumption based, leisure.

The Hermitage at Aoraki/Mt Cook, the South Island's remote alpine hotel, was the nearest local comparison at the time the Chateau was constructed. While an international tourist destination, the Hermitage was not, in the 1930s, positioned as a 'luxury' hotel. The Hermitage site was leased by the Mount Cook Tourist Company, sister company to the Tongariro Park Tourist Company. Rudolph Wigley, managing director of both companies, had a very different vision for the hotel at the Tongariro National Park to that of the Edwardian timber structure of the Hermitage completed in 1914. In Wigley's plan, the new Chateau Hotel would cater to "the need for first class accommodation … constantly stressed by overseas visitors." [25]

The hotel's other local precedents were the thermal health spa resorts, a luxury experience that was mostly consumed by an elite international tourist. The popularity and desirability of the spa in nineteenth century Europe meant that the early spa sites and bathhouses were to become important elements in producing New Zealand as an elite visitor's destination. They played an important early role in a now long established tradition of place promotion which sought to attract foreign exchange and capital, from elite tourists, (who could afford the luxury of the time and cost of long distance travel), alongside locals. The Rotorua Bathhouse, which opened in 1908, provided the early example of spa development considered 'suitable' for, and attractive to the international visitor. As McLure has noted its Tudor Revival design, and what at the time were considered luxurious interior facilities and detailing, followed standards set by European spa facilities.[26] Its architectural language referenced European tradition, and attempted to place it as antipodean[6] outpost in a network of European spa destinations. The Bathhouse established a local precedent in which the pursuit of the elite consumer was premised on the concept of luxury.

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[24] Carolyn Brucken, 'In the Public Eye: Women and the American Luxury Hotel', *Winterthur Portfolio,* vol 31, no 4, 1996, pp. 203-20.

[25] Tongariro Tourist Company Prospectus, 1929, p.7

[26] McLure, 2003.

The economic imperative to 'attract' prioritised the building over place, producing the building itself as 'the spa attraction'. Like the Bathhouse the Chateau concept was justified by the need to attract elite visitors who required an appropriately luxurious standard of accommodation. While the Chateau was not a thermal spa site, its location was in close proximity to thermal areas, and its positioning as 'health resort' was based on the health benefits of elevation, mountain air, alongside the spiritually uplifting properties the natural sublime.

The Chateau hotel was built with the objective of providing accommodation to expand the use of the public space of the national park and enhance the location as tourist spectacle. The vision however was one of a private developer who understood the entrepreneurial opportunities arising from the alliance of spectacular scenery, architectural grandeur, and luxury, that attracting the elite tourist opened at this time. Together these elements produced a social space in which leisure codes became classed codes, and new kinds of lifestyle consumers, that were rhetorically configured in the advertising that supported the venture in the early years. The hotel therefore functioned as powerful symbol, situated at the confluence of a number of ideological shifts, which characterised New Zealand as emerging nation in 1929.

iii. Architectural orders: re-ordering the relationship between environment and subject

The economic promise of international tourism provided the context that gave rise to the Chateau Hotel development. The aesthetic and structural ordering of the Georgian architecture of the hotel, however, visually, materially and spatially imposed a new order on the park. The style's selective use of classical principles produced compositional systems of visual orders and hierarchies. The principle of hierarchical arrangement, evident for example in the selection of the Doric columns of the porte cochere, and the porportions of the windows between the first and second levels of the building is central to the semiotics, rhetoric and aesthetics of the style.

In this way the architecture provides a built structural exemplar for social relationships in the park. The use of neo-Georgian style was central to the production of hierarchy on which the Chateau/park as elite destination concept was premised. This is spatialised through the specific ordering of the interior and exterior spaces and their relationship to the environment, and materialized through the details of interior ornamentation, including columns, cornices, architraves[27] and soft furnishings. As the central photograph in Figure 2 evidences, the

[27] Heritage New Zealand records in List report 7318, that the detailing of these elements is consistent with the language of Stripped Classicism commonly used in New Zealand in the 1920s and 1930s. Heritage New Zealand, Historic Places List Entry, 7318. Similar detailing can be seen in the Dominion Museum building, Buckle Street Wellington designed by Gummer and Ford, completed 1936.

architecture mediated a new kind of relationship between the visitor subject and the natural environment, and was instrumental as a device that reordered the park as social formation.

Luxurious Comfort at the Chateau

THE CHATEAU.

The Chateau, centred in the great Tongariro National Park, which covers an area of 150,000 acres, situated in the heart of the North Island, is set amid an extraordinarily wide variety of scenic attractions of a most striking and unusual nature. Here appears to have been gathered something of the best of all that the Dominion has to offer for the holiday-seeker and the visitor to our shores. Nowhere could be found a more noble and inspiring setting for a building designed for the use and pleasure of the public, for that is what the Chateau represents. Actually, it is the property of the citizens of New Zealand, and is administered on their behalf by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts.

Beautifully situated on the fringes of a mountain beech forest, and backed by the majestic snow-clad heights of mighty Ruapehu,

Tennis on the Chateau Courts.

9,175 ft., the Chateau is surrounded by an extraordinary range of attractions. Within full view of its windows stands New Zealand's active volcano Ngauruhoe, its huge bulk rising 7,715 ft. above the northern skyline, while adjoining it is Tongariro mountain with its ancient craters, and still fiercely active Ketetahi springs sending up clouds of steam against its northern face. In the immediate vicinity of the Chateau are widespread plains, tawny with the golden brown of tussock and ablaze in season with leagues of alpine flowers.

Steaming craters, sulphurous pits, a hot lake, ice-cold lakes, glaciers, snowfields, alpine slopes inviting "snowmanship" in sport; torrents and bubbling springs, rapids and waterfalls, huge cliffs and rocky pinnacles, forests and wild fern gardens enumerate but a few of the attractions offered by this great playground.

As a base of operations the Chateau is unique in comfort and elegance, and the visitor will find every need catered for. The interior is richly furnished and decorated. An electric lift conveys patrons to the various floors, which are provided with comfortable lounges. Charming bedrooms have glimpses of the great outdoors surrounding the building, and the interiors are fitted out in the best modern style. Many of the bedrooms have bathrooms attached, and a telephone stands at each bedside.

Sunshine and Leisure on the Chateau Balcony.
Ngauruhoe Volcano in the background.

The ground floor contains the main reception-rooms, and these open on to the entrance vestibule, which is handsomely finished with a mosaic floor. The special feature of this floor is the large lounge, 90 by 80 feet, being large enough to accommodate all guests and visitors both of the Chateau and lodges. The central portion of this lounge is occupied by a parquetry dancing-floor. The lounge, which is the special feature of the interior of the building, is happily placed to give, through its large plate windows, splendid views of mountains, bush, and plain.

A GREAT SPORTS CENTRE.

The Chateau offers endless variety and opportunities for all manner of out-door sports, both winter and summer.

Ski-ing, tobogganing, mountain-climbing, and tramping to various points of interest may be indulged in at all seasons.

All special clothing and equipment which may be required can be hired at the Chateau for a modest fee, which obviates the necessity for obtaining a large outfit before setting out for the Park.

GOLF-COURSE.

A nine-hole course, which will ultimately be extended to eighteen holes, is now being completed, and golfers are recommended to bring their clubs, as the course, even in its present condition, offers a very pleasant and interesting game.

MEANS OF ACCESS.

The Chateau is situated ten miles from National Park Railway-station, on the Main Trunk line, which is about halfway between Auckland and Wellington. From this point a short run in comfortable motor-vehicles for those arriving by train from north or south brings one to the doors of the Chateau. Visitors travelling by motor from Auckland or Wellington or any of the intervening centres will find good roads leading right to the Chateau.

The Chateau after a Snowfall.
Mount Ruapehu in the background.

FASCINATING SIDE-TRIPS.

One of the principal charms of this fascinating region lies in the fact that trips and outings may be undertaken from the Chateau suited to the capabilities of all. For those inclined to strenuous sport or mountain climbing, innumerable opportunities are available on the slopes of the great peaks, while for others a wide range of interesting walks and rambles may be undertaken within an easy radius of the Chateau. In this bracing and invigorating atmosphere, walking becomes a delight, which may be thoroughly enjoyed by persons of all ages. Apart from recognized trips, such as that to the Taranaki Falls, an easy two-mile walk, to Silica Springs, a three-mile walk through the beautiful beech forest, Whakapapanui Gorge, or to the Tama Lakes, five and a half miles, visitors will find never-ending pleasure in rambling about in the immediate vicinity of the Chateau. At every turn fresh vistas and scenes delight the eye. Here are clear, rushing mountain torrents spanned by swing bridges, dark-foliaged, moss-grown trees, miles of tawny tussocks bending to the breeze, meadows of alpine flowers, and always in the background the peerless majesty of the great volcanic cones, their snows reflecting the changing beauty of the skies from hour to hour.

The playground of the North Island
TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK

Figure 2: [New Zealand. Tourist and Publicity Department] :Luxurious comfort at the Chateau; Tongariro National Park, the playground of the North island. [Inside spread. 1933]. [New Zealand. Tourist and Publicity Department]: Tongariro National Park, New Zealand; playground of the North Island. [1933]. Ref: Eph-A-PARK-Tongariro-1933-01-inside. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22763324

The classical codes of the neo-Georgian style in this context, as in the American Colonial Revival contexts, first claim and then co-opt the symbolic power of old world orders in a new world environments. They symbolically and strategically connect the hotel to its precedents in other

(former) colonies and to Europe, and in this way I suggest, signify a legacy of a male architects vision of 'civilisation'. In the context of the formation of the park, this vision of civilisation was very different to the individual focus of the male explorer in the pioneer period. The (archetypal) pioneer masculinity was defined through the capacity of the individual physical body to conquer the land. The civic codes and public spaces of the hotel structure however, draw together a collective social 'body', albeit in this case based on the exigencies of the commercial venture.

Further, while the development imperative was masculine in signature, the hotel's production of domestic interior space accelerated a process, which saw the hotel/park re- produced for and by feminine subjectivities within the spectrum of classed relationships.[28] It was the public and commercial nature of this space that resulted in its representation and subsequent reproduction as a space of social performance and display.

The visual weight of the building, realised through its roof to wall proportions and the brick (veneer) cladding surfacing its reinforced concrete construction and the columnar portico, visually and materially anchors the building heavily to its site. This provides a direct contrast to the structural, material and semiotic lightness of the huts that formerly characterized the built environment of the park. The metaphorical lightness of the hut, a tentative new world structure, was displaced by the weight of historicist tradition, hierarchy and materiality embedded in the architecture of the hotel. In this way then the 'architecture of necessity' of the hut as dwelling for the outdoor park experience, was I suggest displaced by an 'architecture of surplus' in which the hierarchy of classical values became important signifiers in a new world of definition of luxury in the 1930s.

The key point of differentiation, then, between the pre and post hotel period in the park is determined by both the tactical 'work' of the architecture, and the spaces for the performance of subjectivities that it produces. At a tactical level, the semiotics of the architecture work in support of the commercial venture of the luxury hotel, which in turn works to support the development imperative of tourism in its attraction of visitors, or foreign income to both the hotel development and more widely to New Zealand. At an aesthetic and spatial level the architecture produces new and specific kinds of relationships between the subject, building and environment. It reorders the environment through its building/site relationship and the body/site relationships that occur within and between its exterior and interior spaces. The structure of the building provided new vantage points- balconies, terraces and windows from which the surrounding environment could be viewed for scenic pleasure. The site was chosen for the panoramic views it offered to the north and east, placing the viewing subject in a position of power, and descriptions of the views feature in the brochures from this period. Representations of the hotel in the landscape in 1930s publicity texts are characterised by compositions that utilise the panorama and the picturesque. The landscape that the hotel constructs as its grounds, and in particular the grassed space in front of the hotel, (the golf course) is essential to the building's grounding in the site, and to the civilising process. A picturesque composition of arrival at the Chateau places the grassed lawn in the foreground, the hotel in the middle ground, and Ruapehu in the background. This framing of

[28] These include the female visitor subject, and the female hotel worker

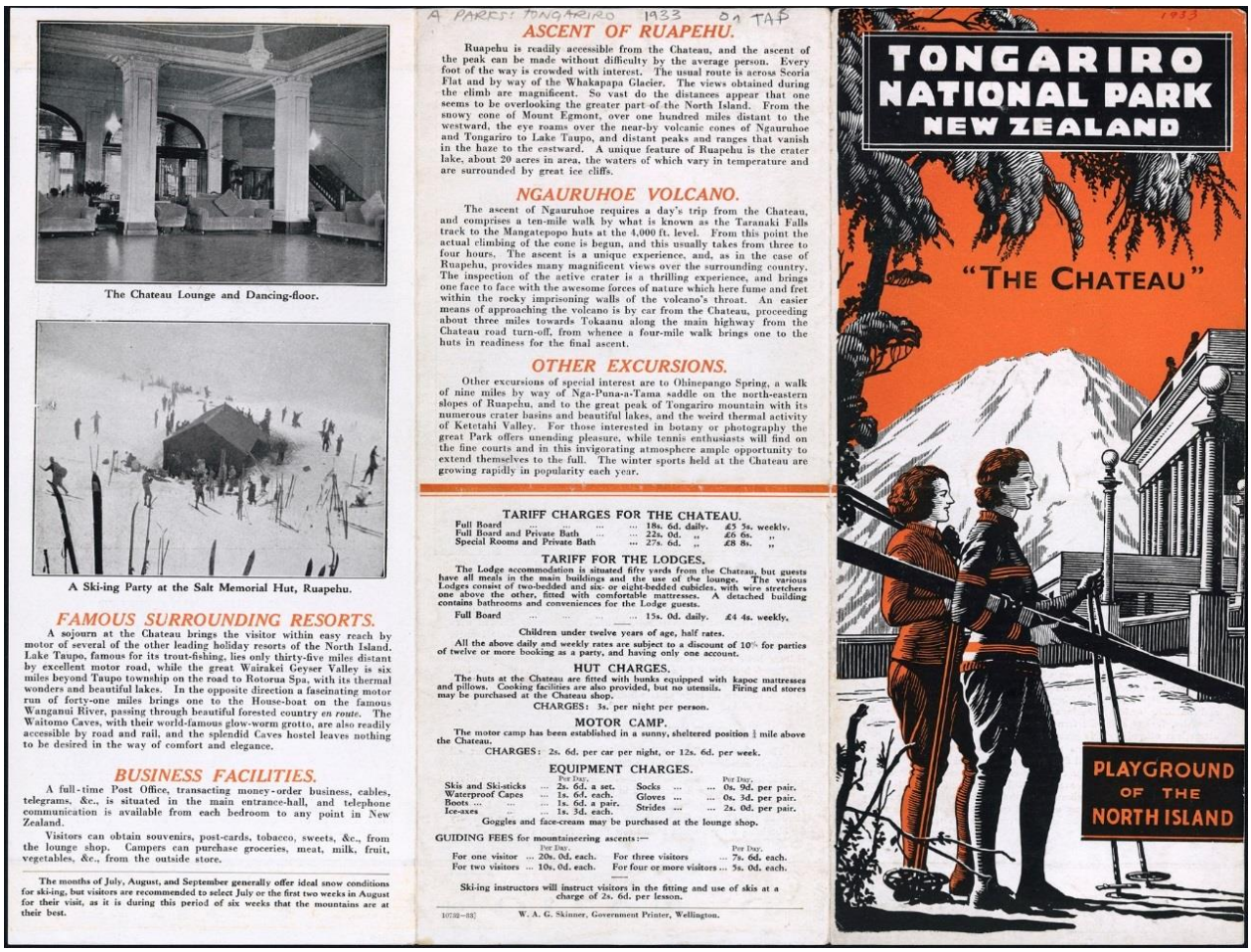
the hotel as destination, claims the mountain as the background- the setting for the hotel/ stage. This picturesque ordering of the mountain as background neutralises its sublime volatility. The potential for catastrophe and ruin is nonetheless never far below the surface, and vital to the essence of the park as place and while quiet in the 1930s the active volcano, Ruapehu, reasserts its force and unpredictability in later decades. The hotel's configuration of the park as landscape in the publicity from this period marks a significant shift in the earlier conception of the park—within this acculturated and cultivated framework the indigenous significance of land is overwritten.

iii. Social orders: luxury, class and gender

The ordering processes outlined above are shaped by the economic and physical infrastructure of place making. They produced an economic and physical setting that precipitated new forms of consumption-based leisure, and a new classing of the park as leisure place. The economic slump of the 1930s, as Ojan M'-Khoey has noted, slowed the expansion of the international visitors and the realisation of the vision of the Tongariro National Park Board and the developer. [29] Local visitors were however essential for the hotel's economic survival in these early years and the images and details discussed here are drawn from the print advertising campaigns launched in the early 1930s and disseminated both locally and internationally.

The arrival of women in the park coincides with the architectural intervention of the hotel. The shift in scale from the hut to hotel marks a radical shift in accommodation in the park, from the communal (masculine) space of the one or two-roomed hut to an interior world of public and private spaces attentive to the needs of social propriety and leisure of mixed gender subjects. This enables a new social presence for women in the park, drawn from the social practices of the urban grand hotel (see Caroline Brucken, 1996, for further discussion of gender and the luxury hotel).[30]

[29] O. M'-Khoey, 'A historical view of the impact of the Grand Chateau Hotel on Tongariro National Park & Whakapapa Ski Resort', MA Thesis, Massey University, 1995, p. 45.
[30] C. Brucken, 'In the Public Eye: Women and the American Luxury Hotel', *Winterthur Portfolio,* vol 31, no 4, 1996, pp, 203-20.



The Chateau Lounge and Dancing-floor.

A Ski-ing Party at the Salt Memorial Hut, Ruapehu.

FAMOUS SURROUNDING RESORTS.

A sojourn at the Chateau brings the visitor within easy reach by motor of several of the other leading holiday resorts of the North Island. Lake Taupo, famous for its trout-fishing, lies only thirty-five miles distant by excellent motor road, while the great Wairakei Geyser Valley is six miles beyond Taupo township on the road to Rotorua Spa, with its thermal wonders and beautiful lakes. In the opposite direction a fascinating motor run of forty-one miles brings one to the House-boat on the famous Wanganui River, passing through beautiful forested country *en route*. The Waitomo Caves, with their world-famous glow-worm grotto, are also readily accessible by road and rail, and the splendid Caves hostel leaves nothing to be desired in the way of comfort and elegance.

BUSINESS FACILITIES.

A full-time Post Office, transacting money-order business, cables, telegrams, &c., is situated in the main entrance-hall, and telephone communication is available from each bedroom to any point in New Zealand.

Visitors can obtain souvenirs, post-cards, tobacco, sweets, &c., from the lounge shop. Campers can purchase groceries, meat, milk, fruit, vegetables, &c., from the outside store.

The months of July, August, and September generally offer ideal snow conditions for ski-ing, but visitors are recommended to select July or the first two weeks in August for their visit, as it is during this period of six weeks that the mountains are at their best.

A PARES: TONGARIRO 1933 01 TAP

ASCENT OF RUAPEHU.

Ruapehu is readily accessible from the Chateau, and the ascent of the peak can be made without difficulty by the average person. Every foot of the way is crowded with interest. The usual route is across Scoria Flat and by way of the Whakapapa Glacier. The views obtained during the climb are magnificent. So vast do the distances appear that one seems to be overlooking the greater part of the North Island. From the snowy cone of Mount Egmont, over one hundred miles distant to the westward, the eye roams over the near-by volcanic cones of Ngauruhoe and Tongariro to Lake Taupo, and distant peaks and ranges that vanish in the haze to the eastward. A unique feature of Ruapehu is the crater lake, about 20 acres in area, the waters of which vary in temperature and are surrounded by great ice cliffs.

NGAURUHOE VOLCANO.

The ascent of Ngauruhoe requires a day's trip from the Chateau, and comprises a ten-mile walk by what is known as the Taranaki Falls track to the Mangatepopo huts at the 4,000 ft. level. From this point the actual climbing of the cone is begun, and this usually takes from three to four hours. The ascent is a unique experience, and, as in the case of Ruapehu, provides many magnificent views over the surrounding country. The inspection of the active crater is a thrilling experience, and brings one face to face with the awesome forces of nature which here fume and fret within the rocky imprisoning walls of the volcano's throat. An easier means of approaching the volcano is by car from the Chateau, proceeding about three miles towards Tokaanu along the main highway from the Chateau road turn-off, from whence a four-mile walk brings one to the huts in readiness for the final ascent.

OTHER EXCURSIONS.

Other excursions of special interest are to Ohinepango Spring, a walk of nine miles by way of Nga-Puna-a-Tama saddle on the north-eastern slopes of Ruapehu, and to the great peak of Tongariro mountain with its numerous crater basins and beautiful lakes, and the weird thermal activity of Ketetahi Valley. For those interested in botany or photography the great Park offers unending pleasure, while tennis enthusiasts will find on the fine courts and in this invigorating atmosphere ample opportunity to extend themselves to the full. The winter sports held at the Chateau are growing rapidly in popularity each year.

TARIFF CHARGES FOR THE CHATEAU.

Full Board ...	... 18s. 6d. daily.	£5 5s. weekly.
Full Board and Private Bath ...	... 22s. 0d. "	£6 6s. "
Special Rooms and Private Bath	... 27s. 6d. "	£8 8s. "

TARIFF FOR THE LODGES.

The Lodge accommodation is situated fifty yards from the Chateau, but guests have all meals in the main buildings and the use of the lounge. The various Lodges consist of two-bedded and six- or eight-bedded cubicles, with wire stretchers one above the other, fitted with comfortable mattresses. A detached building contains bathrooms and conveniences for the Lodge guests.

Full Board ... ... 15s. 0d. daily. £4 4s. weekly.

Children under twelve years of age, half rates.

All the above daily and weekly rates are subject to a discount of 10% for parties of twelve or more booking as a party, and having only one account.

HUT CHARGES.

The huts at the Chateau are fitted with bunks equipped with kapoc mattresses and pillows. Cooking facilities are also provided, but no utensils. Firing and stores may be purchased at the Chateau shop.

CHARGES: 3s. per night per person.

MOTOR CAMP.

The motor camp has been established in a sunny, sheltered position ½ mile above the Chateau.

CHARGES: 2s. 6d. per car per night, or 12s. 6d. per week.

EQUIPMENT CHARGES.

	Per Day.		Per Day.
Skis and Ski-sticks ...	2s. 6d. a set.	Socks	0s. 9d. per pair.
Waterproof Capes ...	1s. 6d. each.	Gloves	0s. 3d. per pair.
Boots	1s. 6d. a pair.	Strides	2s. 0d. per pair.
Ice-axes	1s. 3d. each.		

Goggles and face-cream may be purchased at the lounge shop.

GUIDING FEES for mountaineering ascents:—

	Per Day.		Per Day.
For one visitor ...	20s. 0d. each.	For three visitors ...	7s. 6d. each.
For two visitors ...	10s. 0d. each.	For four or more visitors ...	5s. 0d. each.

Ski-ing instructors will instruct visitors in the fitting and use of skis at a charge of 2s. 6d. per lesson.

10732—33] W. A. G. Skinner, Government Printer, Wellington.

1933

TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK NEW ZEALAND

"THE CHATEAU"

PLAYGROUND OF THE NORTH ISLAND

Figure 3: [New Zealand. Tourist and Publicity Department] :Tongariro National Park, New Zealand; playground of the North Island. [Cover spread. 1933]. [New Zealand. Tourist and Publicity Department] :Tongariro National Park, New Zealand; playground of the North Island. [1933]. Ref: Eph-A-PARK-Tongariro-1933-01-cover. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22325069

The codes of civilised pseudo-grandeur and interior comfort invite the inhabitation of the hotel and the park by an urbanised and fashionable female subject. This points to a correlation between the discursive construction of the hotel as site of interior comfort and the presence of the female subject in the park. Both hotel and subject are appropriately dressed. Each carries a legacy symbolic of different kinds of 'civilisation'; the hotel overtly deploys historicist codes of establishment in its Georgian façade, while the entrance of female subjects into the formerly male gendered space redefines the social etiquette of the park as that of 'mixed company', within a heteronormative paradigm (see Figures 2 and 3).

From leisure to luxury: the luxurious comfort of the hotel interior

As Durning and Wrigley emphasise, it is in architecture's "confines, spaces, thresholds, sight lines, arenas and stages" that its social meaning is produced.[31] While the hotel's exterior connotes a bastion of elite civilisation, it is the interior that provides luxury and comfort in an alpine environment. This differentiation is enhanced not only by the hotel's luxurious comforts, but also importantly, by the commoditisation of service as key element of the hotel as lifestyle product. The hotel represented in the publicity enables the subject of the luxury playground to define their social status through their separation from the service class and subject position as guest. The leisured subject is tended, served, flattered and as a result, socially elevated. In replicating the upstairs/downstairs hierarchies of the aristocratic/elite, the grand hotel reconfigures a class relationship into a commodity form, that of hotel service. This commoditised class relationship characteristic of the grand hotel was not a commonly experienced social relationship in New Zealand at this time, and was seen by some to challenge foundational egalitarian principles.[32]

The luxury playground departs from the masculine dominance of the former national recreation ground in creating new ways for women to be in the park. These are two-fold. In the first instance, the elegant, fabricated and fashioned interior was completed by the presence of its counterpart, the elegantly fashioned female subject. Socially civilising the masculine environment of the previous park formation, the luxury playground configures the cosmopolitan, elite and leisured and white female subject as a central player in the execution of its programme. The heteronormative theatre pictured in the central image in Figure 2 presents a space for inhabitation by a white adult social group. It is through the formation of the elite social milieu that the luxury playground will socially reproduce its subject, thus the subject at the Chateau is leisured but socially active and on display. In the second instance the luxury playground co-constituted an active athletic female subject participating in the sport of skiing. This is evident in the placement of the female subjects on the front panel of the brochure in Figure 3. Women's participation in the sport of skiing, one of the key elements of the programme of the luxury playground was actively promoted in the publicity from this period.[33] The luxury playground

[31] M. Durning, and R.Wrigley, (eds.) *Gender and architecture*, Chichester, Wiley, 2000, p.1.
[32] The National Film Unit production *Make Them Welcome* (1950) was produced to change attitudes to the provision of service within the tourism industry.
[33] This recreational participation sits within the social context of the contemporaneous emergence of the 'new woman' in post World War One New Zealand society, now freed from dress constraints, and empowered by

therefore rhetorically configured elite (or aspiring to be) white female subjects, both through the discourses of tended luxury and the invigoration of fashioned athletic activity. This interpretation is further supported by the scale and central placement of the illustration of the female skier in Figure 4, the inside page spread from a brochure published circa 1936.

Figure 4: Chateau Tongariro :Look at all the fun the Chateau offers ... [Inside spread. 1930s]. [Ephemera relating to hotels, motels, hostels and other accommodation in the region of the Chateau Tongariro, Ruapehu and National Park. 1900s]. Ref: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro-1930s-01-inside. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22916785

In conclusion the Chateau hotel at the Tongariro National Park of the 1930s exemplified a tactical relationship between the codes of neo-Georgian style and tourism and leisure as mode of consumption. The choice of neo-Georgian style was central to the production of the hierarchy on which the Chateau/park as elite destination concept was premised. The former national recreation ground of 1928 was discursively reconstructed as the luxury playground following the Chateau's construction in 1929 and its public representations. The architecture of the hotel functioned as powerful symbol, to produce a park formation in which luxury and therefore class and gender played a significant role in attracting visitors to the park. The rhetorical configuration

caretaking masculine work while men were away at war, was able to express a new identity of confidence and physical strength (for further discussion see Nolan, 2000; Frank, 1999, pp. 113-140; Daley & Montgomerie, 1999).

of the publicity activated a new female gendering of the park, introduced new kinds of recreation, and classed the practices of the hotel and park spaces. In public representations the luxury playground was co-constituted with a white leisured elite subject. The Chateau hotel project and its representations in the 1930s demonstrates how an initiative to

develop New Zealand through international tourism at the same time initiated status-driven leisure consumption as a class and race defining mechanism in the inter-war period in New Zealand. This displaced indigenous narratives and the egalitarian values embedded in the 'national park idea' that were central to the park's early establishment. These displaced narratives were to be recuperated and reasserted later in the 20th century within a very different kind of National Park formation in which the Chateau still holds a significant place as architectural evidence of a specific moment in New Zealand's 20th C history.

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SECOND PAPER SESSION

SESSION: The 'Work' of Architecture: Labor Theory and the Production of Architecture

Roy Kozlovsky, Tel Aviv University; Lutz Robbers, RWTH Aachen

After having been confined to the margins, the subject of labor is returning to critical discourse, in part because of the radical transformation in the organization and experience of work brought about by globalization, de-industrialization and the information economy. Likewise, in the field of architecture, the digitization of design and fabrication has stimulated the rethinking of architectural modernity in terms of its production.

The term 'work of architecture' suggests that the built environment could be analyzed within the broader discourse of labor theory of value. Architectural production brings together labor, skills, materials, technique and capital to produce value which is itself entangled with the system of production. How does analyzing the labor invested in buildings reflect upon the interpretation of the architectural object, and beyond that, architectural practice and history, with their notions of authorship, technology and style? How does labor theory reflect upon modernity history, and especially its tradition of casting modernity in terms of a conflict between craft and mechanization? How does architecture figure in respect to the debate over deskilling and re-skilling? Moreover, one might ask whether architecture is not merely a representation or the effect of labor but also an active agent in the ways the built environment can incite alternative forms of labor and agency.

The panel examines the nexus of architecture and labor through four central lines of inquiry: the historical transformation in the organization and meaning of work, and its effect on the social and cultural constitution of modernity; the ideological function of architecture as legitimization of the social relation of production; architecture's self-reflexivity in relation to its conditions of production; and finally, critique of theoretical perspectives and methodologies that currently inform research into architectural labor.

Papers are invited from all periods and academic fields where architectural history and labor intersect, including the history of technology, labor studies, anthropology, archeology, architectural theory and architectural history. Topics for submission may include the social history of construction labor; anthropological examinations of labor; and the labor done through and in collaboration with non-human agents.

The Vocation of the Architect: Psychotechnics and the Labor of Design

James Graham, Columbia University

That the engine of industrial modernity was fueled by quantitative sense of Arbeitskraft—through which labor power was rendered knowable, abstract, and in some sense exchangeable—has long been acknowledged in histories of architecture and the city. This transformation in the understanding of work notably took place across ideological lines, equally applicable to the sciences of capitalist managerialism and communist organization. The precepts of Taylorism has often been tied to the conditions of building architecture (with concrete and bricklaying providing some of the earliest topics of research for experts like Frank Gilbreth) as well as an architecture of efficient work (in the Fordist factory layouts of Albert Kahn or innumerable "functionalist" city plans). But a related question has been more seldom studied: Where did these advances leave the figure of the architect? Could design itself be rethought as a kind of work—spatial and perceptual labor rather than caloristic labor—and be rendered similarly empirical?

Such was the promise of Hugo Münsterberg's invention of "psychotechnics" in 1914, a parascientific discipline that blended industrial management with perceptual psychology (or, as it has been put, "gave Taylorism a soul"). To take up the example of the Soviet Union as it transitioned into the First Five-Year Plan in 1928, psychotechnics offered the possibility of justifying architectural "qualifications". If the objects of architecture often resisted empirical analysis on psychotechnical terms, the subjects of architecture—its designers as well as the metropolitan subjects who moved among it—offered other possibilities. The rise of vocational thought promised an applied psychological bureaucracy through which to judge not architecture, but architects. The problems of aptitude and efficient work, long studied in environments like the workshop and the factory, had reached the drafting table (or, rather, the designer sitting at it).

The psychotechnical impulse was to create data from phenomena and human capacities that had previously resisted quantification. This data largely took the form of single-sheet tables, easily filed as research notes, guides for the creation of space, or even architectural report cards of a sort. This paper will offer a short history of the "tabulated designer" as architecture became understood as a form of labor itself. Whether in the case of Nikolai Ladovsky's Psychotechnical Laboratory of Architecture, Erwin Gackstatter's charts and tables, or László Moholy-Nagy's "tactile charts" at the School of Design in Chicago, these new methods of measurement demonstrate one possible trajectory for understanding the influence of labor theory on architectural modernity.

Superstudio's "Refusal of Work" and Playing with Architecture

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In an infamous statement of avant-garde rejection, Adolfo Natalini, founder of the Italian Radical Architecture collective Superstudio (active 1966–78), once stated: "Until all design activities are aimed towards meeting primary needs… design must disappear. We can live without architecture." To this firm dictum, Superstudio remained true: during their brief career, they did not see a single of their proposed edifices built. Instead, the group of six architects proceeded to engage in a number of ancillary design activities: from the creation of lush magazine features to film production to furniture design and museum installations. All the while, though, even as they steadfastly refused to build buildings, Superstudio retained the moniker "architects."

This paper situates Superstudio's stubborn act of refusal within the broader Italian political and cultural landscape of the 1960s and early 70s. In particular, within the extraparliamentary leftist labor movements known as Operaismo ("Workerism") and Autonomia ("Autonomy"), Italy's laboring class was urged simply to stop working. This cessation of productive labor—what the writer Mario Tronti termed a "strategy of refusal"—was intended both to alert the factory's managers to the paltry conditions endured by the workers and to point the way to a new form of unalienated labor in which the worker's body and persona were fully integrated into productive operations. Similarly, Superstudio's refusal of work was meant as a nihilistic anti-design gesture and a signal to architectural culture that its collusion with late capitalist land speculation rendered it complicit in the gradual erosion of civic life.

This reading of Superstudio's stance as anarchic provocation has dominated the literature on the group. Beyond situating this act of refusal, then, I propose looking at one series of designed objects—their group of so-called Histograms produced in 1971—as an optimistic form of design work that privileges the autonomy of the user, who becomes an active participant, or player, in the design process. Designed as open-ended architectural models, the Histograms are ambiguous geometric forms, the ultimate use for which was left to the user who playfully deployed them as he or she saw fit. Thus, just as the Italian Workerist writers advocated for the fundamental autonomy of the worker to guide his or her own productive life, so too does Superstudio develop an open-ended system that cedes authority to the individual to design his or her own surroundings. Such dynamic and engaging play with form is posited against the rigidity and systematization of repetitive work. Finally, though, while the mute abstraction of Superstudio's works may permit consumer play, one must also consider, as did the Autonomist writer Maurizio Lazzarato, how our so-called "immaterial labor"—including the productive

capacity of our creativity—can be incorporated so readily into the capitalist system. Have yesterday's Histograms become today's customizable smart devices?

PAPER

In an infamous lecture presented at London's Architectural Association in 1971, Adolfo Natalini, founder of the Italian Radical Architecture collective Superstudio belligerently announced the group's exodus from design practice by stating:

If design is merely an inducement to consume, then we must reject design; if architecture is merely the codifying of the bourgeois models of ownership and society, then we must reject architecture; if architecture and town planning [are] merely the formalization of present unjust social divisions, then we must reject town planning and its cities… until all design activities are aimed towards meeting primary needs. Until then, design must disappear. We can live without architecture. (Natalini, 'Inventory,' in Lang and Menking 2003: 167).

As with many statements of avant-garde rejection, these words were perhaps a bit disingenuous, though. Superstudio and their Radical Architecture comrades in Italy and elsewhere did little to fully disengage from the fields of architecture and design; rather, it was specifically building from which they abstained. And to this command they remained resolutely faithful: in the roughly 13 years that the group was active, from 1966–1979, Superstudio did not see a single of their proposed edifices built. While the reasons for this were as much practical as they were ideological, their vocal nihilism rankled contemporary critics who worried over the value of such seemingly juvenile provocation. Such concerns have continued to dog the reception of Superstudio's projects to this day. The subtext of their critics' anxious hand-wringing (especially Manfredo Tafuri and to a lesser extent Mark Wigley many years later) is that the group could have advanced a revolutionary design program if only they had channeled their subversive energies into practical solutions to everyday problems. Put simply, what they needed to do, evidently, was to get back to work.

However, the lack of any Superstudio edifice should not be offered as evidence that the group had altogether ceased producing. For Superstudio's refusal of one sort of architectural work—the designing of habitable edifices—was merely replaced by other productive activities. As the immense profusion of images, domestic furnishings, essays, and films over their brief career attests, the six members of Superstudio were hard at work all the while. As such, it is worth considering more closely the very sort of work that had supplanted building design, which Superstudio saw as impossibly compromised intellectual or creative labor. And here we are faced

with a fundamental and perplexing question: How might one claim to call oneself an architect after renouncing the very activity that is usually thought to qualify oneself for that very occupation? Or, stated another way: What was at stake for the members of Superstudio in continuing to call themselves architects while steadfastly refusing to build buildings and instead producing all manner of non-tectonic objects?

What follows is an attempt to think through the meaning of design labor by considering what happens when its assumed output is steadfastly withheld and replaced by other products. My study involves parallel analyses: on the one hand, one must attend to Superstudio's statements in which they withdrew their labor from the field of architectural design. On the other hand, one is left with such a profusion of designed objects that it is important to contend directly with their formal and ideological properties. For the purposes of the present study, I am concerned primarily with Superstudio's series of so-called *Histograms,* ambiguous sculptural forms with which users were encouraged to simply *play*.

Ultimately, by looking to Superstudio's unorthodox decision to refrain from building, one is forced to think critically about the role of the autonomous designer in the profession itself. Within the architectural discipline, where professional work is both decentralized and tightly networked as architects, urban planners, clients, and structural engineers all have stakes in the final project, Superstudio's declared right to refuse the labor assigned to them had the utopian potential to upset the efficient operation of the design field. However, one might wonder if, for all their ideological purity, Superstudio's rejection simply amounted to so much tilting at windmills. For, as labor theorists including Autonomist Maurizio Lazzarato and others, have argued, might the liberated creative and affective potential of both the worker and the consumer end up coopted by capital's forces in the end?

As an entrance into these concepts, it is important, first, to situate Superstudio's refusal within the context of design production in Italy in the mid-1960s, the period immediately following the country's so-called 'Economic Miracle.' In the 1960s, architecture remained the most popular field of study for Italy's graduating university students (Tafuri 1989: 97). This is hardly surprising, given the rapid rate of industrialization and urbanization experienced in the country's northern cities in the late 1950s through the early 1960s (Ginsborg 1990: 246–47). As American money flowed into post-war Italy via the Marshall Plan, the country's northern textile and plastics plants flourished, rural residents flocked to major urban centers, and the country's existing housing and urban infrastructure strained due to limited capacity. At the same time, Italy's growing middle class abandoned the city centers for inner ring suburbs. An economic miracle it indeed was, but the expansion also resulted in remarkably uneven growth, with many of the rural poor changing their

postal code but not their economic standing (Ginsborg 1990: 216–17). For many the northern Italian city became the sight of both possibility and anxiety.

This was the immediate situation to which the young Radical Architects in Florence were responding. Having studied under progressive designers Leonardo Savioli and Leonardo Ricci, whose courses at the University of Florence were central to many budding Radical Architects, Natalini and his Superstudio peers felt emboldened both to support this swelling laboring class and to change the urban environment in ways that were more open, democratic, and vital. However, they ultimately encountered a situation in which real estate developers found they could erect public housing projects just as well without the hand of a designer. Mass housing projects were erected quickly and cheaply with structural engineers drafting blankly utilitarian edifices. According to Manfredo Tafuri, by the early 1970s only 2–3 percent of the country's housing stock had actually been designed by architects (Tafuri 1989: 97). In addition, the share of public housing in Italy had plummeted from roughly 25 percent in 1951 to an astonishing two percent by 1973 (Tafuri 1989: 98). Thus, for progressive-minded architects in Italy during Superstudio's era, opportunities to effect real change for northern Italy's urban laboring class diminished swiftly.

Most reformist architects chose one of two possible paths: either give in to market pressure and build soignée villas for the country's nouveau riche or work in the service of wealthy developers to crank out, in the words of Superstudio, 'cubic box[es] without memories, with vague indications of top and bottom, entrance and exit, Euclidean parallelepiped[s] painted white or distempered in bright colors, washable or no, but always without surprises or without hope.' (Superstudio, 'Evasion,' in Lang and Menking 2003: 117) Both options, though, inevitably meant capitulation to market forces. As Tafuri had noted, even the few public housing projects commissioned served only to catalyze future development by the same land speculators (Tafuri 1989: 16). In short, to be an architect in Italy in the mid-1960s was to feel constrained by several market forces, inhibiting the broader impact one's designs might have on the urban landscape. As workers, the Radical Architects felt inextricably bound to the capitalist construction mechanism, and increasingly they began to wonder if creative autonomy would even be possible.

Rather than concede their ethical positions, though, Superstudio's members chose to abstain completely from building and construction, an extreme position that soon caught the attention of the architectural establishment. Critics, including Manfredo Tafuri, saw Superstudio's position as either infantile provocation or philosophical navel-gazing. As Pier Vittorio Aureli has astutely noted, regarding Tafuri's attitude toward intellectual work, 'He understood that a critique of capitalism could only be produced from *within,* from the categories and forms through which

intellectuals were—consciously or unconsciously—culturally mediating the effects of continued capitalist production or participating in its reifications' (Aureli 2010: 89–90). In short, a leftist critique of architecture still needed to proceed through the difficult work of architectural production, not from a position outside that very labor. Superstudio's position was thus condemned as woefully ineffective.

Similar readings of Radical Architecture's utopian approaches are easy to find in the secondary literature on the group. From Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter's gloss on Superstudio's work in their famous essay 'Collage City' (1978) to Kenneth Frampton's summary of Italian architecture in his canonical *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (1980) to Mark Wigley's skeptical assessment of their work in 'Network Fever' (2001), critics have drawn special attention to Superstudio's provocative acts of disavowal, only to cast them aside as ultimately abortive or hopelessly romantic. However, such criticism of the Florentines' radical rhetoric neglects to consider the fact that Superstudio and their Florentine peers maintained active creative practices and retained the moniker 'architect' as their professional label. Nor, more importantly, do the authors question what it means to be an 'effective' or 'productive' designer in the first place. The tacit assumption is always that architectural design should be equated with building, and, furthermore, that the lack of a Superstudio edifice should be considered either a misreading of the architect's charge or a personal failing of the architects in question. What if one were to re-think what counts as architectural labor, though?

Initially, Superstudio dove directly into product design and interior furnishing. This move toward the designed object could be seen to parallel the work of many other architects who sought to put their unique stamp on the comprehensive environment. Having ceded their responsibility to design the building itself, however, this sort of hubris would appear inadequate to describe Superstudio's motivations. Indeed, they saw their interior design work as a form of domestic insurrection, meant to disrupt the delicate cohesion of the sort of total design planning epitomized by their International Style forebears. Dubbing their broader critical project 'evasion design,' Superstudio described their aims as such:

> introduce foreign bodies into the system: objects with the greatest possible number of sensory properties (chromatic, tactile, etc.), charged with symbolism and images with the aim of attracting attention, or arousing interest, of serving as a demonstration and inspiring action and behavior. Objects in short that succeed in modifying the container-unit and involving it totally together with its occupier. (Superstudio, 'Inventory,' in Lang and Menking 2003: 166)

Figure 1: Superstudio (A. Natalini, C. Toraldo di Francia, R. Magris, G. P. Frassinelli, A. Magris, A. Poli), Bazaar Sofa, 1969, © Gian Piero Frassinelli. Photo: Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Georges Meguerditchian/ Art Resource, NY

Figure 2: Superstudio (A. Natalini, C. Toraldo di Francia, R. Magris, G. P. Frassinelli, A. Magris, A. Poli), Quaderna Bench, 1971, © Gian Piero Frassinelli. Photo: Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Georges Meguerditchian/ Art Resource, NY

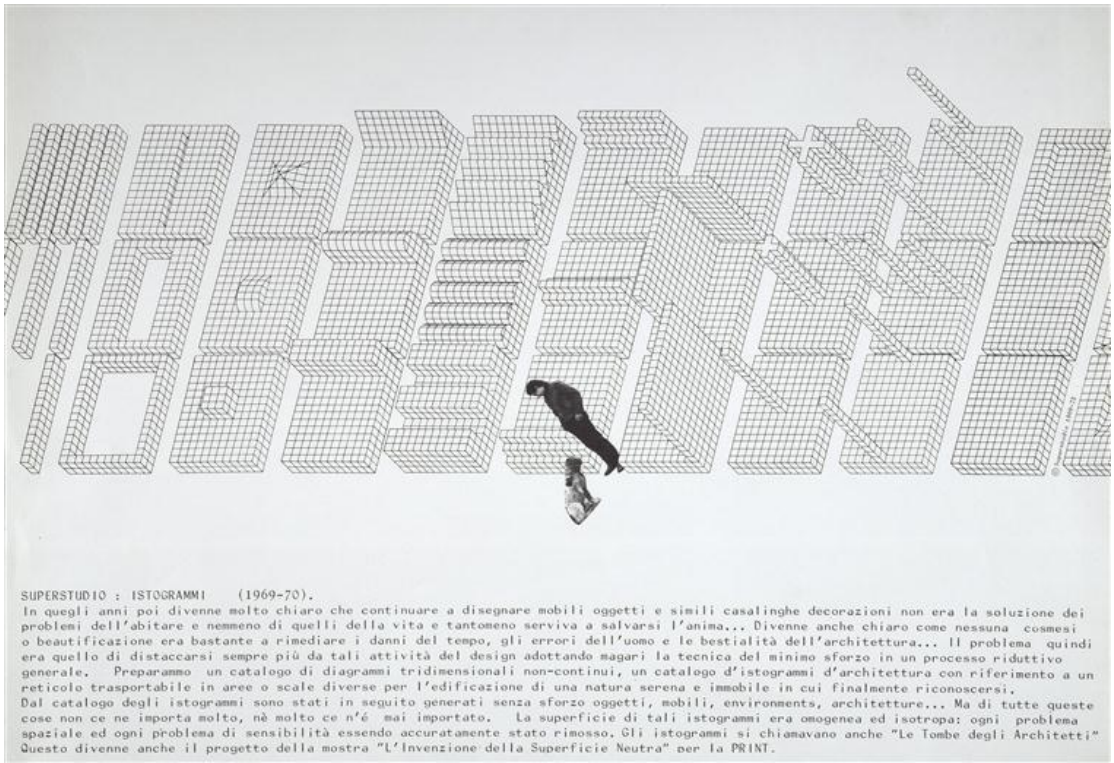

Figure 3: Superstudio (A. Natalini, C. Toraldo di Francia, R. Magris, G. P. Frassinelli, A. Magris, A. Poli), Study for the poster for *Istogrammi, 1969–70* at the Department of Architecture, Lausanne, 1970, © Gian Piero Frassinelli. Photo: Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Georges Meguerditchian/ Art Resource, NY

It is worth pausing to consider the broader implications of this passage, for what Superstudio calls for here is a shift in emphasis from the designer to the user. To repeat, the sorts of objects they intended to produce should 'inspire action' and thus help to activate the user to take full ownership over his or her living conditions. The best way to do this was to produce intentionally disruptive objects, ones that get in the inhabitant's way, that draw one's attention to their (perhaps unwanted) presence, that wake the user up to the environment in which he or she is situated (see Figure 1). Natalini articulates the group's ultimate charge thusly:

> Our problem is to go on producing objects, big brightly-colored cumbersome useful and full of surprises, to live with them and play with them together and always find ourselves tripping over them till we get to the point of kicking them and throwing them out, or else sitting down on them or putting our coffee cups on them, but it will not in any way be possible to ignore them. They will exorcize our indifference. (Superstudio, 'Evasion,' in Lang and Menking 2003: 177)

So, for Superstudio, they were tasked with the 'problem,' as they saw it, of carrying on making objects, almost as if it was a fate to which they were resigned. Though if this was to be their

ultimate cause, they were going to create difficult, even obstructive objects that would critically, even virally, interrogate domestic life.

And here we see the twinned problems of architectural labor in 1960s Italy: how might the architect carve out a position of relative independence and continue to work in a field that seems always already foreclosed to radical change; and how might the products of this labor also allow for and foster autonomous modes of habitation among their users? Importantly, Superstudio's positions correlate with contemporaneous leftist political activism, and as such it is worth turning toward the intense debate surrounding labor reform in Italy from the mid-1960s onward, the same period during which Superstudio began to question the value of design labor.

It is impossible to separate the activation of the urban dweller called for by the Radical Architects in Italy without also considering the very public labor and student demonstrations in Italy's northern urban centers throughout the late 1960s and early 70s. This was a period of intense agitation on the part of the Italian left, culminating in the so-called *autunno caldo,* or 'hot autumn' of 1969 in which workers demanded both higher wages and better working conditions within the industrial factories. Periodic and spontaneous work stoppages or slow-downs were common, but more visible still were the events that saw the workers take to the street, shutting down vast portions of Turin or Milan during the day.

The workers were motivated in large part by the ideas being espoused by the leftist labor movements in Italy known as *Operaismo*, or 'workerism,' and later *Autonomia.* Importantly, it was not the material fact of labor and its intense physical demands that were being protested so much as the mental and emotional involvement of the workers on the assembly line. To the *Operaisti*, attempts by management to involve the workers more directly in the production process were merely a palliative. As Maurizio Lazzarato noted in his important essay 'Immaterial Labor', 'What modern management techniques are looking for is for "the worker's soul to become part of the factory." The worker's personality and subjectivity have to be made susceptible to organization and command.' (Lazzarato, 'Immaterial,' in Virno and Hardt 1996: 134) For Lazzarato, it is the insidiousness of capital's reach into even the most private spaces of the psyche—and how the psyche can then be yoked to capitalist organization on the factory floor—that must be rejected. Lazzarato diagnoses a situation in which the worker's affective responses are still allowed free reign, though these are now incorporated seamlessly into the production process that feeds off the worker's passions, creativity, and emotions. Against this condition, *Operaist* writers attempted to locate an affective space in which the individual worker's sensitivities remain his own. We can see an obvious parallel to Superstudio's own reticence to participate in a system in which the architect's creative capacities are similarly coopted by capital's influence.

The rallying cry repeated on the Italian left was the 'refusal of work,' a phrase adapted from the Italian writer Mario Tronti, whose seminal 'Strategy of Refusal' called for Italy's workers to simply drop out from the act of alienated labor. Tronti explains the act of refusal thusly:

> Stopping work—the strike, as the classic form of workers' struggle—implies a refusal of the command of capital as the organizer of production: it is a way of saying 'No' at a particular point in the process and a refusal of the concrete labor which is being offered: it is a *momentary* blockage of the work-process and it appears as a recurring threat which derives its contents from the process of value creation. (Tronti, 'Strategy,' in Lotringer and Marazzi 2007: 30)

Both the license to say 'No' at the moment when an abstract idea of labor becomes a specific instance of work—*this* job—and the chronic menace of what that refusal entails means that the worker ideally retains agency in the production process, a power that Tronti claims the worker always had in the first place.

The ultimate goal of these periodic refusals is harder to assess, however. Antonio Negri, the *Autonomist* writer whose critical project was profoundly affected by his *Operaist* forebearers, called for the 'self-valorization' of the individual worker. By means of the ability to refuse labor, the worker stands as an autonomous subject, free from the strictures of capitalist organization. However, according to fellow *Autonomist* Paolo Virno, this does not result in a monadic subject cut off from the world. Quite the opposite: the ideal after-effect is 'a "pure" socialization, detached from the sphere of material activity.' (Virno, 'Dreamers,' in Lotringer and Marazzi 2007: 113) In the world the *Operaist* and *Autonomist* writers foresaw, workers of the world would continue to work, products would continue to be made, paychecks would still be doled out; however, the workers themselves would regulate the tempo of work. In so doing, they become indissolubly connected to one another. Autonomy from the constraints of capitalist authority is ensured, and relationality is a beneficial by-product. This ability to form new relationships and affinities, outside those circumscribed by capitalism's demands, was also central to Superstudio's decision to form an anonymous collective and informs their works' libertarian bent.

The importance of such leftist thought for Superstudio's brand of Radical Architecture is twofold. First, on a rhetorical level, Tronti's and Negri's positions may help to situate Superstudio's own act of refusal. Rather than play into the increasingly industrialized mechanism that was the real estate and mass housing market in Italy at this time—rather, that is, than give in to one's ultimate powerlessness in the face of capital's prodigious authority—the members of Superstudio found that they could refuse the very sort of labor that the housing industry demanded of architects at this time. However, this does not mean that they did not intend to work. They would do so,

however, from a state of ultimate autonomy, not beholden to either the incessant demands of the market, of real estate developers, of clients, or of municipal building codes. They would 'go on making objects,' as they said, but in so doing they would be beholden only to themselves. It is not surprising, then, that Superstudio's own strategy of refusal was read initially, as it still is today, as a sort of solipsism. While producing only for themselves, though, they were defiantly not producing for a system that would otherwise contort, twist, and exploit their positions for economic gain. Importantly, their work was also a collective effort of six members, and as such it demanded that the group operate collaboratively and socially to create their products at a new pace now determined by their interpersonal relations. So, against those critics who read Superstudio's position either as mere provocation or as poetic metaphor, their refusal of instrumentalized design labor was, in fact, a concrete and productive elaboration of *Operaist* techniques applied to the design process.

The second way in which *Operaist* ideas can be brought to bear on Superstudio's activity is reflected in the group's products themselves. In the late 1960s, Superstudio had designed a line of home furnishings in collaboration with the design firm Zanotta. The so-called *Quaderna* series consists of an assemblage of drastically pared-down tables, desks, and cabinets, all covered with a simple white plastic laminate overlaid with a black grid. (See Figure 2) These design objects represent an attempt, in the words of the group's members, to 'adopt the theory of minimum effort in a general reductive process.' (Superstudio, 'Histograms,' in Lang and Menking 2003: 114) Such 'minimum effort' expended in the creation of these design wares may accord with Superstudio's act of refusal, but the importance of these works extends to the design object's signifying functions. It could be said that this was the Italian radicals' attempt to discover a 'degree zero' of design in which a functional object could be reduced to barest material essence.

In Superstudio's 1971 essay 'Destruction, Metamorphosis and Reconstruction of the Object,' the group attempted to connect this extreme stylistic and typological reduction to changing notions of work. At the outset of the essay, they claim:

> The destruction of objects, the elimination of the city and the disappearance of work are events closely connected. By the destruction of objects, we mean the destruction of their attributes of 'status' and the connotations imposed by those in power, so that we live with objects (reduced to the condition of neutral and disposable elements) and not for objects. By the elimination of the city, we mean elimination of the accumulation of the formal structures of power, the elimination of the city as a hierarchy and social model in search of a new free egalitarian state in which everyone can reach different grades in the development of his possibilities, beginning with

> equal starting points. By the end of work, we mean the end of specialized and repetitive work, seen as an alienating activity, foreign to the nature of man; the logical consequence will be a new, revolutionary society in which everyone should find the full development of his possibilities; and in which the principle of 'from everyone, according to his capacities, to everyone, according to his needs' should be put into practice. (Superstudio, 'Destruction,' in Lang and Menking 2003: 120)

Here we see that the creation of fundamentally mute objects was intended to banish any sense of status anxiety. Absent the signifying relationships that serve only to buttress the existing power dynamics in an advanced capitalist culture, the autonomous urban resident rediscovers an unmediated connection to the viscera of everyday life. Thus, the *Quaderna* objects, with their blankly utilitarian character, would point only to their ultimate use, allowing the user freedom to engage with them directly. The abstraction and organization of one's domestic sign system is, according to Superstudio, part and parcel with the division of labor and psychic subservience the worker experiences as well. The end of such production practices would similarly free the individual worker to 'find the full development of his possibilities.' It must be admitted, however, that the reductive look of such furniture—produced by an elite Italian design company—could still become coopted by a high modernist sign system.

Related to this line of furniture, though distinct from it, was Superstudio's sculptural group of so-called *Histograms,* ambiguous works whose ultimate function is not immediately obvious. (See Figure 3) Most started with a low platform, again covered with the same laminate grid. The platform was altered by the addition of a basic shape, or the subtraction by a simple cut, and this alteration was then developed through a series of logical repetitions, illustrating all the possible variations on the basic theme. Thus, a mathematically simple process is set up in advance for the purpose of merely generating forms.

With each of these formal operations, a new architectural 'model' is proposed, with no *a priori* program assigned to it. As the group explained in their accompanying essay, this series was 'a catalog of three-dimensional, non-continuous diagrams, a catalog of architectural histograms with reference to a grid interchangeable into different areas or scales for the construction of a serene and immobile Nature in which finally to recognize ourselves.' (Superstudio, 'Histograms,' in Lang and Menking 2003: 114) Thus, what the collective provides is a mere index of forms, and the ultimate use to which they should be put is left completely open. Scale the object up, and it may become a factory. Scale it down, and it becomes a bed. This is an open-ended system that allows

for play, but, as with all games, it requires an active and engaged user to complete it, or in the group's words, to 'finally recognize ourselves.'

Is engaging with the *Histograms* mere play, though, or is the act of permuting, enlarging, or shrinking the available objects not also a form of work? The separation between the two is, crucially, hard to make out, but the activity itself—the playful work of habitation—is given over to self-governing users who make of their living environment what they want. In this shift from object to action, from product to performance, might the autonomous resident carve out some psychic agency? This indeed was Superstudio's hope. Avoiding the monumentality of building, the *Histograms'* positing of the activated user, anticipates and images the *Operaist* worker, now freed from the repetitiveness of his workaday life. Newly liberated, he can work without the necessity of a job, and he can play at the everyday. He can make his own world in a direct and unmediated fashion.

Ultimately, however, one must be careful in taking Superstudio's faith in individual customization too far, for the freedom to design one's own product using a model *Histogram* may not necessarily result in liberation from capitalist strictures. Indeed, this ambivalence toward the creative capacity of the worker was woven in to the *Operaist* project early on. Here, I would like to conclude with the words of Lazzarato, words that now take on a premonitory cast in the years since they were first uttered.

The management mandate to 'become subjects of communication' threatens to be even more totalitarian than the earlier rigid division between mental and manual labor (ideas and execution), because capitalism seeks to involve even the worker's personality and subjectivity within the production of value. Capital wants a situation where command resides within the subject him- or herself, and within the communicative process. The worker is to be responsible for his or her own control and motivation within the work group without a foreman needing to intervene, and the foreman's role is redefined into that of a facilitator. (Lazzarato, 'Immaterial Labor,' 135)

Capital needs the subjective, idiosyncratic motivations of the worker within the factory or office, but with the renewed emphasis on individual customization, the consumer, too, becomes sutured into the creative motor of production. Lest one believe that this represents consumer autonomy or freedom, one need only consider the push by companies such as Puma to encourage consumers to design their own trainers. Go online and you can alter a standard shoe however you see fit, complete with your own images. To each his own self-styled sneaker. How many consumers look at the fine print that indicates that the Puma Corporation retains the right to use your design for their own purposes, including for future shoe designs for which the home designer

receives neither credit nor royalties? As with the *Histograms* of Superstudio, one must sound a note of caution regarding any attempt to consider such strategy inherently radical or liberatory. Finally, one must wonder whether it is possible at all to opt out of or to refuse the sort of labor that is offered. Is it possible, as Tronti had hoped, to say 'No' at a specific moment in the design process? And what are the ramifications of such refusal today?

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Putting Authorship to an End: Constructing the Shaker Period Room at the Met

Athanasiou Geolas, Cornell University

In 1981 the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) inducted a nineteenth-century communitarian religious group known as the Shakers into their canon of American Arts and Crafts by reconstituting a period room in the American Wing from the remains of a building originally constructed circa 1830. Through this inclusion The Met continued their mission to educate public opinion, and further legitimized an ideological history of American Modernism and craftsmanship. Period rooms are a technology of representation that postulate architectural experience as a historical fact; by walking into the Shaker room, according to The Met, one is stepping back into history and gaining first hand knowledge about the space and meaning of Shaker architecture. However, following Henri Lefebvre, "Spaces sometimes lie, just as things lie."

The canonization of Shaker space valorizes a labor practice, which misrepresents the Shaker's devotion to daily labor and transcendental authorship. Moreover, the very process by which the room itself was constructed seems to contradict the labor ideology it purports to display; and thus, perhaps challenges the capacity of an architectural object to embody a single ideological agenda. The American Wing's archive exposes the many different kinds of labor that produced the "Shaker Retiring Room" including the physical labor of hired specialists, the intellectual labor of researchers and administrators, and the role of non-human actors in the form of books, logistical details, material attributes, and the bureaucratic documentation itself. Analyzing this story uncovers models of architectural labor that challenge traditional notions of craft in both the historiography of American architectural Modernism, and the role of the professional architect today. Period rooms are ambiguous architectural objects, which consequently expose the lines of power running between an institution, a technology of representation, and public opinion, and in which the architect, historian, and visitor participate.

The Missing Unions of Architectural Labor

Peggy Deamer, Yale University

This paper will examine past examples of unions in the architectural profession, examining the inherent tension between professional organizations and unions. This tension is not meant to emphasize the basic incompatibility of unions within the profession of architecture or professions in general; rather, it illuminates the reasons why white collar professions have for the most part successfully elided discussions of labor altogether and thereby devalued architectural work altogether. The relationship between this devaluation of work and the identity of what is

considered the "work" of architecture – the contracts that deem architectural work to be "piece-work" (the design of and pay for individual buildings) – will also be examined.

Focusing on the United States, the paper will begin with the attempts by AIA members in 1930 to make the organization a trade union. In the failure of this effort, the success and ultimate demise of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians (FAECT) will be examined in the light of political circumstances of that period, circumstances that were particular to the post-Depression period but which continue to shape the American view of professional unions.

The fate of the FAECT (and its affect in shaping a labor-free AIA) will be compared with other international examples of unionization in the discipline of architecture such as the wartime British Architects and Technicians Organization and the conservative German system of "Architektenkammern" (chambers of architects / professional association). These other examples, both interesting and problematic, will open the question of what a contemporary architectural union might look like.

The paper hopes to reveal that our architectural assumption that unionization demeans the creative process - by seemingly creating an unfortunate divide between management and labor, limiting flexibility of hiring and firing, and Taylorizing invention - not only is ideologically manufactured but also, ironically, diminishes the possibility of flexible, inclusive, and "creative" environments of architectural work.

50 Cents a Foot, 80,000 Buckets: Efficiency at Work in Concrete Shell Construction

María González Pendás, Columbia University

In the 1950s and 1960s, hundreds of concrete shell roof structures rose across Mexico for buildings that ranged from churches and pavilions to warehouses and markets. Signed by architect Félix Candela, these large span lyrical structures quickly became the "pride of Mexico" and symbols of the country's so-called miracle period of development. The success of Candela's shells relied on low construction costs as much as on remarkable aesthetics. Efficiency was their driving concept, a structural and material efficiency based on geometries whereby concrete worked solely under compressive stress and was thus of minimum thickness. The system allowed building for as little as 50 cents per square foot, as significant a factor for their expanse as basis for Candela's opposition to the material and technological excess proper of capitalism. Yet shell building mobilized enormous amounts of workers; more specifically, of low skilled, underpaid, and under protected workers. The labor excess of shell construction was perhaps made more evident in the building of the Palmira chapel in 1959, when the structure collapsed and was swiftly rebuilt.

Through a closer look at this episode, this paper sets Candela's ideas on efficiency against the complex labor relations that made the shells possible. On the one hand, it was the historical blindness towards the capital value of labor what provided for the surplus that made them so appealing at the point in time. In fact, shell construction virtually ended once the minimum wage was established in the mid 1960s. On the other hand, Candela and shell promoters openly acknowledged the reliance on labor—and even placed workers at the center of the cultural forces of modernization the shells summoned. This paper will discuss the simultaneous neglect and celebration of work dynamics around shell building and in relation to the convoluted history of Mexican labor law, while exposing the excesses implied in Candela's imaginary of efficiency.

SESSION: "Big Data" in Architectural Historiography

Paul Jaskot, DePaul University; Lukasz Stanek, University of Manchester

Traditionally, architectural research has privileged qualitative narratives about individual objects considered singular, isolating these works as exemplary within larger series of buildings or sites. Only rarely were architectural thinkers concerned with large collections of building date with some spatial, temporal or social coherence. However, this stress on isolated buildings contrasts with the fact that architecture, since the late 19th century at the latest, has become a mass phenomenon related to other mass systems of production, consumption, management and governance.

In line with the current discussions of the "digital humanities", and in the context of political critiques of big date urbanism as potentially undemocratic, this session aims at rethinking, discussing and developing architectural research based on large data sets. We encourage submissions of papers which address both historical examples of the use of large data sets for architectural production since the late 19th century and in a global perspective as well as contemporary scholarly uses of "big data" for analysis of historical and contemporary built environments. The large data sets may be numerical, visual/typological, textual, or otherwise defined by the proposed submission. We are especially looking for papers which analyze data by means of digital tools, techniques, and media, which may include graphic methods of knowledge production (rather than simply visualization).

In particular, this panel aims at addressing the epistemic gains of large data research, as well as its methodological and conceptual affordances and blind spots. What quantity of data is "big" in architectural history? How does it change the research question? What happens to the analysis of buildings in this environment? Are certain topics privileged, for example the history of reception and construction, while others are put aside, such as art history of design? Are conceptual frameworks considering architecture a part of larger social processes ("production of space") taking over specific architectural concepts? Or, rather, could the analysis of visual data renew such traditional concepts in architectural historiography, as that of typology? Does architectural history based on "big data" foreground powerful actors who produced records? Or, rather, can aggregate actors be revealed by the application of such quantifiable categories as labor, a common denominator for many agents? How can new, alternative archives be produced? Does large data research privilege certain types of explanations while omitting others; for example, does it run into the danger of reducing causality to correlation? All proposals that address these questions or others are welcome.

Colonial Public Works: A (Large) Heterogeneous System across Geographies Alice Caldeira Cabral Santiago Faria, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

The view of architecture as a complex organism/system is not new and it has been used at least since 1941 by S. Giedion or R. Venturi in the 1960s. More recently, Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) view on architecture argues that buildings should be regarded as "flows of transformations" (Latour and Yaneva 2008); subsequently others suggested that architecture could be seen as a system of actors interacting in different ways (connecting, disconnecting and reconnecting), shaping one another's geographies in diverse modes (Traganou and Mitrasinovic 2009; Guggenheim and Söderström 2010).

Following these views, this presentation will look into 19th century Public Works Departments in the oriental provinces of the Portuguese empire—Mozambique, Macao, India, and East Timor. Public Works provided the frame for circulation and mobility at a global scale; interconnecting empires, people, ideas, technology and disciplines. Combining a heterogeneous system of actors interacting in different ways. It will be grounded on an on-going postdoctoral research that aims to understand how this part of the colonial administration has helped shape the built environment by paying attention to the daily and most common interactions, or with the "reassembling of the collective" (Latour 2005). Thus, it works with a vast range of primary sources and a large heterogeneous data set that is, a priori, inclusive of all data. It uses a digital tool (Nodegoat), which combines relational analysis with spatial and chronological contextualization and visualization. This presentation will examine the benefits and problems of such a framework, addressing also some of the questions purposed, such as: is this data, "big data"? What kinds of actors, data or topics are revealed/privileged,--or not—in such a frame of analysis? Aiming to show that we always have something to gain in looking at "a bigger picture."

The Use of Planning Agreements in the Historic Centre of Milan in the Second Post-war Period: Big Data Questioning a Consolidated Historiographical Perspective Nicole De Togni, Politecnico di Milano

This proposal deals with the contribution of big data in discussing the consolidated historiographic perspective on the use of planning agreements in the historical centre of Milan (Italy), with specific reference to the General Plan of 1953.

The matter of the large use of planning agreements between public administration and private actors was often addressed in the second post-war period, but it was never systematically

investigated: the long-lasting interpretive clichés promoted by the coeval specialized literature concerning Milan are called here into question.

With its General Plan of 1953, Milan embodied the great expectations due to the first large application of the new Italian Planning Law (1942). In less than a decade, the acknowledged critic framed the city—and the area of the historical centre in particular—as the epitome of the failure of the legislation, with planning agreements depicted as privileged tools of real estate speculation and invalidation of policies.

The unprecedented cataloguing of all the planning agreements referring to the study area (1765 folders for 2287 relevant documents) provided the basis for a large data research redefining the premises themselves of this historiographic position.

The analysis of the originated database highlighted that proper planning agreements were not the sole tools of negotiation between public and private actors (being only 53.5% of the documentation) and that most of them (62.4%) consisted in direct implementations of the General Plan rather than in codified dismantling of municipal policies. The consistency and recurring contents of files lead to a serial, macro-scale reading of aggregated data, which can be structured for areas, time spans, actors involved, typologies of documents and actions; the capability of selection according to different criteria allows the reconstruction and the interpretation of single sequences, at the scale of micro-history.

The traditional cataloguing through a grid of records is supported by the visualization of data through a three-dimensional model, which can be georeferenced and consulted as needed, opening to digital techniques to be further investigated.

Mapping the Architecture of Leisure: Experiments with Mining Digital Data for Architectural Analysis

Amit Srivastava, Adelaide University; Roger Noble, Chief Technical Officer at Zegami Limited

The use of 'big data' in architectural historiography poses a number of methodological challenges. First is the issue of 'close' versus 'distant' reading in historiography itself, and we find ourselves lodged somewhere between the carefully crafted micronarratives of Carlo Ginzburg and the longue duree of the Annales historians. Second is the access to relevant digital information – the data set. Even if we look beyond the limited availability of digitised material that faithfully represents architectural information, there is still the need to contend with the bias of previous interpretations. Third is the motivation of the historiographical project itself; whether it is content

with being investigative, recognising the opportunity that the data set affords to ask questions we haven't yet begun to formulate, or whether the historiographical project must contend itself with utilitarian or pedagogical imperatives.

This paper is based on some recent experiments in mining digital data for architectural analysis that help to inform these methodological positions. The analysis is limited to the typological subset of hotels/resorts, looking at a relatively recent trend in architectural production defined by the rise of global tourism in the second half of the 20th century. The typological bracket itself provides access to some interesting data sets and interpretations, but the focus is on the methodological challenges and the opportunities for developing a blended approach. Of no less importance is the parallel development of the digital visualisation tool, Zegami, which allows for manipulation of large collection of visual data through feature detection and pattern recognition. In engaging and developing Zegami as a specific tool we are not only aiming to extend our perceptual capacities as researchers but also hoping to counter the overreliance on textual data in architectural historiography.

Big Curating: Historical Intuition, Manual Research Methods, and Google Docs in the Making of the Office US Repository

Ana Miljački, MIT; Michael Kubo, MIT

The curation of the OfficeUS Repository, on display at the U.S. Pavilion for the 2014 Venice Architecture Biennale, began with a big number (or rather two): one thousand architectural projects, designed by U.S. firms and built abroad over the last hundred years. This immense scale was built into the research from the start, as the only means to describe an archaeology of global architectural firms and provide a critical mirror of U.S. architects and their operations since 1914. Among the curatorial stakes in the Repository was an insistence on the media archive as a starting point for future historical research, rather than an endpoint, an approach that required as large a scope as possible in order to accurately reflect the multiple narratives—the good, the bad, and the ugly—of U.S. offices and their implication in a global context.

Culled from an investigation of over 2,300 projects built by U.S. firms abroad, the final selection of 675 projects in the Repository (and the 169 offices that produced them) required both data-intensive and rather manual research methods, including a significant reliance on the historian's toolkit in following footnotes, compiling excel sheets, checking sources, and combing physical and virtual archives for names, biographies, articles, and images. Yet the emphasis on producing a vast map upon which further research could be constructed inevitably precluded more art-historical approaches at the finer grain of the historical phenomena being examined. This paper

will present the research methods that underlay the massive scale of the OfficeUS Repository and discuss the questions these raised about the exhibition as a site of knowledge production, the techniques required to curate and display large bodies of archival material, and the boundaries between the related—but distinct—practices of the curator and the historian.

Hybrid Questions. The Production of Data for Research in Architectural History

David Theodore, McGill University, Montreal

This paper discusses new approaches to the production of digital data explicitly for use in architectural history. It examines methods that differ from two dominant ways data is made and made available: the visual database, modeled on the once ubiquitous slide library, and the textual database. Instead, this paper argues that digital archives should be created that make data amenable to the qualitative, object-centred methods of architectural history, in which analysis attends to the punctum, the singularity, of individual buildings, cityscapes, drawings, and images.

This proposed shift in data production opens up hybrid questions orthogonal to those central to the digital humanities. Image banks are useful because they add metadata to visual sources that makes browsing and search easier. Textual databases use machine search to find patterns and structures not detectable by an individual historian reading through documents. In the first case, the process involves creating texts about images (textualization); in the second, making images about texts (visualization). Both are valuable. But another process is possible: What kind of data, organized in what kind of database, attends to scholarship in architectural history that builds on established methods for analyzing and understanding a single significant image or series of images?

The paper is drawn from two projects currently underway in Montreal, Canada: The Catalogue Concours Canadian, a digital database produced by L.E.A.P at the Université de Montréal, in which I participate, and "Emerging Methods for Digital Research in Architectural History," a 3D laser scanning and digital storytelling centre opening at McGill University which I co-direct. The goal behind both projects is not simply to contextualize architectural ideas and production in relation to social (or economic or cultural) history, but instead to create methods that allows historians to see what is shown in visual documents.

SESSION: Changing Identities? Planning and Building in Border Regions, a difficult European Heritage

Klaus Tragbar, Leopold Franzens University of Innsbruck; Volker Ziegler, École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Strasbourg
Respondent: Ralph-Miklas Dobler, University of Bonn

From the very first one the European town has always been the immediate expression of social and political circumstances; its current shape appears as the result of antagonistic and individual interests. This applies as well and especially for the period between 1850, when within nationalism a discussion arose on the expression of national identities in architecture and urbanism, and 1945, when traditional and/or local architectural concepts were marginalized by an international modernism.

In the same period, from 1850 to 1945, numerous European cities located in border regions had changed their national affiliation as a result of national conflicts rooted in the same nationalism. At this point the border regions Schlewsig, Poznan-West Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, South Tyrol, Trentino and Slovenia should be mentioned.

As impacts of the Industrial Revolution, both new, efficient building materials and construction methods were introduced; furthermore the significant growth of cities in Europe causes the development of urbanism as an independent academic discipline. Irrespective of any national discussion, those phenomena lead to an intensive exchange of ideas and mutual, cross-border interferences. Unfortunately due to mostly national dominated architectural historiographies, those interferences were ignored so far, only the German-French border region and the Rhine-Meuse region were investigated recently. However, it becomes more and more evident, that mainly the border regions played a key role for those interferences.

Within this session the various mutual transfer phenomena within the European border regions should be discussed and compared; papers may be concerned with, but are not limited to:

- How does the change of the national affiliation affect the planning and building activities and processes?
- Are those processes in the various European border regions similar or are they all different?
- How does the conquering nation represent itself in its new territory through architecture and urbanism?

- Which kind of administrative, legal and/or staff structures were needed for the realization of those concepts?
- Which lores and traditions were used for the therefore needed elements and symbols? How were they chosen and (re)interpreted?
- What happens to the existing, traditional and local cultures and identities in a border region after changing the national affiliation?
- How does knowledge, e.g. knowledge about new construction materials and methods travel through Europe? Do border regions play a particular role in these travels?
- How do the European border regions deal today with their often difficult and nationalistically charged heritage?
- The aim of this session is to create a deeper knowledge of the various mutual transfer phenomena within the European border regions, to discuss the appropriate methods and instruments of research and, last but not least, to contribute to a stronger (public) consciousness of this—literally—common European heritage.

Czernowitz to Chernivtsi by Cernauți: A multicultural townscape as heritage of a plural society Paolo Cornaglia, Turin Polytechnic *

Czernowitz, former capital city of the Duchy of Bucovina in the Hapsburg Empire, changed "location" twice: from Austria to Romania in 1918, becoming Cernauți, then from Romania to Ukraine in 1945 (until today), becoming Chernivtsi. Today Chernivtsi is mainly an Ukrainian city, but its architecture shows this historical process thanks to series of urban landmarks. This paper aims to focus on the interplay among architecture and nationalities, so evident and strong in this case-study. The multicultural society before 1918 is reflected in many heterogeneous religious e public buildings, the effort of "Romanization" after 1918 is mainly reflected – on the contrary - in the "ethnic" Romanian qualities of new buildings. From the second half of the nineteenth century the townscape was progressively enriched by temples of different religions (Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, Armenian…) and by the specific building types: the "national houses", seat of the cultural life of each community (German, Jewish, Ruthenian, Polish, Romanian…), all with their specific architectural features. In this architectural "melting pot" some buildings played a role of super-national, unifying and modern (Art Nouveau) landmarks: the railway station, the Postal Savings Bank and the theatre. The "Romanization" of the city was operated after 1920 building many new Orthodox churches and emphasizing the ethnic decorative details of new buildings (window

frames, arches, roofs), related to the Brancoveanu style. The spread of Modernism, in the 30's stopped this way of shaping a new face to the city, but the huge new Romanian Culture Palace "landed" in the theatre square speaking clearly of Bucovina as a part of Greater Romania. After 1945 the multicultural society vanished, and the Soviet power promoted homologation against the richness of the past. The independence of Ukraine from the former USSR allowed social groups and politicians to rethink about national and local identity, mainly intended as Ukrainian: as usual monuments changed, but the new ones, despite new people to celebrate, followed old ways in representing heroes. On the other hand, but more recently, architectural heritage is considered by the municipality as an AND of Czernowitz and a value to be restored and protected, both on the Austrian and Romanian side. The website launched in 2008 for celebrating the 600 years of the town, speaks about Chernivtsi city of tolerance.

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> This is a book about a place that cannot be found in any contemporary atlas […] Nowadays, of course, Czernowitz is nowhere (M. Hirsch, L. Spitzer, 2009)[1]

"Mithos Czernowitz"

The title of a German book published in 2008 significantly associates to Czernowitz the word *myth*[2]. Czernowitz has all the requirements to be truly a myth. At first because of its name, that changed repeatedly through to the local mixed languages and to the different rulers that have governed the town since 1775. Today *Chernivtsi* is a Ukrainian town, but it was *Cernauți* as a part of Greater Romania (1918-40, 1941-44), and *Czernowitz* under the Austro-Hungarian empire (1775-1918). The sequence of governments and the mosaic of nationalities caused inter-ethnic tensions (with some "cultural shock" at each political change) on the one hand and, on the other, gave to the town a remarkable cultural richness and a huge palette of different qualities, mostly characterized by good tolerance between ethnic groups, maybe transformed into myth through memory. The myth grew so strong that the assimilated Jewish community was able to live in the "Romanian" Cernăuţi as if they were still in Czernowitz, speaking German and neglecting the Romanian language altogether, looking to Vienna - not Bucharest - for reference, until the final tragedy. The myth developed in other directions too, thanks to the fame of writers born and educated in Czernowitz or Cernauti, but well-known because of their careers abroad: the

[1] M. Hirsch, L. Spitzer, *Ghosts of home. The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press, 2009, p. XIII.
[2] *Mithos Czernowitz. Eine Stadt in Spiegel ihrer Nationalität*, Potsdam, Deutsches Kukturforum Östliches Europa, 2008.

"French" Paul Celan, a survivor of the Shoah, who writes at first both in German and Romanian, then emigrates to France, or the "European" Gregor von Rezzori, whose landscape in childhood was the Romanised Cernăuţi, described as a myth in *An ermine in Cernopol*, but whose life was spent in Bucarest, Berlin, Italy…

Czernowitz's "golden age" - the period when the tolerant multicultural town developed - spans between the annexing of Bukovina to the Austrian empire in 1775 and 1918, when the duchy became part of Greater Romania. It was the "Far East" of the empire, the bastion of western civilization and culture. For German-speaking Jewish writers like Karl Emil Franzos it was a sort of "oasis" in the barbarian East, and for travellers a more European place well linked to Vienna. As in all the regions of this part of the empire there was a strong contradiction between the élites ruling the urban areas and the countryside: in a duchy that was mostly Ukrainian and Romanian, the capital was a mirror of German culture and language, because of the Austrian state officers related to the imperial administration, the German community and the increased assimilation of the Jewish community as a German-speaking society. The Jewish people leaving the villages (the *shtetl*) to settle in Czernowitz left behind the Yiddish language too, experiencing their entrance to the "German world" as a sort of upgrading. In 1900 30% of Czernowitzers were Jewish (21,500 people out of 67,000). In 1914 the Jews were 40,000 and in 1941 about 50,000. All those German-speaking people made Czernowitz a German town in the middle of an "alien" territory full of Romanians and Ukrainians: this contradiction will bring Romania, and later Ukraine, to voice their claims. The high percentage of Jewish people in Czernowitz was balanced out, anyway, by other national groups. In 1910, in addition to Germans (1/6) and Jews (2/6), there were Rumenians (1/6), Ukrainians (1/6), Poles (1/6), as well as Armenians and Hungarians[3]. According to official reports[4] from the end of the 18th century, 75% of people in the Bukovina region were Romanians, and the most used language was Romanian. The Austrian power constantly strived to reduce this predominance by allowing Ukrainian immigration to limit the Romanian claims on the region. In Czernowitz the different ethnic groups functioned as different social bodies: Jews and Germans were found in the urban élite, while doorkeepers housemaids and nannies were Ukrainians, craftsmen, market sellers and retailers were Polish and Romanian. The multicultural character of Czernowitz continued to show in the three names used for streets (written in the three main languages), the multi-language newspapers or magazines (as the *Bucovina*, a cultural magazine published in German and Romanian), and underscored the need to be familiar with most of the languages spoken in town to communicate at the market or with the nanny.

[3] Jewish Museum of Chernivtsi, interactive map, http://muzejew.org.ua/Karta-En.html, (accessed 14 march 2016).
[4] C. Upson Clark, *Greater Roumania*, New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1922, p. 89.

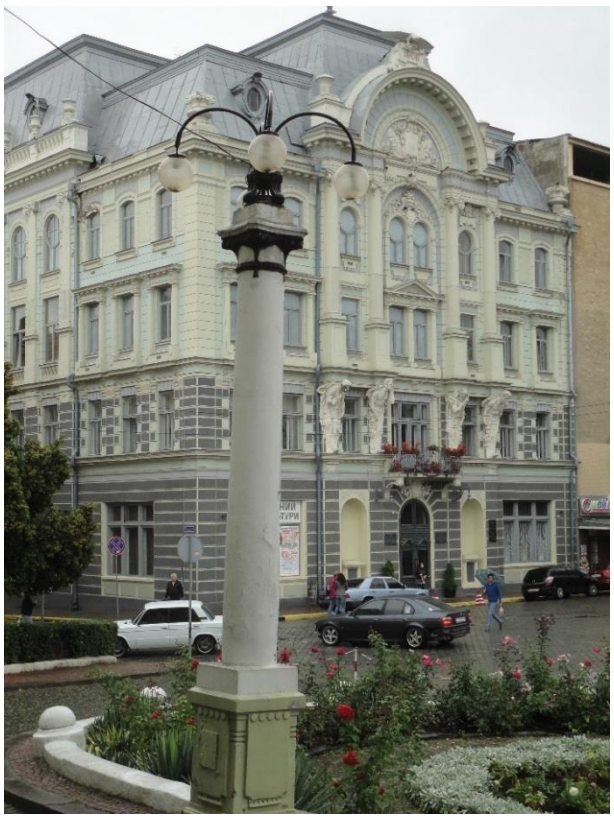

Figure 1 (left): Chernivtsi (Ukraine), Jewish House (T. Lewandowsky, 1905-08) Figure 2 (right): Chernivtsi (Ukraine), Polish House (Polish national decorative elements, 1902-05)

Figure 3: Chernivtsi (Ukraine), Consistorial Palace, Romanian period (T. Kossokwski, 1929)

Figure 4 (left): Chernivtsi (Ukraine), Palace of Culture, Romanian period (H. Creanga, 1937-40)

Figure 5 (right): Chernivtsi (Ukraine), Kalynivskyy Market

Czernowitz: architectural identity and national houses

The major role played by the German-speaking community, within the multiplicity of the town's social components, created a homogeneous architectural landscape[5], with some "national" episodes visible but not prominent. The model was Vienna: the Herrengasse, the street with the most elegant cafés and the most important shops, was reminiscent of Vienna's Graben. Building in the Eclecticist and Secession styles made the urban fabric totally Central-European. The town developed a particular look also because it was really young and as such, it lacked any Gothic,

[5] D. Tanashik, *Chernivtsi*, Chernivtsi, Zoloti Litavry, 2005. About the history of Chernivtsi see also S. Frunchak, 'The Making of Soviet Chernivtsi: National "Re-unification," World War II, and the Fate of Jewish Czernowitz in Postwar Ukraine', chapter 1, Phd Thesis, University of Toronto, Department of History, http://blogs.bu.edu/srabinov/files/2011/06/FrunchakChapterOne.pdf (accessed 14 March 2016) F. Heymann, *Le crépuscule des lieux*, Paris, Stock, 2003; G. Zamp Kelp, J. Lienemeyer (eds), *Czernowitz Tomorrow. Architecture and Identity in the Surge of Central Eastern Europe*, Düsseldorf, Institut für Aussenwirtschaft GmbH, 2007; A. Cernov, I. Luceac, *Cernăuți / Chernovtsy 1408-2008*, București, Institutul Cultural Român, 2008; M. Hirsch, L. Spitzer, *Ghosts of home. The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California, 2009; G. Ranner, A. Halling, A. Fiedler (eds), *"… und das Herz wird mir schwer dabei…". Czernowitzer Juden erinnern sich*, , Potsdam, Deutsches Kukturforum östliches Europa, 2009; S. Frunchak, 'Commemorating the Future in Post-War Chernivtsi', East European Politcs and Societies, 24, n. 3, 2010. P. 435-463; S. Frunchak, *Studying the Land, Contesting the Land. A Select Historiographic Guide to Modern Bukovina*, Pittsburgh, The Carl Beck Papers in Russian & European Studies, 2011, n. 2108; D. Rechter, *Becoming Habsburg. The Jews of Austrian Bukovina 1774-1918*, Oxford-Portland, Oregon, The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2013; P. Cornaglia, 'Czernowitz. 'Un ermellino a Cernopol' tra Impero, Romania e Ucraina', in S. Adorno, G. Cristina, A. Rotondo (eds): *VisibileInvisibile. Percepire la città tra descrizioni e omissioni*, Catania, Scrimm, 2014, p. 1715-1725. The final part of the research in Chernivtsi (spring 2016), has been developed thanks to a Euroeast Program of Erasmus Mundus and thanks to many friends and colleagues: Igor Fodchuk, Irina Korotun, Natalia Huda, Jaroslav Voloshchuk and Marina Malyarchuk (Faculty of Architecture, dean and professors), Svetlana Constantin and Natalia Masian (National Archives), Yula Kalush (University Library), Olena Pushkova and Rudolf Gräf (Chernivtsi Municipality), Dragos Olaru (former official of the National Archives), Myroslava Yarich and Lyubomir Botsvinok (translators).

Renaissance or Baroque historical core. Despite some records dated 1408, the place became officially a city in 1786, and grew particularly in the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. Everything in Czernowitz set the stage for this sort of Viennese festival: street names, building types, the retail system, the new railway station (built in 1905 in the Secession style), the Volksgarten (close to the area where the officers of the Austrian administration and the wealthy German families lived in villas). The most Austrian elements were certainly the theatre and the postal saving bank. The former was built in 1905 in a neo-baroque style by Fellner & Hellmer, who were well-known theatre designers active across the whole empire between 1871 and 1913. It was a copy of the theatre built in Fürt (1902) and later a reference for the following one in Klausenberg/Kolozsvár (today Cluj, Romania, 1906). It was decorated by busts of German composers and by stuccoes depicting Wagner and Shakespeare (in reference to the double function of the hall, for operas and plays), and was faced – in the square - by Schiller's statue. The Postsparkasse, built in 1900-1901 by Hubert Gessner (1871-1943, student at the Wagnerschule from 1894 to 1898), was a pure example of Secession style. Gessner won the first prize at a competition against other colleagues from Czernowitz (Max Morgenstern, second prize, author of the neobaroque Café Habsburg in the Herrengasse) and Vienna (Viktor Fiala, living in Vienna but born in Czernowitz, with Oskar Laske, third prize). The project was published in *Der Architekt* by Joseph August Lux, who spoke of a "creative architect" [6]. Gessner paid particular attention to the materials used: iron for the entrance gate, marble cladding and marble columns for the atrium, white stucco for the walls, mahogany for doors and panels on the first floor, coloured stained glass for the windows according to the Secessionist representation of flowers and clouds. The main hall on the first floor received light from the windows but also from a glass ceiling. In the upper part of the front façade a mosaic depicts the twelve provinces of the empire, with Austria and Bucovina in the middle, a work by Adolf Joseph Lange. Another important Secession building in Czernowitz should have been the Stock Exchange, designed by Oskar Marmorek (1863-1909). The building, conceived in 1904 for a competition published in *Die Architektur des XX Jahrunderts*[7] in 1907, was never built, but it serves to reflect the non-secondary role of the Czernowitz architectural scene within the Empire. Oskar Marmorek was a prominent Jewish architect whose approach was late-historicist in his first works in Budapest but later showed a clear Secessionist Wagnerschule approach, as with the Rüdigerhof in Vienna (1902) and in this drawings for the Stock Exchange. If these are the most important examples and the landmarks of Czernowitz within the historicist urban fabric, the city also presents many examples of Art Nouveau buildings, that often symbolize the Jewish bourgeoisie of the town. One symbol is

[6] J.A. Lux, 'Das Sparkassengebäude in Czernowitz', *Der Architekt*, 9, 1903, p. 71-75. About the architect and the building see Markus Kristan, *Hubert Gessner. Architekt zwischen Kaiserreich und Sozialdemokratie 1871-1943*, Wien, Passagen Verlag, 2011, p. 46-50.

[7] *Die Architektur des XX Jahrunderts*, 1907, p. 62.

clearly political: the statue of Austria, that was erected in 1875 in the Austria square to remember and to celebrate the annexation of Bukovina to the empire.

The urban elements that, at first, recall the many different identities of the local society are, of course, the churches related to the many religions of Czernowitz. Beyond the ancient wooden churches, the oldest temple in town is the Roman-Catholic Church of the Holy Cross (1787-1814), built in a neoclassical style but with clear references to the late-baroque style widely appreciated across the empire since the late 18th century. The late neoclassical Greek-Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Spirit was built in 1844-66 by Ferdinad Roell, while the Greek-Catholic Church of the Virgin Mary was built in 1825-30 according to a neoclassical design that turned the typically Slavic five domes into a bulb shape. Other churches belong to Eclecticism: the neogothic Jesuit Church of the Sacred Heart (1891-94), and the Armenian Church of St. Peter & St. Paul, built by the Czech architect Jozef Hlavka in 1869-75. He designed the most important and monumental building in town too, the Residence of Bukovinian and Dalmatian Metropolitans[8] (1864-75). Conceived as a "crown of the town", located in the upper part of downtown, the building speaks clearly of the Austrian project to turn Czernowitz into the Vatican of the Orthodox Church within the Empire. The building, a red brick monument, shows a mixed set of references: German pediments, Byzantine-Romanesque elements, regional Romanian details and the classical five domes of the church. The main Synagogue was built in the same period and in the same style. It was centrally located - even more than the previous one - and it became, along with the Metropolitan Residence, one of the landmarks that appeared on postcards of the period. It was designed in 1873 by the Lemberg-based Polish architect Julian Zachariewicz[9]. His style was more Moorish-Byzantine. It was experimented with by Ludwig Förster for the synagogues built in Vienna (1854) and Budapest (1859), but here adding a dome to the temple, as Eduard Knoblauch and Friedrich August Stüler did in Berlin (1859-66). After these works the Jewish community added one more "mark" on the town with the Jewish House (Jüdisches Haus) that was built in 1905-08, a Neobaroque monumental palace designed by Tadeusz Levandovsky with four clearly "Viennese" atlases in the front. In those years, as we can see in postcards, the Jewish House in the foreground and the dome of the Synagogue in the background were connected elements of the urban landscape, showing the prominent role of the Jewish community in Czernowitz.
It was not only the Jewish community that had a "national house": all the national groups had specific buildings for meetings and promoting their own culture[10]. The Romanian House (Palatul National) was located in the main square, the Ringplatz. It was formerly a hotel built in the 19th

[8] The building has been listed as part of UNESCO's World Heritage in 2011.
[9] About the main Synagogue in Czernowitz see S.R. Kravtsov, 'Jewish Identities in Synagogue Architecture of Galicia and Bukovina', *Ars Judaica*, 2010, 6, pp. 81-100.
[10] V. Starik, *Chernivtsi Multikulturni*, Chernivtsi, Ukrainskij Narodnij Dim, 2012.

century with an Eclectic façade decorated with Romanian details only during the Romanian interwar period[11]. The Ukranian (Ruthenian) House, a monumental building with no decorative folk elements, was in front of the Armenian church, close to the Herrengasse, the main street where the Polish National House featured prominently, decorated with Polish architectural features in 1902-05. Just in front in 1910 the Christian German community of Czernowitz built one of the largest national houses in town, the Deutsches Haus, a masterpiece of Jugendstil with vernacular and 'gothic' details by Gustav Fritsch, a German architect from Sudetenland[12]. If all these groups had strong connections through trade and work and in daily activities, real interethnic relationships or friendships depended on individual situations. Sometimes official connections were visible and important: when in 1908 the International Yiddish Conference was held in Czernowitz, it was organized in the Musikverein and the Ukrainian House (and not at the Jewish House). Similarly, the plays of a Vilnius-based Yiddish theatre company were performed in the great theatre of the Deutsches Haus.

Palatul Culturii: from Czernowitz to Cernăuţi

The annexation of Bucovina, despite its rather small surface, had a significant impact on the nationalistic ideology of Greater Romania. According to Charles Upson Clark, "the joy over its return is disproportionately great in Roumania"[13]. This "return" was followed by a strong process of "Romanization" in education and culture. After 1924 the Romanian language was declared the only official language. This improvement of the Romanian culture was often supported through violent action by Romanian university students: German plays were no longer staged at the theatre after 1922 following students' protests. The statue of Schiller was removed and replaced in front of the theatre by the statue of the patriot-poet Mihai Eminescu, born and educated in Czernowitz, whose name was changed in Cernăuţi. All the street names were changed too. Twenty years of Romanian rule left many "architectural signs" on the urban fabric, but without changing the "perfect town" inherited by the Habsburg era. In the Twenties many buildings aimed to showcase the Romanian national heritage, taking elements from the Potlogi (1698) and Mogosoaia (1702) palaces built for Constantin Brancoveanu[14] (as the Consistory Palace, many villas and residential buildings, a school and the Jewish Orphanage) but the dominant aspect is

[11] It was only in the 20's that the right part of the ground floor featured a new window with a typically "Romanian" shape, for the Banca Casa Română S.A. (http://neoromanesc.blogspot.it, posted 8 June 2011, accessed 14 March 2016)

[12] The Imperial and Royal Government Administration Building in Czernowitz (1871) shows a standard historicist imprint.

[13] Upson Clark, *Greater Roumania*, p. 98.

[14] About Romanian architecture at the beginning of the 20th century see A. Ştefănuţ, *Art Nouveau in Romania*, Bucureşti NOI Media Print, 2008.

Modernism[15]. A huge number of residential buildings with round corners and streamline windows is still visible in the streets of "Cernauţi". Some of them, like the vast residential units close to the Synagogue, play a major urban role. During this period Romanian architects built the airport (1930-36, Constantin Dragu), the Polyclinic (1936-38), the House of trainees (1937), etc. The strongest intervention was the new Palace of Culture (Palatul Culturii), whose national relevance is not reflected in its architectural style (a pure and refined international Modernism) as much as in its huge dimensions, like a giant sitting in the theatre square. Significantly the area chosen by the authorities was an empty plot close to the Jewish House (already conceived as the place for the new Parliament of Bucovina, never built because of the collapse of the Habsburg empire), definitely excluding the dome of the Synagogue from the city landscape in that location. The architect Horia Creanga was the most prominent in Romania at that moment and designed such modernist masterpieces in Bucarest as the ARO Insurance Building (1929) and the Malaxa Burileanu Apartments (1935-37). Another expression of the Romanization effort is showed by the construction of new orthodox churches in a Romanian style: the churches in the districts of Monastirshte and Horecea and the cathedral of Saint Nicholas (1927-1939), the latter designed as a copy of the church of Curtea de Argeş, where the Romanian kings were usually buried. Despite these efforts, according to the entry for *Cernăuț* in the *Italian Encyclopaedia* published in 1931, the town hadn't fully restored its Romanian character yet: "Cernăuţ non ha ancora ripreso il carattere romeno".[16]

The final destruction of a multicultural town: from Cernăuţi to Chernivtsi

The long route of the urban society of Czernowitz-Cernăuţi comes to an end with the Second World War. The town did not suffer the distruction of war as other European cities, but the internal structure of its society was completely destroyed. During the first occupation by the Russian troops, in 1940, the German community - thanks to the arrangements between the Nazis and the Soviet Union - was transferred back to Germany, eliminating an important part of the urban society of Chernivtsi. In 1941 it was the turn of Romanian and Nazi troops, that immediately burned down the Synagogue. The Jewish community suffered enormously because of killings in the streets, seclusion in the established ghetto, deportation, starvation and death in Transnistria. The Romanian Mayor Traian Popovici, strongly opposed to the national new rules, kept 20,000 Jews in his town, saving them from death. The Red Army occupied Chernivtsi again in 1944 and

[15] Two Romanian websites about the interwar architecture are http://artdeco-modernist.blogspot.it (accessed 15 October 2015), http://neoromanesc.blogspot.it, (accessed 06 February 2016). See also D. Olaru, S. Capriiciuc, 'Construcția interbelică în Cernăuți', in *Țara Fagilor. Almanah cultural-literar al românilor nord-bucovineni alcătuit de Dumitru Covalciuc*, Cernăuți-Târgu Mureş, Dumitru-Covalciuc & Fundația Culturală Vasile Netea, 2016, p. 53-74.
[16] E. d. M., N.I., *Cernaut*, in *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere e arti*, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, vol. 9, 1931, *ad vocem*. About the Jewish appearance of the town in that period see A. Londres, *L'ebreo errante è arrivato*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2000, pp. 100-107.

then Northern Bukovina. In 1945-46 a large part of the Jewish community was moved to Romania because of the Romanian citizenship they had acquired in the interwar period. Russian authorities were concerned about the huge number of remaining Jews in town and allowed/forced them to emigrate, thus leading to a radical change in the social make-up of the town. At the end of the war, with the final annexation of Bukovina to the Soviet Union, the idea of Czernowitz ultimately died. The buildings remained the same, but the identity of the town disappeared: the German community vanished, the Jewish one was strongly reduced, a large number of people settled in Chernivtsi[17] from Eastern Ukraine and other regions of the Soviet Union, the only official languages spoken were Russian and Ukrainian.

It was a real Russification and Sovietization process: agriculture began to be collectivized, the *kurkuls* (*kulaks*) were persecuted, famine and epidemics made their appearance. In the 1950s the main goal was industrialization. The Soviet economic system made the town darker and darker; churches were closed and transformed sometimes in museums or archives, the Metropolitan Residence became the main seat of the University, the Jewish House became the House of Culture, what remained of the Synagogue was turned into a movie theatre, the Romanian Palatul Culturii became the Army's Officers' Club. A specific policy to build a new local identity passed through the erection of monuments that spoke of war as the pillar of this new identity[18]: war as liberation from the invaders and the return of the region to its rightful world, the Ukrainian one. In 1944 a monument to the soviet soldiers fallen for Chernivtsi was erected in the Cemetery, in 1946 another one in the Soborna square celebrating the liberation by the Soviet troops, then another one on Gagarin street, celebrating the time when the first Russian tank entered the city. In 1980 a statue of Olga Kobilyanska (a famous Ukrainian writer) was erected just outside the theatre. Thus new monuments and new inhabitants entered the squares and the houses of the town, as Czernowitz (but Cernauţi too) became invisible.

Multiple identities, the heritage, today's identity: Chernivtsi

> We experienced cities that at first appearance seemed familiar. […] Boulevards, broad avenues, market squares, eclectic Art Déco buildings that exuded the glamour of a long golden age. Still something was different […] The present urban society has different origins and speaks a different language […] In Chernivtsi we felt most strongly the contradiction between the original function of the buildings and their current use"[19]

[17] The town got the name Chernivtsi on 29.06.1940, and was confirmed on 29.03.1944. Many thanks to Irina Korotun (Università Yuriy Fedkoviych, Chernivtsi) for this piece of information.
[18] S. Frunchak, 'Commemorating the Future in Post-War Chernivtsi', p. 439-441, 444.
[19] Zamp Kelp, Lienemeyer, *Czernowitz Tomorrow*, p. 50.

These words are from German architects visiting Czernowitz with students in 2006, for the International Summer Academy of Architecture and Urban Regeneration. Soon they realized that the urban society was different from the original one, and spoke a different language. In 2001 Chernivtsi has 236,700 inhabitants (80% Ukrainians, 11 % Russians, 4.4% Romanians, 1.6% Moldavians, 0.6% Poles, 0.6% Jews from Moldova or Russian areas). In spite of this framework of suffering, invisible traces of the former "little Vienna" gradually started to resurface again. The main occasion was the celebration of the 600th birthday of Czernivtsi in October 2008. A program was organized to address the ecoomic and political needs of the Ukrainians at first (and to a lesser extent of the Romanians as well)[20], but it was the historical and cultural components of the town that came into focus and were appreciated again. *Chernivtsi city of tolerance* is a page of the town's new website[21], bearing witness to a spirit of cooperation among different cultures and religions. The sections devoted to literature shows a good balance of Ukrainian, Romanian and Jewish writers alike. The downtown area underwent significant restoration works and in the new street paving the former Herrengasse (now Kobylianska) there are two black stone ribbons (one for each side) that bear all the names of the town over time: Czernowitz, Cernauți, Chernovtsy, Chernivtsi, etc. Maybe, as noted by Svetlana Frunchak in 2010, this is only a way to flirt with tourists[22]… The information plaques on the architectural monuments offer information in Ukrainian and English, but also the name of the town in ten languages. Of course, the Jewish community is one of the more dynamic associations trying to revive the history of Czernowitz. Thanks to the cooperation between the Ukrainian Jewish Confederation and the international discussion group Czernowitz-l (the "old" Czernowitzer and their heirs)[23] a Museum about Jews in Bucovina opened on the ground floor of the former Jewish House, restoring part of its original meaning without mentioning the Holocaust. As Frunchak underlines in her works, Ukraine has yet to admit the role played by Ukrainians in the killing of Jews. The system of "national houses" was also partially revived: the Romanian, Polish and Ukrainian houses are home to cultural events. If before 2008 some plates indicated the area of the ghetto and some monuments were erected in memory of prominent writers like Paul Celan (1992) and Mihai Eminescu (2000) and figures from the Golden Age (the Kaiser Franz Joseph, 2009), a series of multi-language plates is gradually starting to appear on the walls of the houses inhabited by non-Ukrainian writers or scientists. Thanks to the international Jewish community, since 2009 a marble plate remembers the Romanian mayor Traian Popovici, while others indicate the houses and the schools where poets and writers lived or studied, like Karl Emil Franzos or Rose Ausländer. The internationally known Jewish tenor Joseph Schmidt, already a member of the Synagogue Choir, appears on a marble plate in the hall of the

[20] A Romanian point of view is available in Cernov, Luceac, *Cernăuți / Chernovtsy 1408-2008*.
[21] http://www.chernivtsy.cv.ua/en/. The website is no longer operating.
[22] S. Frunchak, 'Commemorating the Future in Post-War Chernivtsi', p. 450.
[23] *Czernowitz-L discussion group*: http://czernowitz.ehpes.com.

cinema built in the former Jewish temple, today commonly known as the Kinagoga. In 2003, during some works in a courtyard, the mutilated statue of Austria was recovered. It was an opportunity for many central European artists[24] to work on the concept of power and its symbols in the framework of the "CzernowitzAustria 2005" project, producing artworks that were displayed in exhibitions in Chernivtsi too. Thus Czernowitz (and Cernauţi, sometimes, too) becomes visible and takes once again center stage: a German guide from the early 20th century was recently reprinted. Thanks to the restoration works old painted advertising placards are back on the walls, and the Romanian Polyclinic's name *Policlinica*, written in Latinin large letters, is back on the façade.

Chernivtsi, border city in the XXI century

The need to be closer to the European Union recently brought Ukraine to emphasize its connections with some European countries in the border areas. In Lviv the Polish heritage is more and more visible (for instance: the website of the Opera House is in Ukrainian, English and Polish). In Chernivtsi the Romanian community has opened a second cultural centre in the main street, the Centrul Cultural Român Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi, with a bookshop, a conference hall and a restaurant (Café Bucureşti), generating widespread visibility for the contemporary city-life and townscape. In addition to this official and political transformation there is a particular phenomenon that deserves to be mentioned: the Kalynivskyy Market[25], a real "new town" that found its *raison d'être* precisely in the geo-political position of Chernivtsi. After Ukraine's independence (1991) the construction of a self-built market place started in a public area across the river Prut, on the border of the city, thanks to a new bridge on the river. In the early post-Soviet years this was the only place for the free trade of goods and services. The area initially belonged partly to the University, then to the Municipality. Today it is the best financial resource for the Town Hall, thanks to local tax revenues. The planning of this 33 acres (13 hectares) market started out spontaneously, using superposed containers as shops (ground level) and stores (upper level). Later new areas were added by the Municipality, built as Parisian covered passages with two rows of shops, according to a East-West scheme. The goods sold here are from China, India, Poland, Romania, Italy, etc. and buyers come not only from Ukraine, but also from Moldova and Romania across the border. On the left side of the street coming from the bridge there is a large used car market, with hundreds of little shops for car parts; on the right lies the market itself (food, clothes, shoes, etc.). In spite of uncertainty about land ownership and lack of infrastructures, the market continued to thrive and it is now regulated to prevent its "explosion" (a scenery envisaged ten

[24] Operating in Vienna, Bratislava, Lviv, Budapest, Krakow: http://kulturresistent.org/category/czernowitz-austria/
[25] See I. Korotun, V.N. Tsylov, 'Town planning perspectives. The general planning scheme for Chernivtsi,' and G. Doytchinov, 'The location developments', in Zamp Kelp, Lienemeyer, *Czernowitz Tomorrow*, p. 146-153, 162-187.

years ago) and comprised of a Police Station, Banks and a small orthodox chapel. The market also created a middle class in Chernivtsi and a stable economy, compared to other run-down Ukrainian cities. In this Eastern-European bazaar, that welcomes 50,000 shoppers a day, the multi-ethnic and multicultural DNA of Czernowitz/Chernauti/Chervitsi continues to take centre stage.

Political Changes and 'National Style': Architecture and Town Planning in Poznán in the 20th century Piotr Marciniak, Poznán University of Technology *

The twentieth century was a period of intensive architectural exploration situated, in general, between the poles of historicism and modernism. Poznán, with its metropolitan provincialism and an architectural milieu featuring representatives of different academic backgrounds, was a place where 'middle ground architecture' was designed. As a result, the city provides a good example for the study of all the trends that were generally approved and popular in the particular periods, as well as their respective architectural priorities.

After World War I, the influx of Polish architects and residents from the other formerly partitioned areas of Poland resulted in the introduction of a different architectural style which in the 1920s, was accompanied by discussions about the national style. However, references to the so-called 'Polish Empire style' would often coexist with classical forms regarded as the general principles of architectural thought as exemplified by European architecture of the late 1920s and early 30s. Gradually the European avant-garde became more influential which, nonetheless, was applied in a somewhat softened version. The reconstruction of Poland in the aftermath of World War II was, on the other hand, an attempt to legitimize the power of the new communist authorities by making the public opinion believe that the developments of the time continued the historic traditions of Polish architecture. The program revisited historicist concepts and some specific 'pre-partition styles' that dated from the eighteenth century.

The historical changes in Poznán's sovereignty were tantamount to significant changes in the nationality-based issues among its residents. This, in turn, resulted in the disrupting of development continuity, in addition to an overlapping and, to a great extent, conflicted coexistence of diverse architectural narratives. The need for change was determined by several factors, among them the 'Germanisation' of the urban space caused by Prussian construction activity in the nineteenth century and the erection of the strongly ideologically suggestive Imperial District after 1900. The latter's monumental architecture created a German record of history, according to which Poznán had apparently been affected by German culture since the times of Christianization. The new developments, including the 'new' castle in Poznán, became a manifestation of national identity that was built in opposition to the Prussian developments.

The example of Poznán shows how the discussions on the reconstruction of Poland, initiated during World War I, and the determination of the character of a state situated within the sphere of Prussian influence, referred not only to destroyed cities, and did not end once the damage was amended, but continued into the interbellum, and affected the decisions made in the aftermath of World War II.

In the presentation, I wish to show the various points of view on the development of a new concept of the city, referring to both its spatial structure and visual appearance, and how its planning and construction were affected by changes in Poznán's sovereignty. I would also like to discuss how the architecture of Poznán is perceived today as that of the capital city of the Greater Poland Region, and in the context of national and cultural identity.

PAPER

Located halfway between Berlin and Warsaw, Poznań is a major city, the capital of the historical region of Greater Poland. Like a lens, the city's location focuses some of the key problems that are typical for towns situated on the borderlands between two cultures, in this case: Polish and German.[1]

The first half of the twentieth century was an especially interesting time in the development of architecture and town planning in Poznań. The rhythm of construction activities was determined by political changes that would often directly affect the decisions made within this field. For centuries a Polish city, in the late 18th century Poznań came under the rule of Prussia. After World War I, it was reinstated as the capital city of Greater Poland in the Second Polish Republic, whereas during World War II, it was incorporated into the Third Reich as the capital of the *Reichsgau Wartheland*. The postwar period was marked by typical communist architecture and town planning and since 1989, the activities within Poznań's urban space have reflected the democratic transformations in Poland.
The postwar period was marked by diverse architecture influenced by communism, and since 1989, the activities within Poznań's urban space have reflected the democratic transformations in Poland.

[1] Research dedicated to borderland problems is the subject of numerous publications and German-Polish conferences organised by the Working Group of Polish and German Art Historians (which included Dethard von Winterfeld, Małgorzata Omilanowska, Beate Störtkuhl, Andrzej Tomaszewski and Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel).

Prussian legacy

Following its location in 1253, on the left bank of the Warta River, Poznań obtained a transparent spatial structure. The city featured a consistent clear urban composition based on an orthogonal grid. In principle, this archetypical spatial model was further developed during the subsequent ages, until the end of the eighteenth century. As a result of the second partition of Poland in 1793, Poznań and Greater Poland became part of Prussia. Some years later, the Prussian authorities became involved in an extensive town planning project which included the demolition of the existing fortifications and the realisation of a new vision of the city. The programme reflected modern planning trends that stemmed directly from the social, economic and cultural needs of European cities in the nineteenth century.[2] The new town in Poznań was an obvious manifestation of certain theoretical premises that found their practical implementation in German towns. Regarding the spatial arrangement, these ideas referred to the existing layouts, whilst ideologically, they were embedded in the concepts of residential and premier districts connected to open spaces that emerged in the eighteenth century. This cohesive vision, based on solid theoretical foundations, provided the basis of a planning project that was, subsequently, preserved in Poznań's spatial character. Among the most important inspirations was the "Ideal City of Chaux" or the works of British planners, including the expansion of Bath.[3] Another major influence on the formation of modern architectural thought in Poznań was David Gilly, one of the most brilliant German architects of the time.

After temporarily loosing Greater Poland to the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia's control over most of the region was restored by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. At this point, the authorities designed a large-scale programme to transform Poznań into a stronghold, as the city was a strategic point in case of any aggression from Russia, and was also one of the links in the defensive chain of the eastern borders of Prussia. In 1828, the construction of Fort Winiary and a series of right-bank fortifications was approved, and in 1839, further construction and modernisation work was launched on the Poznań Fortress. This continued uninterruptedly until the 1880s. At the time, *Festung Posen* was one of the most impressive military structures in Europe.

Imperial District

The existence of fortifications in Poznań effectively obstructed its further spatial growth. Aware of this, the Prussian authorities, who wished to expand the city, decided in 1902, to demolish the inner ring of fortifications, to develop and to build over the obsolete Prussian fortress. The plans were initiated by Heinrich Grüder and continued by Joseph Stübben, who in 1904, became the

[2] Kębłowska-Ostrowska, Z. Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1790-1880. p. 111.
[3] It is also worth mentioning the projects of Friedriech Weinbeener for Karlsruhe, op. cit. p. 121-122.

head of the Royal Commission for the Expansion of Poznań. Stübben's new design of the city ring maintained an arrangement of streets that surrounded the town centre. [Fig. 1] This was enhanced by a diversity of multifamily residential developments, open spaces and urban villas. Furthermore, in the most important area, i.e. on the axis of the point of access to the city, Stübben designed a forum surrounded by impressive edifices comprising the Imperial District.[4] Apart from Stübben, a decisive voice that affected the shape of Poznań was that of Emperor Wilhelm II and his architect Franz Schwechten[5], the author of the most important building in the forum: the Imperial Castle. It is worth mentioning that after the founding of the German Empire in 1871, Poznań became one of the nine official imperial seats, and the province of East Prussia played an important role in Wilhelm's II politics. What is more, the emperor was known for his artistic talents and his interest in architecture, hence he became involved in the designing of the *Königliches Residenzschloß*, his eastern residence. Stübben borrowed the actual idea to situate the official buildings near the ring from Vienna. However, the Viennese developments aimed to preserve the Habsburg *Kulturträger* (bringer of culture) myth, whereas the Imperial District was a manifestation of the new *Hebungspolitik*, a pro Germanic policy for the eastern provinces of the Prussian state.[6] The premises of the new town planning concept for Poznań made a reference to earlier plans for other German cities, for example the Ring and the New Town in Köln.[7] They also displayed some analogies to solutions approved, for instance, for Metz and Strasbourg, as well as other Polish towns situated within the Austrian partition, for example the plan for Krakow of 1910.

[4] The role of German architecture and architectural policy is described in detail in Pałat, Z. Architektura a polityka: gloryfikacja Prus i niemieckiej misji cywilizacyjnej w Poznaniu na początku XX wieku. Poznań 2011.

[5] Franz Schwechten (1841-1924), a German architect, a graduate of the Bauakademie in Berlin, the author numerous buildings, including the Keiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin (1895), the Grunewald Tower in Teltow (1898), the Chapel of the Dukes of Anhalt in Dessau-Roßlau (1898) and the Quistorp Tower in Sczecin (1904).

[6] Pałat, Z. Ostatnie Forum Cesarskie. Forma i symbolika urbanistyczno-architektonicznego założenia poznańskiego ringu, in: Artium Quaestiones No 2/1983, p. 60.

[7] See: Karnau, O. Hermann Josef Stübben. Städtebau 1876–1930. Vieweg, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden 1996. A comparison of the plans for Poznań and Köln was made by Grzeszczuk-Brendel, H. Die Erweiterung der Stadt Posen auf den Gebieten der geschleiften Befestigungen zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Das Ende des Festungen. Red Daniel Burger Schnell&Steiner Regensburg 2009, p. 149-166. Also see: Skuratowicz, J. Architektura Poznania w latach 1890–1918, Poznań 1991.

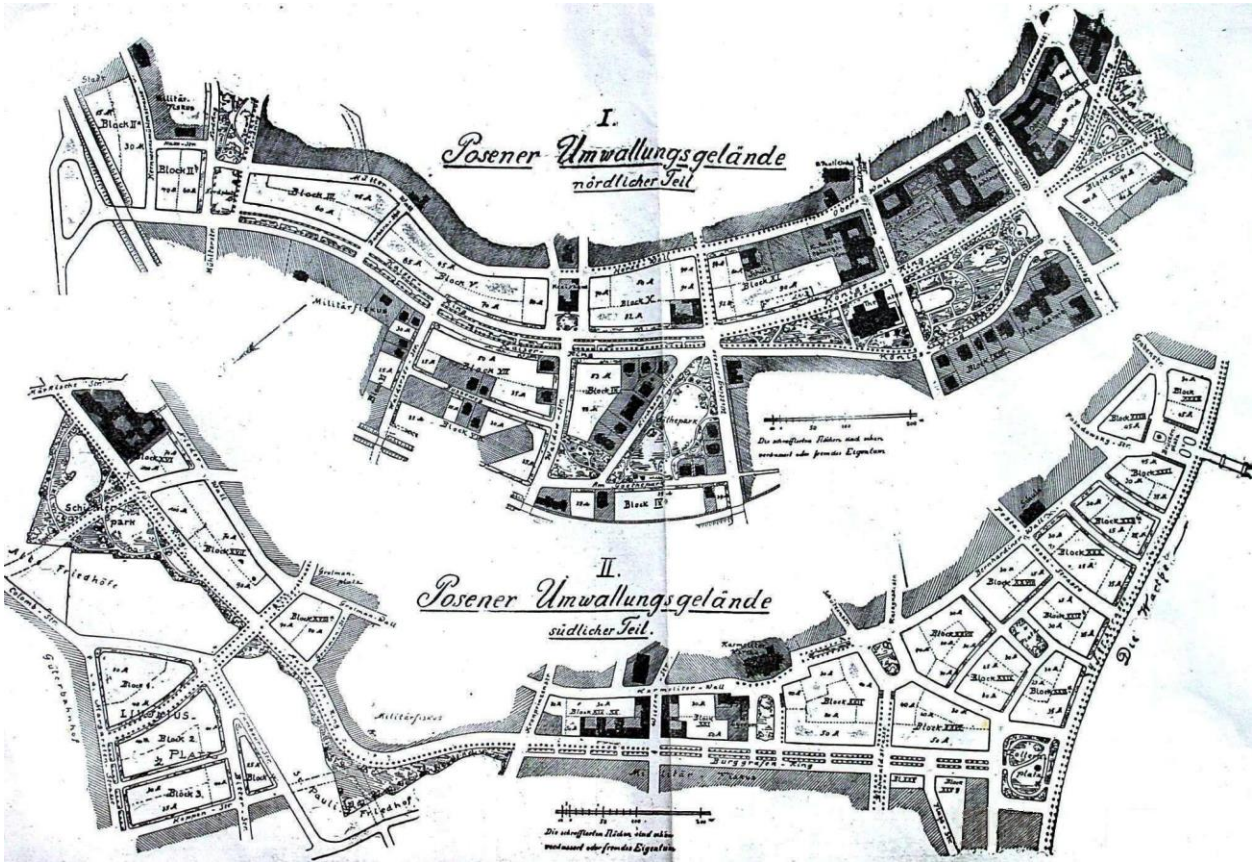

Figure 1: F Josef Stübben, areas along ramparts (northern and southern section) showing the Imperial Forum. Source: State Archives in Poznań

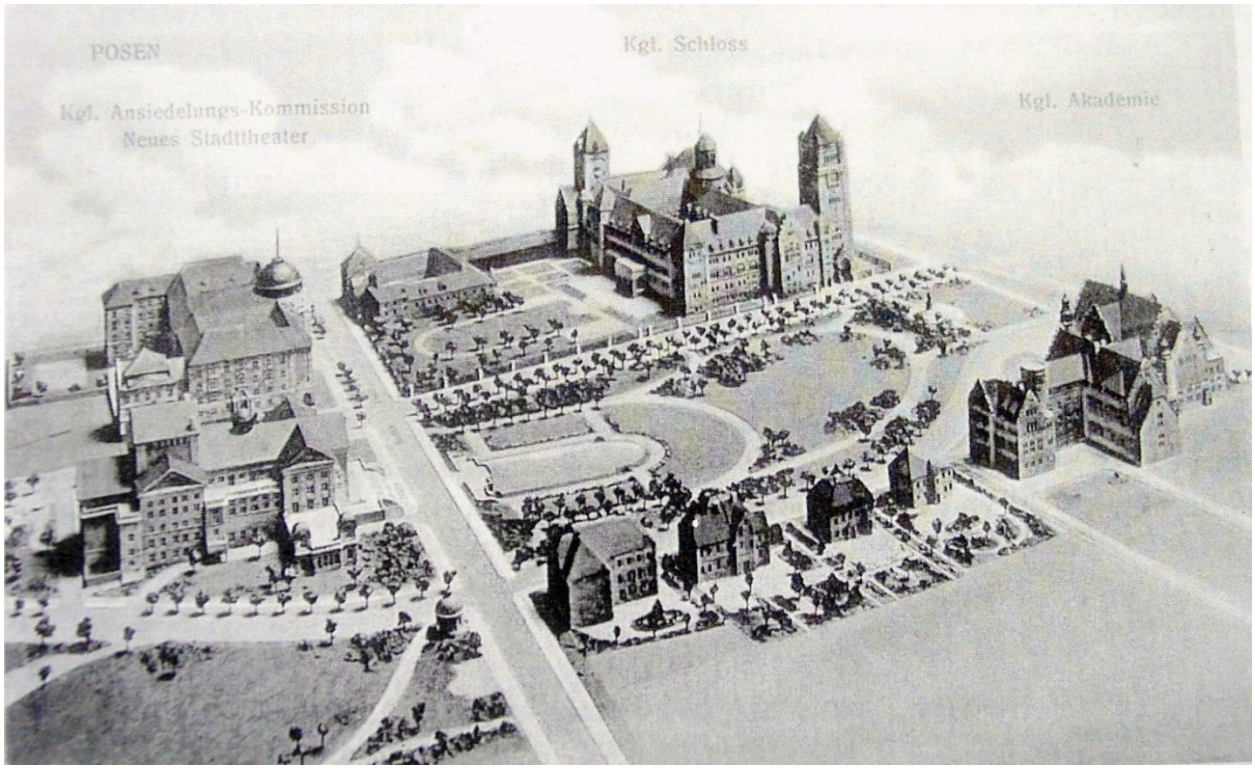

Figure 2: View of the Castle District showing the Imperial Castle in Poznań (designed by F. Schwechten). Source: Adam Mickiewicz University Library

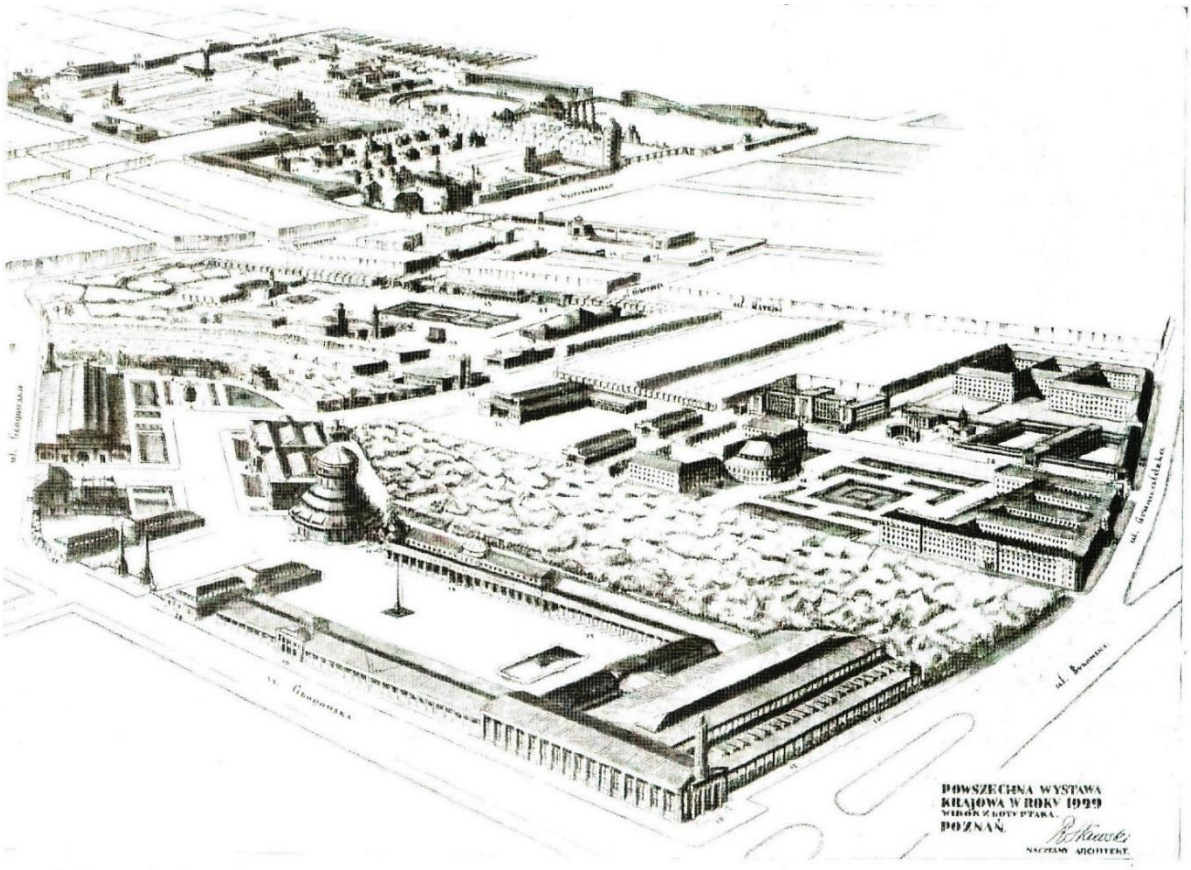

Figure 3: View of the General National Exhibition (PeWuKa) buildings in Poznań, 1929. Source: Architektura i Budownictwo, no 1/2929, p.2

Figure 4: Mock-up for the reconstruction of the Old Market Square in Poznań (designed by Z. Zieliński), 1949. Source: Archives of the Chief City Conservation Officer

Figure 5: Reconstructed Royal Castle in Poznań (designed by W. Milewski), present day. Photograph: P. Marciniak

Apart from the castle, the forum consisted of five buildings: the Royal Academy, the City Theatre, the Settlement Commission, the Regional Government Office and the Post Office. These provided an architectural setting to the castle, and were further enhanced by the German Cooperative Bank and the Evangelical Church. All the buildings in the forum imparted a similar architectural impression, introduced by Schwechten at the explicit request of Wilhelm II. A monument of Otto von Bismarck was also situated near the castle, designed by Gustav Eberlein, the author of many monuments that evoked German national symbolism. According to the Emperor, the Romanesque Revival castle, erected on the plan of an irregular polygon, was the most Germanic of all his residences, and epitomised the greatness of the German Empire.[8] The symbolic

[8] The castle and its history are described in detail in Pazder, J. and Zimmermann, E. Kaiserschloss Posen. Zamek cesarski w Poznaniu. Potsdam, Poznań 2003.

dimension of the complex, in particular the castle, was in line with the German policy for the Polish territories. This aimed to emphasise the culture-building role of Germany and the imperial rule, to glorify German colonisation and to emphasise the significance of German art and architecture in the formation of national consciousness. To German settlers, the castle was also a symbol of their historic mission in the eastern borderlands of the Empire.[9]
Despite the undeniable compositional and spatial value of the Imperial District, many Polish historians have pointed out the ideological significance of the concept, and described it as *Denkmal der Hebungspolitik der Ostmark*, i.e. a monument of pro Germanic politics in the East.[10] Some scholars are also of the opinion that the creation of such a massive architectural complex served to develop a synthetic showcase for the new capital of the German East, embedded in early German history.[11] Similar projects were also implemented in the western parts of the German Empire. An excellent example of this approach was the Neo-Romanesque train station in Metz, designed by German architect Jürgen Kröger (1908). [Fig. 2]

During the Interbellum, the castle interiors were adapted to the needs of the newly established Adam Mickiewicz University. Some of the rooms were also used by the Diocese Museum. Few changes were made during World War II, and the symbolism of the castle regarding German aspirations to control Greater Poland was preserved.[12] The exterior was significantly damaged during the Battle of Poznań, in the late stage of the war. Finally, the considerable lowering of the castle tower, as a result of war damage, came to be seen as the erasing of the symbolism of German dominance. During the communist era, the castle interiors became the home of *Pałac Kultury* (the Palace of Culture), a cultural centre, which as *Centrum Kultury „Zamek"* (the Castle Cultural Centre), continues to use the premises to this day.

Re-Polonisation

After Poland regained independence in 1918, a decision was made to restore the Polish character of Poznań. In contrast to other Polish towns that had been ruined during World War I, the attempts to re-Polonise the built-up urban space could, in general, only be undertaken outside the most prestigious central areas. This was justified by the continuation of earlier design work that pertained to the outer districts, and incorporated the garden city concept, considered the most advantageous urban development model by European architects. Ultimately, these projects were abandoned due to the economic crisis, whilst the construction activity that followed in the

[9] Pałat 1983, op. cit., p. 69-70.
[10] Skuratowicz, J. Architektura Poznania, 1890-1918. Poznań 1991, p. 88-89.
[11] Skuratowicz, J. Kiedy Poznań stawał się wielkomiejski... (o architekturze przełomu XIX i XX wieku), in: Kronika Miasta Poznania No 3-4/1993, p.104.
[12] Compare: Dietsche, W. and Schwendemann, H. Hitlers Schloß - Die »Führerresidenz« in Posen. Berlin 2003.

1920s was guided by the requirement to introduce "local features to architecture"[13]. It should be noted that regarding the architects who worked in Poznań, but had been educated in Lviv or Charlottenburg or Karlsruhe[14], the national (presumably Polish) character of their architectural forms should be seen rather as an intention than an actual shift in their designing practice. A good example of this is *Dom Akademicki* (Student Hall), built in 1929. Designed by Roger Sławski, an architect educated in Germany, who was inspired by Friedrich Ostendorf's ideas[15], the building was considered an example of "sophisticated, local … culture".[16]

The efforts to give new form to the city were also apparent in urban planning, which aimed to make adjustments in the Imperial District complex. The rationale behind these efforts, i.e. the inconsistent planning principles pointed out in the complex, stemmed, to a great extent, from the refusal to see an ideological Germanisation dimension in the style of the buildings. The necessary adjustments included the regulation of the square in front of the castle and the erecting of a "monumental [sic] church that would provide an architectural counterpoise to the castle".[17] It is interesting that the political arguments in these discussions were replaced by aesthetical ones, and the criticism focused on issues like disrespect for "the basic rules of building towns" in "the situating of the particular monumental edifices", "the petty Bismarck monument" or "a real museum of architectural styles".[18] The economic improvement in later years inspired some Poznanians to yet a more radical approach. The sculptor Ludwik Puget noted a similarity between Poznań and Berlin, and postulated a very quick transformation of the former. According to Puget, the reinstating of the familiar character in Poznań could have also been achieved by the situating of important institutions in the Old City, which would restore its status, and also by the highlighting of historic buildings. New structures that "manifest[ed] this sincere artistic spirit in which Polish architecture [was] being reborn" could have also contributed to the re-Polonisation of the city. Listed among the latter were Roger Sławski's Student Hostel and Sławski's and Edward Madurowicz's Collegium Chemicum.[19]

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[13] Ruciński, K. Rzut oka na budownictwo miejskie w Poznaniu, in: Architektura i Budownictwo No ?/1929, p. 208.

[14] An alumnus of Charlottenburg were, for example, Kazimierz Ruciński, Roger Sławski, Stefan Cybichowski and Sylwester Pajzderski. For more information see: Czarnecki, W. Wspomnienia architekta. Grzeszczuk-Brendel, H. and Kodym-Kozaczko, G. Ed. Poznań 2015.

[15] Klause, G. Roger Sławski 1871-1963, architect. Poznań 1999.

[16] Puget, L. O wygląd Poznania. Odbitka z Działu Kultury i Sztuki „Kurjera Poznańskiego" nakładem autora czcionkami drukarni Polskiej T.A. Poznań 1928, p. 9. It may be assumed that Sławski's brief stay in Karlsruhe and his contacts with Ostendorf could have inspired the latter's style around 1900. See: Klause, G. Roger Sławski : 1871-1963 : architekt, Poznań 1999.

[17]The urban layout of Poznań is discussed in e.g.: Kodym-Kozaczko, G. Rozwój Poznania w planowaniu urbanistycznym w latach 1900-1990, in: Jakimowicz, T. Ed. Architektura i urbanistyka Poznania w XX wieku. Poznań 2005, p. 31-34.

[18] Pajzderski, S. Stan rozbudowy miasta Poznania. Poznań 1927, p.2.

[19] Puget, op. cit., p. 9. Compare: Grzeszczuk-Brendel, H. and Marciniak, P. Reforma miasta a styl narodowy. Architektura Poznania w pierwszej połowie XX wieku, in: International Conference, Recreating Historical Towns and Cities. Nation, Politics, Society in post 1914 urban Restoration, Kalisz 16-17.04.2015, p.59-60.

General National Exhibition (PeWuKa)

As a sovereign young state, Poland soon experienced rapid economic and cultural growth. An opportunity to review its achievements was *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa* (the General National Exhibition, *PeWuKa*) held in Poznań in 1929.[20] Exhibitions which presented the creative and material output of individual countries had become a permanent practice across the world already in the early nineteenth century. The PeWuKa, however, was unique in the sense that by showing the success of the Second Polish Republic's first decade it attested its dynamic development in all areas of economy and culture, and confirmed that Poland should not be treated as some "seasonal state".[21] The show was addressed to Polish people living in Poland and abroad, and also to foreigners, many of whom had not yet fully grasped the new, post-Versailles division of Europe. The PeWuKa's undeniable success was evidenced by both the crowds of visitors (4.5 million from its opening on 16 May, until the last day on 30 September 1929) and the favourable reviews, in addition to a change of tone in the German press, which became apparent near the end of the show. Obviously, the PeWuKa was not entirely without a political undertone. It was organised as a clear response to the propagandist *Ostdeutsche Ausstelung für Industrie, Gewerbe und Landwirtschaft* (East German Exhibition) of 1911. To an extent, the latter show defined the spatial form of the future Poznań International Fair and the PeWuKa, as it produced their major structure: the Upper Silesian Tower, designed by Hans Poelzig.[22] The tower became not only the most distinctive symbol of the PeWuKa, but went on to be an important feature of the cityscape, and was no longer perceived as a symbol of domination (until it was destroyed during Allied bombings in 1943 and 1944). A vast majority of the PeWuKa exhibition pavilions were designed by Roger Sławski. Their architecture was a reference to traditional Classicist forms that were often enhanced with features inspired by the Polish decorative arts. In general, the PeWuKa presented all the architectural styles of the time, including the Avant-garde.[23] Reflecting the aesthetics of Modernist explorations, these Avant-garde proposals made a great impact on the dissemination of the International Style in Poland, and contributed to a shift in the designing practice of many architects. Retrospectively, the PeWuKa can be regarded as the swan song of traditional forms and as the embracing of Modernism, which became the new "national style" of

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[20] See: Brendel H., Kodym-Kozaczko, G., Klause, G. and Marciniak, P. Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa w Poznaniu w 1929 roku – rocznicowa retrospekcja, in: ***Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki No. 4/2009, p.5-16.***

[21] This expression was quite common in German press. Following the success of the PeWuKa, people started disputing it.

[22] Trade show traditions in Poznań went back to the late nineteenth century, when in 1985, the Provincial Industrial Exhibition was held at the site of a former playground, between two western gates (*Berliner Tor* and *Königstor*), beyond the line of fortifications that had not yet been demolished. The next show, in 1907, was a Polish one, and the subsequent one, in 1911, a German one. The latter was, evidently, a propagandist event, and was boycotted by Polish entrepreneurs, but made an impact on the future exhibition grounds. Compare: Warkoczewska, M. Poznań na szlakach międzynarodowego handlu. Katalog wystawy z okazji sześćdziesiątych Międzynarodowych Targów Poznańskich. Muzeum Historii Miasta Poznania-Ratusz, 1988, p. 6.

[23] Discussed in: Zwolanowska, B. Architektura PWK w Poznaniu w roku 1929, in: Rocznik Historii Sztuki, Vol. XI.

the interwar period. Poznań, with its conservatism, was slow to adopt the new trends, and it was not until the 1930s that projects designed in the spirit of Modernism or re-Polonisation became consistent with the national mainstream. [Fig. 3]

Reconstruction from war damage[24]

The reconstruction of Poznań after World War II was an evident attempt to legitimise the power of the new, communist authorities, who aimed to convince the public that they intended to continue the historic architectural tradition. In the past, the changes in statehood caused considerable changes in the nationality ratios among the residents, and this in turn, interrupted the development continuity and caused the different and often conflicting architectural narratives to overlap. An important factor which necessitated the postwar changes was the Prussian construction activity of the nineteenth century, which led to the "Germanisation" of the urban space. Furthermore, the construction of the intimidating and ideologically evocative Imperial District conveyed a rewriting of history suggesting that Poznań had, apparently, been affected by German culture since the times of its Christianisation. Consequently, the reconstruction and transformation programme revisited, on the one hand, the historicising forms of development and "pre-partition" styles originating in the eighteenth century, whilst referring to the new, Modernist paradigm on the other. Undoubtedly, the new fragments of the urban space were not short of an ideological context, providing an excellent foothold for the communist propaganda in its attempts to highlight the technological and social advancement brought on by the "people's democracy", and to make the new system acceptable to the public.

The first plan for the development of the city centre was created by Zbigniew Zieliński, shortly after the liberation of Poznań in 1945.[25] The concept of rebuilding it in its historic form provoked numerous doubts, and it was not until the reconstruction of the Old City in Warsaw had been completed that the views on the ultimate shape of the Old Market Square in Poznań became clear enough to rebuild it based on historic evidence.[26] In this case, the reconstruction, or even the creating of replicas, could only be justified by the massive extent of war damage. A clearly

[24] The German occupation (1939-1945) included several attempts to alter the urban space. During World War II, German architects worked on renewal and reconstruction plans for the Old Market Square. Projects like this were only a fraction of the planned transformations in Poznań, treated as a proving ground for the Third Reich town planning and architectural programmes, among which were proposals to create a model Nazi urban development, submitted by Walter Bangert and Hans Bernhard Reichow. Compare: Grzeszczuk-Brendel, H. Miasto do mieszkania: zagadnienia reformy mieszkaniowej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku i jej wprowadzenie w Poznaniu w pierwszej połowie XX wieku. Wydawnictwo Politechniki Poznańskiej, Poznań 2012, p.375-403, information about the Old Market Square: p. 396-397.

[25] Zin, W. Ed. Zabytki urbanistyki i architektury w Polsce. Odbudowa i konserwacja. Miasta historyczne, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1986, p. 364.

[26] Ibidem.

formulated policy of historic reconstruction was presented by Zachwatowicz in 1945, at the National Conference of Art Historians:

As we cannot consent to having monuments of culture torn away from us, we will reconstruct them; we will rebuild them from the foundations to give them to the generations, if not in an authentic, then at least in their accurate form that is harboured in memory and available in the existing materials. … A sense of accountability to the future generations demands the reconstruction of what has been destroyed from us – a reconstruction that is both full and conscious of the tragic nature of the committed preservation falsification.[27]

An emphasis on urban consistency and spatial quality did not contradict the "polish character" mentioned in yet another concept of 1946. From the beginning, i.e. from the liberation of Poznań, the favoured concept was to fully revive the Old City complex, whilst modernising it and introducing some new amenities dictated by technological advancement. [Fig. 4]

The actual reconstruction of the Old Market Square began in 1954. Comprehensive designs for the entire Old Town complex were created between 1957 and 1957, in *Pracownia Staromiejska* (Old Town Studio), headed by Florian Rychlicki, which was part of the Poznań municipal design studio called *Miastoprojekt*.[28] The façades of the four Old Market Square frontages were designed on the basis of existing iconographic material; however, in situations that were ambiguous or if new buildings were erected, a liberal interpretation of old motifs was used in the guise of historic style that was a reference to Polish Baroque.

One of the major projects was the "re-Polonisation" of the City Hall. The frame of the building and its side façades were recreated on the basis of photographs taken before a German refurbishing project that was completed in 1913.[29] Despite this, the project did not avoid the spirit of socialist propaganda, as the original Latin inscriptions on the front façade were replaced by other texts, including fragments of the Polish Constitution.

The rebuilding of the central area of the Old Market Square marked a departure from the historicising narrative. In the early twentieth century the local developments consisted of the Renaissance City Hall, the Guardhouse, the Merchant Houses and other residential developments,

[27] Majewski, P. Ideologia i Konserwacja. Warszawa 2009, p. 53.
[28] The Old Town Studio operated until 1957. Its members included: Karol Jasicki, Henryk Marcinkowski, Witold Milewski, Bogdan Mrozek, Jacek Najgrakowski, Stefan Sawicki, Izabela Wisłocka and Włodzimierz Wojciechowski, as well as Janusz Pawlak, Regina Pawuła, Zygmunt Skupniewicz and Zygmunt Lutomski.
[29] Kondziela, H. Ochrona i konserwacja zabytków na terenie miasta Poznania 1951-1956. Kronika Miasta Poznania 1951-1956 Annual, p. 232.

as well as the Prussian New City Hall, which replaced the old Weigh House in the 1890s. A decision was made to rebuild some of these[30], especially that there were many iconographic materials which evidenced the former appearance of the City Hall and the Guardhouse. Following some discussion, it was also decided to rebuild the Weigh House, and owing to the reluctance to display any traces of Prussian legacy, the remains of the New City Hall were completely pulled down.[31] Beyond this, the inner parts of the complex were replaced with completely new developments: heavily glazed twin pavilions situated at the site of the former Arsenal and Cloth Hall.

Transformation of the city centre

The moving of the central commercial district from the Old Market Square to the upper terrace of Poznań, i.e. to the 27 Grudnia Street and Święty Marcin Street locality, raised many questions about the architectural form of the "new centre", which fitted in with the modernisation paradigm of the new establishment.[32] A series of Political and planning decisions from the early 1960s resulted in a concept that aimed to totally transform the centre of Poznań, and to create a modern downtown, without any regard for the consistency and continuity of the extensive urban layout from the turn of the nineteenth century.[33] The transformation of the city centre was, in fact, one of the major and most frequently discussed planning concerns after World War II, and it is difficult to ignore the fact that the realisation of these new fragments of the urban space was ideologically informed. This was, yet again, another flagship project that legitimised the success of the "people's democracy".[34]

The extensive scale of the project intended to demonstrate the ambition of the establishment, as well as the economic potential of *Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa* (the Polish People's Republic, *PRL*) which aspired to match (at least in theory) that of the western world. Not without significance were the efforts to erase Poznań's bourgeois past, and to override the permanent remnants of Prussian architecture; hence the proposals to considerably increase the scale of the new developments that would visibly overshadow the "evidence of the Prussian occupation" and, in

[30] Kondziela, H. Stare Miasto w Poznaniu. Poznań 1975, p. 76-77.
[31] Klause, G. Wybrane problemy ochrony zabytków początków XX wieku I odbudowa Poznania po II wojnie światowej, in: Jakimowicz, op. cit., p. 298–299.
[32] After World War II, various, and often conflicting, visions of the city centre development were proposed. Compare: Marciniak, P. Doświadczenia modernizmu. Architektura i urbanistyka Poznania w czasach PRL. Poznań 2010.
[33] The direct links between communist ideology and the Modernist paradigm have been presented in: Marciniak, P. Modernizm czy modernizacja? Ideologiczne uwarunkowania przebudowy śródmieścia Poznania oraz innych miast polskich, in: Pod dyktando ideologii. Studia do dziejów architektury i urbanistyki w Polsce Ludowej. Szczecin 2013, p. 237-247.
[34] The author has outlined these issues in various papers on the architecture of Poznań, e.g. in: Marciniak, P. Doświadczenia modernizmu. Architektura i urbanistyka Poznania w czasach PRL [The Experience of Modernism. Architecture and Urban Planning in Poznań during the People's Republic of Poznań, Poznań, 2010

particular, would provide a counterbalance to the Imperial Castle. This included proposals to construct three skyscrapers or a twenty-five-storey building in Święty Marcin Street that would tower over the other buildings. The rationale behind this massive scale was the need to add an ideological dimension to the character of the street, as emphasised by Tadeusz Gałecki, one of the authors of the specific plan for the city centre, in his remarks on the Polish millennial celebrations of 1966:

> A millennium of the Polish state, and thus a millennium of Poznań … and the spatial context does not seem to corroborate this. All the surrounding edifices are a reminder of the Prussian occupation, especially the Imperial Castle which dominates over the area. … Something has to be done![35]

The socialist affirmation of Modernism was tantamount to the practical embracing of the ideology of growth promulgated by the PRL. In this sense, it was consistent with the official political strategy of the state authorities, who turned it into one of the instruments of their social policy. Obvious analogies can be observed in the historic policy of the communist East German authorities who, in the 1950s, commissioned the demolition of the City Palaces (*Hohenzollern Stadtschlösser*) in Berlin and Potsdam, which they perceived as a manifestation of "Prussian imperialism".[36]

Royal Castle

Another chapter in the building of national identity and the Polonisation of architecture was the (re)construction of the Royal Castle in Poznań. Even though this fact is not mentioned in any relevant documents, the initiative to build a Polish castle emerged in obvious resistance to the Prussian form of the Imperial Castle.

The story of the Polish castle in Poznań is strictly related to the founding of the city on the left bank of the Warta River. The construction of the castle, founded by Duke Przemysł II, was essentially completed during the rule of Casimir III the Great, who often stayed there (this was where, in 1337, he signed an agreement with John of Bohemia, upon which the latter gave up his claim to the Polish throne). The castle was often visited by royalty. A regular guest was King Władysław II Jagiełło, and in 1493, the castle witnessed the Grand Master of the Teutonic Nights, Johann von Tiesen, pledge the allegiance of the Prussian territories to King John I Albert. Other

[35] Gałecki, T. 1931–2001. 70 lat od utworzenia Pracowni Urbanistycznej Miasta Poznania. Poznań 2002, p. 25.
[36] The decision to rebuild the palace in Berlin initiated widespread discussions about the significance of the Prussian legacy in German history.

visitors included German dukes and Ottoman, Venetian and even Tatar diplomatic missions. The castle was regularly extended and refurbished until it burnt down, together with many other buildings, in the Fire of Poznań in 1536. After 1945, many attempts were made to rebuild the castle, but for a long time, these remained unsuccessful.[37] [Fig. 5]

Finally, in the early 2000s, local activists founded the Committee for the Reconstruction of the Royal Castle, which finally brought about its reconstruction in 2016. As already mentioned, the ideological context of the project is not referenced in any official documents, however the argument of counterbalancing the Imperial Castle, which after so many years, was still perceived as Prussian, was often used in unofficial talks.[38] The discussions on the castle project recorded in the local press revealed an extremely emotive approach, ranging from highly enthusiastic to completely negative. The proponents argued that "[t]he new Royal Castle [could] become a showcase for modern Poznań"[39], whereas the opponents pointed out the historic and preservation difficulties, and also the financial concerns.[40] The discussions also revealed the existing antinomies and the ideological undercurrents, best reflected in the opinion of an Internet forum user: "I am not a Germanophobe, but the reconstruction of the Royal Castle, where the Teutonic Knights paid Prussian Homage to the king of Poland, confirms the Polishness of this city and its position in history."[41] Perhaps this opinion sheds a different light on the problem of the Polish character of Poznań and the references to the issues of the Prussian legacy.

Conclusion

The way in which the changes in Poznań's sovereignty affected architecture and town planning corresponded to the consecutive political strategies of ideology and domination. The antinomies of the subsequent architectural symbols resulted in a chain of responses. The need to accentuate the Polish character of Poznań was determined by several factors, primarily by the Prussian construction activity in the nineteenth century, which led to the "Germanisation" of Poznań's urban space, and also by the construction of the ideologically evocative Imperial District after 1900. The latter's intimidating formal architecture created a German record of history, according to which Poznań had, apparently, been affected by German culture since the times of its Christianisation.[42]

[37] The author has written about this in: Marciniak, P. Wojna o zamek, in: Architektura–murator No. 12/2005, p. 11-12.
[38] The Royal Castle in Poznań. History and Restitution, Poznań 2014.
[39] Gazeta Wyborcza No. 50/2003, p. 20.
[40] Gazeta Wyborcza No. 136/2005, p. 6.
[41] Gazeta Wyborcza community forum, author's nick: Włodek z Grunwaldu.
[42] Grzeszczuk-Brendel and Marciniak, op. cit.

After World War I, the influx of Polish architects and residents from the other formerly partitioned areas of Poland resulted in the introduction of a different architectural style, which, in the 1920s, was delivered amidst discussions on the Polish national style. Gradually, the European Avant-garde became more influential, but nonetheless, was applied in a somewhat softened version. The activities of the consecutive governments in independent, and later, communist Poland were, to a great extent, a response to the former Germanisation paradigm.

Poznań is a good example of how discussions on architecture and reconstruction in a city situated within the sphere of Prussian influence did not focus solely on war damage, and did not cease once the damage had been amended, but continued through the Interbellum, and affected the decisions made in the aftermath of World War II. The city bears testimony to the ideological polarisation and conflicting approaches to the development of a modern urban concept, both within its spatial structure and visual layer. It also demonstrates the impact of political independence or the lack of thereof on town planning and construction. What all these points of view seem to have in common is the fact that, in every case, they tended to aim at a specific adjustment of the city and at a shift of the historical accents, as manifested by architectural forms and urban plans.

Today, the German town planning and architectural achievements in Poznań do not evoke any negative associations. However, two buildings, the Imperial Castle and the Royal Castle, continue to convey a symbolic, or even antinomic, implication, and by obtaining the status of symbols, add an ideological and antinomic dimension to the perception of Poznań's urban space.

Largo Porto Nuova in Trento. From an urban Central European corner to a place representative of Fascist and Republican Italy

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Like many other border cities within the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the second half of the 19th century, Trento was subject to schemes aimed at equipping the city with a modern infrastructure, starting with the railways and with buildings destined to welcome assistance, educational, managerial and controlling services, which all came to be characterized by a transnational architecture. At the same time, the urban landscape progressively changed in appearance, in order to suit the Central European style which in those years largely shaped the cities governed by the Habsburg. With the transfer under Italian control after the Great War, and especially with the Fascism's rise to power, Trento underwent considerable changes aimed at eradicating any trace of the previous domination and at representing Italy's identity through the adoption of typically national forms. It was this inheritance, represented by an architecture full of ideological connotations, with which in the aftermath of WW2 the democratic administrations were called to compare themselves.

This paper aims to analyse the changes that concerned the city of Trento from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th, pointing out as a significant area of study Largo Porta Nuova, an urban Central European corner that developed along the layout of the Medieval city walls. Here, in the 30s, an elegant bourgeois building that had been completed a few years before, was replaced by the Casa del Fascio, which was one of the most celebrated and representative building, even at a typological level, among those with which the Fascist government used to 'mark' Italy. Having become an administrative seat under the Nazi occupation during WW2, the building later underwent a reconversion in order to try to defuse its strictly celebratory character. However, an important urban reconfiguration involved the entire area and saw emerge, in addition to the Casa del Fascio, a working-class building complex promoted by National Insurance Institute (I.N.A.) and completed on a plan by Adalberto Libera. The opposite parade ground, used since the 1800s for military training exercises, was transformed into a large park for sports and pastimes. The Fascist symbols still present, like the Torre Littoria and the legionnaire's statue, were flanked by a monument to Alcide De Gasperi, president of the Council of Ministers of the Italian government during the post-war reconstruction years and amongst the main advocates of the European Union.

PAPER

Trento is the administrative centre of the southern province of the Autonomous Region of Trentino-Alto Adige. In this area, situated near the border with Austria and where communities

that speak Italian, German and Ladino live together, a short Napoleonic domination was followed in little more than a century by the administrations of the Habsburg Monarchy and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1803/1867-1918), of the Kingdom of Italy and of the Fascist regime (1919-1943), of the Nazi occupation (1943-1945) and, as from 1946, of the Italian Republic that assigned the Trentino Alto-Adige Region first and the two autonomous provinces of Trento and Bolzano later (1972) ample legislative and budgetary autonomy. These frequent changes in central governments occurred in contrast with the substantial continuity of the municipal policy, mostly guided by a small circle of noble or entrepreneurial families. The urban area that corresponds to today's Largo Porta Nuova and Piazza Venezia preserves traces, memories and monuments bearing the various characteristics of the central and local political orders that closely followed one another between the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Piazza Venezia: from parade ground to public gardens.

This area stands outside the plan of the city's medieval walls, in the section included between the Port'Aquila gate (a.k.a. Porta Venezia) and the no longer existing Porta Nuova gate. It is an ample and varied urban space, used today as a public park.

The cadastral maps of the mid 19th century show the rapid organisation of this part of the city into an orthogonal pattern of buildable lots that extended into the countryside. Here, in the course of just a few decades, rose the palace of justice, the prison, the military hospital and some barracks. At the same time, in order to meet the demands of "hygiene and decorum"[1] but also to address the unemployment problem, the progressive demolition of the city's medieval walls was ordered while, in several segments new buildings were erected alongside the ancient walls, thus preserving the alignment of the latter. In 1849, District Engineer Floriano Menapace designed for this area the vast "basin"[2] destined to host the military exercises serving the various barracks built around the castle. One year later, the Civic Engineer Paolo Leonardi installed on the slope above the parade ground an "English wood to be used for public recreation"[3]. The two projects pursued at the same time the objectives of the central government and those of the local authorities: the project of the District Engineer was a section of the operations by means of which, especially following the disaggregation of the Lombardo-Veneto reign in the years from 1859 to 1866,

[1] L. Mezzena, 'Dal taglio dell'Adige alla città guarnigione: la politica urbanistica dell'amministrazione municipale nel secondo Ottocento', in R. Bocchi and C. Oradini (ed.), *Immagine e struttura della città. Materiali per la storia urbana di Trento*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1983, pp. 62-64

[2] Historical Archive of the Comune of Trento [hereafter ACT] 3.8 – VII.207.1852. The District Engineer was an official of the Technical Office of the *Kreishauptmannschaft* (District Captaincy), the lowest administration unit of the local government working under the Austro-Hungarian empire.

[3] ACT 3.8 – VII.207.1852; A. Pasetti Medin, 'Per la storia del giardino a Trento tra Ottocento e primo Novecento', *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, II, 1-2, 2001, pp. 155-156

Trento's role as "garrison town"[4] was reinforced, while the project of the Civic Engineer helped provide the city with services and infrastructures via the creation of parks and tree-lined avenues that connected the newly built areas with the historically older area.

Marked differences were also discernable, in general, in the characteristics of the buildings commissioned by the two administrations. In the public works of governmental interest, such as the courts of justice, the prisons, the railway stations and post offices, mostly built by Viennese officials and engineers also with the intention to demonstrate the power and efficiency of the Habsburg's imperial machine, austere and stereotyped variations of the neo-Renaissance style (a sort of transnational language that bound all of the empire's cities) were used[5]. Conversely, the works promoted by the municipality and by several private citizens were assigned, instead, to Trentine, Venetian or Lombard architects who endeavored to proffer more specifically Italian or Neoclassical features[6].

In the early 20th century, the military parade ground character provided also by the presence in the square, as of 1869, of the royal-imperial army cavalry school[7], gradually gave way to increasingly more recreational uses, such as the establishment of a theatre (1901) dedicated, significantly, to Giuseppe Verdi[8], and the project of a gymnasium for the Trento Gymnastics Association (1909-10), set within a more ample plan for the transformation of the area into a park. Especially significant in this period was the project by the painter Augusto Sezanne, an honorary Venetian[9], who was commissioned by the Municipality of Trento to design a preliminary plan "with very wide avenues, and a central fountain animated by a tall jet of water". Sezanne not only intended to add "decorum to this most noble of cities", but also to underline that it culturally belonged to Italy[10]. While the contemporary projects created by the local professionals Giuseppe Tomasi, Natale Tommasi and Annibale Apollonio left out any explicit references to a markedly Italian connotation of the square, they did confirm its destination as a place for bourgeois leisure, providing it with children's playgrounds and places for sports activities, concerts, promenades and

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[4] A. Pasetti Medin, 'Architettura e decorazione dell'Ottocento', in M. Garbari and A. Leonardi (ed.), *Storia del Trentino. V. L'età contemporanea 1803-1918*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2004, p. 509

[5] F. Achleitner, 'Pluralisme de la modernité: le problème du langage architectural en Europe centrale', in E. Blau and M. Platzer (ed.), *L'idée de la grande ville. L'architecture moderne d'Europe centrale, 1890-1937*, Munich-London-New York, Prestel, 2000, pp. 94-106; A. Alofsin, *When Buildings speak. Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867-1933*, Chicago-London, The University of Chicago Press, 2006

[6] This is the case, for example, with the projects for the new Civic Museum and Library in today's Piazza Vittoria or Palazzo Ranzi (E. Burnazzi, F. Campolongo, *Palazzo Ranzi a Trento. Un cantiere alle soglie d'Italia*, Trento, Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2011).

[7] ACT 3.8 – X.228.1891

[8] ACT 3.8 – X.210.1901

[9] A. Pasetti Medin, 'Decoro, e senso di italiana armonia: l'attività di Augusto Sezanne per il Trentino', *Quaderni della donazione Eugenio da Venezia*, n. 8, 2001, pp. 59-69

[10] A. Sezanne, 'Per la futura Piazza d'Armi di Trento', *Vita Trentina*, 10 March 1910, pp. 83-84

relaxation[11]. The outbreak of World War I put a stop to all initiatives, however, and the final transformation of the large square into a park, that in the wake of the conflict took the name of Piazza Venezia, was achieved only in the late 1920s[12], along with the new urban reconfiguration that was being carried out throughout the city under the Fascist regime.

The 'invention' of a palazzo*: from upper-class residence to* Casa del Fascio.

In Trento's typical urban structure of the period going from the late 19th century to the early 20th, the corner site located at the meeting point of what are today Via Calepina and Via Galilei, in place of the demolished Porta Nuova gate, was a significant hub where the downtown streets flowed into the *boulevard* that descended from the parade grounds towards the court of justice and to Piazza Fiera. Here, in 1897, a dwelling, designed by the Trentine engineer Emilio Paor, was built for the entrepreneur Francesco Bertolini. The mansion featured the presence of a central rotunda that softened the austerity of the general layout in neo-Renaissance style. This typical late 19th century urban building was purchased, probably because of its strategic position close to Piazza Venezia and opposite to the avenue, both suitable for hosting mass events and parades, by the local federation of the National Fascist Party in 1930 for its new headquarters (*Casa del Fascio* or *Casa Littoria*). The building preserved its original appearance on the outside, while the interior was changed to suit its new purpose. In 1934, in one of the rooms derived in the rotunda, for example, the Memorial of the Martyrs of the Fascist Revolution was erected by the Trentine engineer Giovanni Lorenzi[13].

Although considered "decorous", the *Casa del Fascio* soon proved to be "inadequate for the vastness and complexity of the Party's mission" and therefore gave rise to the plan of constructing a veritable "House of the Revolution, that shall be large and bold, in lines and style, austere, at the same time solemn, fully worthy of Mussolini's and of Imperial Italy's time", "not only a centre but a symbol of emanation of command"[14], just like the other buildings that in those same years were being erected in every Italian city. Many diverse locations were proposed for the new building, also in relation to the other projects that were being defined for the city at the same

[11] ACT 3.8 – VII.33.1909; 'Il problema di Piazza d'Armi', *L'Alto Adige*, 8-9 March 1910, p. 3; N. Tommasi, 'Per un palazzo per la Cultura Sociale', *Vita Trentina*, 20 April 1910, p. 120

[12] The final garden landscaping of Piazza Venezia, in addition to the creation of several tennis courts, was carried out in the period between 1929 and 1930, also as a consequence of the moving out of the livestock market that had always been held there (ACT 4.11 – VIIb.40.1928).

[13] 'Il Sacrario dei Martiri della Rivoluzione Fascista inaugurato nella Casa del Fascio di Trento il 28 ottobre anno XIII', *Trentino*, n. 11, November 1934, p. 486. Especially in the obsessive repetition of the word 'Present' on the walls, Lorenzi seemed to have been inspired by the same space that his fellow countryman and more renowned colleague, Adalberto Libera (in cooperation with Antonio Valente), set up on the occasion of the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution inaugurated in Rome in 1932.

[14] 'Le realizzazioni del fascismo trentino. La costruzione della Casa Littoria', *Il Brennero*, 20 April 1938, p. 3

Figure 1: Trento, *Piazza d'armi* (the military parade ground), 1900s, and Piazza Venezia, 1930s
[Source: Mazzalai Found, Historical Photographic Archive, Cultural Heritage Superintendence, Autonomous Province of Trento]

Figure 2: *Casa del Fascio*, Trento: National Fascist Party headquarters in Casa Bertolini, 1930s
[Source: Historical Photographic Archive, Cultural Heritage Superintendence, Autonomous Province of Trento]

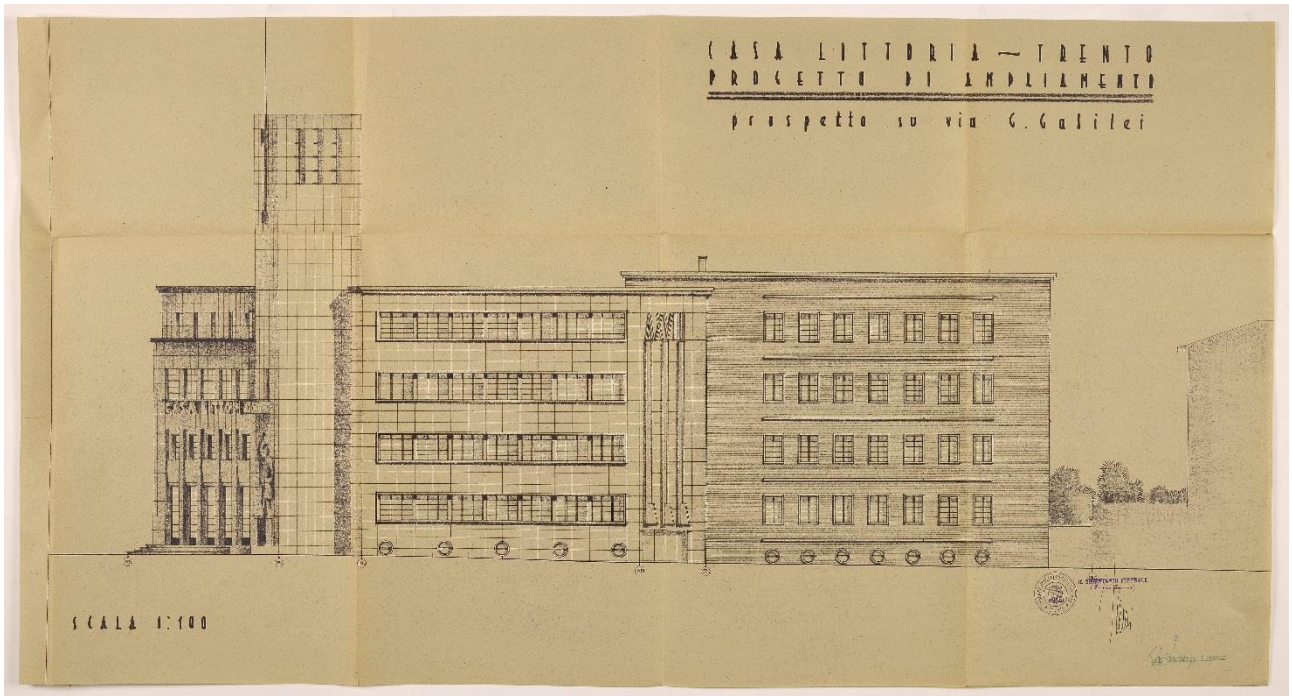

Figure 3: *Casa Littoria*, Trento: Giovanni Lorenzi, project for its enlargement along Via Galilei, 1942
[Source: Historical Archive of the Comune of Trento, ACT 4.18 – 11.1942]

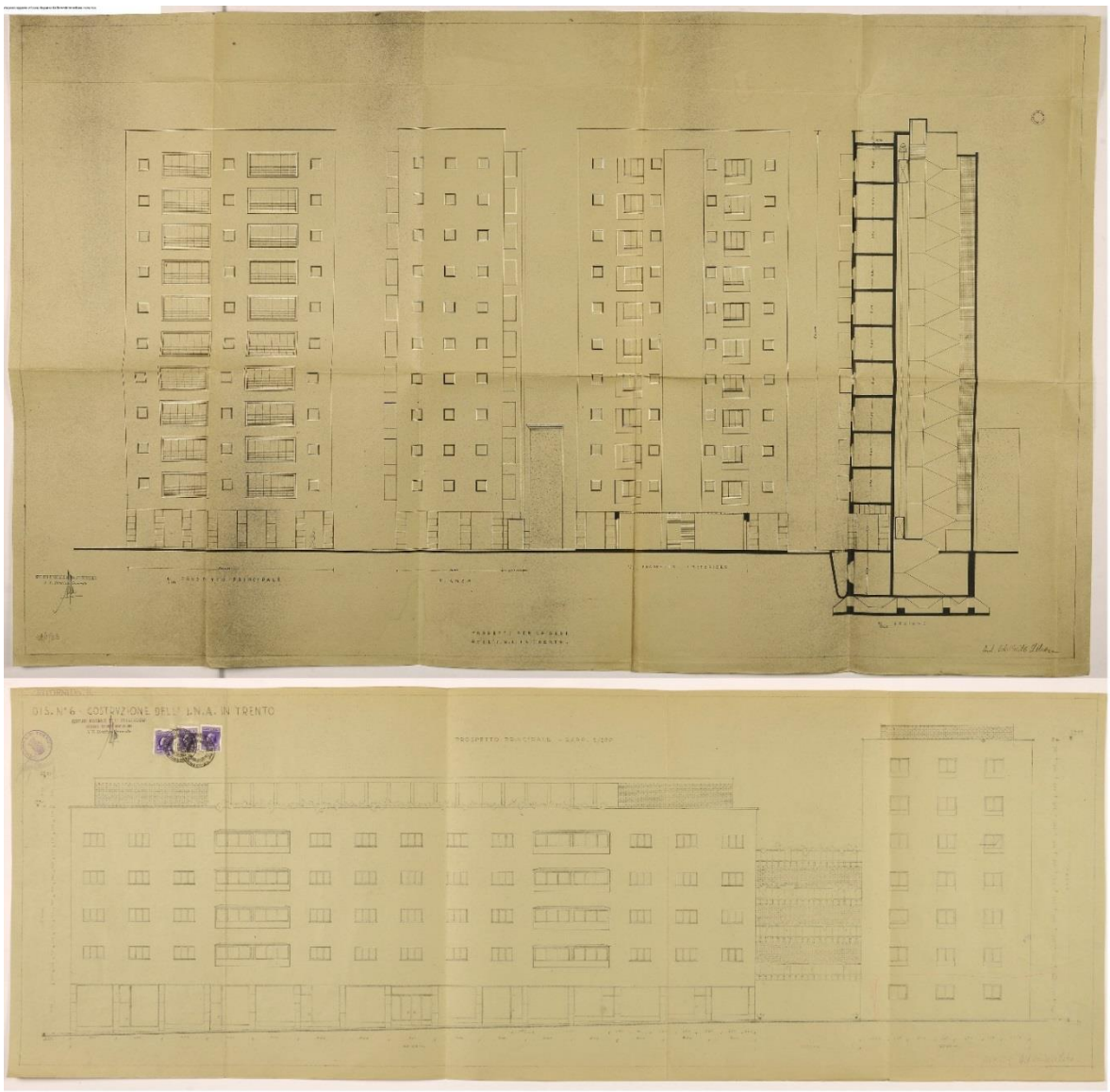

Figure 4: National Insurance Institute (I.N.A.) building, Trento: Adalberto Libera, project of the "keep", September 1938, and project of the main façade on Via Galilei, November 1939
[Source: Historical Archive of the Comune of Trento, ACT 4.18 – 31.1938 and ACT 4.18 – 4.1940]

Figure 5: Piazza Venezia, Trento: Pedrotti, the inauguration of the celebrative statue of Alcide De Gasperi, October 1956
[Source: Museo Storico del Trentino Foundation, Trento, B.1-1261]

time[15]. The Party's preference seemed to fall on the area where, in the 1960s, the *Palazzo della Regione* would be built, a site owned by *Banca d'Italia*[16], located in the area that was the symbol of Trentine's Italian spirit, namely in front of the monumental statue of Dante Alighieri and opposite the railway station that had been recently rebuilt in modern form by the architect and official of the Italian State, Angiolo Mazzoni[17]. Faced with *Banca d'Italia*'s refusal to sell the land, the Party decided to transform and expand the building they had been using since 1930[18]. The position, albeit not as central as the party had hoped for, was still a strategic piece of Fascist Trento[19], where the streets were renamed after Italian cities, legionnaires, martyrs of the Italian *Risorgimento* and of World War I, and where the main streets directed the eyes towards symbolic locations – such as Via Grazioli, for example, that lead to the *Casa del Fascio* and was visually crowned by the mausoleum where the remains of World War I hero Cesare Battisti were held high above the city.

Despite the decision to maintain the location of the *Casa del Fascio*, in May 1938 a competition was announced intended for the Fascist engineers and architects of the Province of Trento. The candidates were expressly asked to design a building that was "architecturally in tune with its goals and with current times"[20], and "by means of the lucid and supreme harmony of art, to interweave symbolism with technique in order to create a work of revolutionary poetry as well as an engineering masterpiece"[21]. Among the seven candidates, the panel chose one of the two projects proposed by Giovanni Lorenzi, a good connoisseur of the Trentine context and already the winner, together with the engineers Guido Segalla and Paolo Albertini, of the competition for ideas for the new town plan, launched just a few months earlier[22]. The works, started on

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[15] In 1934 the location for the *Casa del Fascio* was proposed in the monumental Piazza del Littorio, created as a consequence of the gutting of the medieval quarter of the Sass, while the idea suggested in 1937 of establishing it in Palazzo Thun, the building reorganised into the Neoclassical style by Rodolfo Vantini in the mid 19th century and seat to the City Hall, wasn't even taken into consideration – possibly due to the historicist imprint of the architecture and to the lack of sufficient space for the parades (State Archive, Trento [hereafter ASTN], O4, b. 4, fasc. 6; ASTN, O4, b. 1, fasc. 3).

[16] State Central Archive, Rome [hereafter ACS], PNF, Segreteria amministrativa, Servizi Vari, Serie II, b. 1610. This is where the hotel *Grande Albergo Trento*, designed by Giovanni Lorenzi, would be built starting in 1939.

[17] P. Pettenella (ed.), *La stazione di Trento di Angiolo Mazzoni*, Milano, Electa, 1994

[18] Map of the city of Trento, 1936 (ACT 4.11 1936 VII b 17)

[19] Fascist Trento was circumscribed in the South by the monumentalization of Piazza Fiera, obtained by super-elevating the Madruzzo keep, by opening the gate in the walls and by creating a new square dedicated to Trento's volunteers (today: Piazza Garzetti), in the North by the project for lengthening Via Belenzani by demolishing the San Francesco Saverio church, in the West by naming after Mussolini what is currently Via Verdi, and in the East by expanding the *Casa del Fascio*.

[20] Provincial Union of Engineers of Trento, Call for bids for a preliminary project of the *Casa Littoria* in Trento, May 1, 1938 (ASTN, O4, b. 1, fasc. 2)

[21] 'Le realizzazioni del fascismo trentino. La costruzione della Casa Littoria', *Il Brennero*, 20 April 1938, p. 3

[22] The competition, open only to subjects registered with the Provincial Union of Engineers of Trento and with the Trento Branch of the Inter-provincial Union of Architects of the Tridentine Venetia, "for a rendering in graphic and literary form of the informative ideas for the compilation of the town plan" was launched on November 23, 1937. The due date was January 23, 1938 and one month later the jury panel released its evaluation of the four candidate projects (ACT 4.15 – T 173/2).

November 10, 1938, were completed two years later, on October 25, 1940. As with the Post Office building, radically transformed into Futurist forms by Mazzoni (1929-34), this was not just a simple replacement job, but rather a radical transfiguration that pursued with unequivocal clarity the political program of the Fascist Party. On the outside, all traces of the elegant bourgeois building, built just 40 years before, were totally deleted. The corner rotunda, the balconies of which had been used for the speeches held on the occasion of parades, was freed of its dome and hidden by severe and monumental slabs of stone[23]. The sharp geometric lines and the presence of repeated rows of ribbon windows pointed to the use of modern construction techniques, to a new organization of space and to revolutionised shapes. Most of the pre-existing masonry structures were preserved, assigning to the new volume facing north the key role in the composition of the exterior and in the distribution of the interior. On the side opposite to the rotunda, a haranguing tower was built. It marked the entrance to the old city centre and rose above the city as a monumental stone 'standard bearer' for raising the tricoloured Italian flag. The tower was 'guarded' by a figure in relief representing a colonising legionnaire (armed with a rifle and a shovel), created by the Trentine sculptor Eraldo Fozzer[24]. Inside, the Memorial (the place where the votive lamp burned, and the venue for Fascism's mystic rites) closed the meeting hall, derived in the central space with double height ceiling onto which all of the internal rooms faced out. According to a recurring custom in the public works commissioned by the Fascist regime, the main halls were "enlivened" with the works of local artists[25].

Already in the year 1941, however, the spaces of the new *Casa Littoria* proved insufficient for the functions for which it had been built and, in just a few months, Lorenzi prepared a second plan for its expansion along Via Galilei, that envisaged the addition of a new block organically grafted onto the main building. For economic reasons, the project was based on the use of local materials, meeting the criteria of the building restrictions (*autarchia*) in force at the time. In particular, the expansion works stood out for their lack of cladding, for the use of face brick and the abandonment of ribbon windows. The works started in June 1942 and were completed on July 1, 1943. At the same time, the architect Ettore Sottsass prepared a project for the

[23] The use of the rotunda as a bike depot, as envisaged by the ground floor plan, indicated the intention to dampen the effect of this structure in favour of the illusion of it being a newly constructed building with modern shape, structure and installations.

[24] The tower was flanked by the horizontal cuts of the ribbon windows that ran along the corridors of the offices arranged within the part of the building that looked out onto Via Galilei. Adjacent to the pre-existing Casa Bertolini, this front was closed by three full-height fasces made of red Carso porphyry, on the tops of which was inserted the year in which the construction works were started.

[25] The artists involved were Fortunato Depero, Gino Pancheri, Guido Polo (*Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, n. 1, 1941, p. 79) and Bruno Colorio. In a letter dated June 2, 1938, Gino Pancheri, in his capacity as secretary of the Inter-provincial Union for the Fine Arts, had asked the Federal Secretary of the Fascist Party, Primo Fumei, to take into consideration the group of Trento artists "for those artistic works that undoubtedly will embellish the new headquarters" (ASTN, O4, b. 1, fasc. 3).

reorganization of the Memorial, "by creating panels that provide the mystic effect of indirect lighting"[26].

The layout of the *Casa Littoria*, aimed at offering an adequate setting for the representative and administrative organs of the party as well as to the organisations that supported, for example, the young, the war veterans and the families of the fallen, showed how the Fascist party had by then taken the place of democratic public structures even in the supply of services to citizens, and how its buildings could be likened to modern and efficient city halls.

After September 8, 1943, on the haranguing balcony of the tower of the *Casa Littoria* that bore the symbols of the winged Victory flew the flag with the black swastika; the text '*Standortkommandantur*', placed on the facade, announced the Nazi occupation and the ensuing fall from power of the Fascist Party.

Unpublished projects by Adalberto Libera for the I.N.A. building in Via Galilei: from modern 'keep' to a softer kind of rational neo-realism.

The importance attributed to Via Galilei at the end of the 1930s was also evident in the decision by the National Insurance Institute (I.N.A.) to construct a building made up of two structures for shops and residential housing, in the area between Piazza Venezia and the headquarters of the *Cassa di Risparmio* bank at Palazzo Firmian, which had been enlarged according to projects by Giovanni Tiella and Pietro Marzani between 1933 and 1936. The project, which Adalberto Libera started working on in 1938, attempted to solve the long-standing issue of the opening of Via Galilei into the wider stretch near Piazza Venezia and its relationship with the front of the *Casa Littoria* facing it, that was under construction at the time[27]. In the first version, the two structures were separate, in order to avoid "a single volume not bending at right angles or bending along curves of uncertain effect"[28]. The main structure on Via Galilei, located on the ground floor and almost entirely glazed, housed the local headquarters of the insurance company and several shops, whereas the upper stories were occupied by elegant apartments. The structure on Piazza Venezia, instead, had a "keep"[29] configuration starting from a ground floor with a portico. The prospects of both structures on Via Galilei were animated by a regular sequence of rows of

[26] Federazione Fasci di Combattimento Trento, *Relazione alla perizia suppletiva*, 3 September 1942 (ACS, PNF, Segreteria amministrativa, Servizi Vari, Serie II, b. 1610); *Ettore Sottsass senior architetto*, Milano, Electa, 1991, p. 249; MART, 20th-century Archive, Sot. I. 1.191

[27] Probably, due to his involvement with the I.N.A. project, Libera renounced his assignment as member of the judging panel of the competition for the transformation and enlargement of the *Casa del Fascio* in Trento (ASTN, O4, b. 1, fasc. 2).

[28] Report on the house project for I.N.A. in Trento, s.d. (ACT 4.18 – 4.1940)

[29] License for the construction of a building in Via Galileo Galilei, on land parcels 599-607-608-609-610-611-612 of the Land Register of Trento, January 31, 1940 (ACT 4.18 – 4.1940). The choice of a keep could be a reference to the towers guarding the town gates (as in the case of the lost tower once standing close to the Porta Nuova gate, also evoked by the dimensions chosen by Libera), but also to the solution conceived by Marcello Piacentini for the I.N.A. building in Brescia a few years before.

protruding blocks containing the balconies, with two small square windows on either side. As a result of the observations of the building commission[30], the project underwent substantial modifications, starting from the reduction of the number of storeys above ground of the keep from eleven to seven; consequently the keep was now connected to the main structure by a series of terraces and no longer had a portico. Both structures, which differed only in the color of the finishing material[31], were completed with a garden roof with porticoes, laundry rooms and drying racks; the protruding elements were removed and the composition and shapes seemed to have been simplified, since, as was written in the project report, "this is a house for ordinary living purposes and there is no need to outdo the representative tone of the Casa del Fascio"[32].
After further modifications including a new sloping roof for the main structure on Via Galilei and a new solution for the cladding, in the autumn of 1941 the foundation excavation works began, but they were interrupted only a few months later, in the summer of 1942, because of the implementation of the decree halting building works during wartime[33]. In the spring of 1943, perhaps due to the controversial debates surrounding the new construction[34], the elimination of the keep was decided in favor of the enlargement of the adjacent building against which it rested; the purpose was to complete the profile and the alignment of the buildings on Piazza Venezia[35].
The works resumed in 1947, after Libera re-designed the project once again, claiming the need to make the building suitable to the changes in economic and social conditions. In particular, "the keep which dominated Piazza Venezia in the first version", apparently "because of building costs, was replaced by a three-storey structure, attuned to the height of the other buildings on the square; said structure crosses over the alley and is connected to the structure in Via Galilei"[36]. The apartments which had been elegant, were now more modest and smaller in size. The roofing was "pitched, significantly overhanging so as to protect" the façades that were to be plastered, and some elements were to be painted in different tones. Notes of colour were also introduced in the ceramic finishing of the protruding balconies, "notes repeated in a long, frank rhythm", which Luigi Moretti compared to an "immense birdcage for men who also draw serenity from being equal and close to each other"[37]. The works, directed by Giovanni Lorenzi, one of the main figures of the architectural scene of Trento together with Libera also in the period following World War II, were completed on August 31, 1950.

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[30] Comune of Trento, 27 September 1938 (ACT 4.18 – 31.1938)
[31] Slabs of special terracotta and glass panels for the main building and Trento stone and special terracotta for the keep.
[32] Report on the house project for I.N.A. in Trento, s.d. (ACT 4.18 – 4.1940)
[33] I.N.A., Historical Archive, Rome, Real Estate Fund, Building in Trento, 5381, 5383 and 21185
[34] u.t. [E. Mosna], 'Troppo tardi?', *Trentino*, n. 1, January 1942, p. 10; Sindacato Fascista Ingegneri di Trento, 'Problemi cittadini', *Il Brennero*, 29 March 1942, p. 4
[35] Minutes of the Commission, 24 May 1943 (ACT 4.18 – 4.1940)
[36] A. Libera, *Relazione al progetto "edificio I.N.A." in Trento*, 16 December 1946 (ACT 4.18 – 19.1947)
[37] Mor [L. Moretti], 'Organismo di abitazione a Trento. Architettura di Adalberto Libera', *Spazio*, n. 2, 1950, pp. 54-55

The changes made to the building, which attenuated the display of modernity distinguishing the previous solutions, closer to the architectural style of the Fascist period, and demonstrated some intention to adapt to new conditions (as with the roof solution with its "violent projection"[38], in particular), could also be interpreted as a general attempt to mitigate the celebrative and representative nature characterizing the area during the final years of Mussolini's regime.

A monument to democracy, set among sports structures and parking lots.

Among the first initiatives undertaken in the aftermath of World War II, was the re-building of the pavilion connected to the tennis courts, constructed in 1940 by Michelangelo Perghem Gelmi in the gardens of Piazza Venezia and badly damaged during the war. The main use of the square for recreational and sports activities was further enhanced by the installation of additional tennis courts, which limited the public use of the park[39].

In November 1953, works were started for the renovation of Largo Porta Nuova with the construction of an artistic stone and bronze fountain in the centre of the square. The project for this fountain was designed and executed by Eraldo Fozzer. This work (which inevitably conversed with the statue of the colonising legionnaire Fozzer sculpted at the feet of the Littoria Tower), together with the stern building of the new condominium-cinema Modena, designed by Lorenzi in the 1950s, and Libera's I.N.A. building, underlined, for these authors, a sort of continuity in their experiences during the twenty-year Fascist period and the works of the postwar period.

The Florentine sculptor Antonio Berti was in charge of the realization of the celebrative statue of Alcide De Gasperi, deputy at the Imperial Council up to World War I, president of the Council of Ministers of the Italian government during the postwar reconstruction years and amongst the main advocates of the European Union[40]. Located near Largo Porta Nuova in front of an important marble stele, encircled by an exedra recalling the parliamentary chamber and surrounded by symbols of the political virtues of the democrats, the statue of this important politician from Trento was set in an oratory pose, contrasting with the figure of the colonising legionnaire even in the stance of his upheld arm. In the space between these two statues was ideally enclosed a highly meaningful period for the historical events that affected the city of Trento over a one-hundred-year period. In the same way as the erection of the statue of Dante Alighieri, built at the end of the 19th century in the square/park in front of the railway station celebrated him as the father of the Italian language and implicitly of the homeland that the people from Trento were

[38] Moretti, pp. 54-55

[39] ACT 4.11 – VII.l.60.1951; 'Lavori nella città di Trento', *Trentino*, November 1940, pp. 325-329; F. Campolongo, *Michelangelo Perghem Gelmi*, Trento, Mart, 2012. The works were directed by Efrem Ferrari ('28 ottobre. Il XVIII Annuale della Marcia su Roma celebrato con austeri riti a Casa Littoria e con l'inaugurazione delle opere pubbliche', *Il Brennero*, 29 October 1940, p. 4).

[40] ACT 4.11 – I Q.28.1955. The monument was inaugurated on October 14, 1956.

then longing for, in the other square/park the father of the new European homeland was honoured with the same monumentality in the post World War II period[41]. The huge monument, financed in 1955 through public fundraising by the Christian Democrat Party, dominated in size and grandeur the remainder of the southern part of the Piazzia Venezia park, and once again changed the meaning and use of this green area of the city, which, in the course of a century, was transformed from a shadeless parade ground first into a wood, then into a sports area, while also serving as an air-raid shelter zone, and finally into a public garden.

Today, unfortunately, this place of great historical importance for the city has in fact lost its identity, shape and quality; while the 'voice' of the colonising legionnaire is now suffocated by the traffic circulating around the roundabout installed in the space that was once the venue for Fascist parades, the statue of De Gasperi is instead 'mute', overrun by tall trees, neglect and vandalism.

[41] A. De Gasperi, *La nostra patria Europa*, speech held on April 21, 1954 at the European Parliamentary Conference in Paris

Municipal baths at the beginning of the twentieth century: an example of Franco-German cultural and technical transfer in the Upper Rhine Region

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During the nineteenth and twentieth century, Alsace changed nationality four times. The region, and especially the city of Strasbourg, therefore became an emblematic place where cultural interferences between France and Germany became highly visible. It is during that period that Alsatian cities were extended and modernized, at a time when urbanism started to become an independent discipline. In its early stages urbanism had been influenced mainly by technical civil servants; it established itself only in the 1890s as a creative discipline, in many cases under the influence of German-speaking theoreticians. As far as infrastructure is concerned, these transfer mechanisms can be observed in the domain of urbanism and especially in hygienic institutions. In many of these cases, the development of municipal administrations, especially the administrations for public works played an important role. The municipal baths in Ste Marie aux Mines (Vosges), Colmar, Strasbourg and Mulhouse, exemplify these phenomena and technical transfers in the Upper Rhine region. The Hennebique system of reinforced concrete construction, invented in France, was established in Alsace and in the German Reich by the Strasbourg-based construction firm Eduard Züblin. This evolution was greatly encouraged by the open-minded municipal administration of public works, which had been restructured after 1871 after the German model, following technical standards initially defined by the Prussian administration. This contribution explains the different forms of technical transfer, which are apparent in the curricula of leading experts, the action of technical associations of professionals and their media, as well as personal networks, mainly in the realm of the administration of public works. The documents preserved in the Strasbourg archives allow us to highlight the reception of the Strasbourg municipal baths (1905-08) in the different Länder of the German Reich, as well as in France after the First World War, thus displaying the importance and influence of the Upper Rhine region as a place for European transfers.

PAPER

Built between 1905 and 1910, the municipal bathhouse of Strasbourg is exceptional in France; it represents the only example of a public bath dating from the period of German rule in Alsace (1871-1918) that is still functioning in its original form today. It is also the only public pool located directly in Strasbourg city centre and its place in the collective consciousness is, if possible, even more prevalent.[1] Since 1908, the imposing building that houses the pools for men and women,

[1] Compare with the film of Sophie Desgeorge: Balnéum. Mémoire des Bains, France 3, 2013.

has dominated the residential area on the former Nikolausring, today known as the Boulevard de la Victoire. The location lies on the border between the medieval city centre and the so called "Neustadt" ("New Town" in German) that began to develop from the 1880s to the North East of the city.[2] In 1910 this impressive building was extended to incorporate a medical wing, which housed sports facilities and medical baths, as well as a treatment centre for tooth and gum infections.

This paper will analyse in further depth the communal memories and symbolic images through which the building achieved its central role in the municipal context. It will also consider the expansion of channels for the transfer of knowledge between France and Germany that developed during the course of this process.

City Baths for Strasbourg on the Rhine

Like many bathhouses in the German-speaking world, the municipal baths in Strasbourg followed the blueprint of the Müller'schen Municipal Baths, built in Munich in 1901.[3] A notable feature of this style of baths is the separate areas for men and women, with separate pools, showers and baths for individuals. They also usually include a steam bath located between the male and female areas.

Until the opening of the bathhouse in 1908, the rapidly growing Strasbourg population bathed in private establishments, including many floating lidos which lined the banks of the river Ill in the summer months. From the 1890's onwards there had been many calls from all sectors of society for a public bathhouse that could also be used in winter.

Despite the growing demand, it was not until the start of the mayoral mandate of the left-wing liberal Rudolf Schwander in 1904 that the city was able to start putting the plans into action.[4] For some time, the former army barracks (Nikolauskaserne) had been the site intended for the development.[5] This plot lay in what might be termed today as a "problem area". The Rue Prechter to the rear of the land was home to some of the city's most deprived inhabitants. On this street and in the alleys leading off it, prostitution remained rife until well into the 1960s. They found their custom with soldiers from the barracks, as well as with the workers from the nearby tobacco factory.[6]

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[2] Brönner/Weber 2014.
[3] Hartmann 1987. Leistner/Hess/Feireiss 1993. Wohlfeld-Eckert 2013.
[4] Ueberfill 2008, pp 134-165
[5] Zopplas 1997.
[6] Zopplas 1997, p. 5.

The decision to build a luxurious bathhouse in this area, followed the construction in 1892 of the School of Applied Arts. Both projects represented attempts to clean up this troubled zone and bring it up to the standard of the opulent Neustadt on the other side of the Nikolausring. The two buildings are in fact linked by a tunnel through which heat from the baths enormous heating system can be distributed to heat the School of Applied Arts. The baths also served as a central washing facility for public institutions in the local area such as schools and hospices. The development of the public baths on this site thus represented an ambitious project to completely rearrange the existing order of the town. The project can easily be seen as a precursor or even trial for an even more innovative development. No sooner was the medical extension to the baths finished in 1910, than work began at the other end of the town on the "Grande Percée" which opened up streets in the old town in order to improve public health.[7]

The irregular trapezium shape of the plot still determines the boundary of the baths today. The entire front length of the elevated high-baroque façade is visible from the street. To the rear of the building, there is an area that backs onto Rue Prechter which is hardly used today. A five-metre-long ditch further accentuated the experience of the space; it must have been an impressive sight for a visitor approaching from the labyrinth of narrow streets in the Strasbourg old town (Fig. 1). A tall hipped roof covers the castellated three-story building. The rococo style rotunda entrance emulates that of Castle Biebrich built in 1721 on the Rhine near Wiesbaden. The entire building is in the red sandstone characteristic of Strasbourg architecture that was quarried from the nearby Vosges Mountains. The tiles on the roof reflect the beavertail style that is typical of the region.

Form follows Function

The combination of the baroque style with local elements typical of the Alsatian building culture such as the imposing hipped roofs, which can be seen for example on the Obernai Granary, are typical of the style of the architect responsible for the bath's construction, Fritz Beblo.[8] In his early professional years as a site foreman in the then Prussian city of Koblenz, and then in Traben-Trarbach near the river Mosel, he got to know the Rhine baroque style at first hand. When he arrived in Strasbourg and worked first as a construction supervisor and then as the leader of the

[7] Perry 2010.
[8] Laroche 2000, pp. 192-199.

Figure 1: Fritz Beblo (architect), Municipal bath at Strasbourg, 1905-1911, photo 1915 (archi-strasbourg.org)

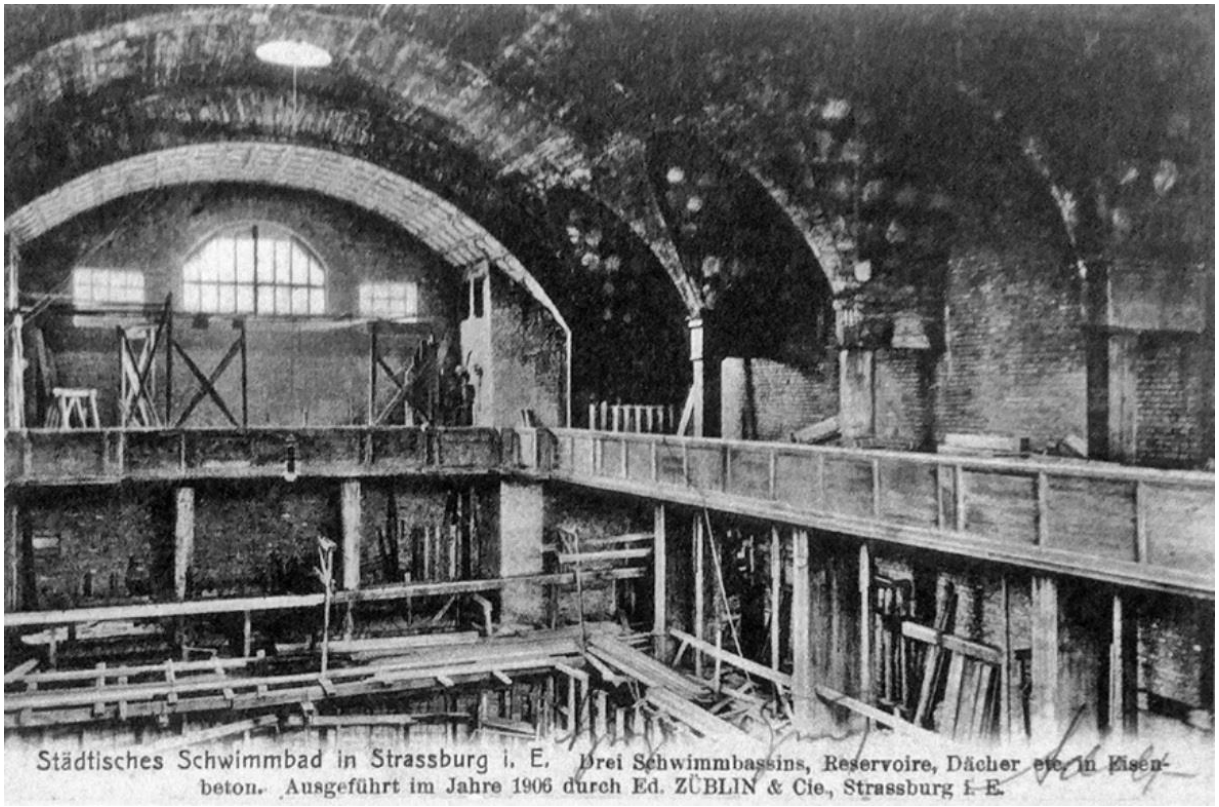

Figure 2: Fritz Beblo (architect), Eduard Züblin (engineer), Municipal bath at Strasbourg, 1905-, under construction (postcard, private collection)

Figure 3: Fritz Beblo (architect), Municipal bath at Strasbourg, 1905-1911, plunge pool (Franck 1908, p. 326)

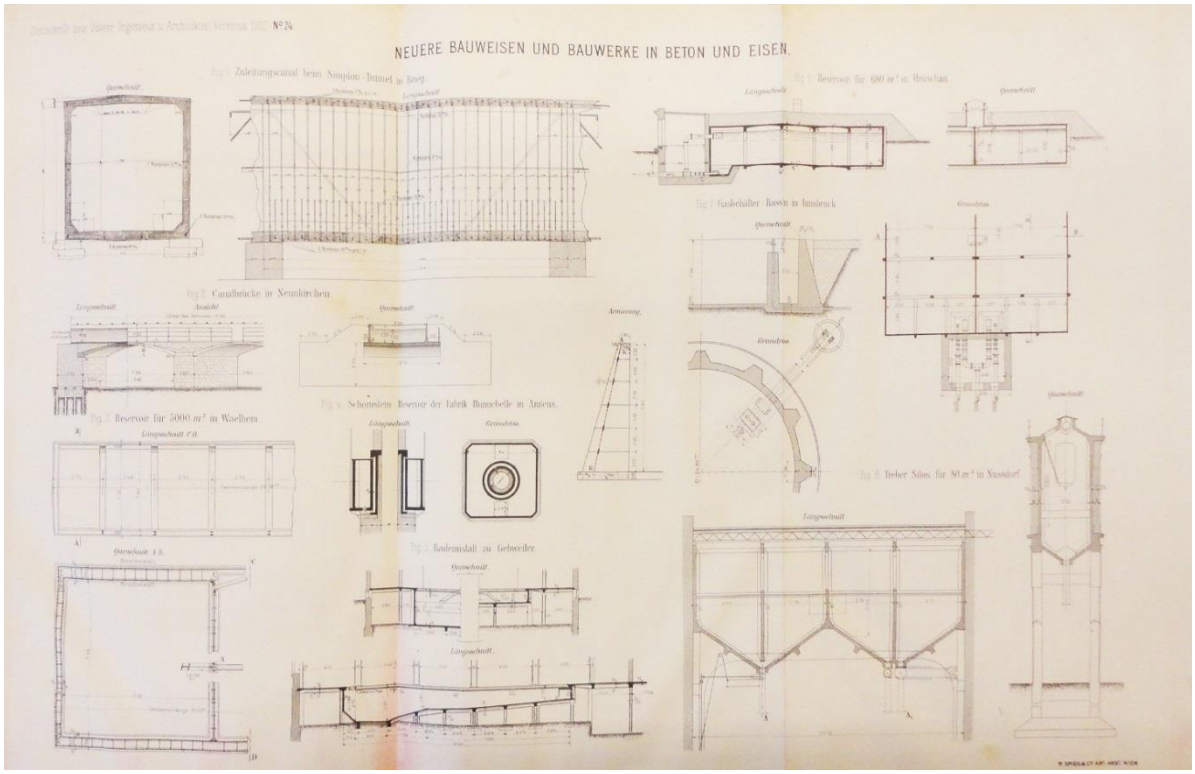

Figure 4: Eduard Züblin, basin at Guebwiller, 1901, published by Emperger 1902 on the bottom (Emperger 1902)

Figure 5: Bertsch (architect) Eduard Züblin (engineer), Municipal bath at Colmar, 1903-1906, (Triboux 2007)

construction bureau (effectively chief city architect)[9] he brought with him elements of the aesthetic culture gained from his early years. At the same time he also strengthened the links between Strasbourg, the so called "little homeland" in Alsace, and the "greater homeland" of the Rhineland. The choice of the Rhine baroque style also, perhaps deliberately, set itself apart from the medieval style of the reconstruction of the Hohkönigsburg by Bodo Ebhardt for Kaiser Wilhelm II. The reconstruction of the castle from 1901 to 1908 ran almost parallel to the planning of the Strasbourg baths. It is certainly tempting to see a certain historical legitimacy behind the chosen architectural style. The amalgamation of home-grown historical self-assertiveness with a new position in the Prussian-German Empire could also be seen in other cities such as Hamburg and Cologne. In the case of Strasbourg, however, its unique, rather tense location on the Franco-German border, as well as the mass immigration of people from the heart of the German empire (the so-called old Germans), was particularly poignant.

[9] Möllmer/Weber 2014, p.55, fig. 4.

Two in One: Architecture and social engineering together in the same pool

With the construction of this temple to cleanliness, Strasbourg achieved the twin goals of placing itself at the forefront of state welfare and, at the same time, stimulating a sense of pride among its citizens. The city was well aware of these achievements and sought to make the most of them: the town's coat of arms can still be seen proudly adorning the top of the large window overlooking the men's swimming pool. The men's pool, at 24.5 meters long was a particular achievement at that time; until the completion of the swimming pool in Mulhouse in 1925, it was the biggest in the whole of Alsace and could easily compete with other large cities in the Rhineland such as Cologne. The basin of the pool was also a work of technical genius by the Swiss born engineer Eduard Züblin, who had migrated to the aspiring imperial city from Italy.[10] His reinforced-concrete constructions were famed for lasting many years with no need for repairs. Züblin also designed the highly-innovative, ribbed, twin concrete-shell, vaulted roof over the main hall of the baths (Fig. 2).

As can be expected, the interior décor of the steam bath is of the most luxurious quality; it is decorated with a variety of different types of lavish marble. Right in the centre of the steam bath, proudly placed like an early Christian font, was a lukewarm plunge pool (Fig. 3). From here bathers could gaze up at the beautiful ribbed vault which took its inspiration from the interior of the 9th century cathedral in Aachen. Such embellishments could perhaps be seen as a discrete nod to the fact that the bathers were not just swimming, but also taking their place in the new empire of Charlemagne.

Even if this nationalistic intention was not fully realised through the interior design, it can still be assumed that the bath's creators were not concerned only with hygienic aspects but also considered social integration as a key aim of the building. Between 1870 and 1918 Strasbourg was a part of the newly founded German empire and the tensions between the indigenous „Strossburi" as they called themselves and the „Altdeutschen" or "old Germans", who had migrated there from other parts of the German empire, were never fully overcome. The public baths, set on the border between the Neustadt, built during the 1880s, and the old medieval city centre aimed to create a common identity through shared activities and interests; it was one of the few places in Strasbourg where the two populations were forced to meet. One could say that they were thrown into the deep end together!

The Strasbourg baths did not have much time to put these long-term ambitions into action. After less than ten years in operation, Alsace once again became French or rather Alsatian, to be more

[10] Weber, *Les Bains Municipaux at Strasbourg*, 2014, pp. 199-208.

accurate; the "old Germans" were hounded out, among them the pool architect, Fritz Beblo, who moved back to Munich where he took up the post of Chief City architect.[11]

Means of Knowledge Transfer

Despite, or perhaps even because of, the frequent change in nationality of the Alsace region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Strasbourg Baths were influenced from both sides the Rhine, which after 1918 once again marked the border between France and Germany. During the early design stages of the baths, a commission of the councillors scoured the most important baths of the German empire in order to find the best possible solution to the architectural challenge ahead of them. This cumulative process of learning can be seen, for example, in the solarium of the steam baths which imitate the style of the Goseried Baths in Hannover built in 1905, and in the installation of a bath for dogs, which had proven a great commercial success[12] in other towns such as Stuttgart.[13]

With regard to the symbolic aspects evidence of the architecture and decor, the municipal baths in Alsace such as those in Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines (1903), Colmar (1903-1906), Strasbourg and also Mulhouse (begun before the First World War 1911-1925) are characteristic of baths in the German speaking area. With regard to the technical construction, however, French influence can be seen to be of greater significance.

Significantly, it was in these years that one of the most noteworthy architecture books of the time the *Handbuch für Architektur (The Architect's Handbook)* was published by leading academics from the region, in particular the chief architect, director and professor at Karlsruhe Polytechnic, Josef Durm. In the section on *Building of Healing and other Wellbeing Establishments* in chapter four *Design, Installation and Setup of Buildings*, there is a part dedicated to *Bathing and Swimming Establishments*.[14]

The author of the section was Felix Genzmer, chief architect for the town of Wiesbaden. After a brief introduction to the historical development of types of baths and their typical forms, Genzmer moves on to discuss more modern bathing and swimming establishments. Some of the towns that had been visited and studied by the Strasbourg Commission are examined in this section, for example Dusseldorf, Frankfurt and Stuttgart.

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[11]Beblo-Hundhammer/Bauer, 1991.
[12] Kostka 2013, pp. 133-120.
[13]Genzmer 1899, pp. 271-272.
[14]Genzmer 1899.

The bathing establishments in Dusseldorf[15] and Frankfurt[16] were particularly influential in the planning of the Strasbourg baths. The bathing houses of both cities offered the "full programme" with steam baths, individual baths and gender-divided swimming pools. In Frankfurt these were also laid out at right angles to each other. "Before embarking upon the construction of saunas" advised Genzmer "it must first be ensured that there are sufficient funds remaining after the swimming and bathing pools have been fully taken care of."[17] The Strasbourg building authorities were embarking upon a very ambitious programme when planning the baths. One can assume with reasonable confidence that the city officials connected with the project, especially Fritz Beblo and his chief architect Ernst Fettig, who had studied at the Polytechnic in Karlsruhe, would have had the *Handbuch für Architektur* on their bookshelves. The section on the baths dating from 1899, was up to date at the start of the design process, even if one of the most important examples, the Müller'sche Municipal Baths were not included as they were not completed until 1901.

The Müller'sche Municipal Baths designed by Carl Hocheder did, however, appear in the relevant technical journals at the start of the design stage for Strasbourg.[18] The rapid developments in printing technologies and availability of printed works over the course of the nineteenth century meant that architectural journals had developed into an effective, cross-border means of communication.[19] The trade associations of architects and engineers were particularly relevant in this context. Since the middle of the nineteenth century they had developed into powerful interest groups, whose declared goals included the improvement of academic exchange and the further education of their members.[20] These trade associations and their publications were of particular significance in the German-speaking area[21] because, in contrast to the centralised educational institutions in France such as the École Polytechnique in Paris, the German federalist structure lacked a central, national administration and the activities of the association varied from state to state. This vehicle of technical exchange also functioned across national borders. The *Zeitschrift des Vereines Deutscher Ingenieure* (*The Journal of the Association of German Engineers)* for example, published regular book reviews in which foreign publications on the latest and best technical developments were publicised.

In the case of the baths in Strasbourg, technical journals proved to be an essential channel of communication for the development of the unique reinforced concrete structure. In 1901 the

[15]Genzmer 1899, pp. 164-165.
[16]Genzmer 1899, pp. 167-169.
[17]Genzmer 1899, p. 148.
[18]Langenberger 1903.
[19] Chart 'Entstehung und Enwicklung der Architekturzeitschriften', Fuhlrott 1975, p. 350.
[20] Bolenz 1991, p. 397. Weber/Liptau 2015, p. 54-58.
[21] Scholl 1981, p. 14.

contractor and engineer Eduard Züblin had already invented a highly-innovative solution for the basin using walls just 15cm thick, in the nearby Alsatian town of Guebwiller (Fig. 4). Züblin strengthend the basin walls using reinforced concrete ribs, producing a ship-like construction. The engineer Züblin had started experimenting with reinforced concrete for silos and water towers in Italy after his travels in Switzerland, France and England, and in 1897 he constructed a reinforced-concrete water tower for a textile factory in Scafati, just a few years after he had first encountered the new material.[22] An anecdote describing how Züblin became aware of the patented system of French engineer-contractor François Hennebique is significant. In 1895 Züblin read an article in a Swiss building journal entitled "A short introduction to reinforced concrete according to Hennebique's system"[23] and motivated him to make contact with Hennebique. An engineer such as Eduard Züblin, whose autobiography makes it clear that he was fluent in French, German, Italian and English, seems to have been predestined to gather technical knowledge from the international stage. It is also poignant that it was in Alsace that he implemented and expanded this knowledge.

Züblin´s engineering innovation, developed in Alsace-Lorraine, subsequently spread very quickly through the German-language specialist literature. In 1902, the early advocate of reinforced concrete, Fritz von Emperger, professor at Vienna Polytechnic University, published examples of Züblin´s work in the second volume of the leading technical journal of the time, *Neuere Bauweisen und Bauwerke aus Beton und Eisen (New Designs and Constructions in Concrete and Steel)*. He drew attention to Züblin's grain silo on the Sporeninsel in Strasbourg and his swimming pool in Guebwiller, writing "these are both produced by the outstanding German agent of Hennebique, the engineer Eduard Züblin. We have him to thank for a wide range of brilliant constructions in the *Reichsland* (Alsace-Lorraine)." [24] In this respect, Züblin also acted as an international mediator. A report of the Council from 1906 details how he also brought with him to Strasbourg his own craftsmen, whom he had probably trained in Italy. [25]

Züblin was Hennebique's main agent for southern Germany[26] and so he would have undoubtedly had to communicate as much with Hennebique's central bureau in Paris, as with the local administration which, after 1900, had representatives not just from Alsace but also immigrants

[22]Hahn 1984, p. 5. Everts-Grigat/Fuchs 1998, p. 14. Züblin 1962, fig. 2.
[23]Favre 1895, pp. 31-32.
[24]Emperger 1902, pp. 8-9.
[25] Beratungen des Gemeinderats vom 13. Juni 1906: Nr. 15. "Eingabe des Unternehmers Züblin um Gewährung einer Zulage für Mehrarbeit beim Bau der Badeanstalt am Nikolausring" (AVCUS – 153 MW 75).
[26]Hahn 1984, p. 6.

from the old German empire.[27] Züblin´s assistants in Strasbourg would therefore have quickly needed to communicate effectively in both French and German.

Eduard Züblin patented his developments in reinforced concrete and this was another means of knowledge transfer. The marketing of licensed construction methods such as François Hennebiques' system, patented in 1892, was a method of distributing controlled technical knowledge.[28] By selling rights, licence holders were able to cover the cost of their research and development. Züblin seems to have quickly mastered the statical calculations, unlike other German licensees such as Max Pommer in Leipzig.[29] This was because Züblin, unlike Max Pommer, was a mechanical engineer by training, not an architect. There was a financial incentive for him to work in Strasbourg and therefore he received a reduction in licensing costs.[30] Financial motives also probably influenced his own application for patents and this meant that he could circumvent some of Hennebique's patent rights.[31]

The central argument of this paper, that a particularly positive climate for promoting innovation existed in Alsace, depends on the importance of personal networks in the area. The previously mentioned means of knowledge transfer, such as specialist publications and the application of French patents, were dependent on local agents on the ground. In Alsace these agents were often bilingual and had spent significant periods of study abroad for example in Germany, France and of course, Switzerland. Eduard Züblin is a perfect example of these mobile, multilingual engineers in the 19th and early 20th centuries. His colleagues too, must have had similar skills. The sharing of knowledge within the Strasbourg Planning Office and, soon, with subsidiary office in Germany and even further afield, encouraged the development of new construction techniques. In this way, innovations from the construction of silos, for example, could be applied easily to the building of swimming pools.

The innovative basin of the Guebwiller pool had lasted well and therefore the technique used by the contractors was also applied to the building of the municipal baths in Colmar (Fig. 5) and Strasbourg. It is possible here to speak of a cumulative process of learning. In Mulhouse too, where Maurice Baumeister, a construction manager educated in Zürich und Stuttgart, held responsibility for project[32], the designs for the swimming pool were almost identical to those of

[27]Möllmer/Weber 2014, p. 53.
[28]Weber, *Der Ingenieur Eduard Züblin in Straßburg*, 2014, pp. 41-42.
[29] Krieg/Pommer 2015, pp. 66-70.
[30] Hahn 1984, p. 7.
[31]https://depatisnet.dpma.de/DepatisNet/depatisnet?window=1&space=main&content=einsteiger&action=treffer&firstdoc=1, (accessed 3 February 2016).
[32] Triboux 2007, p. 89.

Strasbourg.[33] In the same way, the double shell roof structures supported by steel-reinforced concrete beams in Strasburg are also almost identical to those in Mulhouse.[34] This "copy and paste" style of building implies that contractors and construction companies had efficient design processes in place.

Impact on both sides of the border

Eduard Züblin's activities can be clearly linked to the establishment of his reinforced-concrete techniques developed in Alsace in Germany after the First World War. Although Züblin himself died in 1916 in Zurich, his company continued to be successful and, indeed, survives to the present day. In 1918 the headquarters were moved from Strasbourg to Stuttgart. The Stuttgart branch was selected as the head office since many of the company's managerial staff, such as Ludwig Lenz, had studied at the Polytechnic in Stuttgart.[35] Solid evidence of the technology transfer from Alsace to Germany can be found in the Heslacher Municipal Baths in Stuttgart. Photos of the construction site document construction techniques almost identical to those that Züblin had used in Alsace before the First World War.[36] From a construction history viewpoint, it is interesting that after the war, constructors often chose to leave the arched shape of the roof beams visible rather than covering them up with plaster. This architectural decision reflects the modern trend for displaying internal structures.

The success of the Strasbourg Baths in creating an effective blueprint for other projects is evident from the numerous requests for information directed to the city board of works after the completion of the project. In 1909, for example, the government building office of Duisburg Ruhrort, that was in the process of building its own bath, requested information and an appointment to view.[37] In the same way the leader of the municipal building authority in Mannheim, Richard Perrey, who was responsible for the construction of the Herschel Baths,

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[33] Plan du bassin; coupe longitudinale, au 1/50e. Tirage héliogr. & crayons de couleurs sur papier, 103 x 100 cm, Ed. Zublin & Cie Ingenieurbureau & Beton-Bau Geschäft. Strassburg, 31. März 1913.
(Archives municipales de Mulhouse, cliché service régional de l'inventaire du patrimoine culturel – région Alsace, Menninger, 1984). Triboux 2007, p. 90.
[34] Weber, *Les Bains Municipaux at Strasbourg*, 2014, pp. 199-208.
[35] Niebelschütz 1958, p. 56.
[36] Züblin 1962, fig. 17.
[37] Stadtbauamt Duisburg-Ruhrort an das Stadtbauamt Strassburg i. E., Duisburg-Ruhrort, 27. Juli 1909 (AVCUS – 153 MW 75).

received advice from Fritz Beblo on construction and development costs.[38] His colleague from Nuremberg had technical questions for Ernst Fettig on the expected life of the fired-clay baths.[39]

In 1908 W. Schleyer, professor of Hannover Polytechnic, wrote with the request "As I have read in the newspaper, you have recently completed a large public bathhouse, which has received great applause and is of particular interest to me. I am charged with writing an extensive work about public baths and pools and therefore have the keen desire to learn about the latest additions to this field so that I might discuss them in my paper." [40] Schleyer was also editor of the *Zeitschrift des Hannoverschen Architekten- und Ingenieurvereins* (*Journal of Association of Hanoverian Architects and Engineers)* and was very keen to include the Strasbourg Baths in this publication. Already by 1908 a richly illustrated article had been published in the *Bauzeitung für Württemberg, Baden, Hessen und Elsass-Lothringen (Journal of Construction for Wurttemberg, Baden, Hessen and Alsace-Loraine)*, the official organ of the Association of Architects and Engineers in Alsace-Lorraine in collaboration with the Associations of Württemberg-Baden and Hessen.[41]

The featuring of the Strasbourg Baths in the second edition of the *Handbuch für Architektur* can also be seen as a sign of how important this construction was. In 1913 Felix Genzmer had already sent a request to the Strasbourg Building Authorities for the right to use the plans of the building.[42] The completion of the second edition was delayed by the First World War and could only be completed in 1921.[43] The new edition listed 28 examples under the heading "Public baths", 11 more than in the first edition of 1899. The Strasbourg example appears before the Müllerschen Municipal Baths in Munich, even though these were considered an "exemplary precedent"[44] for baths and had actually been completed first. The description of the Strasbourg Baths also included two floor plans and a map showing the medical bath expansion from 1910-1911.[45]

The Strasbourg baths were also highlighted as a positive example of municipal baths in the second edition of the *Handbuch für Hygiene* (*Handbook of Hygiene)* in 1918.[46] In 1919, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volksbäder* (*The German Society for Municipal Baths)* published its own

[38] Hochbauamt der Hauptstadt Mannheim, Perrey, Stadtbaurat, an das Stadtbauamt Strassburg i. E., Mannheim, 13. Mai 1909 (AVCUS – 153 MW 75).
[39] Städtisches Bauamt Nürnberg an die Verwaltung des städtischen Hallenschwimmbades, Nürnberg, 19. August 1912 und 5. September 191(2) (AVCUS – 153 MW 75).
[40] W. Schleyer, Professor an der Kgl. Technischen Hochschule, Kgl. Land-Bauinspektor a.D., an Herrn Stadtbauinspektor Beblo, Strassburg, Hannover, 12. August 1908 (AVCUS – 153 MW 75).
[41] Franck, 1908, pp. 325-328.
[42] Architekt Professor Felix Genzmer, königl. Gemeimer Hofbaurath, an den Stadtbaudirektor Beigeordneter Eisenlohr, Berlin-Dahlem, 17. August 1913 (AVCUS – 153 MW 75).
[43] Genzmer 1921.
[44] Genzmer 1921, p. 259.
[45] Genzmer 1921, p. 258-259.
[46] Schultze 1918, pp. 499-640.

volume *Das Volksbad – seine Einrichtung und sein Betrieb* (*Municipal Baths – Establishment and Operation)*. This society also held regular technical conferences and published its own journal.[47]

At the *Hygieneausstellung Dresden* (*Dresden Hygiene Exhibition)* in 1911 and also the *Exposition international urbaine* (*International Metropolitan Show)* in Lyon in 1914, the City of Strasbourg was extoled as an example of success in public hygiene movements that would be replicated in Paris, Rennes and Lyon.[48] Before 1918, France had not had any kind of bathing movement comparable to that of Germany. Because of this Philippe Grandvoinnet justifiably identified Strasbourg as a prime exemplar for French bathing establishments in the interwar years.[49]

In France, the Alsatian baths, especially those in Strasbourg, are unique in both their typology and their construction techniques, which could only have been possible in the border region of Alsace and the Upper Rhine. The close proximity to Germany meant that bathhouses in this area were influenced by the German bathing culture in the area between Baden-Baden, Karlsruhe, Heidelberg and examples in South and Central Germany such as in Munich, Frankfurt und Düsseldorf. Like the German establishments, the baths in France were built to the highest level of social hygiene. At the same time, engineers in this region were able to profit from the successes of the French reinforced concrete industry, as demonstrated by the work of Eduard Züblin, one of the most influential protagonists of the new material in Alsace. The Alsatian baths had an international impact and, in their construction, perfectly encapsulate the curious interbreeding of German and French influences close to the national border. They represent the importance of the Upper Rhine region as a melting pot and transmitter of technical and stylistic knowledge between France and Germany and further afield.

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[47] Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volksbäder 1919.
[48] Grandvionnet 2015, p. 27.
[49] Grandvionnet 2015, p. 27.

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SESSION: Housing: Representing Finance Anne Kockelkorn, ETH; Susanne Schindler, Columbia University

The architectural history of housing is generally written through the perspective of the designers' intentions, focusing on the flexibility of the floor plan, the articulation of private and public in the façade or the aesthetic adaption of building and construction technology, to take a few examples. Accordingly, architectural representation is privileged: plan, section, perspective, photograph.

A project's financial structure, governmental regulations, the form of tenancy or the duration of subsidies are rarely addressed in these histories and even less so in their (direct or indirect) impact on design choices. But just as the architectural and social intensions are inscribed in any realized project, so are its real-estate goals. The go-ahead that makes any project a reality is the result of an ideological "yes" to a specific form of financing. Who is to pay for, who is to gain from a particular project? How can we think of the design and real-estate goals of housing in tandem?

We are interested in papers that study, through novel approaches and methods of representation, the mutual dependency between real-estate and design choices in housing. The quest is to better understand the conditions of the production of housing, a discursive field situated between architecture, planning, finance and government techniques, which draws both on a knowledge of the populace and of the political economy.

Of particular interest are the years between the First and Second World Wars, when architects, planners, and policy makers actively experiemented with various real-estate models in historic constellations where land was not yet definitively considered to be an entity for private ownership. Martin Wagner's cooperative settlements in Berlin or Ernst May's work for municipal housing corporations in Frankfurt and later the Soviet Union are well-known; less known are both the financial underpinnings that made these projects feasible and the discursive settings that made certain design choices possible.

Another historic moment that merits closer attention are the late 1960s and early 1970s, when private investments in social housing was actively sought after even in largely state-driven housing production. These early shifts toward market-driven policies are the late 1960s and early 1970s, when private investment was actively sought after even in largely state-driven housing production. These early shifts towards market-driven policies are of particular interest as the coincided with a celebration of user participation in architecture (Lucian Kross, Christopher Alexander, Herman Hertzberger, IBA Alt Berlin), a discourse which rarely, however, addressed questions of finance, ownership and profit.

Religious financing of affordable housing in Lebanon

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The history of social housing in Lebanon, a category conspicuously small in terms of built examples, is yet to be written. Since independence from the French mandate in 1943, consecutive Lebanese governments failed to adopt any pro-active housing vision. Instead, the few exceptions that did break through this passive 'non-policy' were in response to earthquakes (1956), foreign consultants' reports (IRFED, 1960-1) and army needs (1964). Both during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) when building activity was practically frozen and in the current post-war period during which demand for affordable housing has burgeoned, housing initiatives have moved from the hands of the government to those of the clergy.

Facing a crumbling national unity, Lebanese have gradually withdrawn to their respective confessional communities which, in the vacuum left by an incapacitated state, now cater for basic needs from education to employment including housing. This confessional mode of production is by no means purely pious; instead it is geared towards maintaining religious loyalties and limiting migration of the young, therefore strengthening the position of the clergy within a divided society.

The Catholic Maronite church, a major economic and political player in Lebanon, stands out as a leader in this field through a long tradition and wealth of projects since 1964. The establishment of the 'Maronite Social Fund' in 1987, a pastoral body that became the 'Social Maronite Institution' in 1998, run by laymen with direct links to clergy, charts the institutionalization of church-offered housing. This profit free housing is produced through the involvement of the Social Maronite Institution as project initiators on purchased or donated land, installment-paying Maronites as future residents, and Christian-sympathetic banks as financers.

The paper focuses on the specificity of the model of the Maronite affordable housing schemes. Particularly, it is argued that the demonstrated shift from charitable social housing provision to profit-free/sub-market rate affordable housing challenges the distancing of clergy from direct money or occupier contact, an uneasy inbuilt paradox that animates this institutional-financial mode of production.

Prefacing this substantive focus in perspective, a contextual comparative overview of modes of production of other local church schemes (Catholic Greek, Orthodox Greek, Armenian) is offered. The research evidence base comprises historical archives, site visits and interviews.

A State-Supported Private Investment Model to Finance Housing in Post World War II Turkey

Nilüfer Baturayoglu Yöney, Abdullah Gül University

Turkish Real Estate and Credit Bank, created to facilitate public construction activity including housing, was restructured in 1946 and became responsible for providing loans for land and construction in order to provide affordable housing. This model, also suggested by Ernst Reuter while he taught at Ankara University in the 1940s, became the means for overcoming the lack of housing in Turkey indirectly through the central government's means.

The bank acquired land on the development corridors of urban areas, and developed these through housing projects with a total planning approach meanwhile selling the houses and/or apartments on low-rate long-term loans with a mortgage on the unit. More than 13,000 units in 49 housing projects in 12 cities were produced in 1946-1973 with this system, including post-disaster housing. Another 125,000 units were produced all over the country until 2001 when the bank was closed and its duties were transferred to the Housing Development Administration of Turkey. The bank also provided similar loans to housing cooperatives and to individuals. The total number of mortgage loans in the 1946-1973 period reached 165,000, making the bank the major financing course for housing in Turkey. Despite state involvement, the bank remained a self-supporting institution, and utilized its profits with the same purpose.

This paper aims to discuss the bank's housing finance model, focusing on the design and construction of the large-scaled projects between 1946-1980, comparing these with post-war housing production and finance models from Europe. The state was able to overcome the lack of housing in this period despite rapid urbanization and the development of squatter zones in urban areas while the bank remained its major semi-private financing and implementation tool.

The paradoxes of efficiency. Housing production in Romania in the early 1970s

Dana Vais, Technical University of Cluj-Napoca *

In communist Romania, large state-owned housing ensembles were extensively developed during the first half of the 1960s. They were both an instrument of social progress and an engine of the centrally planned national economy. However, by mid-1960s they began to be questioned: they cost too much. The political discourse started to incriminate the "waste", as the regime was running out of money. In 1966, a law allowed the population to participate in the financing of dwellings, conceding the rights to private property. In 1968, housing norms were modified in order to make apartments cheaper. A 1968 law targeted the economic rationality in the use of land.

This was a major turning point. The Party still demanded more apartments, but with less expense. Prefabrication – a topical issue in early 1960s Romania – seemed to be a solution. Yet prefabrication had already been proven to be an expensive method of cheap building. In spite of all evidence of inefficiency, the heavy prefabricated concrete systems would be widely developed. The increasing gap between discourse and reality was concealed by cosmeticized statistical reports; figures prevailed over real facts.

The paper analyzes the system of housing production in Romania in the late 1960s and early 1970s, giving an insight into how the system worked in terms of economic rationale. It exposes the inescapable contradictions that begun to rule the political decisions in face of economic realities and how they changed the types and standards of housing design and production. By focusing on the politically predefined notion of economic efficiency and its paradoxes – the symptom of a system that has reached its limits – the paper reveals the artificial limit-condition of the system of housing production in communist Romania.

PAPER

The paper addresses mass housing production in Romania in the late 1960s and early 1970s, focusing on the economic aspects of the architectural and urban product. The communist regime paid a lot of attention to the visibility of its economic success – one of its main 'legitimation pillars'.[1] However, political reasons prevailed over economic rationales, which resulted in many unsolvable contradictions between the aim of an efficient production and the means of achieving it. The paper will highlight these 'paradoxes of efficiency'.

Efficiency (*eficiență*) has always been an important issue in the political discourse concerning housing in communist Romania; by the late 1960s it became central to it. The notion was used in a sense that meant not only that the housing production had to be objectively efficient (that is, making the most possible of what was invested), but to be actively economical: producing the most possible *from the least* possible invested. It meant increasing production and saving resources at the same time (the term sometimes used was *economicitate*[2]– 'economicity'). The paper questions how this particular imperative – not simply efficiency, but efficiency pushed to the limits of its own logics – affected the housing system.

The late 1960s brought about what was then perceived as a 'change of the housing concept'.[3] The extensive and – in the Communist Party's view – expensive urban development practices

[1] A.Burakowski, *Dictatura lui Nicolae Ceauşescu. Geniul Carpaţilor*, Iași, Polirom, 2011, p.29.
[2] 'Cuvîntarea Tovarășului Nicolae Ceaușescu', *Arhitectura*, no.2, 1971, pp.3-8 (p.5).
[3] C.Furmuzache et.al., 'Probleme actuale ale realizării ansamblurilor urbane', *Arhitectura*, no.2, 1969, pp.26-30 (p.28).

pursued up to this moment were refocused with the goal of becoming more intensive (i.e. densely built) and more cost-effective. After this, the state housing production figures kept growing until the end of the communist regime in 1989, supposedly reflecting the growth of the overall economy – although in reality, from the early 1970s on, the economy was in decline.[4] This disjunction, between the housing sector's growing output and an otherwise declining national economy, appears as the first paradox of the notion of efficiency. By addressing several other paradoxes, in relation to the issues of land economy, prefabrication, design standards and privatization, the paper argues that, in spite of the continually growing figures, the late 1960s was the moment when the system of housing production based on 'efficiency' also reached the limits of the feasible, by exhausting its own premises.

The Romanian housing system: A short overview of an escalated development

The main change in housing policies brought about by the communist regime after World War II concerned the role of the state. In the interwar period, the Romanian state had been only indirectly involved in supporting housing development; financial and fiscal incentives were granted to societies for 'cheap housing' (*locuințe eftine*) or to enterprises who built houses for their employees, on land provided by local administrations. The prevailing model was the garden-city, with owner-occupied single family homes.[5] These locally planned productions affected a small segment of the urban population, which itself constituted only a little more than 20 percent of the entire population of Romania at the time.

From the moment the communist regime seized power, it considered housing to be a state issue entirely. The state developed housing programs at the national level and acted directly, as an investor, planner, designer and builder. Collective dwelling types were preferred, not only for economic but also for ideological reasons. Accordingly, there was a major difference in scale, method, type and scope (local vs. national promotion, indirect vs. direct action, single family homes vs. collective estates, marginal interventions vs. impacting the core of society) between the interwar housing approach and that of the postwar communist state housing policy.

Postwar Romanian housing programs were an integral part of the planned national economy. In architect Ignace Șerban's words, 'the means of housing development are organically integrated in the economic development system as a whole, and the target cannot be framed between

[4] B.Murgescu, *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010)*, Iași, Polirom, 2010, p.369.
[5] P.Derer, *Locuirea urbană*, București, Ed.Tehnică, 1985, p.117.

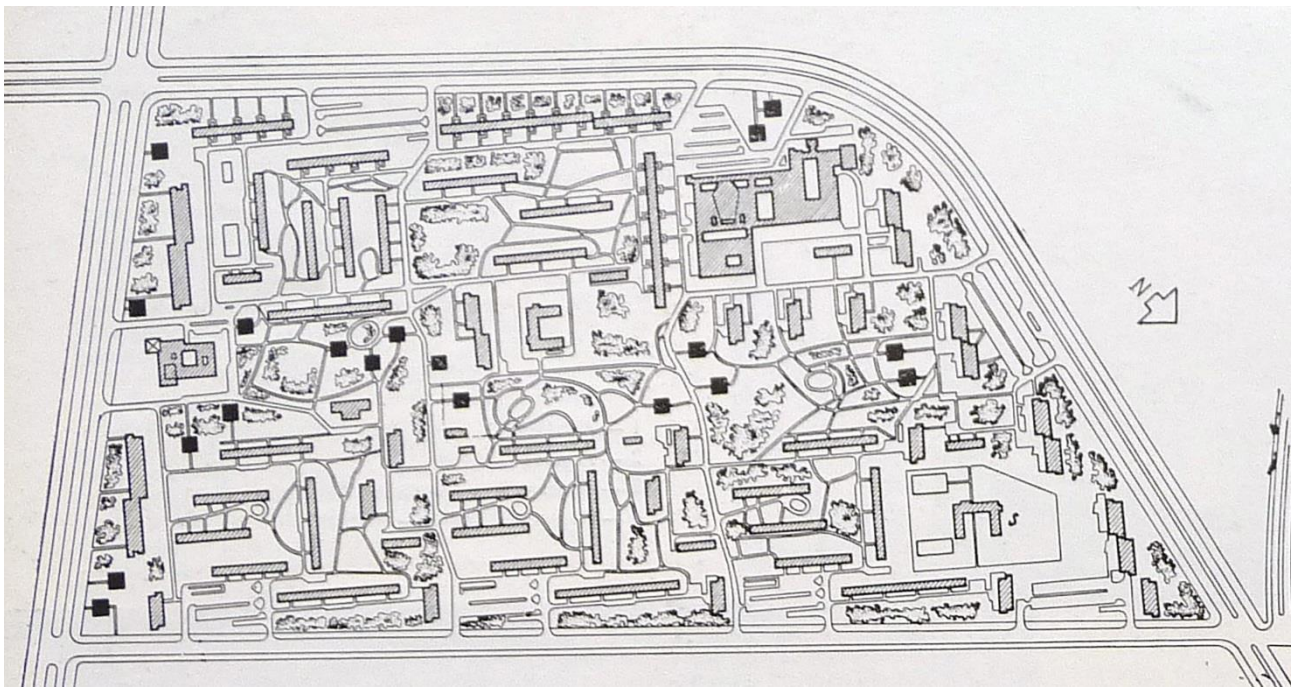

Figure 1: Densification of *Ansamblul Sud 1*, Bucharest (1964-66), by insertions of new housing in 1967-68. Source: *Arhitectura* no.4, 1968, p.36

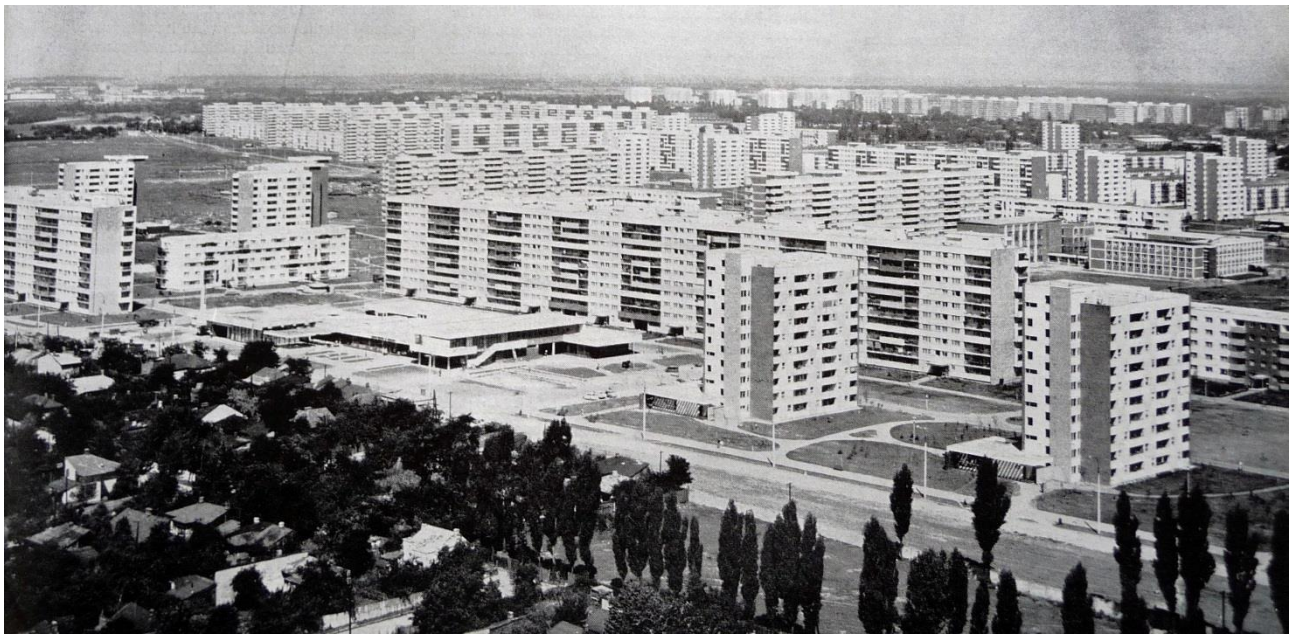

Figure 2: *Drumul Taberei*, Bucharest (1963-66). Source: *Arhitectura* no.4, 1967, p.25

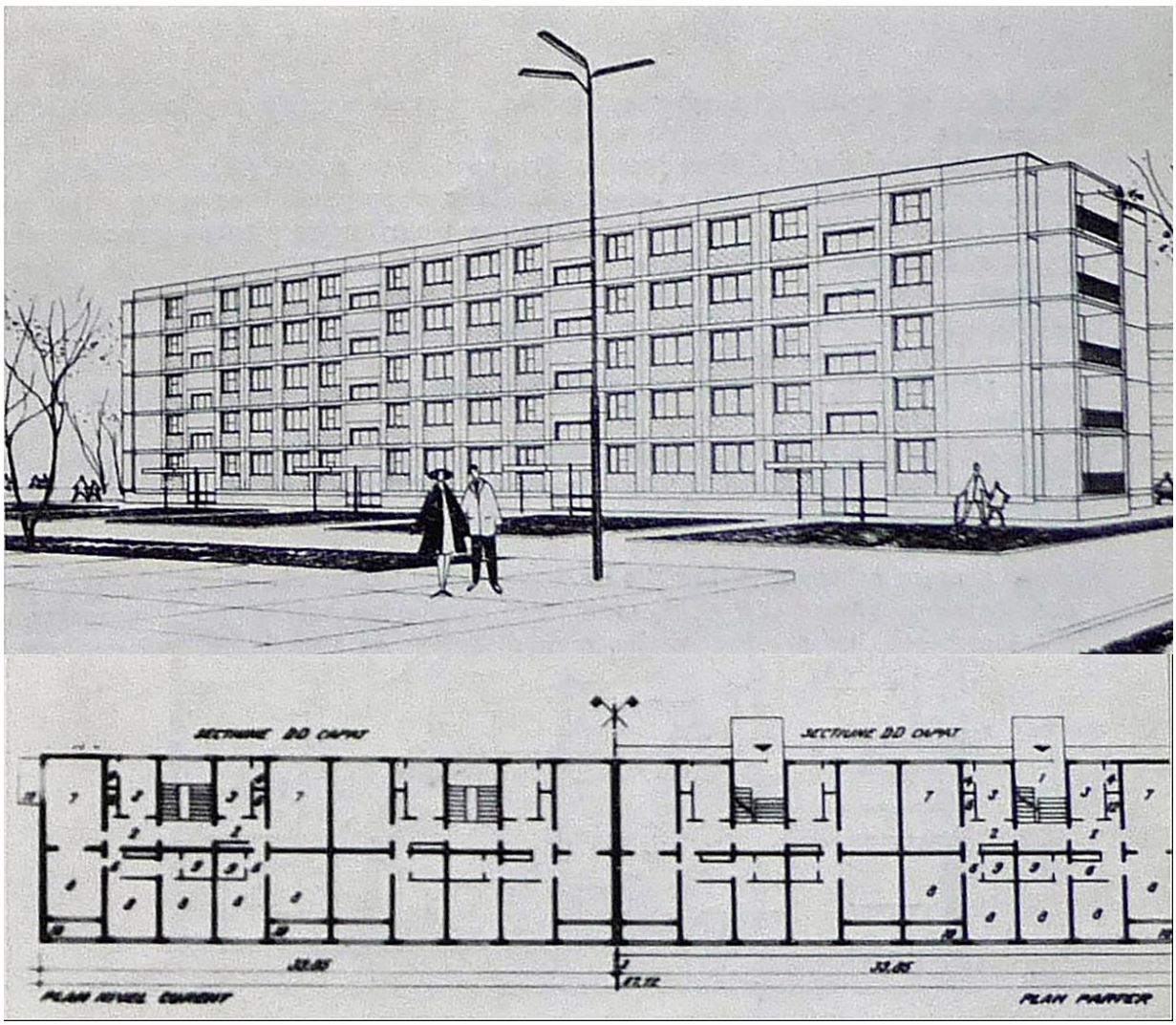

Figure 3: The '2926' series, the large panel project made by the prefabrication plant in *Militari Complex*, Bucharest. Source: *Arhitectura* no.5, 1965, p.21

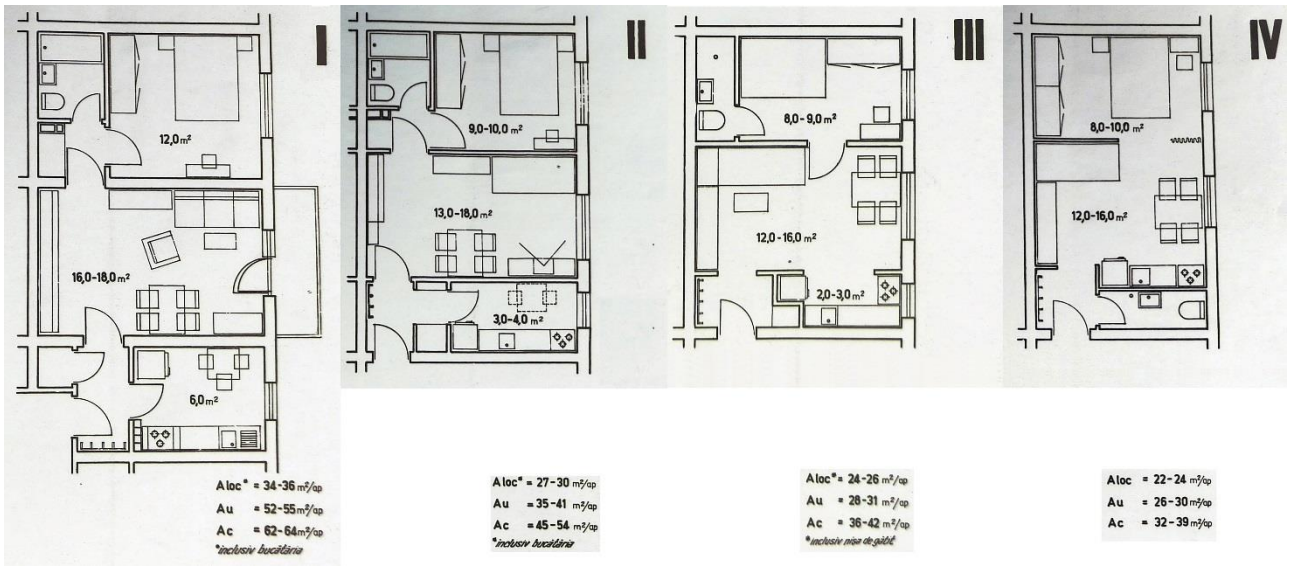

Figure 4 The four comfort categories introduced by *HCM 1650/1968*. Source: *Arhitectura* no.5, 1968, pp.

	cat I 2 rooms	cat II 2 rooms	cat III 2 rooms	cat IV 2 rooms	studio 1 room
inhabitable area, sqm	28-30	24-26	24-26	22-24	10-11
kitchen min area, sqm	6	3-4	kitchinette included in the inhabitable area	cooking place in one of the rooms	sink
bathroom min area, sqm	3,5 completely equipped	2,5-3 completely equipped	WC and shower	WC	- [shared]
loggia or balcony	Yes	yes	-	-	-
ceiling price	-	36-40.000 lei	28-31.000 lei	23-25.000 lei	11.500-12.500 lei

Table 1:Surface standards introduced by the governmental decision (HCM) nr. 127/1968 (cat I) and 1650/1968 (cat II, III, IV, G). Data source: Dorian Hardt, 'Noi tipuri de locuinţe de masă', *Arhitectura* no.5, 1968, pp.26-30 (p.26)

absolute limits'.[6] In the first two communist decades, the economy grew, so a substantial 'accumulation fund'[7] could be created in order to fuel investments. From this 'general pot', a housing fund was established at the national level, then distributed into the territory, according to criteria that defined the local 'need' – most often, as architect Marcel Locar remarked at the time, to 'the regions where great industrial objectives are developed'.[8] Local administrations, whichwere the financial coordinators and beneficiaries of the construction works, allocated the new apartments through local enterprises to state employees, who paid a small rent (established on a square metre basis). In the propaganda's words, apartments were 'given' to workers[9] as a form of 'social salary'.[10]

[6] I.Șerban and V.Avramescu, *1961-1964. Locuința urbană*, București, Ed.Tehnică, 1964, pp.7-33 (p.9).

[7] from 17,1 percent of the GDP in 1956-60 to 33,7 percent in 1971-75; Murgescu, *România și Europa*, p.337.

[8] M.Locar, 'Evoluția construcției de locuințe în Republica Socialistă România', *Arhitectura*, no.4, 1966, pp.18-23, (p.19).

[9] A.Alberti (ed.), *La Roumanie*, Milano, Edizioni del Calendario, București / Institutul de Studii Social-Politice, 1979, p.163.

[10] Locar, 'Evoluția', p.18.

The Party's major political aim was the accelerated industrialization of the entire country and the creation of a large working class – in opposition to the concept of an agriculture-based economy, which the Soviet Union tried to impose on Romania in the COMECON (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). In spite of the increasing political independence from the USSR, the Romanian housing programs did, however, follow the Soviet model. After the adoption of socialist realism between 1952 and 1957, the turn to functionalism by the late 1950s and the era of the '*microraion'* during the 1960s[11] mirrored Khrushchev's policy of low-cost mass housing production.[12]

The key issue in adopting the functionalist form was essentially economic: the need to achieve mass-scale production. The regime needed a larger workforce for the rapidly multiplying industrial objectives and this workforce needed housing. It was after 1960 that the housing production system started working at mass scale. This fact was remarked at the time by historian Grigore Ionescu, who wrote that the true 'qualitative leap' in housing development was achieved during the third five-year plan of 1960-1965, which brought about the 'big scale systematization activity'.[13] This expansion was acknowledged with pride at the time, as a 'statement of the voluntaristic urbanism in our country'.[14] This was actually just a corollary of the 'voluntaristic investments policy',[15] which distributed funds excessively towards industry, and particularly heavy industry (of which steel was the first priority), compared to other investments. Urbanization was an important political goal in the communist project, a side-effect of industrialization.

The demand for housing remained high, as people attracted by industry kept moving to cities. Constanţa, Galați or Hunedoara, for instance, all doubled their population between 1956 and 1975. The urban population grew from 23,4 percent in 1948 to 42,7 percent in 1974 – a considerable increase in absolute terms, as the overall population of Romania also grew, from about 16,5 million to almost 21 million over the same period.[16] But only those who were 'given' apartments could be registered as new city inhabitants. Between 1956 and 1966, the number of urban workers had grown by 69 percent, but that of commuting industrial workers (i.e. potential urban citizens that didn't receive city apartments from the state) grew by 141 percent; by the early 1970s, 42 percent of the industrial workers still commuted from the countryside.[17] Urban housing

[11] J.Maxim, 'Mass housing and collective experience: on the notion of microraion in Romania in the 1950s and 1960s', *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.14, no.1, 2009, pp.7–26.
[12] M.Mărginean, *Ferestre spre furnalul roșu. Urbanism și cotidian în Hunedoara și Călan*, Iași, Ed.Polirom, 2015, pp.103, 147; A.M.Zahariade, *Architecture in the communist project. Romania 1944-89*, București, Ed.Simetria, 2011, p.55.
[13] G.Ionescu, *Arhitectura în România 1944-1969*, Bucharest, Ed.Academiei, 1969, pp.58-59.
[14] B.Grünberg, 'În ce măsură sunt justificate ansamblurile complexe de locuit?', *Arhitectura*, no.4, 1967, p.29.
[15] Murgescu, *România și Europa*, p.338.
[16] C.Lăzărescu et.al., *Urbanismul în România*, București, Ed.Tehnică, 1977, pp.12-13.

[17] G.Sebestyen, *Eficiența economică și socială a ansamblurilor de locuit*, București, Ed.Tehnică, 1975, p.82.

supply could hardly keep up with the demand. The shortage was continually recreated by the accelerated industrialization itself. Paradoxically, the more industry was developed, the more housing could be paid for, but the more shortage was produced too. Industrialization was generating the housing solution and the housing problem all at once.

Paradox One: Lower Costs Don't Need Efficiency

Housing was considered to be a form of 'unproductive investment'.[18] In reality, it was a proper instrument of production, an important piece in the economic mechanism: indirectly, by providing shelter for the workforce necessary to the accelerated industrial development; but also directly, by its mass scale, as the construction industry itself acted as an important engine of the economy.

However, the substantial economic growth of the first two communist decades,[19] which was behind the escalated housing development,[20] was hardly sustainable. It was not based on productivity, which was quite low, but on a large consumption of resources. The state disposed of virtually all resources in the country – land, enterprises, finance and people were made into just one big economic entity; but this wholeness was the opposite of an efficient system.[21] By the late 1960s, resources began to be exhausted. Moreover, as the regime evolved towards a personal dictatorship, from the mid-1970s on, economic rationales would be totally subdued by the 'fundamentally irrational' system of arbitrary command.[22] Instead of adjusting to the global energy crisis, the economy entered a forced accelerated development based on energy-intensive industrialization and foreign loans.[23] The more the state produced in terms of industry, the less it actually gained financially.

The housing sector was illustrative for this inconsistency. In the mid-1970s, architect Gheorghe Sebestyen, a professor and researcher in the 'efficiency of housing estates' field, remarked that different levels of the system – local beneficiary, housing sector, national economy – understood the notion differently. Interests diverged and what was efficient at the local level was not so at the

[18] Sebestyen, p.16.

[19] Burakowski, *Dictatura*, p.122.
[20] 82.000 apartments in 1956-60, 226.000 in 1961-65, 344.000 in 1966-70, 520.000 planned for 1971-75; 'Locuința sau despre umanism în arhitectură', *Arhitectura*, no.1, 1972, pp.2-3, (p.2).
[21] Mărginean, *Ferestre*, p.35.
[22] Murgescu, *România și Europa*, pp.320-323, 402.
[23] Burakowski, *Dictatura*, p.205; Murgescu, p.360.

national level, or the other way round. 'In the end, it is the decision-making body that solves the problem', he wrote.[24] In other words, 'efficiency' was politically determined.

Because true economic efficiency escaped control, the political discourse overstated lower costs instead; this could be expressed directly in figures. In 1958, the Party leader himself, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, indicated the cost limit per unit: 35-40.000 lei.[25] A system of cost ceilings was introduced in 1960.[26] The limit for a 'conventional apartment' (2 rooms, 30 sqm inhabitable area) remained more or less 40.000 lei[27] all through the 1960s, in spite of the fact that salaries increased significantly.[28] In 1968, when Nicolae Ceaușescu, the leader of the Party since 1965, pleaded for 'cheap housing, built faster and with fewer costs', along with 'housing diversification', he specifically named the prices: 'we must have apartments which cost from 20.000 lei to 50.000 lei, including types for about 30.000 and 40.000 lei'.[29] The political power didn't need economic efficiency in order to lower the production costs; they were imposed by decree.

Paradox Two: Density Does Not Value Land

Another way of decreasing the costs per apartment was to economize the 'important national wealth which is land'.[30] But the problem of this type of rationalization was that the value of land could not be translated into money. In the calculation of costs, land was not considered a 'value index' (i.e. with financial expression), but a 'natural index'. Even if all the indexes were correlated in order to control efficiency, Sebestyen admitted, this was not possible 'at the present stage of the science of political economy', because 'land economy has no realistic value equivalent in Romania'. A methodology of control for the rational use of land was introduced in 1967, but Sebestyen showed that its rigidity generated even more inefficiency.[31]

However, if land was not expressed in money, it still needed infrastructure, which was priced, and its cost was high: about 50 percent of the total cost of a housing estate.[32] If the operational costs were included, then it was even more, as green spaces proved especially expensive to maintain.[33]

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[24] Sebestyen, *Eficiența*, pp.23-24.
[25] Mărginean, *Ferestre*, p.151.
[26] Locar, 'Evoluția', p.22.
[27] Șerban and Avramescu, *1961-1964*, p.11.
[28] Mărginean, *Ferestre*, p.285.
[29] N.Ceaușescu, Discourse at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in June 1968, cited by 'Un nou program pentru construcția de locuințe', *Arhitectura*, no.4, 1968, pp.2-3 (p.3).
[30] Derer, *Locuirea*, p.154.
[31] Sebestyen, *Eficiența*, pp.21-22, 26-30.
[32] Furmuzache et.al., 'Probleme', p.28.

[33] 40% of the investment per year; I.Ciubotaru, 'Demografie, industrializare, economie', *Arhitectura*, no.2, 1969, pp.36-

And because all these costs were roughly proportional to the size of land, simply saving land became the main measure of efficiency for housing investments.[34]

Therefore, higher densities were imposed, including on existing estates, in order to end with 'the waste of land'.[35] The 'densification' of *Ansamblul Sud 1* in Bucharest (built between 1964 and 1966, densified between 1967 and 1968), for instance (fig.1), increased density by 20 percent.[36] In *Drumul Taberei* in Bucharest (1963-66, fig.2), the number of apartments was increased after 1967 by about 25 percent, reducing the average cost of a conventional apartment by up to 4000 lei. In other cities, the density increased by 30-35 percent.[37] Green space decreased, in average, from 5 square metre per inhabitant in 1961 to 2,9 square metre per inhabitant in 1976.[38]

A major problem for effectively measuring density was the instrument by which it was calculated. In Romania, unlike other countries – Sebestyen remarked – the density index was not the floor area ratio (the total floor area of the buildings divided by the area of the land), but indexes that measured the inhabitable area (the total surface of the living rooms and bedrooms in all the apartments divided by the area of the land). This was an unreliable index, Sebestyen showed, giving irrelevant differences, so that comparisons between different estates could not actually be made.[39] The fact that the number of rooms per apartment and the inhabitable area per person increased over the years[40] also complicated density calculation. Although increasing density was imperative in communist Romania, its measure escaped precise control.

Paradox Three: Prefabrication Needs Types, But Not Standardization

Prefabrication seemed the surest way to increase efficiency in housing production. Small-scale prefabrication was introduced as early as 1951. During the 1950s however, the main purpose – speeding production and reducing costs – was not yet achieved: the prefabricated elements were too heavy, too expensive and had to be transported too far. The key problem was the scale of production; the relatively small housing estates could not use prefabrication efficiently.[41]

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38 (p.38).

[34] Sebestyen, *Eficiența*, p.26.
[35] Furmuzache et.al., 'Probleme', pp.26-27.

[36] D.Farb, 'Ansamblul de locuințe din zona de sud a orașului București', *Arhitectura* no.4, 1968, pp.34-41 (p.38)
[37] I.Ciubotaru, 'Probleme economice în sistematizarea localităților', *Arhitectura*, no.4, 1967, pp.8-10.
[38] Derer, *Locuirea*, p.186.
[39] Sebestyen, *Eficiența*, pp.36-37.
[40] from 7-10 sqm/inhabitant in 1960 to 10-12 sqm/inhabitant in 1973; Derer, *Locuirea*, p.189.
[41] Ionescu, *Arhitectura în România*, pp.19, 54, 61.

But even after large panels were introduced on larger scale in the early 1960s,[42] the cost of construction was up to 12 percent higher than with traditional masonry.[43] Prefabricated housing was not cheaper than traditional techniques, Sebestyen admitted later in the 1980s. The huge investments in plants and transport infrastructure made it expensive. But this disadvantage, evident at the local level, disappeared at the national level of the economy, where it was 'more than compensated by the revenue of the prefabrication plants' – he claimed.[44]

In reality, prefabrication plants were hardly efficient either. What was specific to the Romanian system of heavy concrete prefabrication was that productivity was required at the design level first. In order to increase the efficiency of design, the buildings were standardized in their entirety, rather than by component pieces (walls, floors etc.).[45] So there were generic type projects (such as the '1013' and '2926' series – fig.3), but no generic prefabricated concrete elements. Each housing type required its own set of specific components, which could only be used on that building type. A prefabrication plant had to work as many times as possible on a single project,[46] while still making a wide variety of components for it – that is, producing one 'efficient' type, in an inefficient way.

In 1970, state statistics reported that over 25 percent of all state housing estates were built with integral prefabrication[47] (which also meant that almost 75 percent were not). The prefabrication system was far from being effective, and yet it would be forcedly developed, as an important branch of heavy industry,[48] until the end of the regime.

Paradox Four: Typification Is Diversification

The political imperative was to increase the number of state-funded apartments, without increasing the housing funds accordingly. As the necessary cost reduction could not be made at

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[42] C.Ciolacu, 'Prefabricarea construcțiilor social-culturale', *Arhitectura*, no.6, 1969, pp.69-70 (p.70).

[43] L.Veiser, 'Unele aspecte economice ale construcțiilor din panouri mari', *Arhitectura*, no.6, 1969, p.69.

[44] G.Sebestyen, 'Condiționări tehnice, economice și sociale rezultînd din amploarea problemei locuințelor', in: M.Caffé (ed.), *Locuința contemporană. Probleme și puncte de vedere*, București, Ed.Tehnică, 1987, pp.55-74 (p.56).

[45] Sebestyen, 'Condiționări', pp. 57-58.

[46] In 1967, the new prefabrication plant in Bucharest (the *Militari* Complex) worked on a single type-project, the '2926' large panels series, with a rate of 4500 apartments per year; the construction of the plant took five years, and when it began to produce it was already obsolete; W.Juster, 'Locuințe din panouri mari', *Arhitectura*, no.4, 1968, pp.44-46.

[47] P.Macovei, 'Raportul comitetului de conducere al Uniunii Arhitecților', *Arhitectura*, no.2, 1971, pp.9-22 (p.16).

[48] W.Juster, 'Industrializarea construcțiilor de locuințe', *Arhitectura*, no.5, 1965, pp.20-25 (p.20).

the construction level, architect Mihail Caffe remarked at the time, it had to be done at the level of design, that is, by revising the types and standards of the apartments.[49]

Typification was an important way of controlling housing costs from the very beginning. Institutes in Bucharest (such as IPCT – *Institutul de Proiectare pentru Construcții Tipizate*) designed type-projects (specific plans including cost calculations) or directive projects (generic plans), which were adapted afterwards by the regional project institutes. Housing design became a 'specialization focused on the technical-economic side'; complying with the price ceiling was 'one of the basic tasks of the design brief'.[50] The architects' job was all but reduced to the control of floor area indices.

Paradoxically, it was by 'diversification' that the costs could be reduced even more: 'comfort categories' were introduced (Table 1, Fig.4). Increasing the physical number of apartments and reducing the average cost per unit was possible, but only by increasing the proportion of low-category apartments. In some cases, 25 percent of an ensemble was in the lowest category.[51] Indices were manipulated; for instance, the kitchen was included in the 'inhabitable area', so that density figures looked better.[52] The so-called 'diversification action'[53] actually legitimized substandard housing, while cosmeticized balance sheets became detached from reality.

Paradox Five: Privatization Does Not Need A Market

The state housing production system survived, paradoxically, by promoting privatization. Although private property was discouraged in principle, it was not abolished. The regime did not have a coherent policy of housing nationalization.[54] Private ownership homes never ceased to be the prevailing form of dwelling in communist Romania. Of all the new homes built between 1951 and 1967, 72,7 percent were owner-occupied single family houses – most of them in the countryside.[55]

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[49] M.Caffe, 'Aspecte generale ale diversificării locuințelor', *Arhitectura*, no.4, 1970, pp.18-19 (p.18).

[50] Șerban and Avramescu, *1961-1964*, pp.10-11.

[51] N.Florescu, 'Unitatea de măsură: ansamblul', *Arhitectura*, no.2, 1969, pp.35-36 (p.35).

[52] for the II-IV categories (but not for the first); Florescu, p.36.

[53] Furmuzache et.al., 'Probleme', p.28.

[54] M.Șerban, 'The Exceptionalism of Housing in the Ideology and Politics of Early Communist Romania (1945–1965)', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol.67, no.3, 2015, pp.443-467.

[55] M.Stancu, 'Arhitectura meșteșugărească contemporană a clădirilor de locuit', *Arhitectura*, no.6, 1970, pp.61-65 (p.61).

During the 1960s, the state focused on urban areas; 90 percent of all the state-funded housing was built in cities,[56] where the shortage was considerable. By the mid-1960s it became clear, however, that the state would not be able to solve the shortage on its own resources. Therefore, private housing built by the inhabitants themselves was first encouraged. A 1966 decree[57] allowed privately owned homes to be built by the population with certain incentives from the state. These included long-term low-interest loans through CEC (*Casa de Economii și Consemnațiuni*), the state-owned savings bank; land for free use from the local councils; ownership tax exemption for 10 years and tax exemption for contracts.[58] The state provided 'technical assistance':[59] the projects were drawn by state design institutes and built by socialist construction enterprises. They had to observe the standard surface limits and building costs established by the law. The process was controlled by a specific state agency.[60]

The policy of encouraging private housing promotion did not last for long.[61] The number of private housing built after the 1966 decree – single-family homes or small-scale condominiums – was relatively small. Moreover, the state was more interested in strengthening its own system of mass production. From the mid-1970s on, in order to own a home, one had to buy an apartment produced by the state system.[62] The buyer either paid the full price, or just an advance and applied for a state loan, sanctioned by the enterprise or institution that employed him/her. Prices were established by the law. The ownership rights were limited: only the inhabitant of the apartment had the right to buy it. Reselling was forbidden, except for well-defined situations.[63] Private renting was considered 'a practice against the principles of the socialist system'.[64] This was housing privatization without creating a housing market.

By the late 1970s, the state planned, designed, financed and built almost all urban housing, a percentage of which was sold: about 37 percent of the annual production was sold in 1977, 40 percent in 1980, and almost 65 percent in Bucharest in 1979-80.[65] Paradoxically, it was by

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[56] Șerban and Avramescu, *1961-1964*, p.5.
[57] HCM 445/1966.
[58] Locar, 'Evoluția', p.19.

[59] M.Moroianu, 'Despre unele proiecte de locuințe individuale', *Arhitectura*, no.1, 1968, p.66.

[60] D.Lupulescu, *Construirea și cumpărarea de locuințe proprietate personală cu sprijinul statului*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1975, p.30.
[61] M.M.Olteanu, 'Legislație și sistematizare', in Fl.S.Soare (ed.), *Politică și societate în epoca Ceaușescu*, Iași, Polirom, 2013, p.27.
[62] A.Panaitescu, *De la Casa Scânteii la Casa* Poporului, București, Simetria, 2012, pp.68, 78.
[63] Lupulescu, *Construirea*, pp.11, 60-62, 75-78, 89.
[64] Sebestyen, 'Condiționări', p.66.
[65] Derer, *Locuirea*, p.135; in 1977, over 53% of urban homes were privately owned (Sebestyen, 'Condiționări', p.66).

increasing private ownership that the state housing system ultimately supplanted the private production of urban homes.

Conclusion

The communist state housing system was not economically efficient, in spite of the excessive rhetoric of efficiency. Profit was not an issue and precise instruments to control efficiency were not a priority. Production was based on the consumption of resources, to which the state had unlimited access. Just like the escalated industrial development, which it followed closely, the housing spiral of growth was entirely determined by the political will. In economic terms, the housing production system was pushed to its limits, which resulted in paradoxes.

However, the system survived longer than it would have in a profit-driven economy. This was possible, apparently, because of the biggest paradox of all: the communist regime start behaving like a capitalistic one. 'Diversification', for instance, was not made horizontally – producing varied apartments of even quality – but vertically, introducing difference in comfort and therefore housing status, acknowledging *de facto* social inequality. Privatization was encouraged specifically for financial purposes. Land stopped being considered a natural unlimited resource and became important for the cost-effectiveness of the estates.

This 'paradox' was only superficial though: none of these measures had anything to do with a capitalist economy. In reality, housing diversity was very limited. Privatization was a simulacrum, as the emergence of a housing market was prevented and private property could not be traded. Land value had no precise financial expression. All the measures that might seem inspired from the capitalist system were just expedients, in order for the state to take hold of the last resources available – especially the population's savings – and buy the system some more time. It was the population that paid, by shortages of all kinds, for the inefficiency of a system that was enforced by political will only.

Housing for All vs. Housing for the Market: The Transformation of the Yugoslav housing model post-1991 Dubravka Sekulić, ETH Zürich

The type of socialism practiced in Yugoslavia, worker's self-management, was characterized by the continuous dynamics between the plan and the market, in which from 1974 the market elements were dominating. Already being under the process of transformation towards liberal market, the idea that an apartment is a right and not the commodity has stood at the core of Yugoslav state since the inception of its socialism in 1945, with the right to housing being "the core right of the working man" and a guiding principle to the organization of production of housing, and apartments. Most of the housing stock was in the societal property and the even though the increasing presence of the market was changing the structures of financing (introduction of different credits, in special cases also available to the individuals through their places of work), the focus was on the production of the high quality, efficiently organized apartment with the constant improvements in the organization, which slows down only in 1980s during the implementation of the International Monetary Fund lead structural adjustment program, and austerity measures that targeted socialist redistribution. The shift towards solely market-based society was completed with the passing of the Laws of privatization of the societally owned housing stock.

In this paper, I will focus both on the transformation of the structural framework of housing production as it was becoming increasingly market driven (the financial structures especially), and on the actual built space, in particular the apartment. Using exemplary flats from the several New Belgrade blocks (19, 22, 23 and 28) from various time periods, both during socialism and capitalism, I will look into how the organization of the apartments changed. Additionally, I will also look at the changes surrounding financing and decision-making processes, and the impact on the increasing inequality in the access to housing those transformations geared.

Securitizing the Demos: Constructing the first U.S. Real Estate Financial Index, 1975-1983 Manuel Shvartzberg, Columbia University

This paper seeks to understand the relation between finance and housing from the perspective of the socio-technical tools that made these distinct realms commensurable, calculable, and therefore governable, by exploring the making of the first public real estate financial index in the United States. Toward the end of the 1960s, the U.S. economy began a process of 'financialization' which involved systemic deregulation, debt-fueled consumerism, and intensified global capital flows. Chief among these historical shifts was the securitization of the housing market, turning homes into highly speculative financial products by uprooting their concrete locality as 'hard assets' and trading them as securities on secondary markets. In the mid-1970s a

number of U.S. real estate organizations began attempts to capitalize on the securitization of housing and other forms of urban property. To do so they required a singular instrument or 'grip' that would allow them to represent—to themselves and their clients—both the industry's performance as a whole, and metrics of particular properties, real estate sectors, and managing firms. They created such a grip by making a real estate 'rate of return' index. This paper explores the history of how they created this index, analyzing the institutional arrangements and technical innovations that it required. Pooling their resources and bringing together real estate academics, computer scientists, industry lobbies, and others, they established the baselines and logics, still in use today, to measure the productivity of the real estate market. The result was a powerful tool that made the industry vastly larger and more competitive, but also configured housing into an object evermore susceptible to the dynamics of financial capitalism. This financial power raises critical questions around the technocratization of democracy, and of the role of architecture as a key mediating device forging the connections between housing, the demos, and the state.

SESSION: A Question of "Shared Culture" or of "(Selective) Borrowing(s)"? Twentieth-century Colonial Public Works Departments seen from a Transnational Perspective

Johan Lagae, Ghent University; Ana Vaz Milheiro, University of Lisbon
Respondent: Professor Peter Carleton Scriver, University of Adelaide

Despite Peter Scriver's seminal early research on the Public Works Department (PWD) in British India (1994/2007), whose role he aptly described as the "scaffolding of empire," scholarship on colonial architecture has remained restricted for a long time to the more prestigious buildings authored by individual architects. In recent years, a growing number of inquiries have nevertheless been conducted on the often mundane built productions in various territories designed by the more anonymous technicians within these particular branches of colonial administrations. These range from primarily documentary studies to more theoretically engaged investigations providing a postcolonial critique of PWD architecture as an instrument of what Michel Foucault termed "governmentality". Yet, in contrast with studies on colonial urban planning where a global approach has long since been introduced, even the more substantial scholarship on the topic, in particular focusing on the 20th century, most often remains confined by the boundaries of one particular colony or empire and rarely goes beyond a mere metropole-colony framework.

By organizing this session, we argue that it is timely to engage with the links that also during these decades existed between the ideals, models and practices underlying PWD architecture in a variety of locales. Belgian officials, for instance, looked carefully at the design of labor camps in South Africa when modeling new housing accommodations for the workers in the mining cities of Katanga or took inspiration from sanitary facilities introduced in the Dutch Indies when trying to tackle issues of urban hygiene in the Congo. Similarly, recent research has provided ample indications that the technical branches of the colonial administrations in the Portuguese Empire, which stretched out across three continents, were looking across the borders to shape their own building policies, at times even to create a "progressive image".

We invite papers dealing with such transfers of building expertise across colonies and empires, taking into account the politics involved. This may include, for instance, transfers in terms of building regulations, building typologies and design, or the mode of production of buildings, including the management of building sites and 'indigenous labor". Contributions that highlight particular vectors of such transfer (conferences, specific publications, professional associations, education, study trips, etc.) are also welcomed. By bringing together new research on this topic, this session seeks to investigate to what extent this phenomenon should be understood in terms

of a "shared (techno-scientific) culture" among colonial powers, or rather, as a particular form of "(selective) borrowing(s)", to refer to Stephen Ward's model for describing the mechanisms underlying the international diffusion of urban planning ideas and practices.

Shared Culture versus Exclusive Culture: The Architecture of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Hospitals, 1870s-1940s

Sara Ebrahimi, University College Dublin

The plan of the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) hospital in Mosul, Iraq was designed in a manner similar to the CMS hospital in Isfahan, Iran. However, the two hospitals were different in their appearance, in the visual characteristic of their façades, material application and building construction. The same can be said when comparing others CMS hospitals from China to India, Africa to the Middle East. While there were significant parallels in the overall design of these many hospitals, it is important to look beyond their similarities and see their differences, to consider a deeper point of argument, which has to do with specific political and cultural organization of the CMS.

The CMS was founded in 1799 in London. One hundred years after its foundation, this small voluntary society was one of the largest protestant mission in terms of resources, personnel and influence. The CMS built a large number of hospitals in different geographical areas: Asia, Africa and the Middle East from the 1870s to the 1940s. Apart from Michelle Renshaw' research on the missionary hospitals in China (Renshaw. 2005), the architecture of the missionary hospitals in general and the CMS hospitals in particular has been largely ignored.

In this paper, I discuss the role of the CMS hospitals architecture in the "British World-System" (Drawin. 2009). Through examining the architecture of these hospitals, I consider existing link among ideas across British colonies and thus the transfer of building expertise only to examine what did not necessarily transfer? Accordingly, this study offers an alternative perspective on the notion of shared culture versus selective borrowing: shared culture versus exclusive culture. I cross-examine the architecture of the CMS hospitals, arguing that they ultimately were designed in different ways to reflect patients' desires in order to win their trust. Establishing trust was a point at which, in the words of Dr. Ernest F Neve, a CMS medical missionary in Kashmir, "politics and missionary activity touched". Furthermore, according to Neve medical missions acted as "leaven".

Far Away from Berlin? A Comparative Interpretation of School and Hospital

Christoph Schnoor, Unitec Institute of Technology

This paper investigates the architecture in the seven different German colonies – with today's names: Togo, Cameroun, Tanzania, Namibia, Tsingtao, New-Guinea and Samoa. Although notable work has been done in recent years on the architecture in single colonies such as Namibia or Tsingtao, and while the author has contributed to research on Samoa, no comparison has yet been made between the architecture in the various German colonies – apart from the author's first attempt in an exhibition in Wismar, Germany in 2010.

Therefore, this paper seeks to compare the architecture in the German colonies – first of all within the context of German jurisdiction, but tentatively in comparison with British PWDs – to establish the strong sense of variety that the architecture of all these seven colonies displays, and to investigate the reasons for and implications of this diversity.

To focus the research, two typologies have been chosen for this investigation: schools and hospitals. This choice allows to highlight racial relationships. Segregation of the indigenous population versus the colonists' attempts at co-educating respectively co-treating them in hospital very drastically show widely varying approaches to questions of race between the seven German colonies. This approach also allows for a comparison of the German colonies and the British.

Another aspect is the style of the respective architecture: even if the typologies are comparable, there is no one "German" style of colonial architecture but a number of varying approaches, almost as many as there were colonies. From German-style building in Namibia and Tsingtao to hybrid buildings, also in Tsingtao and in Tanzania, to pragmatic and British-influenced colonial architecture in New-Guinea and Samoa, every approach was present.

French Planning Bureaucrats in Algeria: De Gaulle's Mass Housing Regulations, 1959-1963

Samia Henni, ETH Zurich

The French military coup of 13 may 1958 in Algiers, during the turmoil of the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962), provoked the collapse of the French Fourth Republic and the return of General Charles de Gaulle to power. In an attempt to keep Algerians and Algiers under French colonial rule, de Gaulle launched on 3 October 1958 a five-year-socio-economic development plan in Algeria that included the construction of housing units for one million Algerians. De Gaulle and his new team of planning bureaucrats promptly transferred French housing typologies and policies designed for the reconstruction of France in the aftermath of the Second World War from France to Algeria; yet with a few peculiar revisions.

This paper investigates the dissimilarities between war-housing directives and typologies in colonial Algeria and post-war housing regulations and design in France. Two specific examples will be explored in depth. The first case consists in the different schemes of the so-called Logécos (Logement Economique et Familial) and the Habitat Million, whereas the second considers the invention of the ZUP (Zone à Urbaniser par Priorité) in Algeria and its consequent exportation to France. These spatial strategies were enforced by Paul Delouvrier, who served as Delegat General of the French Government in Algeria between 1958 and 1960 and then as Delegate General of the District of Paris from 1961 to 1969.

Based on archival sources, this paper aims at highlighting the intimate relationship between France and "its" Algerian territory that was neither a colony nor a protectorate. Algeria was deemed a French Department. The French authorities, in particular de Gaulle's planning bureaucrats, saw no particular restrictions in exchanging housing regulations, programmes and industries between the two sides of the Mediterranean Sea.

"Let the People know how and where to Build": Architecture and (In)dependence in Burma, 1948-1962 Jeffrey Cody, Getty Conservation Institute

Three years after World War II, the United Kingdom granted independence to the colony of Burma, which embarked on a treacherous economic-social path in the context of global political tensions between "Communist" (Red) China and smaller, "non-aligned" countries in Southeast Asia. Occupied by the Japanese and bombed by Allied forces during the War, Burma's architectural and planning needs were dramatic, but meeting those needs proved to be a formidable challenge. The fractured new country had no formal programs in either architecture or planning; "modern resources" (e.g., steel and concrete) were scarce; building regulations were outdated; colonial overseers were technically gone, but they were still available for consultation, as was the case in India and elsewhere. However, the so-called "Colombo Plan" to promote economic development throughout Southeast Asia also involved countries outside the British Commonwealth, notably the USA. Meanwhile, both the USSR and China were interested in providing technical assistance, where it was desirable and possible.

This paper will provide a relevant sense of this macro-level context, but it will also focus on more micro-level decisions about how and what Burma built during the brief time window that closed abruptly in 1962, when powerful military generals assumed control. During that 1948-1962 period, Rangoon (Yangon) was clearly in need of "modernization", but what did being "modern" suggest in this post-colonial maelstrom? What kind of planning and architectural design resulted in other

towns of the new country of Burma (now called Myanmar)? Archival evidence about these fascinating changes is (so far) relatively scant. However, extant architectural examples in both Yangon and in secondary cities (e.g., Prome/Pyay) provide useful indications of contemporary actions, as do microfilmed newspapers of the period, which I am using as an intriguing barometer of contemporary architetural and planning changes.

Therefore, Burma is an intriguing case for exploring questions about "shared culture", "selective borrowing" and "mid-20th century modernization" in a transnational context. Although Burma "shared" the trappings of British colonialism (since at least 1885, with a requisite PWD), the country's theoretically non-aligned status after WWII facilitated its "borrowing" from more established planning traditions, as it sought a place among "modern" nations of the region, such as Malaya, Cambodia and India. The paper, therefore, shares insights about these key questions from a country that is only now emerging from a long period of architectural stasis.

Sharing or Borrowing? Respondent: Peter Carleton Scriver, University of Adelaide

This response will draw upon an in-depth understanding of the public works system of British India, which was not only one of the most prolific and powerful building organizations in the world by the late nineteenth century, but a model for the technocratic production and management of the built environment throughout much of the rest of the expanding British colonial world.

The discussion will consider how robust and reproducible such systems were, and the modes of design-reasoning that they sustained. Apart from the often prosaic typologies they produced, the response will also seek to articulate some of the other purposes that such design technocracies could serve. Taking into account, therefore, the potentially profound particularities of any specific colonial situation, the usefulness of the British Indian case must also be questioned as a putative paradigm for research on other colonial contexts and their built legacies.

With regard to the range of colonial and late-colonial cases examined in the four papers, the different conceptions of 'the problem' of architecture as a technocratic undertaking in these various culturally and geographically distinct contexts is important. The question of 'sharing' or 'borrowing' in architectural matters was evidently construed quite differently within the 'national spaces' of emerging postcolonial states and their public works systems by comparison to the conceptual spaces of global colonial and institutional empires.

PUBLIC TALK

Hospitality in Contemporary Context and the Future. Spaces, Relations and Subjectivities Michel Agier

Since the foundation of the EAHN as independent network ten years ago, it is keen to challenge scholarly and geo-political boundaries, and to question the changing conditions of Europe and beyond by offering an active platform to rethink the history of a changing built environment. Such was our last thematic conference in Belgrade (2015), where questions of identity, nation, and the writing of history under abrupt political changes were passionately discussed. During our recent meeting in Paris, we therefore felt committed to address the current predicament of war, refugees and violence implicated on cultural heritage, and the pressing questions it poses to us in studying architecture, nation and religion, identity and racism, boundaries and migration. We have invited Michel Agier, an anthropologist who has worked extensively on the migration and refugee camps on the boundaries of Europe, to share his insights on these questions at this particular moment against the background of the refugee crisis and the war in the Middle East. He will talk on his forthcoming book with Polity Press *Borderlands. Towards an Anthropology of Cosmopolitan Condition*.

Michel Agier is an Anthropologist, Professor at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris) and Senior Researcher at Institut de Recherches pour le Développement (IRD). His main interests are Human Globalization, Exile and Urban Marginalities. He published in English at Polity Press, *At the Margins of the World* (2008), *Managing the Undesirables. Refugees Camps and Humanitarian Government* (2011), and *Borderlands. Towards an Anthropology of Cosmopolitan Condition* (forthcoming Summer 2016).

Respondents: Carmen Popescu, Jean-Louis Cohen, and Marc Crinson

Venue: St Ann's Church, Dawson St.

FRIDAY: 3 JUNE 2016

THIRD PAPER SESSION

SESSION: Time Travel I Mari Lending, Oslo School of Architecture and Design, Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, Yale University

Upon his arrival in Pompeii, Stendhal stated that he felt "transporté dans l'antiquité", and that by studying the ruins of Pompeii first-hand "one immediately knows more than a scholar." The ruins and rubble induced a feeling of time travel, and the place revealed a feeling of history of a sort that he obviously found more profound than scholarly, written history. By experience, the history of the place came alive, so to speak. At the same time, in 1818 Quatremère de Quincy travelled to London to inspect the Elgin marbles. Exposed to the massively dismembered building parts as installed in a provisory gallery adjacent to the British Museum under construction, he felt as if propelled back to their moment of creation, to the Athenian construction site or the studio, "you are confounded at the quantity of work and speed of execution that were required to carry off such an enterprise at once so quickly and so perfectly." Respect for such architectural time travel waned by the end of the century when the idea that art and architecture are products of a particular period and place, promoted by art historians like Heinrich Wölfflin, took hold. After Friedrich Neitzsche condemned the study of history as a dubious pursuit, looking forward, rather than looking backward, became the mantra of modern architecture.

Alternative approaches to time and change emerged in the mid 20th century, when architects and historians became increasingly interested in establishing historical continuities. For example, the exhibition "La Mostra di Studi sulle Proporzioni" at the 1951 Milian Triennale displayed photographic reproductions of buildings from different eras on a three-dimensional lattice, which allowed the eye to trace analogies without a particular chronology. Similarly, Sigfried Giedion saw the baroque in a similar vein as a timeless synthetic impulse. Yet, despite this sea change in historical imagination, the idea that architecture should be in sync with its time prevailed. When Eero Saarinen later in the 1950s mimicked a medieval Italian hilltown for his Morse and Stiles Colleges at Yale University, Reyner Banham deemed the outcome a mere stage set, suggesting that such travel belongs to theatre, not to architecture.

Art historian George Kubler can be credited for revealing the methodological shortcomings of modern historiography, demonstrating in his landmark The Shape of Time: Remarks on the

History of Things (1962) how formal motifs get transmitted through time and space. Kubler stated that "even architecture . . . . is guided from one utterance to the next by the images of the admired buildings of the past, both far and near in time." Yet, insistence on the periodization and obsession with newness still dominated how we think of architecture's relationship to time. This session investigates conflating or competing temporalities, beyond the mere chronological schemes that have governed modern historiography. We invite papers that discuss convoluted constellations of architecture and time drawing on documents and monuments, images, landscapes, or cities.

The Helix, Schinkel's Time Machine Steven Lauritano, Yale University

In 1787 Robert Barker patented his design for a structure that would soon become the most popular time travel device of the nineteenth century: the panorama. Prussian architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel quickly mastered the representational techniques behind the panorama's transporting illusionism. Yet he also came to recognize the device's limitations, especially in its possible role as a medium for understanding architectural history. By creating immersive, virtual realities, panoramas necessarily seal off visitors from the world, confining them to a single moment in time. Schinkel was more interested in the journey, in all its temporal unfolding. Unlike those revivalists who used a combination of ruins and imagination to project themselves backward, into the past, Schinkel contemplated the forward temporal trajectory of material remnants - those architectural fragments that leave their sites of origin and cycle through time, surfacing periodically, "as if just having left the artist's hand." To work successfully with these elements, Schinkel argued, one must recognize their "history as movement." This paper examines a body of evidence, drawn from Schinkel's oeuvre, which shows his increasing identification of this "movement" with a specific geometrical figure: the helix. From Schinkel's first independent commission, to his late (unrealized) design for a Berlin library, he used the helix as both a mental diagram and a concrete architectural device that informed circulation patterns in his buildings, choreographing users' encounters with an eclectic array of historicist components. Though homologous to other helical models of history, from Vico's corsi and ricorsi, to Hegel's dialectical spiraling, Schinkel's helix emerged as a distinct historiographical insight. His was a vision of the perpetual material dissemination of architectural knowledge in a continuous stream, like water, up an Archimedean screw. As the paper demonstrates, tapping into this stream, learning, "how to bring something new into the existing circle," constituted the crux of his architectural enterprise.

'We are identified with time': Intersections of architecture, history and experience in Royal Academy Lectures Sigrid de Jong, Leiden University

'Architecture belongs to history. With her a hundred years are but a day. Calculated for endurance to the future she must be founded on the principles of the past,' declared Charles Robert Cockerell, British architect, archaeologist and professor of Architecture at the London Royal Academy of Arts, in a 1843 lecture. He famously visualized the idea in The Professor's Dream (1849) that showed world architectural history compressed into one comprehensive watercolor. After 18th-century French architects Dumont and Leroy had produced comparative diagrams, his predecessor at the Royal Academy John Soane had disseminated pre-historical architectural surveys, and three-dimensional model collections of monuments that had been exhibited to the London and Paris public, Cockerell's approach was entirely different in that he eloquently developed in his lectures a multi-layered notion of time, in which the use of time travel played a key role.

His Royal Academy Lecture series (1841-56), still in manuscript, are little studied. My paper aims to demonstrate that they unveil how Cockerell stimulated the historical imagination of his students, for example with Stonehenge they carried him back into 'the dark and primitive ages of mankind long before history began." Evoking his feelings at the spot, as well as employing historical experience as a rhetorical device for his audience, he aimed at inscribing contemporary architectural practice in history: 'We are identified with time; we ourselves become a part of history.' I will argue that Cockerell's lectures are the very expression of how architects in the mid-19th century navigated between the sensations of time travelling that a specific historical building produced in situ, and the urge to compress time into a vision of world history in order to design contemporary architecture. These intersections of architecture, history and experience ultimately produced architecture as the expression of a desire to mark time.

Ornamental Extinctions: Soane and Gandy's Endangered Neoclassicism Markikka Trotter, Harvard University

In 1824, the Knight's Quarterly magazine published an article that lampooned Sir John Soane's idiosyncratic approach to architectural ornament. For the authors, Soane's "Boeotian order" was a disorder that, rather than upholding the purity of architectural language, infected it with absurd references to foreign sciences. "Is he a geologist?" they asked. He "uses an interminable joint, which copies successfully the grand appearances of nature in the stratification of rocks." This paper explores the relationship between John Soane and Joseph Gandy's novel approach to architecture -- and particularly architectural ornament -- and the catastrophist theory of the

celebrated French paleontologist Georges Cuvier. In the new context of an old earth, the real extent of geological time suddenly eclipsed the importance of Greco-Roman antiquity, and along with it, the cultural authority it had bestowed on architecture. As even the most ancient aspects of human culture were revealed to be chronologically recent compared to the vast duration of the planet, architecture seemed poised to become an exercise in proleptic ruination due to inevitable natural disasters. At the same time, it became a privileged model for geology -- particularly for Cuvier and his rival, Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. This paper considers the cultural reciprocity between these two discourses and begins to document the extensive connections between Georgian architects and the founders of the earth sciences in Britain.

Truth and Time: The Lantern Slide Shows of Frederick H. Evans Dervla MacManus, University College Dublin

On Tuesday, December 5th, 1899, British photographer Frederick Henry Evans (1853–1943) gave a lantern slide lecture on Lincoln Cathedral to the Royal Photographic Society. In what may be considered a form of architectural time travel, Evans's audience was transported the gothic cathedral—'aloof', as he recounted, 'from the current and contemporary'. The glass slide with its projected image transmitted through the air was, for him, the ultimate medium to convey 'the illusion of actuality' he desired—an illusion so vividly rendered that 'armoured knights might go clanking musically across'. This paper will examine the temporal constellations configured through Evans's lantern-slide lecture, its subject, its medium and its cultural context.

The subject of Evans's lecture— a gothic cathedral—places this event within a plethora contemporary discourses concerning historical truth, and the idea that architecture should reflect its time. Further the camera, as a 'clock for seeing'—to borrow Barthes's phrase—may be considered as part of 'the new ability to see rather than intuit the inner workings of nature' identified by Bergdoll (2007) as one of the reasons for nineteenth-century theorists' interest in natural history. (An ability exemplified in Evans's own photomicrographs of natural subjects.)

Returning to the medium, this paper will consider photography's paradoxical relationship to time: on the one hand it promises instantaneity, a record of the here and now, while on the other, what is captured is already past. In this case the relationship is further complicated; as the buildings portrayed are from an earlier era, the photograph must now act in another way, bringing that period back to life. Hence, the photograph simultaneously makes the present seem like the past, and the past seem like the present. This effect, enhanced by the projection of the image, may be

considered to have induced a state of reverie (itself a form of time travel); an atmosphere of that which is past, by recalling that which was once present.

The Anachronistic in Architecture Anne Bordeleau, University of Waterloo

Over the past century, a number of historians have sought to recast the anachronistic in a positive light, challenging the historicists' strict periodization as well as the linear progression of a singular time. An anachronism is "anything done or existing out of date; hence, anything which was proper to a former age, but is, or, if it existed, would be, out of harmony with the present" (OED). For the art historian Georges Didi-Huberman, the temporal disruption inherent to the anachronism can open unforeseen lines of plural temporalities and enable the creation of new theoretical thresholds within the discipline. In a late-modern context characterized by a sense of acceleration, this paper is interested in the critical and disruptive potential of anachronistic approaches. Looking to transcend historicist categorizations on the one hand, and to move beyond the reductive arrow of time on the other hand, the paper will begin with defining the anachronistic as a theoretical position. First, learning from thinkers such as Aby Warburg, Walter Benjamin and Giorgio Agamben, we will delineate a form of constructive anachronism that values transmissions over permutations, aiming to move beyond historical objectivism and relativism. Second, we will turn to its potential implementation in practice, documenting writings, drawings and buildings from different times. Looking at varied examples such as Michael Gottlieb Bidensboll's Thorsvalden museum, Aldo Rossi's Cemetery of San Cataldo, and Peter Zumthor's Protective Housing for Roman Archaeological Excavations, we will foreground different ways in which historians, artists and architects can significantly claim the anachronistic. Our intention is to identify modes of emancipatory practices that can offer resistance to the alienating speed and singular direction of our neo-liberal regime of accelerated time.

SESSION: Architecture exhibition and the emergence of public debate on architecture, cities and the public good in the 18th and early 19th centuries

Barry Bergdoll, Columbia University

"All the world is now writing and speaking about architecture . . . ," the press noted when a competition was announced for a new Royal Exchange to be erected in Dublin in 1768. The competition results were put on public exhibition. This was, it would seem, an almost unprecedented act, and one that recalls a practice that seems largely to have lapsed since the famed display of designs from the bronze doors to the Florence Baptistery in 1410. Although the Jesuits had been forced to quell public opinion by displaying designs for the Chapel of St. Ignatius in the Church of Il Gesú in Rome in 1709, this was an isolated event with intent to curtail gossip rather than elicit debate. The Dublin exhibition then would seem to be a seminal event, one that deserves much greater recognition for its novelty and a greater place in the history of modern architecture and its publics. In the wake of Richard Wittman's important study of the periodical press and public debate on architecture in mid-18th century, study has begun of the emergence of architecture's contribution in relationship to the debated emergence of the public sphere (R. Wittman, Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France, Routledge, 2007).

This session invites contributions to an emerging history of the role of public exhibition of architectural designs in the creation of a public discourse on architecture, and in particular papers on the emergence of the architectural exhibition before 1851 on both sides of the Atlantic. The exhibition of architecture is associated primarily with the rise of World's Fairs in the mid-19th century and the episodic attempts of creating an architecture museum from Lenoir in Paris to Cottingham and Soane in London. These were largely historical repositories. Less attention has been paid to the entry of architecture into public venues for the display of art in Europe and the Americas in the 18th and early 19th century or the role of the exhibition in relationship to the modern renaissance of the architectural competition as means, supposedly democratic, for selecting a design and a designer, for a public building. While the use of exhibitions in academies of art and architecture is of interest, it is the self-conscious seeking of a public, and a public discussion, which remains the main focus of the invitation to propose new evidence of the origins of a practice that had, by the mid-19th century, become an established culture.

The Public's Creation of the "Tableau d'Architecture": Transformation of the Aesthetic of Architectural Drawing at the end of the 18th century

Basile Baudez, University of Paris-Sorbonne

In a letter of 1794 Anne-Louise Brogniart reported to her husband, "Faites comme le citoyen Boullée à qui le génie commande de faire de superbes choses […] le plus bel ornement de sa maison est fait de ses tableaux." Their impact was so overwhelming that Madame Brogniart was made, "sentir la chair de poule en les regardant." Written at a turning point in the history of architectural representation, Boullé's "tableaux" were, of course, not paintings but massive, highly finished drawings that by their scale, technique and presentation through matting, framing and place on the wall addressed their viewers through modes more familiar to works in oil on canvas. While only a few architect-members of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, including Charles De Wailly, were permitted to exhibit at the Salon before 1793, with the suppression of the academies in that year architects found a new public. I propose that the "tableaux d'architecture" that developed in the 1790s responded to this new context by deliberately engaging with pictorial language and the public discourse on painting that itself had only recently emerged in France. As Thomas Crow and Andrew McClelland have amply demonstrated for painters, public exhibition culture effectively generated new kinds of painting, culminating in the machines of Jacques-Louis David. How might architects have fit into this history, self-consciously manipulating an existing language of both representation and public discourse around painting?

The drastic change in architectural drawing in this period provides the foundation for my research but this material is also framed by the writing of critics, whose suspicion of architects' departure from their proper realm was noted in the press well into the next century. In his review of the Salon of 1841, for example, César Daly asked if architects' imbrication in this painterly language risked undermining the nature of architectural representation itself: "Les dessins d'architecture sont souvent dispersés pêle-mêle avec les aquarelles et même avec les tableaux à l'huile. Les architectes, pour ne pas être entièrement écrasés par ces vigoureux voisins, versent de la couleur à grands flots sur leur papier ; si cela se pouvait, ils y mêleraient même les métaux les plus éclatants pour éviter l'effet terne et froid qui fait détourner les yeux du public." But, he warned, "Aussi par cela même qu'il s'agit de se rendre le public plus favorable, l'architecte devient-il peintre avant tout, et, dans le fini de ses aquarelles, oublie-t-il un peu trop qu'il est architecte."

Exhibiting the Consulate: The Competition of the year IX for the Château-Trompette in Bordeaux Christina Contandriopoulos, UQAM University

On November 22, 1800, in the Apollo gallery of the Louvre, a major exhibition presented 28 proposals for a monument celebrating the Revolutionary army on the site of the Château-Trompette in Bordeaux. In the words of the journalist Détournelle, "Il n'y avait [jamais] eu de mémoire d'artiste, une exposition d'architecture aussi imposante!" Indeed, the lively event marked the culminating episode in a series of open competitions which solidified public interest in architecture after the French Revolution. The Château-Trompette competition was organized by Napoleon under the Consulate, and as such, was also part of a new transparency. Despite these efforts, this competition triggered unprecedented protest. My objective is to show how this highly mediatized event transformed the architectural discipline and participated in the emergence of architectural criticism as a new field that would become a vital but contentious concept for architects.

The competition for the Château-Trompette has been studied recently (Bergdoll, Lipstadt, Szambien, Taillard) yet its particular contribution to print culture (Saboya, Taws, Wittman) has not yet been the focus of attention. The coverage of the competition in the popular press and nascent specialized press provides a detailed view of the exhibition and presents the important debates that helped catalyze public reception of the event. Using these sources and the original proposals kept at the Archives Nationales, my paper reconstitutes the contents of the exhibition. I will also draw attention to the way in which the press and the exhibition worked together to create a new public sphere of information that changed the status of unbuilt projects, elevating them into works of art. This paper is part of a larger project on the emergence of architectural criticism in the popular press (1785-1805) focusing on the role of Athanase Détournelle, Léon Dufourny and Jacques-Antoine Dulaure.

The Pope, Public Opinion and Architecture in Rome (1823-25) Richard Wittman, University of California at Santa Barbara

On the night of 15 July 1823 a fire largely destroyed San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, the best preserved Early Christian basilica in the city and, as the marker of Saint Paul's burial place, one of the most important churches in Christendom. A year later the First Class architectural section of the Academy of Saint Luke's Concorso Clemintino invited projects for a "magnificent temple" to replace the burned San Paolo. Six entries were received, exhibited publicly on the Campidoglio, and written about in the anodyne Roman art press.

The exhibition—which was visited by Schinkel, among others—quickly became the fulcrum of an unexpectedly heated debate about whether San Paolo should be rebuilt in a contemporary classical idiom or reconstituted as a factitious fifth-century basilica. Both positions were freighted with political significance and identified with particular factions in the Curia. As the debate unfolded in published texts, academic discourses, and behind-the-scenes lobbying, the figure of the exhibition public surprisingly emerged as a key rhetorical figure for both sides, with the purported judgments of that public repeatedly presented as morally binding on the authorities. Such arguments, which would have been normal in contemporary Paris or London, were completely alien to the closed public life of papal Rome, whose highly particular socio-political structure had preserved Roman public life from the kinds of structural transformations recently witnessed in other European capitals. This paper will explore the contradictions and possible significance of these tentative invocations of the moral authority of the exhibition public, and consider their connection to the decision ultimately taken by the archconservative Pope Leo XII in 1825 to pursue the reconstruction of San Paolo as one of the first great historicist revivals of nineteenth-century European architecture.

To 'preclude all . . . circumbeindibuses': Making Public the Competition for the Houses of Parliament, 1835-36 Anne Hultzsch, Oslo School of Architecture and Design

After a fire had destroyed most of the old Houses of Parliament in October 1834 the press, rather than lamenting its catastrophic loss, quickly began to look at the opportunity thus granted. The Spectator called for 'a monument of the greatness of the nation, its wealth and resources, and the advancement of the arts' (25 October 1834). To achieve this, many authors demanded a competition, which was eventually launched by the government in June 1835, after it had withdrawn a direct commission to Robert Smirke. Winners were announced on 31 January in the following year but the public was to see the submitted designs only months later when they were exhibited in the National Gallery and printed in a catalogue, again as a direct result of a widespread press campaign. This debate in the public realm of newspapers and magazines quickly turned from aesthetic matters of style to what one would now call the transparency of the 'competition system'. How would the public be able to follow, and judge, its process and outcome? How could 'zigzag, tortuous modes of proceeding and circumbendibuses' be prevented (Architectural Magazine, January 1836)?

This paper focuses on the dominating response given to such concerns in the contemporary press: by making public, through printing and exhibiting, the public could become part of the

system that had so far consisted of architect and client only. It investigates the coverage of the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue both in general-interest titles, such as The Times, The Morning Chronicle and The Spectator, as well as in special-interest papers, such as John Loudon's Architectural Magazine, the Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Mechanic's Magazine. This paper argues that it was through a combination of printing and exhibiting, of words and images on the gallery wall as well as on the printed page, that architecture took over a new, more dynamic role within the civic society of the Victorian age.

Developing Public Taste, Mobilizing the Public: The Architecture Exhibitions of the MBB and A et A Sergio Miguel Figueiredo, Technical University Eindhoven

In the 19th century, continued reforms and the industrialization of Dutch economy resulted in substantial economic prosperity. With such improved economic outlook, the Dutch government undertook a structural reorganization of the arts with direct implications for the production of architecture. Most notably, it established and appointed the first College of Government Advisors for Historical and Artistic Monuments (College Rijksadvieurs voor de Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst), which was mandated to elaborate policies in the preservation of historical monuments and the construction of new governmental buildings.

Architects, however, were noticeably marginalized from the process, since the College of Advisors was entirely composed by non-architects. As such, both the past and the future of the discipline were to be determined by a restrict group of laymen and antiquarians, as they decided on the merits of historical monuments and entries to invited architectural competitions for new state buildings. With the very future of Dutch architecture at stake – and powerless in the decisions of this body – the Amsterdam architecture societies increased their efforts to broaden public discourse on architecture by actively engaging with a general public.

Accordingly, this paper will both argue and demonstrate how the public exhibition of architecture was approached as a fundamental instrument for developing public taste in order to elicit public debate on architecture in the Netherlands. Specifically, it will be claimed that both the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst (Society for the Promotion of Architecture) and the Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia (Society Architecture and Friendship) instrumentalized architecture exhibitions to educate the public on the issues, processes, and ambitions of architecture, ultimately, to mobilize its support. These exhibitions in which architecture was presented in its artistic-cultural and technical-practical dimensions became the frontline for

architecture, shaping public taste and eliciting an inclusive, informed debate that the state hierarchy simply could not ignore.

SESSION: Beyond Constructivism: Soviet Early-Modernist Architecture Revisited

Alla Vronskaya, ETH Zurich; Tijana Vujosevic, University of Western Australia

Respondent: Professor Danilo Udovicki-Selb, University of Texas at Austin

Architectural production of the two decades after the October Revolution is often from the perspective of a Western architectural historian, neatly divided into two eras: that of "Constructivism" in the 1920s and that of "Socialist Realism" in the 1930s. However, this periodization might be considered too neat. The dichotomy of Constructivism and Socialist Realism is based on an assumption that the course of Soviet architecture directly mirrored the changes in the political regime—an assumption that simplifies the complex and complicated character of early Soviet architectural theory. For example, whereas Classicism and Expressionism enjoyed a noticeable presence in Soviet architecture during the 1920s, in the subsequent decade, the former avant-gardists created prominent experimental works that offered their vision of the new Soviet architecture.

Moreover, in subsuming all avant-garde production under the notion of "Constructivism," architectural history follows a tradition developed by art historians, who singled out a movement that, as it seemed, presaged the forms of post-Second World War American art. In fact, however, apart from the work of the Constructivist OSA group, Soviet architectural avant-garde entailed a variety of non-Constructivist movements and practices, such as Nikolai Ladovskii's Rationalism, Il'ia Golosov and Konstantin Mel'nikov's neo-Expressionist fascination with form, or Iakov Chernikov's architectural fantasies. By challenging reductive periodization, architectural historians can better grasp the complexity of Soviet early-modernist architectural landscape, stylistic overlaps, and the diversity of practices and theories that constituted it.

The aim of this panel is to go beyond the notion of Constructivism as a style-based label for the Soviet avant-garde and to present to the public academic work on the rich and stylistically and ideologically dissonant field of architectural innovation in design education, visual repertoires, politics of artistic production, and design for everyday life. We welcome papers that present alternative accounts of Soviet interwar modernity and its relationship to institutions of power and the scientific, artistic, political discourses of the time.

An Enthusiasm for Architecture: The Masses and the Palace of the Soviets Competition Tatiana Efrussi, University of Kassel

The competitions for the never realised Palace of the Soviets, which were held in the 1930s, are associated by Peter Lizon, Jean-Louis Cohen and other scholars with the turn in Soviet architecture from modernism to Stalinist eclecticism, and to Party's domination in the field.

While recent scholarship, such as Danilo Udovički-Selb's Between Modernism and Socialist Realism, 2009 has recognised the stylistic complexity of the winning project by Boris Iofan, such texts still approach the analysis of the process only from the perspective of the Party's dictatorship and its members' individual tastes.

Utilizing previously unpublished archival sources, this paper will focus on a large number of questionnaires, completed by students, workers, foreign guests and other visitors to the Palace of the Soviets exhibition in 1931-32, in order to address the problem of mass participation in the competition process.

This approach does not question the Party's influence on the decision-making, but puts a new emerging subject of architecture - the non-alienated masses - in the centre of analysis. Contemporary theorists such as Nikolai Bekker acknowledged, that the volunteer mass participation belonged to most impressive and unexpected results of the competitions.

The Other Avant-Garde: Konstantin Melnikov's Diagonal Masha Panteleyeva, Princeton University

"The Diagonal Lines saves my projects," Melnikov wrote in his memoir in 1971, placing himself outside of what he referred to as the dogmatic "Epoch of Architectural Style" that dominated twentieth-century architecture. Indeed, the lateral movement of architectural elements, both in planar and three-dimensional space inspired a particular form of architectural dynamism characteristic of the Russian avant-garde work and can be considered one of its main contributions to Western architectural thought. However, the notion of the Diagonal, especially as a particular instrument in the construction of space, is often overlooked in the architectural history scholarship surrounding the Russian avant-garde.

In this paper I redefine these abstract notions of dynamism through a set of particular design principles outlined in Melnikov's writing, such as the "Endless Elasticity of a Diagonal" and the "Symmetry without Symmetries", using these elements to analyze a series of his experimental projects designed between 1924 and 1929. I argue that Melnikov, who in 1937 was accused of

formalism by the Union of Soviet Architects, was not simply fascinated with form as the driving force in architecture but operated within a particular system of dualism and symbiosis of the physical (technology and function) and spiritual (form and materiality) in architecture. In many aspects his understanding of form was defined by the Russian nineteenth-century philosophical intellectual tradition (with influences such as Nikolay Fedorov, Sigmund Freud and Pavel Florensky) and his fascination with immortality and sleep, both as a restorative treatment for the body and an imaginative element of the human psyche. This paper explores the existence of an alternative spatial hierarchy in Melnikov's work, where the vertical is no longer straight but infinitely gravitates towards the horizontal plane defining the architecture of perpetual motion, and its significance for the architectural avant-garde at large.

The Quasi-Experimental Arrangement of the Society

Anna Weichsel, University of Pennsylvania *

The Russian Avant-garde of the early 20th century put tremendous energy into expanding the boundaries of what could be termed 'culture' beyond all recognition. This meant not just redefining the traditional arts but the invention of new dimensions of verbal, visual, and spatial language flexible enough to express the range of experiences in the coming century of mobility, information, and scientific advances. In order to disclose the disciplinary redefining of architecture I suggest a discussion of the working method of experimentation as it developed within the artistic and architectural production in the beginning of the 20th century.

The involvement of the Russian artistic practice with scientific methods of experimental psychology led not only to the cultural moment when art and science were not sharply distinguished academic subjects but led to an understanding of the society as a quasi-experimental arrangement. I suggest a comparative study of space-oriented theories such as Malevich's 'space of energy', Ginzburg's space of 'dynamic movement' and Dokushaev's/ Ladovskii's 'psychotechnical space creation' that investigates the architectural principles as well the development of the working method of experimentation. Architecture was understood not so much as an aesthetic object but rather as functioning apparatus, as biological process which was not based on objectivity but rather on operationalization, not on reflection but on the manipulation of perception. I will argue that the different approaches, based either on the testing of peoples' perception of forms under different conditions of vision and movement, or based on the organization of forms by examining effects of rhythmicity of elements and their relations in space, or based on concepts of spatial infinity, had one mutual goal: to generate an activating

impact on the observer through spatial experience in order to unleash creative process in everyday behavior.

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> Each thought, each day, each life lies here on a laboratory table. And as if it were metal from which an unknown substance is by every means to be extracted, it must endure experimentation to the point of exhaustion.[1]

In the early 1920s the Russian Avant-garde painter Mikhail Matiushin instructed his students to follow passersby around the streets of Petrograd, tracing their movement not only with their eyes but also their bodies. The observation technique, which he termed "indirect seeing," prohibited rotation of the head; when something caught the eye, the body was required to follow in a relational and intuitive manner. This interrelation involved all senses such as the tactility of the skin and the sense of hearing, "the hammering at the eardrum, which enables us to determine space."[2] This redefining of vision enlarging the visual angle to 360 degrees, this conscious extension of 'seeing-with-the-back-of-the-head' shaping a multisensory image provided the basis for what Matiushin called a new 'spatial reality.' Matiushin's experiments from 1921 onwards as the leader of the section "Psychophysiology of Visual Perception" at Petrograd's State Institute for Artistic Culture (GINKhUK, then directed by Kazimir Malevich) greatly expanded this line of investigation, aiming for no less than an "expanded vision," "evolution of the whole organism," and "comprehensive reorientation of the brain."

The desire for a radical renewal of perception belonged to a discourse in which art and science were not mutually exclusive academic subjects. I argue that the convergence of these two different modes of thinking led Russian Avant-garde artists and architects to understand society as a *quasi-experimental arrangement,* whereby architecture was seen as a functioning apparatus establishing new realms of experience and, thus, reprogramming its inhabitants. It is in this context, that I suggest to account of the disciplinary inventions at the artistic scientific research institutions such as the mentioned GINKhUK. Conceptually, these institutions were grounded within the thinking of possibilities. Their discourse was permeated with ideas on utilizing creativity

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[1] Walter Benjamin, "Moscow" in 'Die Kreatur' (1927), trans. E. Jephcott, in: Benjamin, *Selected Writings,* vol. 2, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 28.

[2] Mikhail Matiushin, "Opyt khudozhnika novoi mery", in: Khardzhiev (ed.), *K istorii avangarda* p.169. (The article was written in the 1920s.)

as a life-transforming resource for the society. Matiushin, though inspired by the early 20th century mysticism, was ambitious to connect observed personal experiences with scientific results and conducted systematic empirical studies of the expanded vision. The earnestness of those attempts to cross boldly the boundaries between science and art were not singular events within the art world but were accompanied by investigations in psychology and psychiatry. Matiushin's studies, for example, were followed by psychiatrists and neurologists such as Vladimir Bekhterev, who visited the laboratory exhibition and shared concerns about methods of investigation.

Kazimir Malevish as director of the GINKhUK shared not only Matiushin's concern for spatial investigation but also the non-material energetic dimensions of existence. His essay *On New Systems in Art* (1919) concludes: "Today the world's intuition is altering the system of our vegetative world of flesh and bones; a new economic order is being brought about to smooth the ruts in our creative minds, in order to carry forward its plan for moving forward into the infinite: this is where the philosophy of contemporaneity lies, and the philosophy of our creative days must follow".[3] Both artists touched upon the territories of cognitive psychology and theoretical physics but argued that art had to investigate these territories through its own specific modes of analysis and expression.

The artistic environment of Petrograd, to which Matiushin and Malevich belonged, created a diverse and hence more pluralistic approach in contrast to the Moscow formal strands that emerged from the polarizing construction-composition debate at the Institute of Artistic Culture (INKhUK – Moscow's equivalent of the GINKhUK). At Petrograd's Institute of Civil Engineers (IGI) Alexander Nikolsky, for example, pursued the volumetric spatial ideas of Suprematism in architecture. The implications of the volumetric spatiality registered in the architectural projects in kind of spatial vastness and scalelessnes that would become recognizable in Nikolsky's and his student Khidekel's projects. The loading of these vast spaces with specific activities aspired to architecture's status of social engineering which interpretation would become so prevalent in the discourse of constructivists and rationalists.

It is, however, important to point out that the impact of Malevich's intuitive working method was of value to the broader architectural discourse. The impact of suprematist spatial concepts was also felt in extended spatial compositions by constructivist Ivan Leonidov, a student at Moscow's Higher Art and Technical Studios (VKhUTEMAS), which was deliberately diffused as the bastion of avant-garde architecture. Although Malevich was never part of the faculty at VKHUTEMAS his brief interactions at the Russian Academy of Artistic Science (RAKhN – another of these research

[3] Kazimir Malevich, "O novykh sistemakh v isskustve," [Vitebsk, 1919] in T. Andersen, *K.S- Malevich: Essays*, Vol. 1, Copenhagen, 1968, 117.

institutions) in Moscow involved him in the overarching architectural discourse on space between mystical and scientific references.

Malevich's ideas reverberated with a mystical voice engaging the discourse on space at both the RAKhN and the VKHUTEMAS, namely that of the priest Pavel Florensky. Between 1921 and 1924 Florensky, closely associated with art historians Alexei Sidorov and Alexander Grabichevsky and artists Nina Simonovich-Efimova and Vladimir Favorsky, taught a course alternatively called "Perspective", Analysis of Space" and "Analysis of Spatial Forms" at VKhUTEMAS. The course was part of the basic courses or propedeutics for all incoming students and paralleled the course "Space" taught by Nikolai Ladovskii. Florensky's teaching encompassed non-Euclidean geometry, relativity theory, psychophysiology, geometry, literature and philosophy, bringing together scientific thought and spiritual ideas to create a concept of a space-time flow combined with ideas about increasing creative abilities of the human mind.

Florensky also influenced the Working Group of Architects within the reformed (INKhUK) in 1921 – among them Nikolai Ladovskii, Vladimir Krinskii, and Nikolai Dokuchaev, who became the protagonists of the Rationalist movement. Their program stressed the significance of the "psychology of the perception through which, in the final analysis, the means of architectural expression register their appeal." Among the theories explored, the concept of perceptual form and space based on the findings of the physiological psychologists like Konrad Fiedler, Wilhelm Wundt, and Theodor Lipps as well as art historians like Adolf von Hildebrandt emphasized the need for movement in experiencing plastic form, and suggested that the observer could comprehend the significance of a three-dimensional composition in its entirety only through a sequence of movements around it. Crucial here was the importance of the observer's active role in perceiving form and creating spatial relationships.

In 1923 a group of architects established an independent teaching department within the VKhUTEMAS – the discipline "Space", which developed into a mandatory course for all faculties at the institute.[4] It was again Nikolai Ladovskii and his students who claimed to continue the search for innovative forms and designs appropriate for an architecture that could "activate" the observer – fostering creative associations through sculpturally multifaceted objects. The designated aim was the rationalization and objectification of the intuitive-subjective perception of space whereby Ladovskii characterized the concentration on spatial perception of architecture as a "psychoanalytical method." For him the "psycho-physiological rules of perception" constitute the objective principles of artistic composition.

[4] See Selim O. Khan-Magomedov, *Nikolai Ladovskii* (Moskau, 1984), 34.

Although the term psychoanalysis seems to suggest a relation to Sigmund Freud, for Ladovskii the term described instead the analysis of spatial impact on the human psyche. Rather than locating the psyche within the unconsciousness he understood it as a function of vision and movement – a coordination of visual perception and bodily performance as examined by physiological psychologists. Ladovskii wrote:

> Architectural Rationalism is founded upon the economic principle just as technical Rationalism is. The difference lies in the fact that technical rationalism is an economy of labor and material in the creation of a suitable and convenient building, but architectural rationalism is the economy of psychic energy in the reception of the spatial and functional properties of the building.
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> Architecture operates by means of properties – like weight, density, mass, finiteness and non-finiteness, stability or dynamics etc. – as specific quantities. The architect constructs a form, bringing together elements which are not technical or utilitarian ones in the normal sense of those words, but which can be looked upon as "architectural motifs." In the architectural respect these "motifs" must be rational, and must serve the higher technical demand of the individual to orient himself in space.[5]

This understanding of the psyche as an effect of physical processes also altered the design process of architecture: a direct translation of the architect's visual sensations deriving from field observation of bodily experience of architecture in real space.

In order to optimize this process Ladovskii developed diverse sets of experiments and eventually established his Psychotechnical Laboratory at the VKhUTEMAS in 1926 - first to enhance the students' perceptive abilities and later to facilitate experiments concerned with the measurement and mapping of feelings bound to spatial experiences. The group named "Tasks for Pedagogy and Psychotechnics" played the main role during the first year of the laboratory work, since it was here that the experimental devices were constructed. What were the promises of these apparatuses, which were developed specifically for the architects? Among the assemblies only the *Postrometr* featured a potential that ought to revolutionize the architectural work process: with its help it became possible to design directly in space: by altering the movable horizontal and vertical space-determining elements in relation to the observer, by aggravating or releasing depth

[5] Nikolai Ladovskii, "Osnovy portroeniia teorii arkhitektury – pod znakom rationalisticheskoi estetiki" (Foundations for building a theory of architecture – under the banner of rationalist aesthetics) 1920, *Izvestiia ASNOVA* (1, 1926): 4.

effects with additional objects in the spatial arrangement, and by translating the optimized result of spatial coordination and orientation directly onto a model. As Ladovskii described it: "The architect's work concerning the geometrical expressiveness of form […] consists in the approximation of the image, which we acquire from the perception of the real perspective, to the image, which arises in projections."[6] This, according to Ladovskii, could be measured with the help of the apparatus called *Postrometr*, which rendered the inspection of effects of angular proportions and volumetric values in space possible as well as "the measuring of feelings for spatial modifications and relationships."[7] This measuring of feelings illustrates one of the most surprising propositions - since feelings were the one thing that persistently escaped the scientific investigations of psychology at the time.

If the initial interest of experimental psychology was to detect the causalities of psychic processes the shift in psychotechnics towards determining cognitive operations and effects suggested a new approach. Psychotechnics became concerned not only with the detection and prediction of feelings and associations but also with the search for methods to manipulate them in order to transform the subject. In particular, Hugo Münsterberg's psychotechnics became influential in Ladovskii's architectural experimentation of spatial perception in order to create visual conditions, which would lead into active engagement with the environment. The experiments were driven by German-American psychologist Münsterberg's approach of superimposing mental phenomena upon the psychological responses. They were conducted to derive patterns in the flow of ideas by examining effects on the physiological organism. As Münsterberg elaborated:

> We may thus think of space to be composed as a kind of target, in which certain spots or territories count more or less, both according to their distance from the center and according to what fills them. […]
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> The skillful artist will fill his spatial target in the way to give the maximum of motor impulses with the perfection of balance between them. It is thus in a kind of substitutional symmetry, or balance, that we have the objective condition or counterpart of aesthetic repose, or unity.[8]

[6] Ladovskii, "Osnovy postroenija teorii arkhitektury," 4.
[7] Georgii Krutikov, "Arkhitekturnaja Nauchno-Issledovatelskaja Laboratorija pri arkhitekturnom fakultete Moskovskogo Vishego Chud.-Tech. Instituta" *Stroitel'naja promishlennost'* , no.5, 1928, 373.
[8] Hugo Münsterberg, *Psychology: General and Applied* (New York: Appleton, 1914), 112-13.

Therefore, the Rationalists' loose approach towards measuring of feelings was directed towards the "collecting" of feelings by cataloging experience-based knowledge of repeatable and comparable spatial impressions. The difficulty of such an enterprise was apparently recognized - as can be assumed from Ladovskii's companion Nicolai Dokuchaev's statement: "[…] the observer seldom perceives a building in a purely mechanical way, but inevitably brings to it the associations which have very little to do with the facts of constructions."[9] However, it was the goal of the visual-intuitive experiments to evoke, collect, and modify exactly these associations of spatial impact.

Constructivism and Rationalism build upon the similar psychotechnically explored perceptional knowledge and their proponents worked side by side in VKhUTEMAS and shared the foundational courses. Both groups were experimenting with space and form, affecting perception and movement, and both stressed the scientific approaches. However, the distinction between the two approaches lays in the fundamental different understanding and concerns of the psychological discourse. Whereas the Rationalists understood psychology as a given of the "hard-wiring" of the subject the Constructivists considered psychology to be re-configurable. The prioritization during the design process was significantly different: the Rationalists' approach towards a "Wirkungsform" as a subjective mental construct appears fundamentally distinct from the creative organization of interactivity between humans as in the Constructivists' architectural "Daseinsform."[10] How then developed this idea of interactivity?

Moisei Ginzburg, the main theoretician of the Constructivists, maintained that we do not perceive the architectural form through its stylistic characteristics, but rather it is through the rhythm of the compositional elements that an architectural space produces sensorial effects within human beings. In the 1923 text *Ritm v arkhitekture* Ginzburg hinted - although as a retroactive and historiographical speculation – at operative speculations whereby rhythmic constellations allow for an engagement with the surroundings. Ginzburg attempted to create a kind of new disciplinary attentiveness, in which new notions of composition, rhythm, space, and movement emerge as devices that redefine architecture. In his later book *Style and Epoch* Ginzburg advanced his thoughts on physio-psychological effects of architecture:

> Wilhelm Wundt has determined that we experience the sensation of pleasure from perceiving a line that is more comfortable for the eye to follow […] when the muscles moving the eye have to expand a minimum of energy. Correspondently, an irregular and sharply broken line creates an uncomfortable sensation, […]; as a result, the nerves

[9] Anatole Senkevitch, *Trends in Soviet Architectural Thought, 1917-1932* (Ithaca, NY: 1974), 375-376.
[10] See Senkevitch, *Trends in Soviet Architectural Thought,* 330-375.

> stimulating the muscles, as well as the muscles themselves, must feel painful sensations. If crooked lines are bent with a certain regularity, thereby providing an opportunity to anticipate the effect, they usually generate the most profound feeling of satisfaction.[11]

Ginzburg's statement not only indicates a preference for more regular and simple rhythmic forms that demanded the least *physical* effort in perception but also exemplifies the fundamental difference to the Rationalists' focus on manifold spatial design patterns for an animating *psychic* stimulation. And so, the Constructivists declared what was shaping architecture was not some "eternal" form (as suggested by the Rationalists) but rather the creative process and the "rhythm as the essence of architecture." As Ginzburg demanded in his points for the VKhUTEMAS course program from 1926: "I.1. The creative process as a result of the interaction between the external world of forms and the interior world of the artist. … I.4. The creative personality. The psycho-physical element. The abstract and cognitive element. The emphasis on abstract beauty. The interior world of the artist as a spiritual world. The philosophical dimensions of cognition. … II.1. The cosmic and universal character of rhythm. Active and dynamic rhythm, static rhythm."[12] Here, the zeitgeist opens new architectural ideologies where new materials and technologies opened up new activities and new possibilities for creativity culminating in the Constructivists' 'method of functional creativity'. Crucial for understanding this aim is the notion of 'social construction' whereby the architect is seen as the coordinator of human resources, abandoning the role of a constructor of artifacts but rather of spatial interaction with a bodily directive. The aesthetic and psychic disposition of the observer was directed towards bodily movement and interactivity. Hence, Constructivism was distinguished by its refusal to leave the methodological problems to mere intuition and by the notion that the architect's work must mirror the holism of the material and cognitive worlds in which he was 'constructing'.

The different characteristics of these two psycho-technical projects are manifested in designs produced by the two groups. The Rationalist projects display a manifold sculptural articulation interweaving cubic and circular forms, play with surprising changes of viewpoints or with repetitions of perspectives. Differences in materials and structures are emphasized; corresponding perspectives with sculptural elements arouse attention. With fewer amalgamations of form variations the Constructivist projects seem more reserved at first glance. The linear, regular, and uncluttered forms seem to follow the opposite principle: not the unpredictable rhythm of a diffuse perception but rather an unconditional constant rhythm of bodily movement. Instead of

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[11] Moisei Ginzburg, *Style and Epoch*, trans. Anatole Senkevitch (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1982), 112.

12 Ginzburg, "Course Programme: 'Theory of Architectural Composition", VKhUTEMAS, 1926. TsIGALI, f. 681, cat. 2, doc. 14, p. 29.

manipulating the perception of architecture the Constructivists manipulated the interaction of the people within new living structures, their experience of collective space based on observed human behavior.

In other words, Constructivists saw psychology as something that could be influenced and reconfigured by the built environment and influenced by the architect. Aesthetics is seen as fully determined by design along with other aspects of human life and behavior. Rationalists on the other hand considered psychotechnics to evoke the desired response in the subject and to change the behavior through ideas infused by subjective mental responses to architecture. Here, aesthetics gains a certain "metahistorical" position and aesthetic aspects of design override purely functionalists concerns.

Thus, it was possible to segue from a manipulation of perception and experience into a manipulation of subjectivity: "Science has shown that art, being a special form of man's psychic activity, can, if properly utilized, become a powerful regulator of both individual and social life. Architecture in particular, as a profoundly social art, is confronted with a primary and at the same time honorable task of supplying the collective construction of our epoch with commensurate design and functional organization for our mode of life."[13] Architecture was understood not so much as an aesthetic object but rather as functioning apparatus, as biological process which was not based on objectivity but rather on operationalization, not on reflection but on the manipulation of perception. The goal of the Rationalists and the Constructivists was not to elucidate the perception of the world. It was rather considered to operate by means of perception.

[13] Nikolai Dokuchaev, "Zhilishnoe stroitel'stvo I arkhitektura *Sovetskoe iskusstvo* (no.3 1928): 53; quoted in Senkevitch, *Trends in Soviet Architectural Thought*, 401.

What mattered besides style? On the example of buildings for public food supply in Petrograd/Leningrad, 1918-1932 Diana Zitzman, Berlin *

Topic: The development of khlebozovody (bread bakeries) and fabriki kukhni (huge dining halls) on the examples of Petrograd/Leningrad. Khlebozovody were designed and built shortly after the revolution, in the middle of the 1920s and in the beginning of the 1930s. That is why it is possible to compare them and to describe the development in their architecture. Fabriki kukhni were designed and built especially during the Cultural Revolution of 1929-31. The organization responsible for these buildings was LSPO, the Consumer Association of the Leningrad Region.

Method: First the plans/buildings and their construction history are examined. What is typical for each of the projects, what is different among projects for the same building type before and afterwards, what is different about the same building type from those in other Soviet cities, and are there significant differences from other building types carried out at the same time and in the same city. The differences that are examined exclude questions of style and architectural theory. They include elaborations on the client and operation, especially during the New Economic Policy. As a next step, explanations for the characteristic features of the buildings are sought. Therefore the development of LSPO and cultural discourses are examined, for instance articles about the function and the aim of the buildings.

Proposed interpretation: The changes in architecture correspond to significant changes in Soviet policy. Very roughly Soviet architecture between 1917 and 1932 can be divided into four phases:

1) Experiences with revolution and war during the War Communism (1918-1921)

2) Symbolic buildings during the New Economic Policy (NEP) (1923-27)

3) "New ideas now" during the Cultural Revolution (1929-31)

4) Mass architecture during the end of the second half of the first Five Year Plan (1931-32)

For instance, the buildings around 1925 are characterized by a high degree of planning care and expressiveness and a balance in the importance of design, hygienic and economic requirements. During these years there existed quite a lot of freedom to choose the way to build. During the NEP, the regional organizations had the greatest impact on the buildings – that means not the party or central heads of organizations in Moscow. The new bakery building serves as advertisement for its client LSPO. Because of the contrast between the NEP reality and the promises of the party the new buildings played an important role as symbolic fulfillment of the proclaimed values.

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Buildings for food supply – this is an important task, especially when a government like the Bolsheviks intend to revolutionize everyday life, including cooking, baking and eating. Who was responsible for planning and operating facilities for public food supply? What were the expectations? What development concerning these buildings their architecture took place during the first 20 years after revolution? This will be examined on the example of the *khlebozavody* (bread bakeries) and *fabriki kukhni* (industrial kitchens with huge dining halls) in Petrograd/Leningrad. Seven *khlebozavody* and six *fabriki kukhni* were designed and built there between 1917 and 1937.

War communism: Bread factory Jurgenson[1]

Already shortly after the revolution, in 1918, a new bread factory was built in Petrograd.[2] Well, it is not exactly an entire new building but an extension to an existing wooden bread factory building, constructed by the duma of St. Petersburg in 1914. The extension was the first bakery building in post-revolutionary Russia and is part of the first few realized buildings after the revolution.

The responsible man for food supply in Petrograd was the Bolshevik Aleksei Ye. Badayev. In all probability it was up to him to take the decision to build the extension building. During the first months and years after the revolution, which were characterized by several reorganisations and chaotic structures, individual, mostly party leaders on a regional level were in charge for taking the necessary decisions. As an engineer and architect he chose somebody who had experience with bread bakeries: Leontij V. Šmelling who had designed the wooden bread bakery of 1914, in cooperation with the engineer N. Nagel. Before the revolution, Šmelling was employed by the Duma as the "city architect".

The bakery consists of the old and the new plant, sharing flour storage and shipping dock of the old building. The factory produced in total about 150 ton of bread a day – half of it in the ovens in the new part of the factory– half of it in the old one. In the new part the technological processes are arranged in a vertical way: on the 3rd floor there was the flour storage and sifter, on the 2nd floor the dough mixer and on the 1st floor the ovens.

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1 A. Askij: Petrogradskij gorodskoj mekhanicheskij khlebopekarnyj zavod. In: Arkhitekturno-Chudozhestvennyj Ezhenedel'nik, 1917/H. 9, p. 65–69; N. N. Nagel': Kratkoe tekhnicheskoe opisanie Pervogo mekhanicheskogo im. tov. Jurgensona khlebozavoda PEPO v Petrograde, Petrograd 1923; B. Dikler, F. Berkhogljadov: Khlebopechenie i ego perspektivy v Leningrade, Leningrad 1926, p. 26; N. T. Savel'eva: Khlebozavody - sooruzhenija novogo social'nogo tipa. In: A. A. Strigalev (Hg.): Problemy istorii sovetskoj arkhitektury. Spornik nauchnykh trudov, Moskva 1985, p. 79–92, p. 80f; M. S. Shtiglic: Promyshlennaja arkhitektura Peterburga, Sankt-Peterburg 1996, p. 88.

2 adress: Malaja Mitrofan'evskaja Ulica 4 (formerly: Meždunarodnyj Prospekt 73b).

The new bakery was a brick building with 3 floors. The extension with its independent design is a more impressive building than the original part. It is astonishing, that during war times the factory was built in brick and with a massive, almost monumental facade with decorative elements.

NEP: Bread factory "10 years of October"

During the New Economic policy private persons and organizations were allowed to run bakeries. Especially regarding food supply, the bolshevist government supported consumer associations, believing that they are the right interim step from private to state structures. [3] In Leningrad the responsible organization was LSPO – Consumer Association of the Leningrad Region (in Russian: *Leningradskij sojuz potrebitel'skikh obshchestv*), founded in 1921. They ran the 11 biggest and most advanced of the 676 bakeries in town.[4] In 1924 the price for bread was set by the state at a low range.[5] This improved the situation for LSPO on the market: in 1925 already 62% of the population bought bread from LSPO, compared to only 15% in 1924.[6] The aim of LSPO was to produce cheaper and better bread by the mechanization of the bread production.

Since 1925 LSPO had modernized and enlarged a few existing bakeries. In May 1926, LSPO decided to build a huge bread factory.[7] It was the first new building project of LSPO and even one of the first new buildings in Leningrad, since construction works of a considerable scale had started only the year before.

The Union of architects announced on behalf of LSPO an architectural competition for the bakery. LSPO hat delivered a description of the production and the equipment. The aim of the competition was to define „the character and treatment of the facades".[8] There were 34 participants. On 26th July 1926, only 2 days after the deadline of the concourse, the jury announced its decision: The first prize was given to the project of Aleksandr S. Nikol'skij and his team (I. Beldovskij, V. Gal'perin , A. Krestin).[9] But this project – as well as all the other competition entries – was not realized. The competition served merely as a pool for ideas, mainly concerning facades.

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3 A. Badaev: Bol'shaja pobeda proletariev krasnoj stolicy, Moskva 1935, p. 36.

4 Dikler, Berkhogljadov 1926, p. 5-6, 15f.

5 D. Ju. Sherikh: 1924. Iz Petrograda - v Leningrad, Moskva 2004, p.107.

6 S. B. Sobstvennoe proizvodstvo LSPO, in: Kooperativnyj bjulleten´ 1928/ Nr. 18-19 (Jg.41), p. 9 – 12.

7 CGANTD SPb f192/ op3-1/ d2508a/ l.56ob. adress: Khersonskaja Ulica 22.

8 Leningradskoe Obshchestvo Arkhitektorov i Obshchestvo Arkhitektorov-Khudozhnikov, po porucheniju Leningraskogo Sojuza Potrebitel'skikh Obshhestv, ob`javljaet konkurs na sostavlenie proekta zdanija Mekhanicheskogo Khlebopekarnogo Zavoda v Leningrade, Leningrad 1926, p.1.

9 CGANTD SPb f192/ op3-1/ d2508a, l.23ff, l.53.

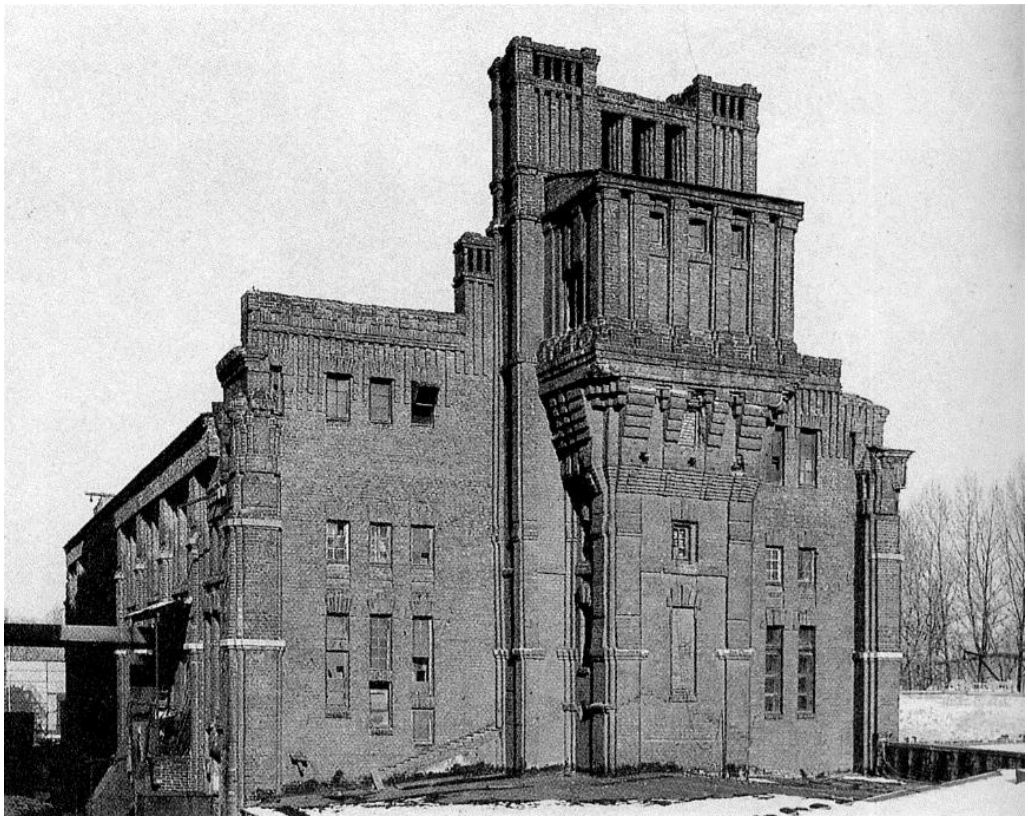

Figure 1: Bread bakery Jurgenson, main facade of extension building (1918-19, Shmelling)[10]

Figure 2: Bread factory Jurgenson, old (1914) wooden part on the left and new brick part on the right[11]

10 M. S. Shtiglic: Promyshlennaja arkhitektura Peterburga, Sankt-Peterburg, 1996, unpaged.

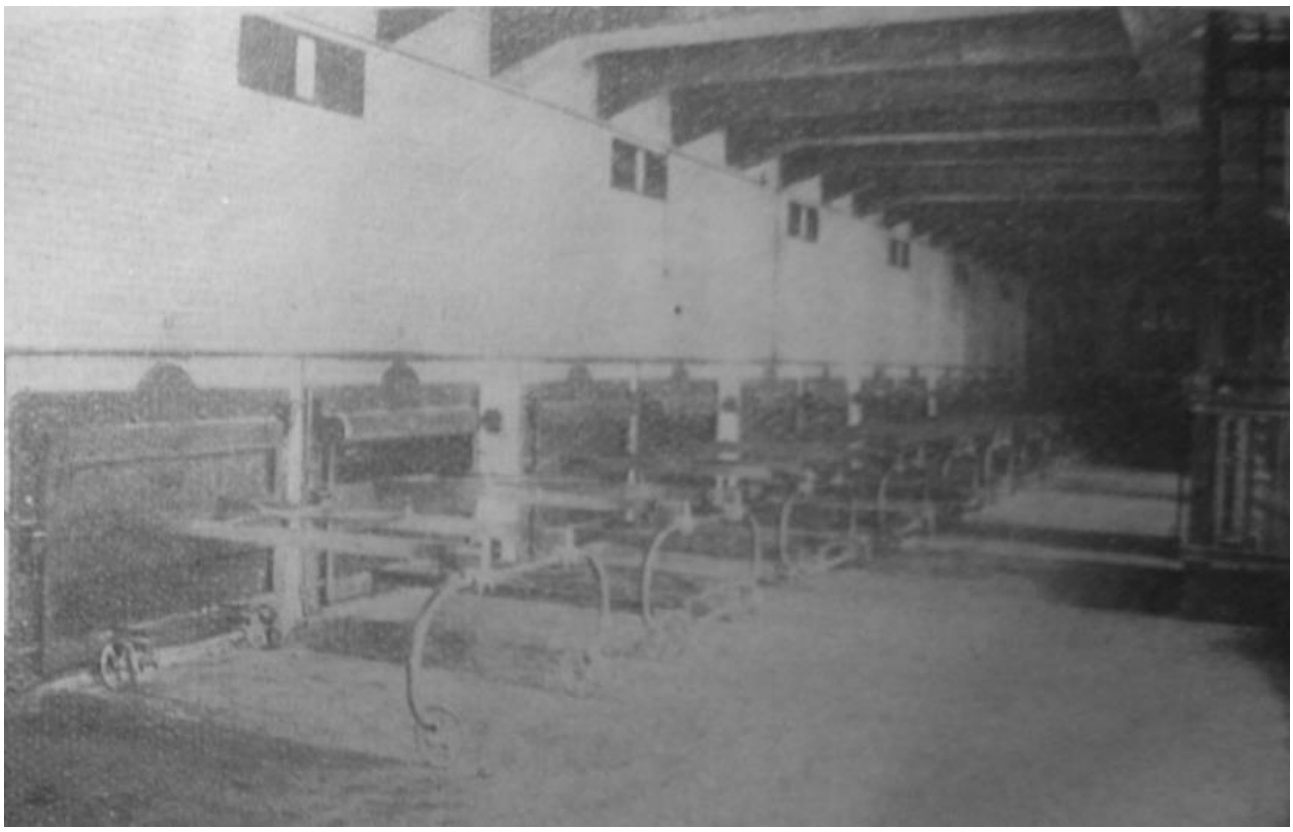

Figure 3: Bread factory Jurgenson, ovens[12]

Figure 4: Bread factory "10 years of October" (1926), yard showing H-shape[13]

11 LSPO: Leningradskaja kooperacija za 10 let. Tom 2, Leningrad, 1928, p.289.

12 LSPO: Leningradskaja kooperacija za 10 let. Tom 2, Leningrad, 1928, p.290.

13 M. N. Matveev: Stroitel'stvo leningradskoj rabochej potrebitel'skoj kooperacii v pervuju pjatiletku na sluzhbe rabochego snabzhenija, 1928–1932, Moskva, Leningrad 1933, p. 43.

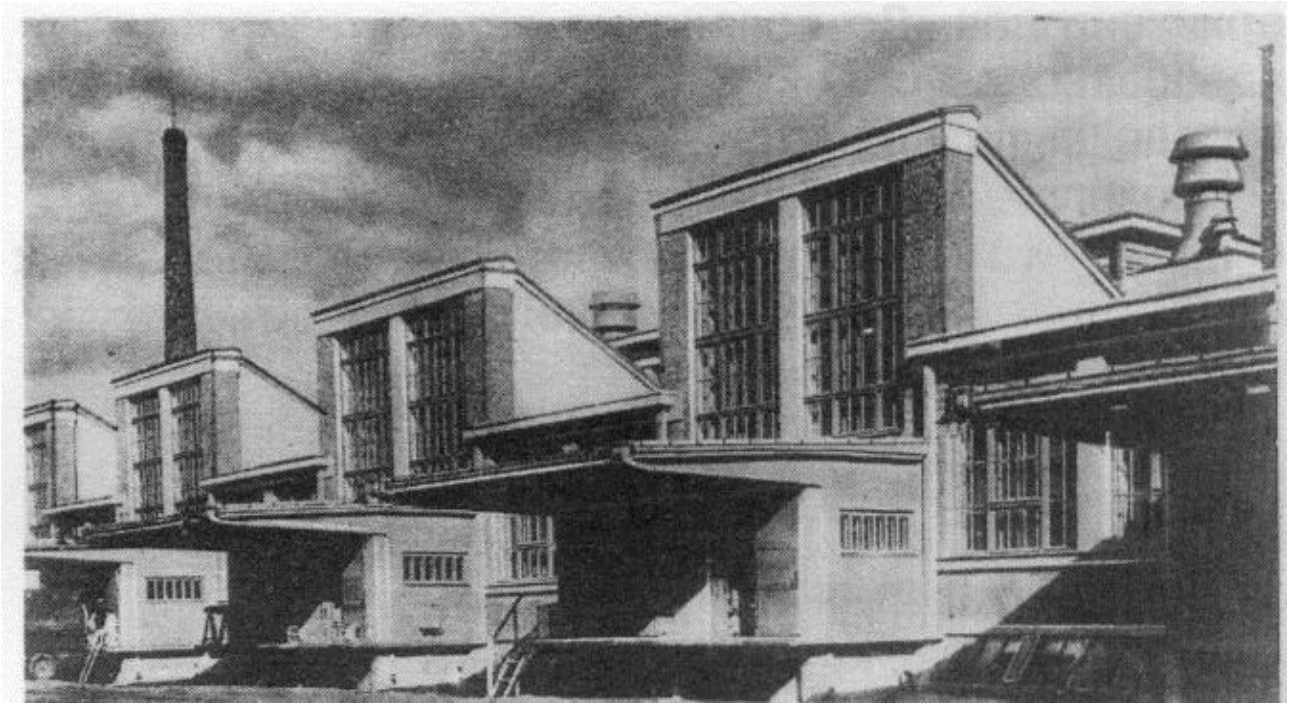

Figure 5: Bread factory "10 years of October), shipping dock[14]

LSPO had founded a specialized planning team inside LSPO. Its engineers Berkhogljadov, Vevers and P.D. Bunkin had already developed a project for the bread factory and could apply for the construction permit only 1 month after the concourse had ended.[15]

They bakery has an H-shape consisting of silo- and mixing department, ovens in the central part and the shipping dock. The equipment, especially the ovens, was ordered in the Netherlands (firm Pelkman) and England (firm Baker-Perkins).[16] By the end of the year 1928 the factory started production. With a capacity of 200 tons of bread per day it was the biggest bread factory with the highest degree of mechanization in the country and LSPO was proud of having built it.

The opening of the new plant aroused a lot of interest in the press, which called it "giant", [17] "pride of Leningrad's cooperatives".[18] LSPO claimed to "improve the production conditions and take the production quality to new heights".[19] Most images published were the photos of the façade, the shipping dock, as well as pictures from the highly mechanized equipment inside. The interior photos of a light, clean and modern equipped factory and the exterior photos of the

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14 S. O. Khan-Magomedov: Arkhitektura sovetskogo avangarda II, Social'nye problemy, Tom 2, Moskva 2001, p. 615.

15 CGANTD SPb f192/ op3-1/ d2508a/ l.55.

16 Badaev 1935, p.40.

17 M. Dubrovskij: Pervyj v Evrope. Na mekhanicheskom khlebozavode "Desjatiletie Oktjabrja",in: Kooperativnyj bjulleten' LSPO, Jg. 44, H. 21, p. 5–7, p.6.

18 Kooperativnyj bjulleten´1929/ Nr. 19 (77), p. 36.

19 I. Fulidi: Leningradskaja kooperacija, in: Kooperativnyj bjulleten´1928/ Nr18-19 (Jg41), p. 5 - 7, p. 6.

expressive light expedition support the way LSPO wanted to represent itself: as a producer of good bread for a good price with an efficient, hygienic and progressive production process, mainly based on a high degree of mechanization combined with a yet unbroken belief in the machine.

1st half of FYP (1928-30): No bread factories but kitchen factories

Although LSPO had plans to build more bread bakeries[20], there was a break till 1931/32. In Moscow two bread factories in 1928-29 and two more in 1931 were built.[21] As a result, Leningrad had lost its leading position concerning modern bread bakeries by the end of the 1920s.[22] But the interruption regarding bread bakeries in Leningrad might have also been caused by a shift in priorities namely towards huge industrialized canteens, *fabriki kukhni* as they were called.

In the years before 1928 buildings for public dining was absolutely not important: Canteens of cooperative food shops were not included in the housing projects in Leningrad nor were restaurants such an important part in new public buildings like workers' clubs or public bathes. But around 1928 *fabrika kukhnja became* one of the most important building types, met with high expectations. In a *fabrika kukhnja* dishes are produced in a highly mechanized way and its huge dining halls are the centre of public dining of this district or town. Meals were not only produced for eating inside the dining halls, but also for their delivery in thermos containers to the factories or – in theory – even to cooperative distributer facilities of the settlements. Furthermore, women could buy semi-finished products (for instance peeled potatoes) inside the *fabrika kukhnja* shop.

The first Soviet *fabrika kukhnja* had opened in 1925 in Ivanovo-Vosnesensk. *Izvestija* had called it „the best evidence for the new way of life of the workers and for the way to the liberation of the women".[23] Triggered by the high industrialisation goals of the First- Five- Year- Plan (FYP) combined with the necessity to increase the number of female workers and by the idea of Cultural Revolution to create a new and better way of life in the entire country the need to establish *fabriki kukhni* was discussed around 1928.[24] Projects for new buildings started in several towns. In November 1929, Moscow opened the first *fabrika kukhnja* (architect: A. Meškov) especially

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20 S. B. Sobstvennoe proizvodstvo LSPO, in: Kooperativnyj bjulleten´1928/ Nr18-19 (Jg41), p. 9 - 12, p. 10.

21 Nr 3, Nr. 4 and Nr. 5, Nr. 6 (Badaev 1935, p.53).

22 F.P. Frenkel´: Obzor stroitel´stvo khlebozavodov, in: Kooperativnaja gazeta 6, 25.10.1931, [p.4].

23 Izvestija, 29.3.1925, quote after: S. O. Khan-Magomedov: Arkhitektura sovetskogo avangarda II. Social'nye problemy, Moskva 2001, p. 618.

24 For instance: A. Khalatov 1928, quote after: Magomedov 2001, p. 620.

built for this purpose.[25] It is said, that in total10 *fabriki kukhni* have been established in Moscow [26] Concerning Leningrad it is certain that 6 facilities were built, all of them in industrial areas.

The decision to build *fabriki kukhni* in Leningrad was made in June 1928.[27] The LSPO was responsible for operating them. Four facilities were planned and built at the same time. A special planning brigade was formed within the LSPO-planning department, consisting of 4 young graduates from Art school – Baruchev, Gil'ter, Merson, Rubanchik[28] and the experienced LSPO engineer Dzhorogov. In spring 1929 construction works started and already in 1930 the facilities opened their doors to the public. They have a capacity of 10.000-15.000 dishes and three dining halls with 200-500 seats each.

The construction time is astonishingly short, compared with that of workers' clubs or public baths built in Leningrad in the same years. It shows the importance of this building type, supported by regional and central organizations. The facilities are located in central, exposed locations on main streets. They consist of several wings, arranged around one or two courtyards. Building volumes were dynamic as a result of play with the number of stories. The interiors are strictly modern. Roof terraces, big glass surfaces and the high amount of concrete are distinctive elements for this building type. They emphasize the importance of this building type in these years.

Fabrika kukhnja was the result of a conjunction of several ideals during the Cultural Revolution: the belief in the power of the machine and mechanization and in the possibility to reform everyday life effectively and successfully. "*Fabrika kukhnja* defeats hearth and Primus stove as well as power stations have defeated kerosene lamps," contemporaries would write.[29] Or: „The way of life starts with the kitchen. … The new way of life starts with the factory. With the kitchen factory. With the socialist reorganisation and the industrial revolution in the field of public nutrition". [30]

The Cultural Revolution ended by 1931 the zenith of the *fabrika kukhnja* was over. In Leningrad two more of them were built around 1931, hardly mentioned in the press. Their architecture is already much simpler. They are no longer supposed to be the centre of public life and not believed to change the way of life anymore.

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25 Assanov 1928, quote after: Magomedov 2001, p. 621.

26 N.A. Miljutin: Problema stroitel'stva socialisticheskikh gorodov. Osnovnye voprosy racional'noj planirovki i stroitel'stva naselennykh mest SSSR, Moskva, Leningrad 1930, p. 35.

27 O.A.: „Nuzhdy obshchestvennogo pitanija. (Na plenume torgovo-kooperativnoj sekcii Leningradskogo Soveta)", in: Kooperativnyj bjulleten´1928/ Nr. 8 (Jg.31), p. 11-12, p. 11.

28 A. Baruchev, I. Gil'ter, O. Meerzon, Ja. Rubanchik: Fabriki-kukhni Leningrada in Arkhitektura SSSR 1933/Nr. 2, p. 18-22.

29 G. P.Vasil'ev, M.P. Ivanovskij (Hg.): Za obrazcovyj socialisticheskij Leningrad. Leningrad, 1932, p. 62.

30 Vl. Kholodkovskogo: Kukhnja budushchego. In Kooperativnyj bjulleten' 1930/ Nr. 20-21, p.28-32, p.28.

2nd half of FYP (1931-32): Boom for bread factories

At the same time when *fabrika kukhnja* was becoming less important, the bread bakeries became the rising star once again. The importance of this building type between 1931 and 1933 was the result of a party concern. The number of bakeries rose simultaneously with the number of public baths The reason for building baths and bakeries was collectivization of agriculture which resulted in the rapidly growing population in towns, which caused bread and food shortages and increased spread of typhoid and other epidemic diseases. It was absolutely necessary to improve the communal economy and the bread supply.

Never before and after were so many bread factories with a large capacity built in Soviet Russia than between 1931 and 1933. Also, standardization of types got more important in these years: The same bakery project – or at least almost the same was realized several times. Even the differences between Moscow and Leningrad vanished. In both cities the so called Marsakov-type was built. It was named after the Moscow engineer who had combined all existing achievements in mechanization of baking to an automated process and developed a ring-system with conveyers and cylinder ring shaped ovens, working nonstop.[31]

The first specially built bakery of the Marsakov type, Bread bakery Nr. 5 in Moscow was put into operation in the end of 1931.[32] It had a capacity of 240 tons of bread per day. In 1932-33 four more Marsakov bakeries were built in Moscow (Nr. 7, 8, 9 and Nr. 11) and two in Leningrad (Nr. 10 and 11)[33]. The projects were based on the bakery Nr. 5, but had some adjustments and improvements. Additionally other, less interesting bakeries from an architectural point of view have been built between 1931 and 1933: Bread bakery Nr. 6, Nr. 10 and Nr. 12 in Moscow,[34] and Leningrad built two smaller semi-mechanized bakeries with a capacity of 40 and 90 t bread/day[35] and a fully mechanized one with a capacity of 240t bread/day (Nr. 12, launched in 1934).[36]

The production process of the Marsakov-type is totally automated: The dough or the bread were transported in several circles, arranged on top of each other. That is why a cylinder shaped bakery building is the logical consequence of the Marsakov-technology. Whereas bakery Nr. 5 has a pure

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31 N.A. Smirnov: Leningradskoe khlebopechenie za 40 let, in Khlebopekarnaja i konditerskaja promyshlennosti 1957/ Nr.10, p. 5 - 9, p. 7.

32 K. Jakovlev; I. Filimonov: 12 khlebnykh fabrik. In: Stroitel'stvo Moskvy, 1932/ H. 1, p. 18–21; O.A. „40let khlebopekarnoj promyshlennost´SSSR“ in Khlebopekarnaja i konditerskaja promyshlennosti 1957/ Nr.10, p. 1 - 4, p. 3.

33 CGAKFFD SPb ja 609/ Vr 11798 foto of 19. 9. 1932.

34 Badaev 1935, p.56.

35 Leningradskaja potrebitel'skaja kooperacija v civrakh. S janvarja 1930 g. po fevral' 1934 g. Leningrad 1934, p. 37; P. Sijal'skij: Dva goda bor'by za obrazcovyj Leningrad v cifrach, Leningrad 1933, [p. 8].- adresses: Malaja Okhta, Glukhaja Ulica 8/23 and Gutuevskij Ostrov (Braun, B. V. (Hrsg), Spravochnik po sisteme LSPO na 1935 god, Leningrad 1935, p. 46ff). Building in Malaja Okhta does not exist anymore.

36 Khlebozavod “Mikojan“ Lubenskaja Ulica (now Zaozernaja)16/ 18. CGAKFFD-ja609.

cylinder shape with a volume of 38.000 m³, the later buildings use different diameters, according to the necessary space. Furthermore the height of the floors differs, adapting it to the necessary amount and reducing the volume to 30.000 m³, saving building material.[37] The differences between the Marsakov bakeries of 1932-33 in Moscow and Leningrad are little and seem to concern mainly the amount of glazing used in the façades. Nevertheless, no evidence could be found that they have been planned by the same engineers or architects. The Moscow bakeries have been worked out a bit earlier, but Leningrad did not just take the Moscow project, but the team of LSPO-engineers Anderzen, Khevelev, P.M. Sergeev[38] and P. V. Bunkin[39] developed their own projects, which they had to present in Moscow, among others to Marsakov. It seems, that the technological process itself strongly defined the architecture and that improvements regarding the process or the architectural implementation were distributed quickly.

2. Five-Year- Plan (1933-37): A few more bread factories

Before WWII only two more bread bakeries appeared in Leningrad: Bread factory Nr. 14 (P.M. Sergeev, 1934-1936) on the Chernyshevskij Prospect and Nr. 15 (planner unknown, ?-1938) on the Ligovskij Prospect.[40] Their location in the city centre – not in workers' districts- and their significantly lower capacity of 35 – 60 t of bread/ day but also a higher variety of bakery products[41] were typical of these bread bakeries. The shift from quantity to quality is typical for projects during these years: The number and capacity of the projects was lower, but the projects themselfs more representive.

One reason for it might have been, that not the capacity of the bread factories, but the grain production was the reason for the shortages in bread supply.

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37 The aim of the planers was "to create a compact plant, … good working conditions and to use the free building volume to make the building cheaper" (CGA SPb f4370/ op2/ d863,l.5 Description of the project, l.5 – 9, signed by Sergeev, without date).

38 CGA SPb f 4370/ op2/ d 863 (Khlebozavod LSPO u st. kushelevka 1932), l. 4, l. 5ff.- CGA SPb f 4370/ op2/ 873 Khlebozavod N 4 1932/ l.21 und l.22ff.

39 Ves´ Leningrad, Leningrad 1931, p. 200ff.

40 Smirnov 1957, p. 7.

41 A. Badaev: Bor'ba za khleb, Mosvka 1936, p. 80.

SESSION: Housing and the Grassroots: Rethinking Production and Agency in the Architecture of Dwelling

Tom Avermaete, Delft University of Technology; Nelson Mota, Delft University of Technology

In the introduction to The City and the Grassroots, published in 1983, Manuel Castells pointed out that there was an increasing gap between urban research and urban problems. According to Castells, this gap resulted from an intellectual failure to account for the spatial agencies of citizens, social movements and community organizations. The last three decades of architectural discourse have further emphasized the need to reconceptualize architecture and urban design as "relational" disciplines, as Nicholas Bourriard put it.

Throughout the last century there have been many initiatives to promote architecture as part of the social fabric, calling for a socially engaged and democratic architecture. Citizens' participation has been praised as part and parcel of the rituals, pleasures and politics of co-operation as Richard Sennett put it in Together (2012). Housing has been arguably the prime site for the definition and redefinition of the states of encounter between the agency of the architect and that of the inhabitants.

In the context of these attempts to define inter-subjectivity as the substratum of architecture, this session welcomes papers that address the relation between architectural expertise and the grassroots as co-producers of housing. The session aims to contribute to bridge the gap between urban research and urban problems, examining concepts, perspective and approaches that were developed to re-articulate the ways of doing of the architect. Among these, we would like to focus especially, but not exclusively, on processes related to citizens' participation in the production of dwelling spaces, particularly those exploring concepts such as assisted self-help, open form, and incremental housing.

Arne Korsmo and "Hjemmets Mekano"

Espen Johnsen, University of Oslo *

The term "Hjemmets Mekano" (Meccano for the Home) appeared in 1952 in a special issue of the architectural periodical Byggekunst, edited by the recently established Norwegian CIAM group called PAGON. It is assumed that the articles – "Bolig?" ("Dwelling?") and "Hjemmets Mekano"– were written by architect Arne Korsmo. "HM" is described as a "working method and an analysis of the resident, the home and the house" that would "give the individual, the family and the environment a chance to free themselves from passivity and become consciously active in dwelling and building". The primary objective was to create an enriching spatial experience in

which people themselves actively created and controlled their dwelling space. The architect should no longer act as a "specialist", but more like an "agent" offering the prospective residents apartments with a flexible and constantly changeable system of choices. This paper attempts a close reading of these two articles followed by a discussion of the subject in a wider architectural historical context. The aim is to show how "HM" synthesized impulses and ideas that interested Korsmo, and his attempt to build a bridge between the modernism of the inter-war period and ideas he had picked up after the war in the United States, at CIAM meetings and congresses, and disciplines such as psychology and perceptual psychology. The paper will also relate these ideas to subsequent CIAM projects, exhibitions and buildings by Korsmo and other PAGON members like J.Utzon, C. Norberg-Schulz, S. Fehn and G.Grung. The relevance of the question to relational aesthetics will be discussed in the second part of the paper when we ask whether an "HM" method can be interpreted as a form of "inter-space", how Korsmo revised his attitude to the "curatorship" of domestic buildings, and the way he and his wife partly played a performative role on photographs.

PAPER

Introduction

The term "Hjemmets Mekano" (Meccano for the Home) appeared for the first time in a special issue (nos. 6 and 7, 1952) of the architectural periodical *Byggekunst,* edited by the recently established Norwegian CIAM group called PAGON, an acronym for Progressive Architects Group Oslo Norway. Here the group presented its aims, ideas, and activities over 29 pages.[1] Articles and projects were not signed, but it is assumed that two of the more important articles – "Bolig?" ("Dwelling?") and "Hjemmets Mekano" – were written by architect Arne Korsmo, probably with some help from the well-known theoretician Christian Norberg-Schulz. The built environment as well as apartments produced by contemporary domestic architecture, Korsmo maintained, had undone the relationship between residents and the environment. This was because people were not sufficiently involved in the design and use of their new home, which were largely controlled from above by "experts" in domestic architecture and interior design. Korsmo and the PAGON group therefore proposed what they called "Hjemmets Mekano" ("HM"), the purpose of which was to provide residents with a flexible system that could be continuously adapted to meet different needs. The primary objective was to create an enriching spatial experience in which people themselves actively created and controlled their dwelling space. In the view of PAGON, the architect should no longer act as a "specialist" who controls

[1]The following PAGON members contributed to the edition: Carl Corvin, Robert C. Esdaile, Sverre Fehn, Geir Grung, Arne Korsmo, P.A.M. Mellbye, Håkon Mjelva, Chr. Norberg-Schulz, Erik Rolfsen and Jørn Utzon.

how residents use their home by predetermining a fixed layout, but more like an "agent" offering a flexible framework of choices.

Although others have written about "HM"[2] this paper attempts a close reading of the two articles followed by a discussion of the subject in a wider architectural historical context. The idea with "HM" should be understood in terms of the early post-WWII discussion about improving relations between modern architecture and "the man in the street". It was not PAGON´s intention to involve the residents in the early stages of the planning process, making them as co- producers of the houses. At a later stage when the houses were being built the method was to offer prospective residents apartments with a flexible and constantly changeable system of interior wall and facade elements. The aim of this paper is to show how "HM" synthesized impulses and ideas that interested Korsmo, and his attempt to build a bridge between the modernism of the inter-war period and ideas he had picked up after the war in the United States, at CIAM congresses, and disciplines such as psychiatry and perceptual psychology.[3] The relevance of the question to relational aesthetics will be discussed in the second part of the paper when we ask whether an "HM" method can be interpreted as a form of "inter-space", how Korsmo revised his attitude to the "curatorship" of domestic buildings, and the way he and his wife partly played a performative role on photographs from their own homes in Løchenveien and Planetveien 12.

PAGON´s distaste for the New Empiricism

The story of PAGON is well embedded in international discourse and practice. Given that Arne Korsmo was the delegate of the group, some of the younger PAGON members Christian Norberg-Schulz, Sverre Fehn, Geir Grung, Odd Østbye, Håkon Mjelva, the Dane Jørn Utzon and the artist Gunnar S. Gundersen– had extensive knowledge of the architectural avant-garde of the inter-war period.[4] During his visits to the United States (1949–50) Korsmo had meetings with Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, Konrad Wachsmann, and Charles and Ray Eames and was

[2] See C. Norberg-Schulz, *The Functionalist Arne Korsmo*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1983, pp. 72–110, A. Skjerven, ´Ny helhet´, in Brænne, Bøe and Skjerven, *Arne Korsmo, arkitektur og design*, Universitetsforlaget, 2004, pp. 165–174, Elisabeth Tostrup, *Planetveien 12, Arne Korsmo og Grete Prytz Kittelsens hus*, PAX, Oslo, 2012, pp.140–153

[3] The text will also be illustrated with and discussed in relation to relevant architectural projects by Korsmo and others that can be linked to "HM": Jørn Utzon, Sverre Fehn and Geir Grung´s *Arnebråten housing project* (1951), Arne Korsmo and SHKS student´s *Exhibition apartments* (1952 and 1953), Arne Korsmo and Jørn Utzon´s *Skøyen-Oppsal Housing project* (1952), Arne Korsmo and Christian Norberg-Schulz´s *Three row- houses in Planetveien* (1952–55) as well as Geir Grung, Arne Korsmo and Gunnar S. Gundersen´s *Building and nature, flexibility of the habitat,* presented at CIAM X, (1956)

[4] Others important members were P.A.M. Mellbye, Erik Rolfsen and Robert C. Esdaile.

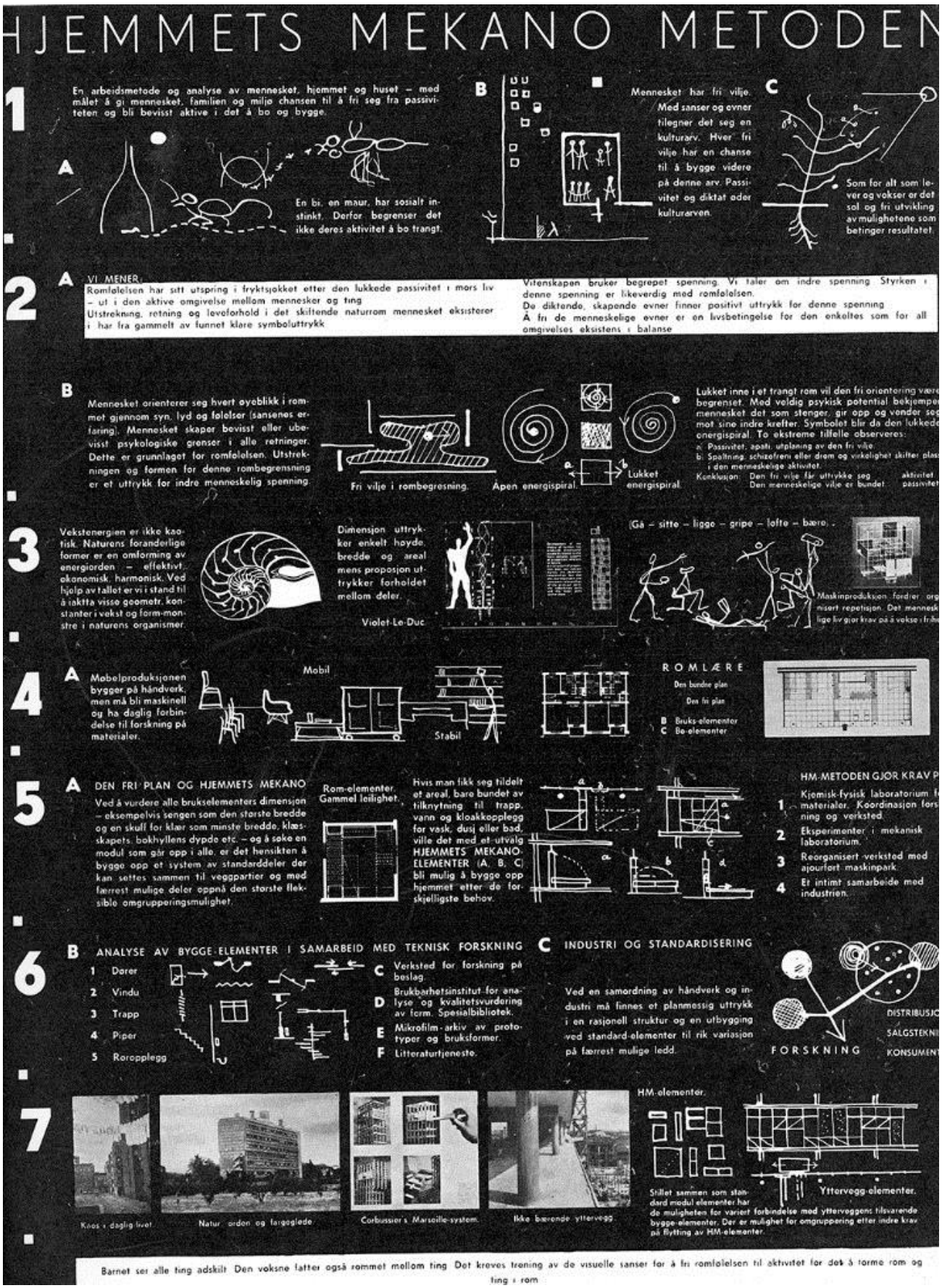

Figure 1: Arne Korsmo/PAGON, "Hjemmets Mekano metoden". Illustration from the article "Hjemmets Mekano", *Byggekunst,* 1952, p. 111.

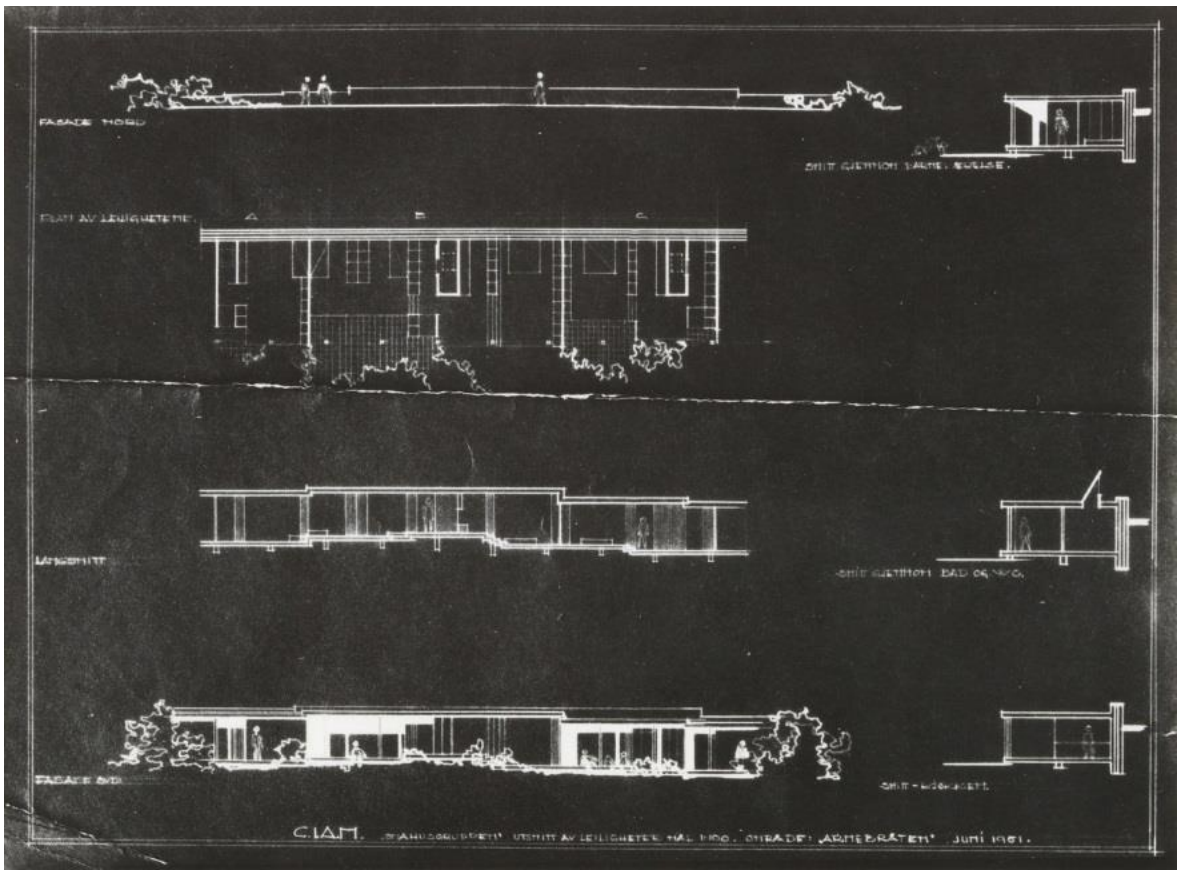

Figure 2: Jørn Utzon, Sverre Fehn and Geir Grung, *Arnebråten housing project*,1951. Illustration from the article "Bolig?", *Byggekunst,* 1952, p. 108.

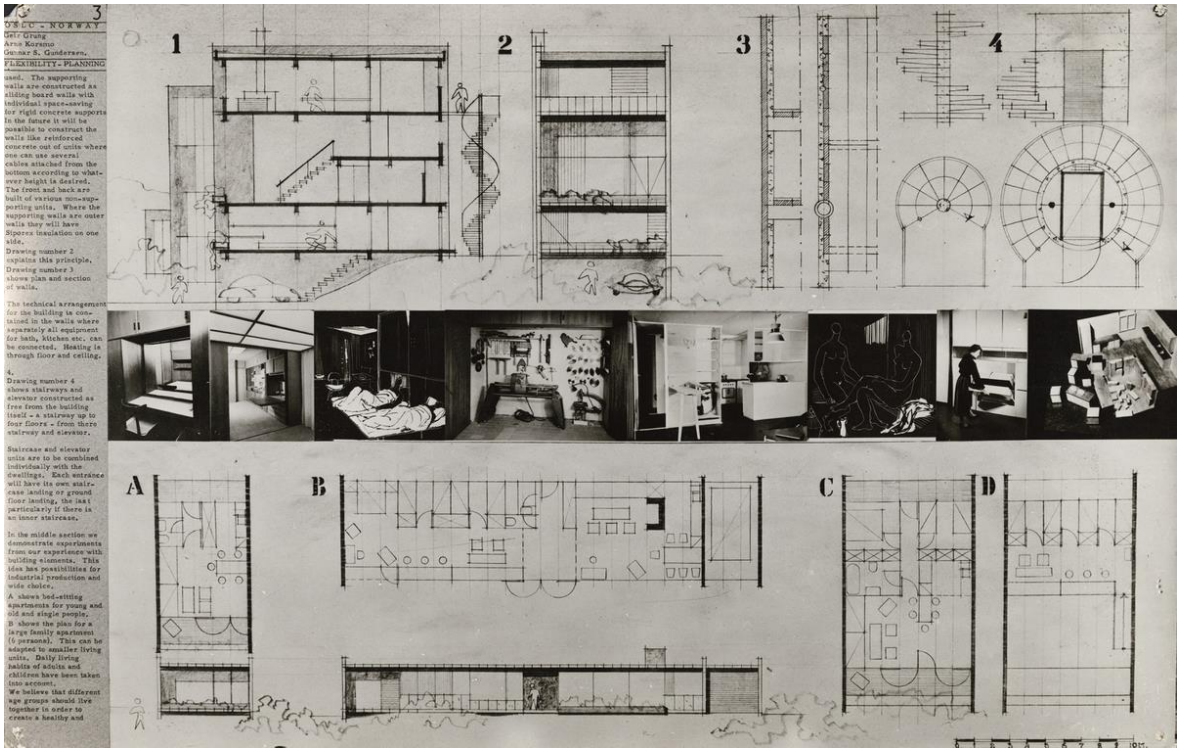

Figure 3: Geir Grung, Arne Korsmo and Gunnar S. Gundersen, *Building and nature, flexibility of the habitat, Grid 3,* presented at CIAM X, (1956). Copyright: National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design

Figure 4: *Arne Korsmo and his wife Grete Korsmo (Grete Prytz Kittelsen) in their apartment in Løchenveien, Oslo, 1952. Photo probably taken by using a self-timer.* Copyright: The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design.

Figure 5: *Gunnar S. Gundersen, "Livet i Planetveien",* pen on paper, 1955. Copyright: The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design.

therefore also well informed on the state of mid- century modernism.[5] Another prominent PAGON-member, Christian Norz\berg-Schulz, gained an understanding of historical and contemporary architectural theory moreover. Norberg-Schulz remained in touch with his former teacher and CIAM secretary Sigfried Giedion, and acted from 1949 as a delegate for the junior groups within CIAM.[6] Korsmo and Norberg-Schulz began to attend CIAM conferences and meetings starting with 1949 CIAM VII conference at Bergamo.

Both PAGON articles "Bolig?" and "Hjemmets Mekano" allude to sessions at the June 1952 Sigtuna meeting in Sweden arranged by CIAM in which Norberg-Schulz and Arne Korsmo participated. The Sigtuna meeting is generally seen as the first meeting where the split between the younger and middle generation of CIAM became evident.[7] In the absence of Le Corbusier, Sert, Gropius and Giedion, it was a gathering for younger members like Jaap Bakema, Aldo van Eyck, and Georges Candilis.[8] The outspoken Candilis replaced at the meeting Norberg-Schulz as delegate of the junior-groups.[9] The Sigtuna discussions on the proposed *Charter of Habitat* were interspersed with excursions to New Towns like Vällingby. The article "Bolig?" is in fact a direct attack on the New Town planning ideals with "neighborhoods." This type of living environment, it is argued had created a static and impoverished life: "Nothing happens here. Some children sit in a sandbox and are arguing. A housewife goes down to the milk-shop and speaks a few words to the assistant. This is a dead ´dormitory town´ in miniature."[10] The article also criticized the contemporary use of collected statistical material as the basis for an ideal type of an apartment plan to which all families just had to adapt.

> To build a residential district with fixed dwellings, as a whole, is in itself fundamentally and glaringly inorganic and thus – inhuman. One might logically assume that *no one dwelling* is *just right* for his family. They are all intended to meet the statistical average– and the

[5] With Jørn Utzon and Sverre Fehn the group also had two architects with an ability to develop strong conceptual ideas.
[6] After finishing his studies at ETH in Zurich, Norberg-Schulz returned to Oslo in 1949. In 1949 he became the delegate of the younger members of CIAM and started their journal *TEAM*.

[7] E. Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*. MIT Press, 2000, p. 220.
[8] M. Risselada and D. van den Heuvel, ´CIAM IX: discussing the charter of habitat´, in M. Risselada and D. van den Heuvel (eds.), *TEAM 10 in search of a Utopia of the present. 1953-81*, NAi Publishers, Rotterdam, 2006, p. 20.
[9] Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism,* p. 224.
[10] Original quote: "Här händer just ingenting. Några barn sitter och påtar i en sandlåda. En husmor går ned till mjölkaffären och växlar några ord med biträdet. Detta er en död sovstad i miniatyr". PAGON/Arne Korsmo,´Bolig´, *Byggekunst*, no. 6-7, 1952, p.108.

statistical average, is the theoretical expression of *the minimum amount of errors*, but in each case, *wrong*." [My translation][11]

For Norwegian readers the article refers implicitly to the group of architects and psychologists that during the war interviewed people about their living habits in modern apartment blocks from the 1930s. After the war this material was systematized, published and used as a basis for new apartment designs, mostly of about 80 m^2 with a scheme of one living room, two bedrooms, a kitchen and a bath. But Korsmo was never included in the community of (left-wing) architects that were commissioned to design new residential buildings, which probably both provoked and motivated him to pursue totally differently options detached from the Norwegian context dominated by bureaucrats and the economy.

Previous attempts within modernism

During his stay in the U.S. it is likely that Korsmo became aware of projects like Gropius and Wachsmann´s prefabricated "Packaged House",[12] but in his presentation of "HM" in *Byggekunst* it seems more important for him to situate the idea within an historical lineage of avant-garde experiments. He refers to the Bauhaus school´s analyzes of the house in the 1920s, their ideas about standardizing furniture, and Marcel Breuer's attempts to design flexible wall- elements. But the problem with the efforts of Walter Gropius and Frank Lloyd Wright, Korsmo pointed out, was that the house was conceived as a finished product, not something the resident could easily change.[13] The purpose of the "Meccano Home" was to develop Le Corbusier's *Domino system* of 1916, "whereby a space can be formed more freely using specific units that can be built together."[14] It was important to go further (than these predecessors) by developing a system of elements that made it possible to create an entire house which took account of the environment and of details of the interior. And it appears to be important for Korsmo to involve the family, that emerges both in images with captions like "The family working together to plan their home" and in references to a 1942 article by Alvar Aalto in which he argued that post-WWII domestic

[11] Original quote: "Å bygge en bydel med fastlagte boliger, under ett, er i seg selv fundamentalt og skrikende uorganisk og dermed – umenneskelig. En kan logisk regne med at *ikke en bolig* er *helt riktig* for sin familie. De er alle beregnet på det statistiske gjennomsnittet- og det statistiske gjennomsnitt er det teoretiske uttrykket for *den minste mengde feil*, men i hvert enkelt tilfelle *galt*." PAGON/Arne Korsmo, 'Bolig', *Byggekunst*, p.109.

[12] During their stay in Chicago (1949), Korsmo must have been aware of Walter Gropius and Konrad Wachsmanns prefabricated "Packaged House" (1941–1952) with its frame of wood and panelizing.

[13] The text does not specify the projects it refer to. PAGON/Arne Korsmo, "Hjemmets Mekano", *Byggekunst* 1952, no.6-7, p.110.

[14] PAGON/Arne Korsmo, ´Hjemmets Mekano´, *Byggekunst*, p.110.

architecture ought to give people an opportunity to take an active part in the planning and building of the home.[15]

The presentation of the schematic grid/poster

In *Byggekunst* "HM" is described as a "working method and an analysis of the resident, the home and the house" that would "give the individual, the family and the environment a chance to free themselves from passivity and become consciously active in dwelling and building."[16]. This passage is from "Section 1" of an illustrated diagrammatic poster/grid which, along with the articles formed the "HM" method`s main explanatory sources.[17]The poster was in black and white and divided into seven horizontal sections with altering text and illustrations referring to the work of architects, and to theories of modern architecture as well as to scientific and psychological studies.[18] Using a grid-like device to present the "HM" method, was probably inspired of CIAM's Ascoral Grid at CIAM VII.

"The perception of spaciousness, spiral shape and openness"

An interesting part is "Section 2" which deals with "the feeling of space." In the end of the 1930s Korsmo insisted that he no longer worked on architecture, but on "the art of space", defined as the "art that coordinates the idea of dimensions of all levels, with rhythm, color, and form and turns (them) into music".[19] The "HM" section argued that the sense of space has its origin in the human experience of birth and "the shock of light after the closed passivity in the womb" and the transition "into the active environment of people and things."[20]These references to people´s experiences as infants can be linked to psychotherapy of Wilhelm Reich and Johan Raknes, developed by the former during his time in Oslo (1934–39); a circle with wich Korsmo was in

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[15] Since they met in Paris in 1937 Alvar Aalto had been both a friend and an inspiration. PAGON/Arne Korsmo, 'Hjemmets Mekano', *Byggekunst* 1952, no.6-7, p. 110.

[16] PAGON/Arne Korsmo, ´Hjemmets Mekano´, *Byggekunst* p.113. A photo on page 113 in the article had the caption "A family showing how you can collaborate in how to live in a house."

[17] The original poster (62 x 46.3 cm) was made in gray, black and white with pencil and pen and as a montage with clippings mounted on transparent paper. Arne Korsmo´s archives at the National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design holds feasibility studies both of texts and the lay- out of forms which indicates how important it was for the architect. Largely the content is consistent with the published version.

[18] The passage quoted above comes from "Section 1", where it is accompanied by drawings and other texts depicting how (a) a bee or an ant has social instincts while living in cramped conditions, (b) human free will will provide the opportunity to renew the heritage of mankind where (c) access to the sun and free development offers the greatest possibilities. Biological analogies and the study of plants interested Eames, Korsmo and Utzon, and the latest example is a reference to Korsmo´s father Emil Korsmo´s studies of *Anatomy of Weeds* (1954).

[19] Korsmo in an interview.'Ukens portrett', *Dagbladet,* 17th. July, 1937.

[20] PAGON/Arne Korsmo, 'Hjemmets Mekano', *Byggekunst*, p.111.

contact.[21] But Korsmo´s interest for psychology and perception also grew during his time in the US. Walter Gropius gave him Earl Kelly´s *Education about what is real* which leaded him into the perceptual psychologist Adalbert Ames Jr´s experiments on what people perceives when they orients himself in relation to light, color and distance.[22] In "Section 2" Korsmo described people's ability to orient themself via sight, sound, and other senses that consciously or unconsciously creates psychological boundaries. This kind of inner tension was equivalent, he writes, to the perception of space and the tension between a restricted and an open plan. In an enclosed space, people will feel a reduced possibility of movement, leading to passivity. He illustrated the idea with an energy spiral toward the center of an enclosed space. An open space, Korsmo held, creates activity and a feeling of freedom. This was illustrated with a Mies- inspired ground floor plan with slab walls without closed corners. His conclusion was therefore the importance of creating a free open space to stimulate activity.[23]

These ideas about space in relation to an idea of openness informed several subsequent projects under the auspices of PAGON and Korsmo. One example is the *Arnebråten housing project* (1951) (by Utzon, Fehn and Grung) illustrated in "Bolig?". The project consists of small houses situated in the landscape as a continuous row or as clusters in a hilly part of Oslo. All were designed with a double rear wall which was supposed to contain the electricity, water and sewer systems. This solution can be explained in light of "Section 5" of the grid where the "HM" method is said to work best if the residents are only bound in their apartment by the position of the staircase, sink, shower and bath, leaving the remaining space free to be put together with "HM"- elements. The opposite side of the double- rear wall was composed of glass windows with views onto the landscape outside. The same solution was used in Korsmo and Utzon´s *Skøyen-Oppsal* project (1952). In the Arnebråten project the design of the apartments was based entirly on a flexible modular system of 60 cm and with rooms with movable walls and cabinets. Both Korsmo and Utzon were both taken by the flexible Japanese room with the possibility of variations

[21] Korsmo came into contact with this circle during his work on *Villa Stenersen* (1937-38), but how well informed he was of Reich´s theories remains unclear. The feeling or the perception of spaciousness was also discussed at a course arranged by Korsmo in Oslo in 1952 with Hugo Weber and Konrad Wachsmann, both from the Institute of Design in Chicago.

[22] To gain greater insight into perception was therefore important to Korsmo, since he wanted to stimulate the individual activity. In a 12-hour personal meeting with Ames, Korsmo is supposed to have been told about his "calculating distance by objects and compared again these own symbolic significance to humans and ultimately the body's need for identification of objects." A. Korsmo, ´Til unge arkitektsinn´, *A5 Meningsblad for unge arkitekter,* 1956, no.1-2, p. 41.

[23] Much of Korsmo´s ideas about how "HM" could be translated into a physical spatial architecture seem to be expressed in the passage. Sections 4-7 refer to how "HM" would consist of various types of standard items presented inside out, i.e. from (4) furniture and design-elements, to (5) room- elements, (6) building- elements and (7) facade-elements.

and focus on the ceremonial.[24] Based on this project Arne Korsmo, in collaboration with students at SHKS, designed in 1952 an apartment (of 80 m^2) as an exhibition. Here built- in, moveable - elements were pushed out to the outer walls, while the living area was kept as open as possible and filled with easily moveable furniture.[25] The next year a similar apartment (of 48 m^2) was created for a small family. A drawing by Korsmo shows how the apartment could be totally changed four times a day to accommodate four different activities. The Corbusier's apartment shown at the Weissenhof exhibition, that Korsmo visited in 1928, is an obvious reference. In the SHKS apartments perception studies found expression through the use of mirrors and play of moveable elements in red, blue and yellow on the walls and on cabinet doors in a combination of hot and cold colors to make the wall surface seem more alive. These solutions appear to be inspired by Mondrian as well as the experiments carried out by Ames Jr..

At the CIAM X in Dubrovnik 1956, Korsmo, Grung and Gundersen presented a housing-project which both treated the relation between building and nature and the "flexibility of the habitat". They continued their criticism of neighborhood centers built after the war, where "one see the destruction of the concept of natural space".[26] The idea of Meccano for the home was not explicitly mentioned in the text, but the project was a continuation of among others the *Arnebråten project*. Grid 3 illustrated their ideas of flexibility of planning. In all of the four types of apartments the façade at the front and the one behind could be completely open built of various non-supporting walls, while the supporting walls of concrete on the sides contained the technical arrangement (for kitchen, bath). Grid 4 illustrated how combinations of different types of apartments could be raised and adapted to the terrain and the landscape. Still argued PAGON "toward a personalized society with a more active individual in it".[27]

Relational aesthetics

In general the many aspects mentioned above were related to ideas circulating in the avant-garde and contemporary discourses on the need to improve residential architecture. But is it possibly to say that "HM" has points of contact with some of the typical features identified by Nicolas Bourriaud as relational aesthetics? Can the idea of encouraging residents to take steps aimed at

[24] The concept also drew on ideas from Mies with their combination of glass walls and a wall behind as something protective and safe. The idea also brought up ideas from Corbusier's Domino system by creating an openness and emptiness in the interior that opens out into the landscape where flexible elements can be pushed to the sides or into the walls.

[25] "Section 5" was proposed to analyze room items such as the dimensions of selected modes of elements, including the width of a bed or a drawer, and compare them to a system of standard parts that could be put together to form flexible wall portions.

[26] Grung, Korsmo and Gundersen, *Building and nature, flexibility of the habitat, Grid 2,* presented at CIAM X, 1956.

[27] Ibid.

enriching their aesthetic spatial experiences in their own homes have parallels to aspects of the relational aesthetics in art whereby artworks are often meant to merge with an interpersonal everyday situation?

"–Beyond the work's commercial character and semantic value, the artwork for us represents a social ´inter-space´"– writes Bourriaud.[28] And "HM" seems to have relevance to a sort of "inter-space" that offers another opportunity for human intercourse and which challenges the prevailing architectural culture and its connection to the economic system. The "HM" - method seems to have an intermediate position between representing a private space and a gallery or total "relational" work of art. On one level, one can argue that the "HM"– method was an attempt to create a set of elements to be projected as a mutable relational artwork, both created and practiced in the social interaction of the family members and where the architect acts as an agent or exhibition curator who creates a set of building elements and designs objects that the residents themselves are meant to put together in their own created relational "artwork". But there is, basically no public "space". Not everyone is invited to experience or consider how this work of art is being created. And those that are invited in as visitors, are not given an opportunity to affect in any meaningful sense the form of the work of art. Visitors will behave like exhibition visitors and admirers of the home that is created as well as bringing an active social life into the house/the artwork.

"Activity" and "performativity"

Things were different in the case of the architect, who used his own home to promote new ideas and experiment with media presentations. After returning from U.S. in 1950 the designer-couple Arne and Grete Korsmo (Grete Prytz Kittelsen) used different strategies to present their work and often included themselves in interior photographs. A series of shots probably taken using a self-timer from their new apartment in Løchenveien in Oslo (1952) illustrates certain performative aspects. We have similar examples from the SHKS apartments and especially from their home in Planetveien 12 but then with Karl Teigen as the photographer. Some of the photos from Løchenveien and SHKS are "performative" and "artistic", which puts them beyond the "everyday" practice that we otherwise associate with relational aesthetics. In the shots they are "over-acting" to illustrate special spatial or functional effects. Especially Grete is in some of them seeking to establish a direct contact with the "gaze" of the beholder. But in Teigen´s photographs from Korsmo´s own house in Planetveien 12, the opposite is the case. Arne and Grete appear

[28] N. Bourriaud, *Relasjonell estetikk*, Pax Forlag, 2007, p. 20.

staged and "active" but with their faces consistently facing away from the camera lens, without appeal to the beholder, but more focused on appearing natural in the way the domestic space is being used to explore the relationship between body, space and object. Especially helps Grete peaceful almost imperceptible appearance in the photos from the living room to express the quietness of the room. These various photo-strategies were probably a result of impulses from Charles and Ray Eames and Julius Schulman´s (commercial) photos of Californian Homes from 1947 on.

Planetveien 12 is often considered as the realization of the "HM"–project with the living room as the framework around their activities. "Here we can try out models and objects, work at the drawing board; we can use it as an auditorium for lectures with films and slides, as a small gallery not only for ourselves but for our artist-friends; and there is also room for a small stage if you hoist up the stairs."[29] But to illustrate the functions of the living room´s social activities, it is striking that Korsmo did not do so by means of photos, preferring instead drawings done by Gunnar S. Gundersen. Or he asked the architect Odd Østbye to use model photos of the room to depict nine different functions of the space.[30] Was this to protect their friends from exposure?

The home as an exhibition

But can a home be considered a gallery or an exhibition? Korsmo seems not to have pondered the question. For Korsmo, the home was a total work of art, or at least a potentially complete work of art. Sylvia Lavin has described how domestic interiors in the modernism of Mies and the Eames´ can be interpreted on the basis of various curatorial practices.[31] In the 1930s, Korsmo seems to have been close to Mies' "museological vision": An architect who wants total control by curating the residence where furniture and artworks have a permanent place. [32] Therefore, it is surprising that Korsmo in "HM"– shows such confidence in ordinary families and their ability to create beautiful homes on their own. This can partly be explained by the fact that he wanted to challenge his enemy Odd Brochmann: an extremely popular architect in Norway and expert on housing and interior design but with no confidence in people's ability to create a functional and beautiful home. On the other hand Arne and Grete´s visits to the Farnsworth House and the Eames House may have influenced him more to think differently about a home's temporality. As Lavin points out, the installation of the interiority in the Eames House was in a continuous stage of

[29] A. Korsmo, 'Hos arkitekt Arne Korsmo', *Byggekunst*, 1955, p. 176.
[30] E. Tostrup, *Planetveien 12,* p.52
[31] S. Lavin, 'The Temporary Contemporary', *Perspecta* 34, 2003, pp. 128-135.
[32] E. Johnsen, 'Arne Korsmo og Villa Stenersen. Noen skisser og relasjoner til betraktning', *Kunst og Kultur*, no. 4, 2014, p.240–247.

reorganization. "Their house was a stage for an ever-changing series of exhibitions -."[33] In Planetveien 12 Arne and Grete wanted home and workplace and art to be intimately and continuously combined.

Concluding remarks

As so often with Korsmo, his ideas and formal solutions are often years ahead of the prevailing discourse, but never completely worked through, adequately explained or consistently implemented. One problem with reading "HM" as "relational aesthetics", is the fact that it depicts a home Korsmo wanted to create by means of this method. But to what extent did Korsmo contemplate the essential aspects of the home: creating a space for relaxation, for "being yourself", feeling secure and without the need to play a performative role or be part of an exhibition? Korsmo can be criticized for only wanting to liberate people from the "cozyness" of the New Empiricism. Instead residents were forced to live in an universe of mid-century modernism, in empty rooms with open and spectacular views, and with design of the purest forms, but where the personal choices and preferences of taste were limited. But one could also argue the opposite, that Korsmo more than any other saw the need to create life in the residence as well as in the relationship between inside and outside. And here, the architecture alone is insufficient. You have to have your regular family with you, to create a domestic space that is "alive" as a "a poem about our existence".[34]

[33] Sylvia Lavin, *Perspecta*, p.133.
[34] Quote from Korsmo in Norberg-Schulz, *The Functionalist*, p. 102.

Knowledge Formation by Architects and Workers in Assisted Self-help: Recalling the Fractured History of Portuguese Experiments from the Dictatorships to Political Democracy, 1950-1980

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In late 20th-century Portugal, the deployment of the postwar development techniques of assisted self-help and participation for the creation of workers' housing contributed to contrasting assemblages of architectural knowledge and political order: from a foregrounding of technical expertise for social harmony during the last decades of the dictatorships of Salazar and Caetano until 1974, to the facilitation of collective deliberation through the SAAL program during the beginnings of political democratization. A valuable literature thoroughly addresses the SAAL program and its antecedents, notably in South America. However, the specificity of the self-help element of SAAL can be more fully understood if we recall how it was preceded in Portugal by two experiments in self-help promoted by the social Catholic industrialists' association: the 1950s MONAC movement, focused on creating housing nuclei through self-help techniques in Coimbra, and the 1960s public-private partnership PRODAC in Lisbon. Their impact on architectural knowledge on housing, and in particular on how architects involved in SAAL conceived knowledge production in contrast to a legacy of technocratic self-help, has not been researched. In addition, we do not know to what extent MONAC and PRODAC drew from an earlier grassroots tradition of social Catholic trade unionism, in dialogue both with postwar self-help housing movements such as the French Castors, as well as with broader debates on social Catholicism in northwestern Europe. This paper draws on the results of observation and archival research in Portugal, and focuses on interrogating the ways in which workers involved with organizations such as MONAC and PRODAC, as well as with the SAAL program, contributed to the formation of contemporary architectural knowledge on housing. The paper contributes to a prospective reflection on architectural knowledge that acknowledges its own plural formation, and fosters properly political decisions on housing.

PAPER:

Introduction: Workers and Architectural Knowledge on Housing

Assisted self-help in the domain of housing can be broadly defined as 'housing built with state assistance by families for their own use.'[1] The first programs were created by states or municipalities in the European region after the end of the Great War in 1918. After the end of the Second World War, assisted self-help was promoted by North American state experts like Jacob Crane, and diffused through the United Nations as a development technique most adequate for

[1] R. Harris, 'Slipping through the Cracks: The Origins of Aided Self-Help Housing, 1918-53', *Housing Studies*, Vol. 14, no. 3, 1999, p. 281.

occupied territories or postcolonial states. Richard Harris argues that the valuable lessons provided by this early history were mostly disregarded in the more well-known practice of 'sites and services' projects, funded by the World Bank in the global South from the 1970s onwards.[2] In late 20th-century Portugal, as elsewhere in the European region, self-help programs were mostly undertaken without direct intervention of the United Nations' development apparatus. Nevertheless, housing experts in Portugal were very much aware of debates on self-help and participation—initially a technique for rural development—within the field of development studies.[3]

In Portugal, the deployment of the postwar development techniques of assisted self-help and participation for the creation of workers' housing contributed to contrasting assemblages of architectural knowledge and political order: from a foregrounding of technical expertise for social harmony during the last decades of the dictatorships of Salazar and Caetano until 1974, to the facilitation of collective deliberation during the beginning of political democratisation through the program SAAL (*Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local*, i.e. Mobile Service for Local Support). A valuable literature thoroughly addresses the SAAL program and its antecedents, notably in South America. In the late 1970s, early research on SAAL was undertaken by scholars interested in the relation of politics and housing, both in southern Europe and in North America;[4] Italian architect Francesco Marconi in particular had been directly involved with the program in the university city of Coimbra, where he led the team that designed the unbuilt Conchada project, as well as the first version of the plan for the Relvinha neighbourhood.[5] More recent research, undertaken in the late 1990s, is based on an extensive survey of all neighbourhoods created within the frame of the SAAL program, and recalls the antecedents of the program, such as the writings of the English architect John Turner based on his experiences in urban peripheries in Peru, as well as the professional practice of Brazilian architect and anthropologist Carlos Nelson dos Santos in informal settlements in Rio de Janeiro.[6]

However, the specificity of the self-help element of SAAL can be more fully understood if we recall how it was preceded in Portugal by two largely neglected experiments in self-help promoted by the social Catholic industrialists' association UCIDT (*União Católica de Industriais e*

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[2] R. Harris, 'The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-help Housing", 1939-1954', *Habitat International*, Vol. 22, no. 2, 1988, pp. 165-189

[3] T. Castela, 'A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon', PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2011, pp. 129-138.

[4] Among others, P. Oliveira and F. Marconi, *Politica e Progetto: Un' Esperienza di Base in Portogallo* [*Politics and Project: A Grassroots Experience in Portugal*], Milan, Feltrinelli Economica, 1977; and C. Downs, *Revolution at the Grassroots: Community Organization in the Portuguese Revolution*, Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 1989.

[5] J. A. Bandeirinha, *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974* [*The SAAL Process and Architecture around 25 April 1974*], Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 2007, p. 245.

[6] J. A. Bandeirinha, *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974*.

Dirigentes do Trabalho, i.e. Catholic Union of Industrialists and Labour Leaders): firstly, a 1950s movement that focused on creating housing nuclei through self-help techniques in Coimbra, MONAC (*Movimento Nacional de Auto-Construção*, i.e. National Movement for Self-Building); and secondly, a 1960s public-private partnership in the capital Lisbon, PRODAC (*Associação para a Produtividade na Auto-Construção*, i.e. Association for Productivity in Self-Building). Their impact on architectural knowledge on housing, and in particular on how architects involved in SAAL envisaged professional knowledge in contrast to a legacy of technocratic self-help, has not been researched. In addition, we do not know to what extent MONAC and PRODAC drew from an earlier grassroots tradition of social Catholic trade unionism, in dialogue both with postwar self-help housing movements such as the French Castors, as well as with broader debates on social Catholicism in northwestern Europe.

This paper draws on the results of archival research in Portugal, as well as of preliminary observation of settlements, recorded through writing and photography.[7] It interrogates the ways in which workers involved with organisations such as MONAC and PRODAC, as well as with the SAAL program, contributed to the formation of contemporary architectural knowledge on housing. The paper hopes to contribute to a prospective reflection on an architectural knowledge that acknowledges its own plural formation, and fosters properly political decisions on housing.

We begin by briefly recalling the marginal role of housing in explicit postwar development policies in Portugal, as well as the widespread informal and unassisted self-help practices that characterised European capitals as disparate as Paris and Athens.

Indeed, it is in relation to modest direct state investment in housing and the emergence of informally created subdivisions in the Lisbon area that UCIDT created MONAC in Coimbra and later PRODAC in Lisbon. We address how the first experiment was not directly backed by the state apparatus, but instead by the Catholic bishop of Coimbra, and did not entail an involvement with professional architectural discourse, focusing on the selection of workers with 'life beyond reproach' and their dispersion in the city. Later, PRODAC was co-led by architect Reis Álvaro and backed by Caetano's minister Rebelo de Sousa, who arguably drew on recent self-help experiments in colonial Mozambique; the association seeked to establish a firm connection with coeval professional debates on participation and evolutive housing, notably at the official Colloquium on Housing Policy held in 1969 at Lisbon's National Laboratory for Civil Engineering.

We then suggest that while a social catholic perspective on housing certainly influenced the initial conception of SAAL, notably taking into account the role of architects Nuno Portas and Nuno Teotónio Pereira, workers took advantage of the end of the Caetano dictatorship and of the

[7] As Allan Jacobs demonstrated in his work, preliminary observation of extant settlements can provide information that interviews may not, notably on practice; the patterns detected are important for the formulation of hypotheses. A. Jacobs, *Looking at Cities*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1985.

transitional period before the approval of the new democratic constitution in 1976 to shape the SAAL program, by firmly rejecting the premise of self-building in many neighbourhoods where the program intervened. Simultaneously, in actual practice there were conditions in some specific interventions for a sustained and substantive collaboration between professional architects and workers, forming a shared knowledge, for example at Relvinha in Coimbra or in the Oeiras municipality. We conclude by suggesting the usefulness of an acknowledgment of the neglected legacies of social Catholicism in present-day European architectural knowledge, as well by defending an attention to the role of workers' knowledge in the fractured history of Portuguese experiments in assisted self-help.

Development without state housing and the tolerance of unassisted informal self-help

After the defeat of Germany and the partition of the European region in 1944 between the USA and the USSR, despite the maintenance of a conservative authoritarian regime Portugal—unlike Spain under the Franco dictatorship—joined the emerging institutions of the then newly formed 'Western' Europe from the beginning. The state was a beneficiary of the 1947 Marshall Plan, and a founding member of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation, the precursor to OECD, in 1948; as well as of NATO in 1949. Within the frame of this epochal geopolitical shift, the postwar discourse and practice of housing in Portugal was developed under conditions created by economic development policies that increasingly entailed a rejection of direct state investment in industry.[8] In 1956 the future dictator Caetano himself declared that housing should not be seen as a priority for state investment.[9] In practice, the postwar suburbanisation of low-income workers was mostly achieved through the tolerance of self-help practices that were informal and unassisted by the state apparatus, particularly in Lisbon.

This was not an exceptional case amidst Western European capitals in the 1950s: similar unassisted and often informal self-help practices shaped coeval Paris,[10] Rome,[11] or Athens.[12] In the specific case of Lisbon, unassisted self-help housing was managed during the 1960s and early 1970s through state interventions for the surveying of informal subdivisions and the creation of public infrastructure, as well as through the gradual illegalisation of informal subdivision in urban planning law. Indeed, in the 1950s the unlicensed building of housing in lots created without licensed subdivision plans was very often legal in Portugal. At the time, building licenses were not yet mandatory in most land classified by the state apparatus as rural. In addition, there was no

[8] T. Castela, 'A Liberal Space', p. 46.
[9] Castela, p. 101.
[10] G. Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1991.
[11] L. Benevolo, *L'Ultimo Capitolo Dell'Architettura Moderna* [*The Last Chapter of Modern Architecture*], Bari, Editori Laterza, 1985.
[12] L. Leontidou, *The Mediterranean City in Transition: Social Change and Urban Development*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

provision for the municipal approval of subdivision plans submitted by private developers until 1965, and thus land classified as rural in suburban Lisbon was informally subdivided through the formal means of successive lot splits. It is in reaction to so-called "clandestine" urban extensions seen as illegitimate by planning experts that the informal creation of housing and of subdivisions was gradually made illegal in Portugal through various laws: most importantly, subdivision through lot splits became illegal in 1973.[13]

It is against this background of widespread informal self-help practices that aided self-help housing organisations emerge in the postwar years, such as the Castors in France,[14] or MONAC in Portugal. As can be evinced from the growing literature on the French Castors, the history of aided self-help housing organisations in postwar Western Europe cannot be understood without an attention to the role of the Catholic Church and to the organisations that intended to advance the influence of social Catholicism. It must be noted that while extant research has addressed the diffusion of aided self-help by the USA through the new global development apparatus of the United Nations, as a technique adequate for housing production in colonies or in newly independent nations,[15] as mentioned previously aided self-help in countries such as France of Portugal was largely deployed without direct intervention by the development apparatus.[16]

Experiments in govering workers in postwar social Catholicism: from 'social peace' in Coimbra to an architectural discourse on participation in Lisbon

Coimbra's MONAC was an initiative of UCIDT, the association of Catholic industrialists founded in 1952 under the leadership of Portuguese civil engineer Horácio de Moura. In contrast to prewar social Catholic organisations inspired mostly by the Belgian example and largely uninterested in demands directly regarding housing,[17] UCIDT corresponded to a situated articulation of a southern European vision of social Catholicism, more dominated by the perspective of the Vatican

[13] Castela, 'A Liberal Space'.

[14] Among others, R. Wakeman, 'Reconstruction and the Self-Help Housing Movement', *Housing Studies*, Vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 355-366.

[15] R. Harris, 'The Silence of the Experts'.

[16] A detailed comparative history of the Castors and of MONAC is addressed in another essay, hitherto unpublished. A preliminary report of this research was presented at the 2012 IASTE conference in Portland, Oregon. T. Castela, 'Self-building for a New Europe: Workers' Suburbs and the State in European Development, 1945-1975', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review,* Vol. 24, no. 1, 2012, p. 7.

[17] The extant literature shows the importance during the early Salazar dictatorship of anti-Communist and anti-liberal organisations created by the Catholic Church in Portugal for workers, such as the Catholic Workers' Youth or the Social and Economic Secretariat within the Catholic Action; the latter was founded in 1933 by Catholic Cardinal Cerejeira. The emergence of such associations followed the demise of the turn-of-the-century network of Workers' Catholic Circles. Due to the sojourn of two Portuguese Catholic priests as students at the Catholic University of Leuven, the practice of many of the organisations of the Catholic Action was inspired mostly by the efforts of Belgian social Christians. Although such organisations focused overwhelmingly on struggles around labour conditions within the frame of a desirable cooperation between capital and labour, by the end of the 1930s some leaders start envisioning the possibility of achieving affordable housing for working-class households. M. I. Rezola, *O Sindicalismo Católico no Estado Novo, 1931-1948* [*Catholic Trade Unionism in the New State, 1931-1948*], Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1999.

and by anti-Communist concerns in the aftermath of the ascent of the Soviet Union. Its creation was the result of a direct request by Eugenio Pacceli, the Catholic pope Pius XII,[18] who in the same period of his papacy requested the end of the worker-priest position in France;[19] it must be noted that French worker-priests were crucial for the participation of the Church in the Castors self-help housing movement. UCIDT was initially inspired by the Italian association UCID (*Unione Cristiana Imprenditori Dirigenti,* i.e. Christian Union of Business Executives), founded in 1947.[20] MONAC was officially created in 1955, and was also led by Horácio de Moura. He argued that his references were the use of self-help techniques for the reconstruction of Germany,[21] the French Castors movement,[22] and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City.[23] The movement was supported and funded by the then bishop of Coimbra, Ernesto Sena de Oliveira, who foregrounded in his vision for MONAC a celebration of the virtues of the *casa própria* (i.e. own house), a definition of labour as a relation between directing and directed subjects, as well as a criticism of equality as a utopia vis-à-vis fraternity understood as a practice 'of justice and of charity.'[24]

MONAC's 'organising associates' were regional industrialists such as Joaquim de Sousa Machado, president of the executive board of Coimbra's food processing company Triunfo, or Nuno Pinto Basto, owner of the Vista Alegre ceramic company near Aveiro. By the end of the 1950s, MONAC had 43 'approved beneficiary associates', i.e. self-builders.[25] The 'beneficiary associate' standing could be bestowed upon 'subordinated workers, employed by others, that . . . own no house . . . and desire to build one, if they prove they have a life beyond reproach.'[26] The beneficiary associates were thus mostly male wage-labourers, who were supposed to build a single-family house for their own nuclear household. The association was engaged in the creation of small nuclei of self-built single-family houses at various locations in the then periphery of Coimbra: at Conchada, Tovim, Alto de São João, Casal de São João, and Guarda Inglesa. The largest construction site was at present-day Octaviano de Sá Street, where 10 units were planned.

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[18] J. Monteiro, *ACEGE: 60 Anos de História* [*ACEGE: 60 Years of History*], Lisbon, ACEGE, 2012, p. 8.

[19] O. Arnal, 'A Missionary "Main Tendue" toward French Communists: The "Témoignages" of the Worker-Priests, 1943-1954', *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 13, no. 4, 1984, p. 555.

[20] J. Monteiro, *ACEGE*, p. 6. In 1998, UCIDT changed its name to ACEGE (*Associação Cristã de Empresários e Gestores*, i.e. Christian Association of Businessmen and Managers). ACEGE is led since 2010 by the lawyer António Pinto Leite, a prominent member of the liberal party PSD (*Partido Social Democrata*, i.e. Social Democratic Party).

[21] H. Moura, *Um Estudo Social: Movimento Nacional de Auto-Construção* [*A Social Study: National Movement for Self-Building*], Coimbra, UCIDT, 1953, p. 9; our translation.

[22] Moura, *Um Estudo Social*, p. 12.

[23] Moura, p. 31.

[24] E. S. Oliveira, 'Palavras Preliminares' ['Preliminary Words'], in H. Moura, *Um Estudo Social: Movimento Nacional de Auto-Construção* [*A Social Study: National Movement for Self-Building*], Coimbra, UCIDT, 1953, pp. ix-xi; our translation.

[25] MONAC, *MONAC: Movimento Nacional de Auto-Construção* [*MONAC: National Movement for Self-Building*], Coimbra, MONAC, 1959, p. 6.

[26] MONAC, *MONAC*, p. 12.

In retrospective, it is noteworthy how little articulation assisted self-help housing had with coeval architectural knowledge, within the framework of MONAC. Regardless of the investment in the diffusion of the ideas of Moura through publications, this was a small organisation engaged in minute urban interventions and seemingly uninterested in involving prominent architects. The role of the local architects involved with the organisation, Álvaro da Fonseca and Travassos Valdez, seems to have been limited to developing type-plans according to three main types for urban dwellings for a MONAC publication in 1953.[27] No architects were among the 15 founding associates of MONAC.[28] In addition, there was never a plan for the creation of a discrete neighbourhood unit, so characteristic of public housing in Portugal at the time; and the association arguably never intended to encompass all factory workers in need of affordable housing in the city. The main objective of MONAC was to select those workers with a 'life beyond reproach', and to disperse the selected working-class households throughout the city, while ensuring the then rare achievement of homeownership for urban workers.

While also a creation of UCIDT in 1968, Lisbon's PRODAC had different characteristics and objectives, adapted to the late 1960s and to the project of a 'social state of law' proposed by the new dictator Caetano. PRODAC had no direct link to the local Church or to Lisbon's industrialists. Instead, it was a public-private partnership sponsored by the Minister for Corporations, Social Welfare, Health, and Assistance Baltazar Rebelo de Sousa, who had returned in 1970 from his sojourn in Mozambique as Portuguese governor of that occupied territory in southern Africa. While PRODAC was still a small association, its objective was to use assisted self-help techniques to create detached neighbourhood units for the forced rehousing of all the residents of squatter settlements selected for demolition by the state apparatus. Its pilot project was the Vale Fundão neighbourhood unit on municipal land in the Chelas area of Lisbon, whose initial budget was approved in March 1972. The neighbourhood was created for the rehousing of around 2,000 households forcibly evicted from the nearby 'Chinese Neighbourhood.' While the households were supposed to eventually achieve homeownership after repaying the loan for the construction materials, the lots would continue being municipal property.

In contrast to the leader of MONAC, the leaders of PRODAC were involved with coeval architectural debates on housing, foregrounding the idea of participation, a development technique that had been diffused by the United Nations as part of community development from the 1950s onwards, initially only for rural development. For example, architect Reis Álvaro had

[27] Moura, *Um Estudo Social*, p. 54. Nuno Rosmaninho mentions some of the work undertaken by Fonseca and Valdez in his history of the creation of the new campus of the University of Coimbra after the demolition of part of the city's upper town in the late 1940s. N. Rosmaninho, *O Poder da Arte: O Estado Novo e a Cidade Universitária de Coimbra* [*The Power of Art: The New State and the University City of Coimbra*], Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 2006. Further archival research is necessary to ascertain the full extent of the collaboration of Fonseca and Valdez, as well as of other professional architects, with MONAC.

[28] Moura, *Um Estudo Social*, pp. 163-164.

presented an essay on the value of participation titled 'Self-Building' at the 1969 Colloquium on Housing Policy mentioned previously. In addition, both Reis Álvaro and civil engineer Mário Pinto Coelho invested in advertising their practice through interviews and articles in the general press, ensuring publication of their views in the daily newspaper of reference *Diário de Notícias* and in the short-lived weekly magazine *Observador*. In a thematic edition of the latter publication devoted to the *Direito de Habitar* (i.e. Right of Housing), both foregrounded the participation discourse situatedly discussed through the 1969 Colloquium. Pinto Coelho focused on understanding participation as collaboration by the future residents in project management: 'self-building is, thus, based on an idea of participation, notably in the administration of building. Administration may be associated with execution (as happens here in Lisbon), but this is hard, because people work and free time is not in abundance.'[29] In particular, he suggested the need for an attention to a purported spatial culture specific to squatter settlements: 'often it is not valid to transfer people that have always lived in shacks . . . to the so-called housing of economic character . . . often people simply do not know how to take maximum advantage.'[30] Arguably, this opinion reflected the long-standing suspicion of an anti-Communist Catholic Church and of many of its organisations regarding the effects of living in large ensembles of apartment buildings on urban workers' families.

The collaboration of architects and workers in the SAAL program

By the summer of 1974, the Caetano dictatorship had been overthrown and UCIDT attempted to adapt to conditions of political democratisation. While maintaining a project of social harmony between classes, the association rearticulated its social Catholic discourse, for example by organising a colloquium in Lisbon with the North American management consulting firm McKinsey on 'Industrial Democracy: What Style in Portugal?'[31] By 1975, many of the members of UCIDT had left the country, and the association left its offices in central Lisbon.

At the same time, the SAAL program was starting. Unlike MONAC or PRODAC, SAAL was an official state program for onsite rehousing that included interventions in many neighbourhoods in cities all over the country. Even though there was an influence of the social Catholic perspective on the conception of the program, through the participation of Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Nuno Portas, the practice of SAAL represented an important shift in relation to the vision of assisted self-help prevalent during the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, notably in terms of the role of the state apparatus, of scale, and of the roles of experts and workers within the program. The program was based not on the idea of a supposed collaboration between capital and labour, but

[29] 'Autoconstrução: A "PRODAC" Faz' ['Self-building: "PRODAC" Does'], *Observador,* 18 February 1972, p. 34; our translation.
[30] 'Autoconstrução', *Observador*, p. 35.
[31] J. Monteiro, *ACEGE*, p. 24.

on a project for the use of the state apparatus and of architectural knowledge to support workers involved in a struggle for affordable housing.

However, in the conditions of the revolutionary period in late 1974 and 1975, the expertise of professional architects in many sites was not dominant in relation to properly political deliberation on the future of specific neighbourhoods. Although it can be argued that PRODAC and SAAL at their inceptions were both informed in similar ways by the housing policy guidelines established by the 1969 Colloquium, and its vision of apolitical technical government, citizen organisation at a time of contingent political transition meant that the dominance of technical expertise was quickly challenged in the practice of the SAAL program. It must be noted that SAAL was a program more firmly based on the debates undertaken for years by professional architects on assisted self-help, and notably attracted many that had defended as citizens the end of the dictatorship. For example, while actual self-building was a premise of the program, in fact it was firmly rejected by resident workers in many neighbourhoods, notably in Porto where unemployed construction workers were available to transform former private construction companies into building cooperatives.

In addition, in many neighbourhoods transformed in the frame of SAAL a substantive if laborious collaboration between architects and resident workers was developed, leading to regular meetings for shared design and planning. Amidst the neighbourhoods where self-building was not rejected, collaboration was particularly intense in the case of Coimbra's Relvinha, where many aspects of the final version of the project were strongly determined by the explicit instructions of the residents' association, and in several neighbourhoods in the Oeiras municipality of the Lisbon area. As recent sociological research focusing on Relvinha argues, the process led to "mutual learning."[32]

In Portugal and elsewhere, as the history of MONAC and PRODAC shows, assisted self-help had been proposed by experts as a technical fix for an inequality viewed as a transitory stage in developing cities. A critique of this proposal arguably informed the conception of SAAL: as Teotónio Pereira noted back in 1969 in an article distributed in secrecy, the celebration of participation and evolutive housing in the Colloquium on Housing Policy was a 'new way, less brutal and more insidious, of keeping public opinion passive, delegating the solution to their problems, not anymore to a clique of hermetic politicians, but instead to an elite of knowing and graceful technicians.'[33] In contrast, the history of the SAAL program shows the potentialities and the limits of the actual practice of subsidiarity, 'the key principle of the Catholic discourse on

[32] J. Baía, *SAAL e Autoconstrução em Coimbra: Memórias dos moradores do bairro da Relvinha, 1954-1976* [*SAAL and Self-building in Coimbra: Memories of the residents of Relvinha neighbourhood*], Castro Verde, 100 Luz, 2012.

[33] N. T. Pereira, 'O Colóquio da Habitação' ['The Housing Colloquium'], *Escritos 1947-1996: Selecção* [*Writings 1947-1996: Selection*], Porto, FAUP Publicações, [1969] 1996, p. 101; our translation.

political power and social justice',[34] in housing production by the state. The crucial importance of properly political decisions regarding housing, necessarily entailing political division, is made evident by the SAAL case.

As we have argued in the past, after the 1976 approval of the new democratic Constitution in Portugal the balance of power in parliament favoured social capitalism and Europeanisation, which entailed an end to SAAL and its challenge to spatial production understood as the industrial production of space as a commodity: 'all the economic policy was then reoriented towards the opening to international markets . . . the market in urban soil, as an easy, safe, and highly profitable activity, often constituted a foundation for economic groups, and could not be set aside.'[35]

Conclusion: Acknowledging the contested legacies of social Catholicism and embracing workers' knowledge within architecture

At a time in Europe when 'rendering the new poor socially and morally "useless" demolishes the fulcrum on which classic formulations of social justice have historically been conceived',[36] it is important to pay attention to the 'Christian legacy',[37] notably in prospective reflections on the possibility of an architectural knowledge that acknowledges its own plural formation, and fosters properly political decisions on housing. One of the lessons is the potentiality of subsidiarity in housing production, if housing is viewed as political problem at various scales of government. For that, architectural research needs to reinforce its engagement with Lefebvre's theory of the production of social space,[38] as well as his and De Certeau's argument on change in everyday spatiality—understood as a plural assemblage—as both a means and a condition for substantive political change.

In this paper, we started by arguing that the specificity of the self-help element of SAAL can be more fully understood if we are attentive to the contingent formation of its erratic lineages of discourse and practice, notably by recalling how it was preceded in Portugal by two experiments in assisted self-help promoted by the social Catholic industrialists' association. Both MONAC in Coimbra and PRODAC in Lisbon foregrounded the possibility of the 'social evolution' of workers as a means to ensure social harmony, while maintaining their role within the production of space as mere executants of expert representations.

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[34] D. Holmes, *Integral Europe: Fast-Capitalism, Multiculturalism, Neofascism,* Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 39.
[35] J. A. Bandeirinha, *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974*, p. 258; our translation.
[36] D. Holmes, *Integral Europe*, p. 12.
[37] S. Zizek, *The Fragile Absolute: Or, Why is the Christian Legacy Worth Fighting For?,* London, Verso, 2000.
[38] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Malden, MA, Blackwell Publishing, [1974] 1991.

In contrast, while the dominance of professional knowledge was maintained in most SAAL sites, assisted self-help as a technique ended up being a mere discursive point of departure for the program, and was mostly abandoned in practice. Instead, the process as a whole was partly determined by a struggle against unequal power relations in prospective exercises regarding space, undertaken by wage-labourers organised in local residents' associations, at a revolutionary time of increased 'conjunctural possibilities'.[39] If we avoid filtering out—to paraphrase Latour—workers' spatial expertise as an actant and embrace the actual effects of citizens' knowledge within the architectural field, recalling histories such as those of the SAAL program can contribute to prospective exercises regarding housing as a properly political problem.

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Berlin's Building Groups—A Bottom-Up Initiative in a highly Professionalized Environment

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In the 1990s and 2000s Berlin saw the formation of so-called Baugruppen (building groups) – associations of small-scale investors who joined their modest capital to commission an architect and construct a multi-storey building in which they would own and occupy a flat. They were often united by a belief in community values and neighbourly contact as well as the qualities of urban life. Several Baugruppen buildings were awarded prizes for both innovative design and cutting-edge technology.

My paper will present the Baugruppen as an example of the intricacies of bottom-up initiatives in an industrialized Western country. The groups had to rely on professional architects and project managers to realize their dreams of unconventional homeownership. Their design choices were influenced by the availability of state subsidies as well as by Germany's complex building legislation. In some cases the Baugruppen managed to resolve these challenges and commissioned convincing, creative design. In other cases they succumbed to the tensions among the different members, and too many cooks spoiled the broth.

The paper will also look at the contradictory political goals connected to these initiatives. Most Baugruppen members were middle-class professionals with young children who cherished left-leaning political views and an ecological awareness. Some were former squatters and radicals sympathizing with the idea of a non-commercial, self-organized urban life. Mainstream media tended to portray them as "good investors", because they built for themselves, the speculative element in their investment was comparably small, and their activities aligned with the declared goal to keep well-to-do families in the inner cities.

At the same time they contributed to a conservative political agenda. They furthered home ownership in a city where the tenant majority had come under pressure from eroding tenant protection laws. They belonged to a highly educated and comparable affluent minority. And they stood on the winning side of Berlin's enhancing gentrification cycles that increasingly priced less wealthy residents out of the central neighbourhoods.

My paper will show that both design process and political strategies of the Baugruppen are emblematic for the contradictions of bottom-up agency in a highly professionalised architectural environment.

Architecture in Utopia? Agencies of design in Zurich's alternative housing

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Since the first housing cooperative was established in Zurich in 1892, such alliances of city resources and inhabitants' interests have grown to provide about a quarter of all available dwellings. Within this powerful historical and economic model, alternative approaches to collective living are quickly establishing their own social and political topos. Grounded in the utopian environmentalist proposals of the 1980s squatter movements, more recent housing cooperatives, like Kraftwerk I, Kalkbreite or mehr als wohnen illustrate principles of self-governance, affordable residential and business mixes, shared facilities and stringent environmental credentials in construction and use. Their experimentation with unconventional apartment types departs from bourgeois, nuclear-family layouts and enables various scenarios for collective living, including informal communes, patchwork families, single and elderly accommodation.

If in a line with Castells (1983) we consider urban social movements those popular actions that change city structures, Zurich's alternative housing cooperatives qualify through their activist origins, as well as their impact on peripheral and inner city working-class districts. However, the architectural and urban quality of such developments often falls short of the clients' ideological and environmental activism.

Through the examination of practical case studies as well as their theoretical fundaments, this paper investigates how the agency of architecture fares in the ideological framework of Zurich's alternative housing cooperatives. How are aspects of design, from plans to fabrication methods, predetermined or influenced by their collective clients? How do the results differ typologically or morphologically from commercially procured developments, and what is their impact on the existing city? How does architecture mediate between alternative social environmental agendas and surrounding neighborhoods? This questioning illuminates a more general issue, architecture's capacity to articulate new models of urban living without enforcing the creation of social enclaves.

PAPER

The major role played by cooperatives in the Swiss housing sector illustrates a collectivist spirit intrinsic to Swiss culture.[1] By definition, cooperatives are non-profit housing providers that secure up-to-date, hygienic and affordable dwellings to members from every walk of life, without seeking

[1] See René Roca, "The cooperative principle as the basis of Swiss political culture – past and present", in *Current Concerns* no.11, 12 March 2012, pp. 10-13.

profit or engaging in business speculation.[2] Profits are reinvested as shared capital that helps maintain the housing stock, cater for the needs of inhabitants and repay loans. Cooperative members are therefore not mere renters, but shareholders with protection and voting rights. The cooperatives' social infrastructure of communal activities and support benefits the wider community, an alignment of interests that marks out their success as a form of economic and social organization. State support has helped cooperatives to maintain their position as the third largest stakeholder in the Swiss housing sector, after market rental and private ownership. The system is widespread enough to allow significant variations in the size, structure and ideology of cooperatives, and established enough to remain open to criticism and periodic revision.

A number of housing cooperatives, established since the mid 1990s, have expanded the conventional model through an insistence on self-governance, participation and mixed use. A central tenet in their conception is sustainability, ranging from shared resources and stringent environmental credentials in construction and use, to a wider concern with densification and the quality of the urban realm. Particularly in the provision of a wide range of apartment types and sizes, this newer trend departs from the bourgeois, nuclear-family layouts of older cooperatives and enable multiple scenarios for collective living, including informal communes, patchwork or multi-generation families, and collective accommodation for single and elderly people. While enabled by a healthy economic context and the actions of an educated bohemian bourgeoisie, this phenomenon is ideologically grounded in the politically disruptive, utopian and environmentalist proposals of the squatter movement that beset Zurich throughout the 1980s. If in line with Castells (1983) we consider urban social movements those popular actions that change city structures, Zurich's alternative housing cooperatives are the consequence of a grassroots movement, in which bottom-up activist struggles had a palpable impact on the city.[3] In the context of this session I will focus on the way the communitarian ideologies of the 1980s squatting movement were given architectural expression and urban presence through Zurich's new cooperatives.

Ideological backgrounds

Socio-political and ethical subtexts are the fundament of cooperatives, but not a prerequisite for their long-term functioning. Cooperatives need to ensure not only their members' well being but

[2] Walter Ruf, *Das gemeinnützige Baugenossenschaftswesen der Schweiz*, Zürich, Neuland Verlag, 1930, p. 21.
[3] Andreas Hofer, interviewed by Irina Davidovici, September 2015, Zurich. See also Dominique Boudet, "Zürich, More than Housing: the Rediscovered Dynamism of Housing Cooperatives", in Magrit Hugentobler, Andreas Hofer, Pia Simmendiger (eds.), *More than Housing. Cooperative Planning – A Case Study in Zürich*, Birkhäuser Basel, 2015, pp. 16-23.

their own economic survival, which is a source of inner contradictions. The oldest housing cooperative (ZBS, Zürcher Bau und Spargennossenschaft) was founded on a defensive impulse: in 1892 a group of like-minded individuals pooled resources in order "to save up and build" their own homes, thus creating a protective safeguard against speculative housing.[4] As Zurich's population almost tripled between 1880 and 1920, the growing political support for cooperative developments coincided with their rooting in increasingly utopian ideologies. In this relatively fluid model, reformers could experiment with new means of social organisation: Bergdörfli (1914), Zurich's first Garden City settlement, was conceived as an escape from the morass of the industrial city. Yet its inhabitants belonged to an avant-garde professional bourgeoisie, rather than the working classes scraping a living in the Mietkasernen.[5] The contemporaneous concept of "housing colonies" – working-class estates conceived as "oases" of a better society – signals an important but familiar aspect of early public housing.[6] Here, as in Britain, housing the working classes was ultimately a middle-class project, a "culture transfer amounting to a cultural colonisation".[7]

The systematic implementation of collective housing types during the 1920s took mainly two forms, the suburban Garden City model of cottages with individual gardens, and the inner-city model of residential perimeter blocks with an internal planted courtyard. Whether progressive or traditionalist in their architecture, early cooperative developments had been socially experimental. By the 1940s and 1950s however, when over half of Zurich's cooperative stock was built, pragmatic concerns had largely overridden ideological ones. In the post-war decades the critical mass of cooperatives lent itself to the purchase of private, ready-built developments, a commercialisation that represented a point of ethical surrender. At this point of ideological collapse, new ideas emerged in the unlikely confluence of the youth movement with the cooperative tradition. Riding on the wave of political consciousness forged in 1968 and again in 1980s, a new collectivist and environmentalist ethos had a visible impact on the cooperative movement, on the local architectural scene, and on the city as whole.[8] If, throughout this essay, I

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[4] For a brief history of Zurich collective housing see Daniel Kurz, 'Die Genossenschaft baut mit an einer besseren Menschengemeinschaft. Wurzeln und Entwicklungslinien des gemeinnützigen Wohnens', www.wbg-zh.ch [website], 2014, pp.9-21, http://www.wbg-h.ch/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Geschichte-des-genossenschaftlichen-Wohnungsbaus-in-Z%C3%BCrich.pdf (accessed 1 February 2016).

[5] Kurz, 'Wurzeln und Entwicklungslinien des gemeinnützigen Wohnens', p.10.

[6] For a more detailed survey of the reform movement refer to Kurz, 'Lebensreform und Gartenstadt', in *Die Disziplinierung der Stadt. Moderner Sädtebau in Zürich, 1900 bis 1940*, Zürich, gta Verlag, 2008, pp. 115-118.

[7] Alison Ravetz, *Council Housing and Culture: The History of a Social Experiment*, London and New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 5.

[8] See Thomas Stahel, *Wo-Wo-Wonige! Stadt- und wohnpolitische Bewegungen in Zürich nach 1945*, Zurich : Paranoia City, 2006.

call these more recent cooperatives radical or alternative, we remain mindful that historically cooperatives have always been, to start with at least, both of these things.

Squatting at Stauffacher

Alternative cooperatives originate in a militant form of communal living: the squat. In June 1968, students occupied the disused premises of the Globusprovisorium on the Limmat, launching a squatting trend that intensified during the 1973 oil crisis with the revocation of housing subsidies. The turning point of this generational conflict came with Opera House riots in May 1980, which forged the political consciousness of a new generation. This moment set off a decade of social unrest throughout Switzerland, characterised by cycles of illegal occupations, police evacuations and occasional gestures of official appeasement.

During the 1980s housing crisis squatting became a radical, if marginal, form of collective living. The appropriation of empty properties and abandoned industrial sites unlocked their potential as residential and alternative culture centres. Arguably the farthest reaching protest was mounted at Stauffacher, a prominent junction between the city centre and the Aussersihl district, when several townhouses earmarked for demolition became the focus of contention between residents, owners and developers.[9] Protesters occupied the condemned houses in October 1982, decorating them with banners and graffitti which gave the area the character of a political rally. Promoting a self-sustainable mode of communal living, the Stauffacher squat amalgamated anti-bourgeois, anti-imperialist, New-Age and feminist principles, ideological content that survived after the squat was forcefully cleared by police in January 1984. A year later, a third of the original occupants regrouped as a new collective, named Karthago am Stauffacher after the ancient citadel and symbol of defiance against the Roman Empire. The Karthago continued to resist local commercial redevelopment, proposing the conversion of a cluster of properties into a politically autonomous enclave next to Zurich's financial district. As envisaged by Karthago am Stauffacher, the appropriation of the existing urban block was akin to an explosion, shattering the conventional urban order and replacing bourgeois urban typologies with a free-flowing additive entity. This articulation, however non-formal, introduces the idea of design agency in this urban movement.

[9] Stahel, *Wo-Wo-Wonige!*, pp. 430-433.

From *bolo* to coop

Karthago's utopian aims, focused on the transformation of a specific city block, were theoretically underpinned by the writings of Stauffacher activist Hans Widmer. The utopian pamphlet *Bolo'Bolo*, which he published in 1983 under the pseudonym p.m., looked at a socially and ecologically sustainable alternative to the market economy. P.m. envisaged a global network of non-hierarchical, self-sufficient communes called *bolos*, subsisting through their own production and the trade of agricultural and manufactured goods. Conceived as "extended households" between 300 and 1000 people, *bolos* allowed the division of labour and the efficient sharing of resources, but remained small enough for effective communication and the possibility of personal participation.[10] The proposal was knowingly ironic rather than messianic in tone, just as, in its social organisation, a *bolo* was primitivist rather than futurist. While drawing upon the imagery of tribal settlements, p.m. avoided prescribing a unique formula; *bolos* were defined mostly by their size and function. Specific physical configurations, locations, common values or cultural identity were matters to be determined.

Bolo-like scenarios were identified in the form of some contemporary collective arrangements like "communes, sects, citizens' initiatives, alternative enterprises, block associations".[11] Although p.m. had first quipped that "*bolo'bolo* can be realised by 1987",[12] after a decade of squat clearances and blocked communitarian initiatives, in the preface to the 1993 edition he expressed a more measured hope that "under present conditions [*bolos*] could be founded in the legal form of cooperatives".[13] By the early 1990s, more conventional means of implementing *bolo*-like settlements started to be explored, seeking a legal and financial basis on which social and environmentalist ideals could be pursued.

Injecting new life into the tired cooperative model proved the most productive strategy. In 1991 Karthago registered as a fifty-strong, multi-generational cooperative household with shared accommodation, catering arrangements and communal duties. Located in a converted office building not far from the Stauffacher site, it gives no outside clue as to the unconventional lifestyle within. Similarly the Dreieck cooperative, constituted in 1996 as a pioneer of live-work developments, concerned with the preservation of existing urban fabric, is undistinguishable from its surroundings. Ten old townhouses and courtyard structures were refurbished, decked with solar panels, and the existing gaps in the street frontage filled with two new buildings, resulting in a heterogeneous, piecemeal urban environment. Small in scale and integrated to the point of

[10] p.m., *Bolo'bolo*, Zurich, Paranoia City, 1983. All following quotes are excerpted from the English 30th anniversary edition, Brooklin, Autonomia / Ardent 2011, p. 23.
[11] p.m., *Bolo'Bolo*, p. 55.
[12] p.m., *Bolo'Bolo*, p. 68.
[13] 'Introduction to Second English Edition, Apology – A Decade Later' (1993) in p.m., *Bolo'Bolo*, p. 23.

invisibility, Karthago and Dreieck avoid using design as an agency for radical lifestyle propositions. A further step with regards to scale and architectural presence was first undertaken by the cooperative Kraftwerk 1.

Kraftwerk 1: Hardturm, 1998-2001

The brochure *Kraftwerk 1* (1993), written and published by p.m. in collaboration with architect Andreas Hofer and artist Martin Blum, gave the earlier theoretical speculation an operative aim: the creation of a pilot project in Zurich.[14] The ironic disenchantment of *Bolo' bolo* gave way to earnest idealism. While *bolo* was replaced by "residential production and agricultural unit", the notion survived intact in the conception of "relatively large groups (circa five hundred persons) involved in industry and agriculture, which make use of various forms of autonomous production reliant on internal synergies, economy of scale and the exploitation of regional resources".[15] The desire for implementation led to an oscillation between *bolo bolo*'s global scope and the local situation. The authors pointed to the redevelopment opportunities offered by the so-called "rustbelt", an almost continuous region of abandoned, partly polluted industrial sites in the northern hemisphere. In Zurich, this global principle was anchored in a decommissioned site in an industrial district.

The brochure was also a way of enlisting interested individuals. Readers could send back cards affixed to the end of the booklet, of which 500 were received within weeks.[16] The association Kraftwerk 1 was founded in autumn 1993. Even through the site for development had already been identified, at first this was simply a platform for discussing planning and social issues, mixed use, new forms of living, and the future of Zurich's industrial district. As Kraftwerk 1 registered as a cooperative in 1995 the participative process became increasingly professionalized with the involvement of voluntary legal and architectural consultants. These consultation processes produced a detailed brief asking for a wide variety of living arrangements, from conventional flats to larger units based on the WG (*Wohngemeinschaft*, residential community) model.

Kraftwerk 1 was, paradoxically, made possible by the difficult conditions of the 1990s economic crisis. The site, recently acquired by the development corporation Allreal, was already subject to

[14] Martin Blum, Andreas Hofer, and p.m., *Kraftwerk 1. Projekt für das Sulzer-Escher Wyss Areal*, Zurich, Paranoia City, 1993.
[15] Translated by author from Martin Blum, Andreas Hofer, and p.m., *Kraftwerk 1. Construire une vie cooperative et durable*, trans. D. Wieczorek, Paris, Linteau, 2014, p. 45.
[16] Andreas Hofer interview, 2015.

an office and commercial buildings masterplan, previously won in competition by the large architectural practice Stücheli. Based on the lack of market demand for such scheme, in its place Kraftwerk 1 put forward the creation of a live-work, mostly residential development, built to high environmental standards. Due to its unconventional set-up the proposal was required to have more than 20 % seed funds before applying for loans – compared to the 6% stipulated by law for traditional cooperatives. The site was eventually secured after protracted efforts to secure funding and an intense design period to develop a concrete scheme with the involvement of the architect.

The detail design, based on the consultation document, was subcontracted by Stücheli to the younger practice Bünzli Courvoisier.[17] The development was one of the first to adopt Minergie standards in its construction and environmental performance. However, its most experimental aspect lies in the layout and variation of apartment types, ranging in size from studios and conventional 2- to 4-bedroom apartments to larger dwellings for collective living. Two "rues intérieures" serve a mixture of interlocking family flats and maisonettes (referred to as Le Corbusier-type) and larger units for collective living, with small bedrooms and shared kitchen and living space (Loos-type). The integration of modernist references to distinguish between nuclear family apartments and more flexible collective arrangements points to the role of the architecture in articulating the ideological agenda of the cooperative. The area's lack of residential infrastructure rendered Kraftwerk 1's programmatic self-sufficiency a condition of viability. Besides its 91 apartments the ensemble contains a kindergarten, workshops, live-work units, guest room, a communal hall and roof terrace, bar, canteen, launderette, and a food shop. A commercial block for offices, with a public restaurant to the street, serves as a buffer between the courtyard and the road.

Kraftwerk 1 became a prototype for the communitarian and environmentalist ideas of the squatting movement. In terms of design, the feedback on the collective flats was used in other schemes and subsequently theorised as a default type for singles and elderly cooperative accommodation.[18] It pioneered a participative consultation process that is now widely used to develop the programme of new cooperative developments. Kraftwerk's success instilled political and financial trust in the validity of ideas – and people – originating from the radical social periphery of the squatting movement.

Kalkbreite, 2009-2014

[17] See *Tec21* no. 42, 2001, Kraftwerk 1.

[18] See Andreas Hofer, 'Von der Familienwohnung zum Cluster- Grundriss,' in *Tec21* vol. 137, no. 7, 2011, pp. 23-31.

If Kraftwerk started up as a manifesto in search of a site, the cooperative Kalkbreite originated from its eponymous prominent location in Aussersihl. Despite its proximity to Karthago and Dreieck, this multi-storey commercial, cultural and residential complex is as far from these self-effacing beacons of radical living as it is from conventional social housing. What looks like a large perimeter urban block is raised above a covered tram depot, hidden from view by a frontage of commercial units at street level: an arthouse cinema, restaurant, bar, stores and offices. Their mixture of right-on sustainability and commercial appeal feeds into the area's ongoing gentrification.

The surrounding noise traffic, overlap of residential, commercial and transport functions, and the idiosyncratic integration of a heritage building indicate the multiplicity of interests on the site. Earmarked for affordable housing redevelopment since 1978, the parcel was the focus of decades-long debates, which eventually led to a compromise between the local steering group (Kalkbreite Association), the city, and its subsidiary, the public transport company VBZ. In 2006, through its campaign "Neue Stück Stadt" (new part of the city), the Kalkbreite Association secured the site lease, and in 2007 it registered as a cooperative in order to carry through the building project.

An architecture competition followed in 2009 with 55 entries, most of them from Zurich practices. The winning scheme by Müller Sigrist proposed the assured urban solution of a polygonal perimeter superblock: an inward looking fortress with a porous public base. The organising device of the residential zone is a sky-lit *rue intérieure*, undulating across several levels and connecting all functions into one continuous circuit, completed by an external segment of public and semi-public roof terraces. Typologically the apartment range is extremely wide: Kalkbreite provides 97 dwelling units organised in 55 apartments, varying from studios and live-work units to large flat-shares of up to 15 inhabitants, and 3 cluster apartments of 10 units each.

Kraftwerk 1 and Kalkbreite convey the complexity and particularity of the cooperative scenarios. In the last years several other such developments have been completed and more still are being planned on the "rustbelt" of decommissioned industry or the green periphery. Their scale and frequency have a palpable impact on the city, demonstrating a new impulse towards densification, as well as other forms of environmental and social sustainability.[19]

Participation

The new cooperatives contribute to the city both in terms of urban regeneration and gentrification, with the redevelopment of industrial districts benefitting cooperatives and the city

[19] See Dominique Boudet, "Zürich, More than Housing", p. 16.

alike. Kraftwerk 1 Hardturm started from the premise of "building the site" – creating a place where there previously was none.[20] It established connections and exchanges with existing communities, and its residential infrastructure has contributed to their own urban reintegration, while waiting for the city growth to catch up. Although Kalkbreite is inclusive in its social mix, as a new urban and cultural landmark it seems to contribute to Aussersihl's gentrification rather than combat it. The project Mehr als Wohnen, flagship of the partnership between city and cooperatives, remains demographically open, even though its inhabitants were recruited after the determination of the design.

The new Zurich cooperatives can be seen as the product of a new "radical intelligentsia", rooted in the middle-class and higher education of the 1968 and 1980 generations. While open to the interested public, the participative process and resulting brief are guided by professional members. Often architects and other consultants act on behalf of the client in the selection of the actual designers. With inevitable variations, participative processes follow a similar pattern.[21] Politically active local associations, advocating the preservation or redevelopment of specific sites, register as cooperatives in order to see them through. Where common land is concerned, they have to bid for the site and gain the nomination of the city. Those associations still lacking a public profile circulate their aims by advertisements, posters, pamphlets etc. to raise awareness and attract interested individuals. Due to the length of the process these are not directly concerned as future residents, although some move in upon completion. Thematic interest groups are organised to deal with specific aspects of each project (programme, social mix, dwelling distribution, sustainability, communal services, neighbourhood interface etc.) and their findings circulated to a central committee, alongside the input of professional consultants. The results form the basis of project documentation, which then becomes the building brief.

The agency of design

Although not a legal prerequisite, architectural competitions are the default mode of commissioning cooperative housing. Depending on the political context the city is usually represented in the competition panel, alongside cooperative members, specialised consultants and various interested parties. Jury sessions can be open to the public. Once the scheme has been selected, architects remain independent agents, with the scheme evolving through dialogue with the focus groups and occasionally public information sessions. However, design decisions as

[20] Andreas Hofer, interviewed by Irina Davidovici, April 2016, Zurich.
[21] See Margrit Hugentobler, 'Discussion: Participation Generates Identification', *More than Housing: Cooperative Planning, a Case Study in Zurich*, Basel, Birkhäuser 2015, pp. 105-110.

to the project's materiality, colour, expression, massing etc. are emphatically architect-driven, and not open for negotiations during the consultation processes.

Consequently, there is no recognisable stylistic preference in cooperative housing. The architects' creative freedom ensures variety, but also an architecture that is virtually impossible to distinguish from conventional development, which is usually of a high quality. One mark of distinction is the cooperative's acceptance of riskier, experimental approaches: new apartment types whose popularity has not been properly ascertained and priced, the promotion of sustainable technologies, the recourse to unlikely or difficult locations less attractive to the housing market. The discerning eye can identify cooperatives by some external clues, in architecture as much as inhabitation: a penchant for communal external spaces and connective elements, mixed use, small businesses, street art, gardening allotments, solar panels and ample bicycle parking.

Forms of negotiation extend from the content of the projects to their procurement, and architectural collaborations are seen as an advantage on the larger-scale projects. In the case of Mehr als Wohnen, a particularly ambitious flagship project, five practices were involved in the detail design of the winning masterplan, itself the collaboration of Futurafrosch and Duplex Architekten. Architecturally, the most innovative aspect of these developments is internal, in the provision of in-house communal facilities and of new apartment types, emphasising forms of communal living. Taking their cue from the high number of one and two-person households on the market, cooperatives experiment with larger flats in which smaller private units (bedrooms of studios) are provided. Starting from where traditional cooperatives left off, dwellings deconstruct the Fordist model of rooms with predetermined or fixed functions and provide ambiguous, "less defined spatial systems, testing the traditional borders of privacy".[22]

Presumably, the more cooperative housing is built along these lines, the more the new typologies will consolidate and consultation processes will find it harder to come up with new insights. Briefing documents become more streamlined, and architects are increasingly aware in advance of the requirements and possibilities specific to cooperative projects, their economic and ecological issues.[23] There has been a spike in publications celebrating virtually each new project with a wealth of research, statistical and technical information. In other words, cooperative living is once more a brand. The newer developments of the historically established cooperatives are inevitably informed and become animated by the same strategies ideas, and distinctions become increasingly finer. In these conditions it is a matter of time before the new forms of collective

[22] Andreas Hofer interview, 2016.
[23] Andreas Hofer, interviewed by Irina Davidovici, 2016, Zurich.

living are popularised, adopted and widely appropriated by the market – in a sort of *bolo* revolution by stealth.

Conclusion

As Castell shows, grassroots movements occur through the agency of several actors, among which architecture plays at best a circumstantial part. Most of the time possibilities for housing experimentation and innovation depend on wider social, political and economic conditions. The examined cooperatives also point out to the recognition that their architecture and urban planning is not as radical as their underlining ideology.

The case of Zurich's cooperative housing goes beyond Castell's opposition of action groups versus the state. They are not merely the product of the social struggle of a minority with direct interests, but the result of wider political alliances between the state and various commercial partners, balancing economic and political interests played out at the larger urban scale. The cooperative model has proven one of the most effective tools to date for realizing the political ideals of shared property, capable of mediating between idealism and the hard economic model of capitalist society. If squat activism had a specific and limited momentum, its morphing into cooperatives such as Kraftwerk1, Kalkbreite, Karthago and Dreieck was the starting point for a new endeavour: the reification of *bolos* as as binding legal and business entities. The binary opposition of squatters versus establishment has gradually converged into partnership, underlined by the common aim of providing housing for all factions of society, integrating those excluded by a competitive housing market. The utopia is being realised through engagement with what p.m. called the "Planetary Work Machine", governed by the principle of economy.[24]

The agency of design plays an ambiguous role in this phenomenon. In new cooperatives architects are involved on both sides of the commissioning process: on the one hand as clients that identify sites with potential, explore new planning possibilities, and advise development committees; on the other as external experts, professionally competing to interpret the results of the consultation process as concrete designs with autonomous artistic ambitions. Thus architecture mediates between a collectivist ideology radical in origins, experimentation with new spatial systems and living patterns, and an external image virtually undistinguishable from that of the ever expanding and densifying city.

This research was conducted at ETH Zurich through a postdoctoral grant offered by the SNSF Marie Heim Vögtlin Programme.

[24] p.m., *Bolo'Bolo*, p. 32.

The Battle for the City: 1970s architects between luttes urbanines and rénovation urbaine

Isabelle Doucet, University of Manchester

The luttes urbaines (urban struggles/activism) of the Atelier de Recherche et d'Action Urbaines (ARAU), the Archives d'Architecture Moderne (AAM) and the radical architectural education of La Cambre, formed Brussels' quasi-literal response to Henri Lefebvre's The Right to the City and Manuel Castells' The Urban Question. In the wake of 1968, architects were to negotiate not just the democratic consultation of citizens with radical solutions for enhancing the social responsibility of architecture, but also a growing sensitivity to urban renovation (catalysed by the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year). These ambitions were moreover played out amidst a challenging economic climate (1973 Oil Crisis); the preparations for a new, more democratic, regional planning instrument for Brussels (Plan Secteur, approved in 1979); and the ARAU's tireless fight against functionalist urbanism (e.g. through counter-projects). Throughout the 1970s, these luttes urbaines morphed into a more reactionary rénovation urbaine, characterised by a growing elitism and architectural conservatism (privatisation, façadism, pastiche). Starting from two collective housing schemes in Brussels by architect Marc Wolff (L'Abreuvoir, 1972-1973 and Rue aux Laines 1975-1978), this paper studies how radical responses to the urban question coincided with the wider debates regarding appropriate aesthetics for the architectural outcomes of urban struggles. How, for example, were the urban struggles matched against debates regarding the (new) responsibilities of architects and the emergent appreciation of the historic city? Together, these projects epitomise architecture's struggle to manoeuvre between different, and at times contradicting, solutions for the democratic city.

SESSION: Architecture of the Antipodes (SAHANZ-supported session)

Antony Moulis, University of Queensland; Robin Skinner, University of Victoria of Wellington

This session invites papers that investigate ways in which an exchange between Europe and South Pacific 'antipodes' have shaped the production of architecture in Australia and New Zealand as well as Europe from the 18th century to the present. The session will reconsider theories of architectural ideas and the mechanisms by which they circulated and had an impact in architectural production and debate. In what ways did the architecture of Australia and New Zealand come to participate in the construction of that alternative 'antipodean' world imagined by Europeans as its southern hemisphere opposite? And equally, in what terms was the idea of a distant European architecture for the antipodes resisted? Australia and New Zealand might be seen as brought together by the term 'antipodean,' but this is not the case for their architectural histories, which remain national. Proposals are also invited that consider the commonalities or tensions that put these separate histories into productive conversation, especially regarding the reception and representation of European ideas and indeed, of the antipodes in Europe, and the way in which they affected architecture in both contexts. We welcome proposals treating any moment in the history of this exchange including, but by no means limited to, colonial cases, examples of reception and mobility among Australian and New Zealand architects, the success of postwar émigré culture, all of which have each in their own way fostered a diversity of architectural knowledge of Europe's 'antipodes.'

Deep shade in Australia: Investing the verandah's universal utility with local character

Pedro Guedes, University of Queensland *

This paper focuses on how verandahs entered formal languages of permanent architecture in the principal façades of public buildings in European colonial outposts. There, splendid buildings with Imperial pretentions required adaptations to warm climates opening the way for later compositional approaches, including the brise-soleil and other buffering devices.

Mid-to-Late 19th Century Public buildings at the peripheries of Empire represent a major and outward looking cosmopolitan phase of European colonial architecture. In the colonies they reassured whoever saw them that a permanent and bountiful future lay ahead. Celebrating confidence through the use of generously embellished durable masonry they observed the latest ideas of design and proportion derived from Metropolitan centers. However, they were fashioned with an important concession to the climate; the verandah.

Verandahs offered many pragmatic advantages, all of them long accepted and understood as beneficial to building in hot humid countries where they mitigated the harsh effects of heat and glare. At the same time verandahs provided circulation space in buildings with ever-larger collections of rooms, delivered protected areas sanctioned by medical opinion and allowed for informal gatherings during tropical downpours. They provided a recipe for conceiving of and planning all manner of buildings, a formula for clothing utility with presence and sometimes grandeur easily understood by designers ranging from public servants to exalted architects. These broad and universal strategies were tempered with nuance and detail that invested buildings with local character.

The study draws upon buildings erected in the British Empire from India to Australia, with parallels in French Indochina and Algeria. In each outpost, notions of local character were grafted onto the broadly accepted approach. As paragons of this genre, several structures in Queensland, including Brisbane's Treasury and Lands buildings and the Rockhampton Post Office, are taken and analyzed as important exemplars with a distinctly Antipodean imprimatur.

PAPER

Until the 1860s few European architects had designed large public buildings for the Tropics, adapting the verandah and bringing it into the vocabulary of that architecture was to become their major task.

Tropical colonial buildings had long employed external galleries. [1] For example, Columbus' palace in Santo Domingo (1512) has arcaded verandahs contained by two projecting volumes, and Sixteenth-Century Portuguese buildings in Asia and Brazil, borrowed verandahs from Indian and Iberian vernacular architectures.[2]

Adapting local solutions can be seen in the East India Company's (EIC) buildings in Madras, including the King's Barracks (1755) with its elegantly proportioned structures plastered (Chunam) brick columns. (Fig. 1) The French at Pondicherry and the Danes at Tranquebar shared similar design approaches, all aspiring to grand Classical ideals.[3] Calcutta was described admiringly as the 'City of Palaces'.

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[1] Jay Edwards, 'The Origins of Creole Architecture', *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 29, No. 2/3 (Summer - Autumn, 1994), pp. 155-189.

[2] Helder Carita, 'Arquitectura Indo-Portuguesa na região de Cochim e Kerala…, PhD Thesis, Universidade do Algarve, 2006.

[3] Sten Ake Nilsson, *European architecture in India, 1750-1850.* New York: Taplinger, 1968.

Cultivated military engineers, whose principal duties were to maintain fortifications designed most colonial buildings. In India, the number of barracks outside Madras, Calcutta and Bombay grew as more territory came under EIC control. Beyond the garrisons they were generally single storied structures with verandahs of masonry piers and arches. After the Indian Revolt in 1857-8, increases in European troops resulted in about a third of the British Army being stationed in India with high mortality rates becoming a major concern.

An 1861 Parliamentary Inquiry was called to investigate the sanitary conditions of these troops. Among its contributors was the indefatigable Florence Nightingale who analysed detailed returns from all Indian military establishments.[4] (Fig. 2) Her findings, with contributions from Captain Douglas Galton RE, her cousin by marriage, underpinned recommendations for the design of barracks and hospitals. Galton drew on the knowledge built up over the years by Royal Engineers, so it is no surprise that the 1863 guidelines for India were remarkably similar to those developed for the West Indies in the 1820s, where tropical barracks with verandahs were systematically built immediately after the Napoleonic wars.[5]

> Each barrack block should have verandahs all round. In the plans, these are shown supported on iron columns; but arches or pillars of stone or brick might be used … a series of louvres should be carried the whole way along between the pillars, sufficiently deep to afford the required amount of shade.[6]

All these recommendations were supported by an orgy of tabulated data linked to the latest medical theories, corroborated by experts who felt competent to pronounce on the subtleties of building layout, ventilation, cubic and square footage allowances and countless other variables. Never before had science been called upon in such proliferation to justify how buildings might be organised, grouped, drained and then continuously monitored. Military engineers, taking advantage of building experience gained in India favored masonry instead of iron supports. No

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[4] Florence Nightingale, 'Observations by Miss Nightingale…', in: Royal Commission … Army in India, *Vol. 1. Report of the Commissioners…*London: HMSO, 1863 pp. 347- 462.

[5] Pedro Guedes, 'The Iron Duke's West Indian Barracks' In: J. P. Macarthur and A. Moulis, *Additions to Architectural History, XIXth Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Brisbane, Australia, October 2002.
See also: Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission. *Suggestions in regard to Sanitary Works Required for Improving Indian Stations.* London: HMSO, 1864.

[6] Guedes, 'The Iron Duke's West Indian Barracks', p. 21.

Fig. 1. 18th Century verandahs in India. LEFT – Pondicherry residence. RIGHT – Fort St. George, Madras. The King's barracks. Photographs – the author. Plan: - *Report of the Commissioners…*vol.1, 1863, p. 417

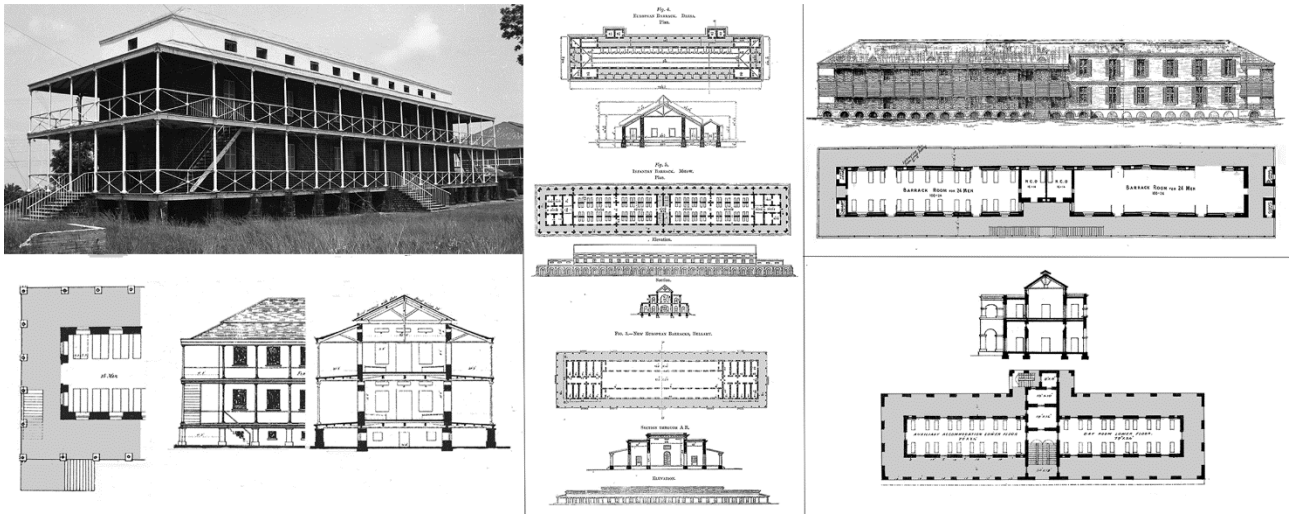

Fig. 2. Evolution of British Overseas barrack buildings. LEFT – West Indian Uniform Barrack System, 1826. CENTRE – Barracks in India 1850s. RIGHT TOP – Recommended barracks for India, 1863. RIGHT BOTTOM – Barracks in India 1867. LEFT: Photograph – Prof. R B Lewcock. West Indian Uniform Barrack System, drawings: Brandreth. 'A System of Barracks for the West Indies, *Papers…Corps Royal Engineers*, 1838, pp. 239-246. CENTRE: Barracks in India: – 'Observations by Miss Nightingale'… *Report of the Commissioners…*vol.1, 1863, pp. 347-370. RIGHT TOP: Recommended barracks for India, 1863. Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission. *Suggestions…Required for Improving Indian Stations…* 1864, plates VIII & X, RIGHT BOTTOM: J G Medley. *Roorkee Treatise on Civil Engineering in India*, vol. 2, plate 10.

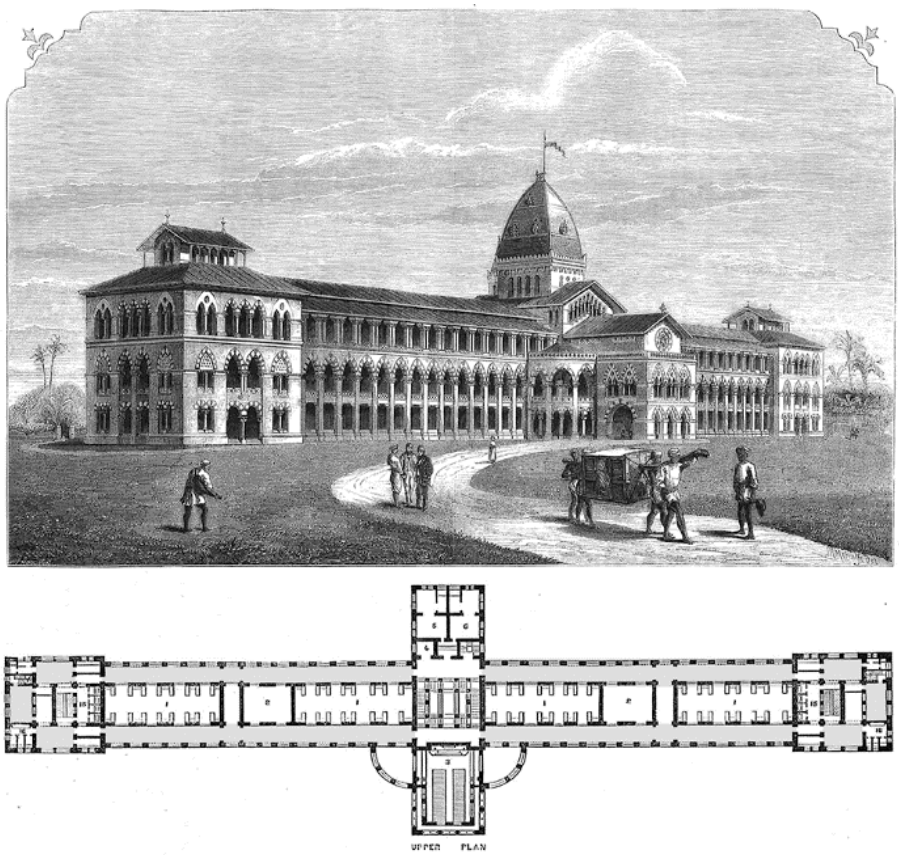

Fig. 3. T. Roger Smith's European General Hospital, Bombay, 1864. Adapting the Gothic cloister to a Tropical façade. *The Builder,* Nov., 5th, 1864, pp. 810 & 811.

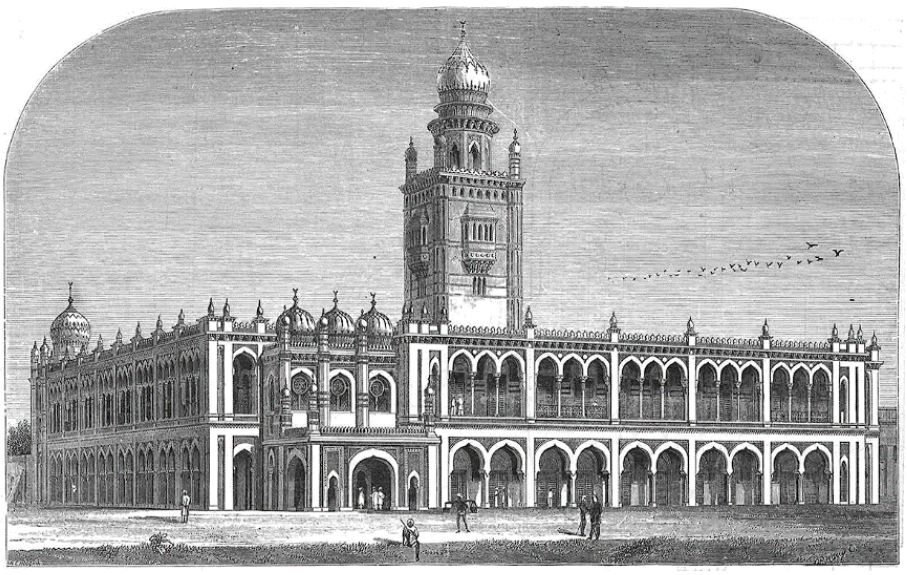

Fig. 4. Robert F. Chisholm's Revenue Board Building Madras, 1870. Lord Napier commented: 'He has set the first example of a revival in native art which I hope will not remain unappreciated and unfruitful.'
Fig. 4: *The Builder*, Dec. 31st. 1870, p. 1047 & 1049.

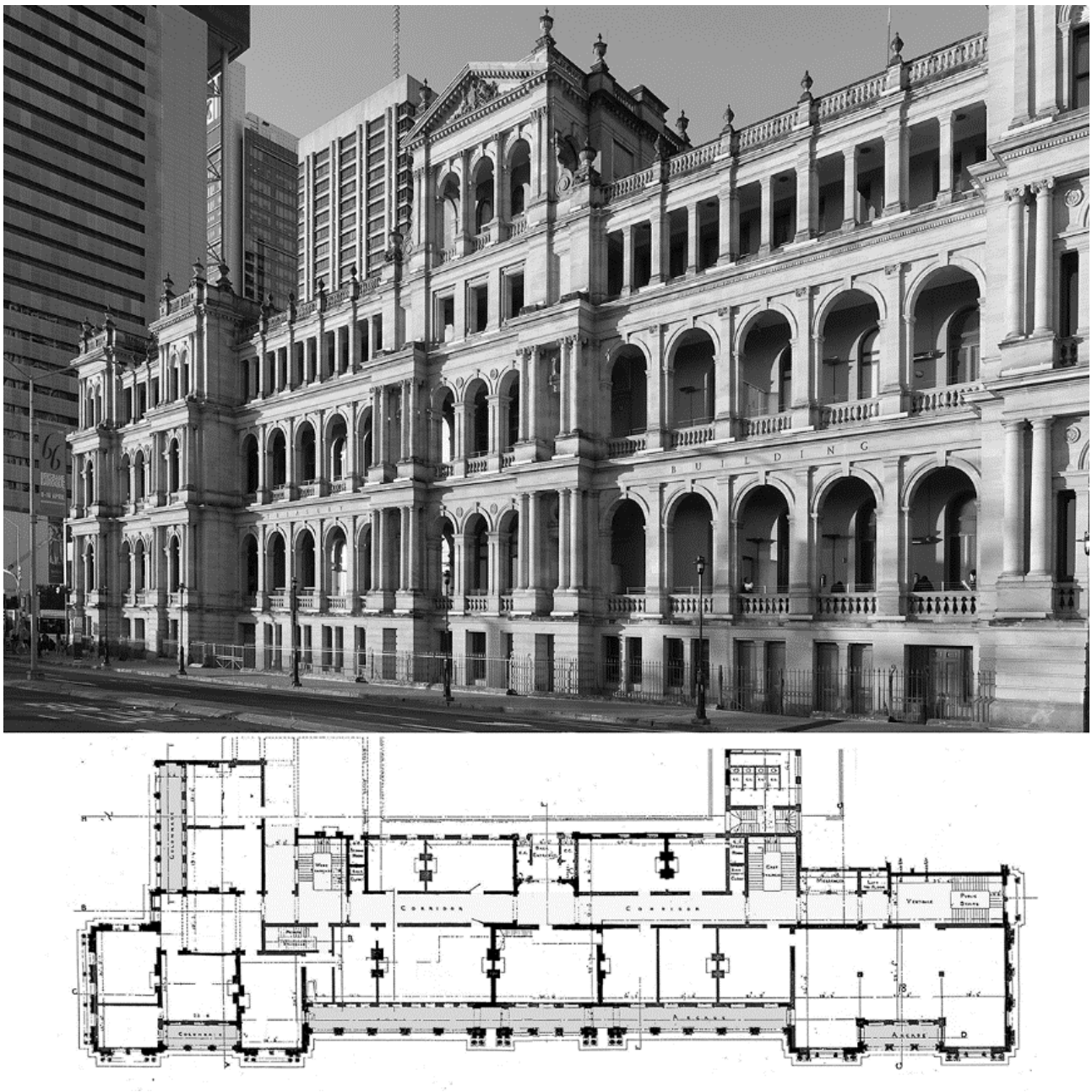

Fig. 5. John James Clark's Public Offices, Brisbane. First phase completed in 1889. A fully articulated Renaissance façade without windows, reassuring the citizens of Brisbane that theirs was a civilized city in the antipodes.

Fig. 5: Photograph – the author. Plan: adapted by the author from: Accommodation Services Group, *Internal Restoration of the Treasury Building – Pre-Design Report,* Brisbane: Department of Works, Queensland, 1987, Drawings 14 & 18.

architects were called to contribute, they were clearly outside the fields of expertise deemed necessary for planning and designing these enormous Public Works projects.

In India, EIC engineers were integrated into the Royal Engineer Corps and their duties continued to include the design of Public Buildings. In 1848, Roorkee College of Civil Engineering was established to train officers to build and manage the infrastructure of the growing Empire.[1] In 1863, Lt Col Julius Medley launched *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering* where current projects for barracks, hospitals, churches, railway stations and other public buildings were a regular feature, showcasing recent achievements. (Fig. 2 Right bottom) This journal based its style on *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, published continuously since 1837.

Medley understood that practical considerations were no shield from other criticisms. Statistics of mortality rates, costs and other data had to be balanced against criteria that were altogether different. Now that the Empire was gaining visibility, appearances became crucial:

> …We certainly surpassed ourselves in India, and succeeded in inventing a style of building, (irreverently known as the Military Board style,) which for ugliness beat everything that ever was constructed by man.[2]

By mid-century, architectural taste had shifted, moving away from the plastered Neoclassical, a style that translated easily into stately buildings in tropical Madras and Calcutta but as the Gothic Revival took hold, erudite archaeology became the touchstone of Architecture.

On the Subcontinent new layers of civil administration had to be accommodated, augmenting the already large building projects in military cantonments and those associated with railways, canals and other infrastructure. Bombay, India's most accessible port city grew rapidly into a major commercial centre, integrating India into the networks of global trade. Even before the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, steamships and a short rail journey from Alexandria to Suez had dramatically cut travel to Bombay from six months to less than two.

At the RIBA in 1868, T. Roger Smith brought a new and urgent subject to his audience, many of whom had high hopes of commissions in India and other in colonies with warm climates from which he had recently returned. He felt compelled to share his knowledge and experience with his metropolitan colleagues, entitling his talk: 'On buildings for European occupation in tropical climates, especially India'.[3]

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[1] [Julius Medley], *Account of Roorkee College* …Agra: Secundra Orphan Press, 1851.

[2] Editor, 'Anglo-Indian Architecture,' *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, vol. 1, 1863-64, p. 201.

[3] T Roger Smith, 'On building for European occupation in Tropical Climates, especially India,' *RIBATrans* 1867-68, pp. 197-208.

The verandah featured prominently in his paper:

> Outside all the external walls … a screen called a verandah is essential, and … the leading feature of buildings for the tropics. This may be best described as something like an external cloister, ordinarily about ten feet wide… These roomy appendages are not all lost space, advantage is taken of them when in shade, or catching the passing breeze, … for lounging, smoking, walking, and even dining and sleeping in; Indian life, being much *al fresco*, and privacy little studied, compared with comfort. The verandah, with its unglazed openings, its deep shadow behind them, and its overhanging roof, affords the chief, and a remarkably fine opportunity, for external architectural treatment in any building for the tropics.[4]

Smith's presentation was one of the first public discussions among British architects about building for hot climates. He went on to add that verandahs offered added bonuses in planning:

> The … verandah will be found to swell the bulk of the building extraordinarily, but then it is constantly used for every sort of purpose to which room space might have been appropriated … it enables the architect to reduce greatly the number of parts into which the block of his building is divided, and to render the form as simple as possible.[5]

Towards the end of the lecture, he addressed style, predicting that this was to be the area where architects could set an example:

> …Now the proper corrective is not … the direct imitation of Asiatic types, but the adoption of those European styles which have grown up in sun-shiny regions … these peculiarities may be found worked out in the most perfect manner and with complete adaptation to the exigencies of a fiery climate, in the best of the Mahommedan buildings which mark, … the residence in India of a conquering race – a race, alas, far more artistic than we, and whose works are nobler monuments of art, than it can be hoped ours may be.[6]

Smith's European General Hospital for Bombay, published in *The Builder*, appeared to be an ordinary, stiff and symmetrical Gothic Revival building until it is realized that the façade, with a

[4] Smith, 'On building for European occupation in Tropical Climates, especially India,' p. 198.

[5] Smith, 'On building for European occupation in Tropical Climates, especially India,' p. 200.

[6] Smith, 'On building for European occupation in Tropical Climates, especially India,' p. 208

verandah ten feet wide behind it, is nothing but a screen surrounding the accommodation. [7] (Fig. 3)

William Burges had also been to Bombay and designed that city's School of Art, published in *RIBA Transactions* as an exemplary design based upon an amalgam of carefully chosen Gothic precedents:[8]

> I was careful to select [a style] …which, without entailing any difficult stone-cutting, would admit much or little ornament, and above all, present those broad masses and strong shadows which go so far to make up the charm of Eastern Architecture. The style of the end of the twelfth century appeared to fulfill these conditions better than any other, and to assimilate more with Eastern architecture, while still retaining a well-defined European character.[9]

Burges' elevations masked the verandahs that, in addition to providing all the circulation space, kept the accommodation constantly shaded.

Colonel Saint Clair Wilkins, having lost the competition for the Bombay European General Hospital to T. R. Smith, went on to distinguish himself with the imposing Public Works offices (1874) and the Secretariat building (1875). They too have Gothic façades screening well-protected accommodation similar to Gilbert Scott's fine buildings for the University of Bombay (1876).[10] The city's Gothic leanings owe a great deal to Sir Henry Bartle Frere's energetic Public Works as Governor of Bombay:

> [with his architects he was]…endeavouring to found … an indigenous school of Anglo-Indian architecture, as extensive and as distinct as the pure Hindu and Mahometan schools of former days; and … if God granted us grace to hold the empire of India, … we should leave behind us in architecture, as in other respects, such marks of our government as

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[7] 'The European General Hospital, Bombay,' *The Builder*, vol. 22, 1864, pp. 809-811.

[8] William Burges, 'Proposed School of Art, Bombay,' *RIBA Trans*., 1867-68, pp. 83-85.

[9] Burges, 'Proposed School of Art, Bombay,' p. 83.

[10] 'Public Works Offices, Bombay,' *Builder*, 1874, pp. 437-439.
'New Secretariat, Bombay,' *Builder*, 1875, pp. 1039-1041.
'The Hall of the University of Bombay,' *Builder,* 1876, pp. 10, 13, 15.
See also:
Gavin Stamp, 'British Architecture in India 1857 – 1947', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts,* (*JRSA*) Vol. 129,1981, pp. 357-379.

posterity would not soon forget.[11]

In Britain, well-attended presentations about appropriate styles for buildings in the colonies continued. A leader in these discussions was James Fergusson, who gave a long and informed lecture at the Society of Arts in 1866, pleading for originality in architecture. Rather than slavish copying of superficial elements he recommended absorbing the basic principles embodied in Indian architectures.

It is important because architecture in India is still a living art. We can see there, at the present day, buildings as important in size as our mediaeval cathedrals erected by master masons on precisely the same principle and in the same manner that guided our mediaeval masons to such glorious results.[12]

In 1872 T. Roger Smith again spoke at the Society of Arts, focusing attention on stylistic opportunities:

> …certain features of the architecture native to tropical countries will have to be incorporated… Walls of ample thickness, often covered with a profusion od delicate surface ornaments … a constant preference for horizontal cornices; opening usually frequent and ample … and often filled with exquisite pierced patterns; a constant use of balconies and corbelled projections; roofs often low, sometimes flat, sometimes domical; piers and columns frequent and numerous.
>
> The great difficulty in designing and contriving is … to a large extent to cope satisfactorily with the heat and the glare, and to provide adequate protection against the monsoon. Artistic effect may, on the other hand, be constantly and naturally obtained by the use of simple and appropriate arcading for the verandah or wall-screen, which is required to ensure the coolness of the building within.[13]

Lord Napier, Governor of Madras, was an enthusiast for more direct appropriation, resulting in what came to be known as the Indo-Saracenic style:

> The Government of India might…do well to consider whether the Mussulman forms might not be adopted generally as the official style of architecture… they would be found…to be cheaper … far superior, with reference to shade, coolness, ventilation, convenience and

[11] 'Modern Architecture in Western India,' *Building News,* vol. 18, 1870, pp. 422.

[12] James Fergusson, 'On the study of Indian Architecture,' *JRSA*, 1866, p. 76.

[13] T Roger Smith, 'Architectural Art in India,' *JRSA*, 1873, p. 285.

> beauty to all that we see around us… This Government has endeavoured, with advice from an accomplished architect [Mr. Chisholm] to exhibit in the improvements at the Revenue Board an example of the adoption of the Mussulman style to contemporaneous use…He has paid the first tribute to the genius of the past; he has set the first example of a revival in native art ...[14]

Robert Chisholm's Revenue Board building (1870) was dressed in Saracenic garb but the plans depended upon the familiar verandah.[15] (Fig. 4) He thus became a major advocate of using 'native styles' as did many other designers, among them several notable military engineers. In a eulogy to Major Mant, RE, the first military engineer to become a Fellow of the RIBA, a former Governor of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple observed that Mant's 'distinguishing merit' was:

> … whereas some of his architectural and artistic predecessors transplanted European styles bodily into India, endeavouring to naturalize the Gothic styles for instance as an unhappy exotic in that Eastern soil, he tried instead to hit on some style which should unite the usefulness of the scientific European designs together with the beauty, taste, grandeur and sublimity of the native style; and this style he called the Hindu-Saracenic.[16]

Throughout India, public buildings in the Indo-Saracenic style were erected with ever more studied and accurate details taken from exemplary buildings in much the same way as the Gothic Revival had been underpinned by minute archaeological studies of the mediaeval monuments of Europe.[17]

Gothic eventually gave way to Indian motifs used extensively in Ceylon, Burma and even in Malaya, where there had never been any remotely relevant Indian influence. There the Selangor State Engineer, C. E. Spooner, designed Kuala Lumpur's Secretariat (1897) in the 'Mahometan' style, with domes, copious arcading and a central clock tower.[18]

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[14] 'Architecture for India,' *Builder,* 1870, p. 723.

[15] 'The Revenue Board Building in Madras', *Builder*, 1870, pp. 1046-1047.

[16] Sir Richard Templein: 'The Late Major Mant, RE,' *RIBA Trans.,* 1881-82, p. 104.

[17] Sir Samuel Swinton Jacob, Lt Col. *Jeypore portfolio…*London: Bernard Quaritch, 1890.

[18] Thomas Metcalf. 'Towards an Aesthetics of Colonialism' in: G.H.R. Tillotson. *Paradigms of Indian Architecture …* Richmond: Curzon, 1998, pp. 12-24.

Towards the Century's conclusion ideas of assimilation gave way to assertive Imperial expression. Edwin Lutyens characterized Indo-Saracenic blending as "…all made up of tit bits culled from various buildings of various dates put together with no sense of relation nor of scale."[19]

Regardless of current style, verandahs were considered indispensable to 'scientific European designs'. They had become 'a necessity':

> …this arrangement gives a character to Indian buildings quite unlike our western ones, and affords the architect scope for picturesque dealing with light and shade unobtainable in England.
> High rooms are requisite to obtain lofty and large windows, first for air… and next for light, because the verandahs cast the rooms into deep shade, and though the reflected light is so strong as to throw the shadow upwards, so much light is blocked out by the Venetian blinds … that the rooms are never too bright, and in the heavy rains these verandahs are often shut in with closed "venetians".[20]

But what of Australia and Queensland in particular ? Here was a British Colony with a tropical climate where public buildings needed protection from very harsh sunlight. They also had to convey an air of permanence to mark commitment to a long-lasting Empire. The design problems were similar to those in India but there was no indigenous tradition of masonry building to appropriate. For Nineteenth Century architects, true architecture needed to be of stone, all past styles that were admired and admitted into the History of Architecture had been masonry structures so much so, that James Fergusson, the first to write a 'Universal' History of Architecture and a great admirer of Indian architectures, was perplexed that China's great civilization had not developed monumental stone architecture in keeping with its stature.[21]

A different lineage of verandah, built as lightweight additions in timber and iron, had become common in Australia by mid-century. These verandahs were similar to those inaugurated in utilitarian buildings such as the West Indian barracks and colonial vernacular structures throughout the Tropical world. More sophisticated light verandahs owe a debt to the short period at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when they were an accessory to Regency buildings, popularized by writers such as J B Papworth and J C Loudon.[22] Verandahs were considered almost

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[19] Thomas R Metcalf 'Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910', *Representations,* No. 6, 1984, p. 61

[20] William Emerson. 'A Description of some buildings recently erected in India...'. *RIBA Trans.,* 1883-84, pp. 149-150

[21] James Fergusson. *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture...*. London: John Murray, 1855, vol. 1 pp. 133-135

[22] John B Papworth*, Rural Residences* … London: Ackermann, 1818, pp. 103-104.

indispensable in Tropical colonial buildings. They were sanctioned by medical opinion as imparting protection from malaria and other invisible agents of tropical diseases. In addition to providing a climatic buffer, they established a wide, 'civilized' threshold in hostile environments where colonial lifestyles could be played out in safety. But lightweight verandahs would not do for Public Buildings. These buildings called for gravitas and pedigree.

Charles Tiffin's design of the new colony of Queensland's Parliament, (1862) was inspired by the Louvre. Its public East façade dealt with the climate by screening the two chambers with arcaded sandstone verandahs. These were not completed until 1879 and were never integrated into the building's circulation systems.[23]

As the Colony became more prosperous, further Government accommodation was needed. A competition was held for Queensland's New Government Offices in 1883. Eventually, State Architect John James Clark, convinced the authorities that his four-story scheme occupying a whole city block was the most appropriate design. It was built in three phases, the first (1886-89) along William Street, had commanding views to the Brisbane River.[24] The stone Renaissance elevations at first appear to be those of a competent, unremarkable Victorian administrative building. However, the arcades and openings are unglazed and are in fact massive stone screens masking verandahs. Unlike the Indian buildings described previously, these verandahs echoed Tiffin's, playing no part in the building's circulation system. The body of the building, set back from the verandah has conventional corridors and its internal divisions bear no relation to the façade. (Fig. 5)

Clark was a talented architect, his earlier Treasury Building in Melbourne (1862) is justly considered among the most accomplished Classical buildings in Australia.[25] Its principal façade is highly modeled and delights in working with deep shade. The building, like Tiffin's Parliament house needed formal dress, and the only recognized way of achieving this was to create masonry façades in which decorum was maintained by correct use of the orders.

Architecturally, Australia was considered tabula rasa, aptly encapsulated in a motto on the title-page of *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia* (1915).[26] Below the drawing of an ephemeral

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[23] Project Services. *Parliament House Conservation Plan*. Brisbane, 2010, pp. 16-23.

[24] Accommodation Services Group, *Internal Restoration of the Treasury Building – Pre-Design Report,* Brisbane: Department of Works, Queensland, 1987.

[25] Jill Eastwood, 'Treasury Building, Melbourne', in: Australian Council of National Trusts, *Historic Public Buildings of Australia*, Melbourne: Cassel, pp. 176-181.

[26] R. T. Baker, *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia*, Sydney: Government of NSW, 1915.

Aboriginal shelter, its architectural aspirations were revealed: 'We replace the Bark Gunya with Stone and Marble cities'.[27] A companion volume seeking to create a distinct Australian identity adopted the waratah and its foliage as the Antipodean equivalent of Classical architecture's acanthus.[28] These imaginative designs were the work of a French exile, Lucien Henry. Some early architectural attempts are illustrated, including a Romanesque capital at Newington College in Sydney.[29] In Brisbane, local flora also inspired a keystone on Parliament House in the form of a staghorn fern, but despite these brave efforts, no convincing Australian style ever emerged. Other British colonies, particularly those in warm climates hoping to draw in settlers could fall back on strong architectural traditions with local associations, as happened in South Africa with Cecil Rhodes and his architect Herbert Baker. Roughly at the time when Australia was becoming a Federation and Self-Governing Dominion, Cape Dutch architecture was promoted as a style capable of contributing identity to the nation that emerged from the Union of Boer Republics and Crown Colonies after the Boer War. Enthusiasm for the style helped reduce the desire for verandahs, with variations of the stoep, sometimes shaded with pergolas taking their place.[30]

In Queensland, there were other buildings with masonry-screened verandahs, such as the Rockhampton GPO (1892), by George Connolly, Government Architect, as well as several other Post Offices in North Queensland by other architects as well as numerous banks. However none approach the confident handling demonstrated by Clarke's Brisbane Government Offices.[31] (Fig. 5) In comparison, the North Queensland buildings seem gawky, ill-proportioned and with solid elements too widely spaced. In other colonies, including the French, verandahs behind masonry veils are evident in Algerian barracks in a Maghrebian Arab style and a miscellany of buildings with a Chinese flavor in Tonkin.[32] Whereas, when designing for new outposts such as Diego Suarez on Madagascar, French architects used unabashed essays of lightweight verandahs in iron

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[27] Baker, *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia*, frontis page, unpaginated.

[28] R. T. Baker, *The Australian Flora in Applied Art…*, Sydney: Technological Museum, 1915.

[29] Baker, *The Australian Flora in Applied Art…*,, p. 22.

[30] Alys Fayne Trotter, *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape ... With a Chapter… by Herbert Baker*, London: Batsford, 1900.

[31] Peter Cheney, 'Rockhampton, Queensland', in: Australian Council of National Trusts, *Historic Public Buildings of Australia*, Melbourne: Cassel, 1971, pp. 294-299.
Don Watson & Judith MacKay, *Queensland Architects of the 19th Century…* Brisbane: Queensland Museum, 1994.

[32] Alheilig,, 'Nouveaux casernements …Oran', *Revue du Genie Militaire*, v. 23, 1902, p. 143-174.
Claude Manseau, 'Les Constructions Militaires au Tonkin et en Cochinchine,' *Le Genie Civil*, vol. IX, 1886, pp. 53-55.
Edmond Boca, 'Constructions en Fer et Briques pour le Tonkin,' *Le Genie Civil*, vol. X, 1887, pp. 185-187.

and terracotta.[33] By the end of the 19th century, important cities in established settler colonies needed Public Buildings that conveyed permanence and solidity, attributes difficult to associate with spindly verandahs in metal or timber, accepted as appropriate for domestic and utilitarian buildings, but certainly not for major state institutions.

Clark's Government Offices never sought to inaugurate a new style for Public Buildings in the Tropics. It is nevertheless unique and worthy of note for its self-assured use of a highly modulated Renaissance façade that would have seemed normal in a temperate climate, transposed and separated from the body of the building as its only concession to place. It has verandahs, but does not dress them in exotic garb, nor does it invite their use as settings for colonial lifestyles. They are too narrow for the types of leisurely informal uses hinted at by Smith when speaking of verandahs in India. The façade however, does assert a familiar demeanour of metropolitan grandeur extending reassurance to the citizens of the most tropical of settler colonies that they were indeed part of the British Empire. The building acclimatized architecture to an antipodean setting, bringing forms that could expected in civilized cities promising progress, growth and prosperity for the 20th century was entirely possible by coopting normality and correctness. The building proclaimed that Brisbane was no longer on the frontier.

Acknowledgement

I thank Professor Ronald Lewcock for many enlightening conversations about the verandah and for permission to use the image of the Iron Barracks in St. Lucia, photographed by him in the early 1970s. (Fig. 2, Left to

[33] Bernard et Labussiere, 'Les Constructions Coloniales', *Le Genie Civil*, vol. XXII, 1892, pp. 21-22, 41-43, 89-91,176-178, 189-190, 410-412.

Ether: an atmosphere of possibility

Kerry Francis, UNITEC *

This paper explores a period of architectural student culture in the early 1970s in Auckland, New Zealand, and its influence on New Zealand architecture. The 1971 AASA (Australasian Architecture Students Association) Congress was organized by students for students. Located at Warkworth, a rural town 35km north of the city, this Congress had huge ambition. The organizers invited Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown, Serge Chermayeff and Warren Chalk and planned and built shelter and services to sustain their community on site for five days. The event was influenced by the new social phenomenon of the live-in music festival, as it was architecturally by the current trends of mobility, spontaneity and techno utopianism of the British (Archigram and Cedric Price) and the equally potent Whole Earth potpourri of commune, Buckminster Fuller, Ant Farm, and hand-made house-building that arrived from the United States of America.

This paper will review the tensions within the student group that arose from inviting such a variety of architects, and will establish the contradictory poles of the spectrum between Serge Chermayeff and Sim van der Ryn, who attended instead of Venturi and Scott-Brown. The Russian born, English educated Chermayeff then Professor Emeritus at Yale brought to the Congress a lecture on 'urbanism and broad frameworks' which lacked the resonant qualities generated by the Californian van der Ryn) whose involvement in the Peoples Park movement saw him well qualified for the embedded politics and the self build atmosphere of the Warkworth event. Similarly, on the local front, the interests of this student group will be discussed with reference to the neo-colonial formal and material strategies of their professional rebel counterparts, Ian Athfield and Roger Walker.

The following year, in late 1972, the students shut down the architecture school at Auckland University. Frustrated by the institution's lack of response to their demands for changes to the course structure the students went on strike and threatened to boycott the final examinations. This paper places the strike in the context of the Congress and argues that this cluster of ideas, this ether, fostered by the event at Warkworth, was subsequently carried over as critique and action into the domain of the formal architecture school programme.

PAPER

The late sixties were a time of upheaval in many areas of western culture. There are two overseas events from that period, Paris 1968 and Woodstock 1969, that influenced the narrative of change within the programme at New Zealand's then only school of

architecture at Auckland University in 1973. Sections of the student cohort identified with these two notable international events that challenged the relevance of existing educational and societal norms. While Auckland is a long way from Paris, it is no surprise that a couple of years later students presented with the opportunity to stage an architectural student congress should choose to address the currency and relevance of their education. Nor is it any surprise that they should take Woodstock as an exemplar and locate a significant part of their event out of the city.

> The creation of a spontaneous self contained community is a challenge to every aspect of our Architectural upbringing. The prospects for self-revelation are immense. The Auckland Congress has given us an unprecedented freedom within the School to direct our own education. Let us not miss the opportunity.[1]

Their manifesto, introducing the project to their student cohort, contained a quote from Reyner Banham that could be considered prophetic:

> …from the end of world war two until about 1960, a few greying talents held modern architecture within a single stylistic and theoretical envelope and when someone like Hunderwasser offered to crap on the emperor's old clothes the effect was shocking - and revelatory. Suddenly everyone could see that they were old clothes; the clay foot gods fell (some slowly) and the war of the architectural generations was over before the banner of free speech was ever raised at Berkeley.[2]

This paper argues that the insights and experience gained by the students during their involvement in the 1971 Australasian Architecture Students Association (AASA) Congress were subsequently played out in their actions to force a redesign of the architecture degree course at Auckland University in 1972.

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[1] 'Part Three, A Congress Proposed'. Publicity release by the organizers, 10 March 1971. Congress 71 Archive.

[2] Banham, R., 'Play Power' a review of Programmes and Manifestos of 20th Century Architecture, edited by Ulrich Conrads, *New Society,* vol. 197, no. 432, 7 January 1971, pp. 26-27.

The Programme

The Congress programme began on Sunday 16 May in the Chemistry Lecture Theatre at Auckland University with addresses from Professor M.K. Joseph and Kendrick Smithyman from the University English Department. Both were well-known poets and they delivered appropriate examples of their verse that contextualized the local atmosphere and creative culture. They were followed by Professor R.H. (Dick) Toy who delivered the essence of his thesis of Auckland as a water city. Toy enjoyed huge respect in the Auckland School. He had taught there from 1939 and held the Chair in Design from 1959 until his retirement in 1976. He was an imposing figure, a tall man with a shock of white hair and an aristocratic manner. Toy had completed his Doctorate at the University of Dublin in 1950 where he was influenced by the work of Patrick Geddes. Toy's presentation notes are headed "A Sketch Introduction to the New Zealand Scene"[3]. It may have been the title the organisers had given him as he did not address that topic in any specific national sense. Instead he outlined his topographical analysis of and suggested trajectory for the development of Auckland as a water city. On closer examination of his notes we see that he deliberately mapped out the passage of the lecture. It began in the "Cavern", the lecture theatre:

> Start here
> Wander a bit – out on the sea
> up in the air
> speculate too
> leave you (in imagination) at Warkworth, Mahurangi Hbr[4]

Then, over the next 25 minutes, he took the attendees through the speculation of his thesis and delivered them to the Congress site. At that site that he dreamed of the possibility of the productive reconciliation of his identified dichotomies of body and mind, Maori/European, land/sea, earth/sky through community and place:

> At Warkworth we shall be at one of these water spaces

[3] Toy Files, Auckland University Architecture Archive [AUAA].
[4] Toy Files, AUAA.

> Perhaps their experiment in community there will discover some of the answers.[5]

In retrospect it was designed to be a carefully structured presentation to locate the event within a body of theory that Toy had constructed over the preceding twenty years. Toy, in effect, blessed the event. However, the reception of this lecture was generally negative. Toy's delivery was rambling and carried none of the visionary authority existing in the ideas themselves.

Serge Chermayeff followed Toy. As Professor Emeritus at Yale with a string of academic publications and two books behind him, Chermayeff was the Congress guest with the highest profile.[6] He had been suggested as a speaker by the New Zealand architect Maurice Smith, who had taught with him at Harvard and who held him in high regard. Chermayeff's presentation was titled "On Urbanisation, Broad Frameworks and Commitment". In terms of the Congress's rural intentions this title would appear to going against the grain. Early in the lecture Chermayeff identified himself as a student:

> What I want to talk about really is what I have done as a student during my 50 years of engagement with this peculiar non-profession, non-business, non-craft, pseudo-activity which has been described as architecture.[7]

He further identified his ongoing questioning of the boundaries of the discipline. He described contemporary life as a complex condition and then briefly sketched the trajectory of his own career path to conclude that:

> …one comes into an area in which the frameworks of reference are very broad - biological, physiological and psychological – and you move away from the object as such into the examination of systems of structuring things.[8]

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[5] Toy Files, AUAA.

[6] Chermayeff, S. and A. Tzonis, *Shape of Community: realization of human potential*, Harmonsworth, Penguin Books, 1971. Chermayeff, S. and C. Alexander, *Community and Privacy; toward a new architecture of humanism*, New York, Doubleday, 1963.

[7] Chermayeff, S., 'On Urbanisation, Broad Frameworks and Commitment' in J. Feary, K. Francis and H. Gillies (ed.), *Printout: Report on the AASA Congress Auckland and Warkworth May 16-21 1971*, Auckland, Wakefield Press, 1971, p. 9.

His subsequent references to cybernetics, the understanding of this complex contemporary condition as a series of ebbs and flows and the call for a more multi-disciplinary environmental design approach should have placed him in a feted position for the rest of the Congress, or at least engendered a rich discourse around these ideas. But that discourse never eventuated. Chermayeff's potential contribution was nullified by form – that quality which he so rejected:

> I think if you have some kind of visible form of commitment you will produce excellent and suitable form, instead of producing by having a commitment to **form,** zero. **Purpose** must come first.[9]

The following evening, during a discussion on architectural education, local architect David Mitchell (30 years old and about to begin teaching at the Auckland School) accused Chermayeff of being a "crusty old tyrant."[10] Mitchell's characterization and comments when viewed in print seem confused. The idea of practice as continual enquiry implied by Chermayeff's description of himself as a student in his original address and his opening comments in this discussion seem to align very closely with Mitchell's wish that graduates should "contrive to retain that questioning of what architects are and should be doing"[11]. But perhaps it is Mitchell's description of Chermayeff's view as "particularly Olde English"[12] that gives us real insight into this reaction. Chermayeff was born in Russia but moved to England at the age of 10 where he was schooled at Harrow. He then moved to the United States in 1939 just prior to the outbreak of World War Two. He was a product of the English public school system and as a designer and architect had worked for/with and moved amongst the creative and financial elite of inter-war English society. I would argue that it was his manner of speech and behavior that Mitchell was reacting to more

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[8] Chermayeff, 'On Urbanisation', p. 9.
[9] Chermayeff, 'On Urbanisation', p. 12.
[10] Chermayeff, S. and S. van der Ryn, 'Education' in J. Feary, K. Francis, H. Gillies (ed.), *Printout: Report on the AASA Congress Auckland and Warkworth May 16-21 1971*, Auckland, Wakefield Press, p. 39.
[11] Chermayeff, van der Ryn, 'Education', p. 39.
[12] Chermayeff, van der Ryn, 'Education', p. 39.

than any disagreement with his ideas. This characterization of Chermayeff was pervasive.[13] An article in the student newspaper *Craccum* after the Congress described him as:

> …a hound dog faced 72 year old Jewish planner from New York who was a pompous old shit who said 1 or 2 good things which were suffocated in great mountains of verbal crap, and to make matters worse, he would resort to cheap put downs for people whose questions he thought were below his dignity to answer;…[14]

So the potentially rich discourse on broad frameworks – his work with Christopher Alexander and Alexander Tzonis, environmental design, to say nothing of the colourful career history – that made up the potential contributions, which Chermayeff brought to the Congress, were nullified by his manner. Unlike Toy, he made no attempt to engage with the substance of the event. He visited the Warkworth site on the Friday 21 May wearing a suit and footwear unsuitable for the mud where he spoke in front of a gleaming sisalation[15] space-pod. The following day he flew to Australia where he delivered the 1971 A.S. Hook Memorial address to the Australian Institute of Architects Conference.

With Chermayeff at 72, Toy at 60, Smithyman at 58 and Joseph at 68, the students probably perceived them as old men. Perhaps in the eyes of youth they were the "clay foot gods"[16] to whom Banham referred.

In contrast the Californian Sim van der Ryn was 36 years old. He was a late replacement for Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown and had also been suggested by Maurice Smith who described him as "[by] accounts, the best/most reliable of the 'definition through involvement people' … He is into quick/short term building & would be/present a reasonable/active alternative to Chermayeff"[17] While both Chermayeff and Toy spoke of

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[13] This event was re-enacted as a contribution to RE_CONGRESS 2006 at UNITEC, Auckland by a group of Victoria University students under the direction of Robin Skinner.

[14] Cavell, F. B., 'Architectural Congress: a meeting of warmth and poetic learning' *Craccum*, vol. 45, no. 11, 10 June 1975, pp. 1, 3.

[15] Sisalation is a reflective foil insulation made by laminating aluminium foil to kraft paper, reinforced with fiberglass.

[16] Part Two, …being the Theory of an Architectural Congress, Publicity release by the organizers, 10 March 1971. Congress 71 Archive.

[17] Correspondence between Maurice Smith and Hunter Gillies, 5 April 1971. Congress 71 Archive.

broad frameworks, van der Ryn was about making and making now and of course he was more attractive to the student community. He spoke of his involvement in the 1969 People's Park Festival at Berkeley and his development of Faallones Institute, a design practice set up with former students from the architecture programme at Berkeley to assist schools and school teachers make physical changes to their learning environments. There was (political) theory and there was (design) practice, and they were bound together in a relatively short time frame with an emphasis on the value of the experience. Van der Ryn subsequently went on to become the State Architect for California in the late seventies[18] and to write a series of books on ecological design and sustainable communities. He continues to practise in this field as a member of the Ecological Design Collaborative.

The Site: Congress in the country

The Congress shifted location on the morning of day three, Tuesday 18 May, to an abandoned cement works located in a river valley 48 miles north of Auckland. Here, amongst the gothic splendor of concrete ruins that had been reduced by air force target practice in World War Two, were nestled a colourful mish-mash of cardboard domes, shiny silver sisalation pods and scaffolding frameworks beside the edge of the shiny black surface of the fifty-foot deep lime-pit lagoon. A large plywood geodesic dome (6 m radius, 5/8 sphere, three-frequency, vertex zenith, alternate development) and a polyester paper-clad hyperbolic paraboloid provided larger spaces for presentation and discussion. The one complete Electropu "excreting unit" stood resplendent in bright yellow in a row of other seats where only draped sisalation provided privacy.

The notes from the inaugural organizational meeting of students the previous year (4 August 1970) show the intention to locate the 1971 Congress out of the city was established early:

> CONGRESS IN THE COUNTRY, MAY, 1971

[18] Roberts, J., 'The Sim', *Dwell*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2007, pp. 112-16. https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=0MUDAAAAMBAJ (Accessed 15 February, 2016).

> We aim to attract the participator, rather than the observer.
>
> We will attempt to create a suitable situation.
>
> We will build a Congress Village.[19]

It is interesting here to note that it is the physical act of making (building) that was initially privileged but it was intended as a means to an end:

> Shelter as the GENERATOR.
>
> To the participants it will be the initial frenzied fantasy that (we hope) achieves COMMUNICATION and boredom, preparing for a further five or six days of intensive introverted study.[20]

This strategy of collective village building was designed to open channels of communication and develop community so that the intended real substance of the event could flow; today we would probably call that real substance intellectual discourse. But while the act of building developed a community through a physical sharing of resources and labour it was precisely this context of construction combined with the unavoidable physical demands of being at an isolated (construction) site that pushed the desired intellectual discourse into the shadows. The six days at the cement works became not the intended "intensive introverted study", but rather a living celebration of physical work completing. Speakers came and went. Some stayed and some engaged. As was stated earlier, Chermayeff briefly presented and left for the Australian Institute conference. Notable New Zealand architects Roger Walker and John Scott and sculptor Tom Taylor spoke bravely from plinths of the concrete industrial ruins. But it was the physically engaging events at the site that had the most resonance for the attendees. Sim van der Ryn initiated a native American bone game that involved 30 or 40 students in vigorous activity for several hours. Waikato University Professor of Psychology, James (Jim) Ritchie conducted events to "make architects so aware of their bodies and senses that they could

[19] Bohm, B., Notes on an Inaugural Congress Meeting, Congress 71 Archive.
[20] Bohm, Notes on an Inaugural Congress Meeting.

never live in buildings again."[21] All the while students continued to adjust and remake their shelter.

It was late in the New Zealand autumn. The sun went down at 5.30pm and the cold came in and so too did the darkness. High tide flooded parts of the site. It was a difficult experience but that difficulty was overcome by generous servings of hot food, music, theatre and the welcome heat of several giant bonfires. This community of 300 was bound together through a complex mix of joy and hardship. On the final day, Saturday 22 May, the students celebrated their collective success with an open invitation to the public. A hangi[22] was put down by two locals. It is reputed that 650 people were fed.[23]

The course changes

Fifteen months later, the Auckland University Academic Committee of 9 September 1972 approved for implementation in 1973 new programme content for the Bachelor of Architecture and the Diploma of Urban Valuation. These dates are significant.

The School of Architecture had been working on proposals for course changes since 1967.[24] In 1969 the Academic Committee had approved a report to change to a two-tier (three years general study plus two years specialisation) structure, all taken within the school, in line with overseas practice.[25] Despite the detail in the report, there seems to have been significant inertia surrounding the implementation of this new structure.

In late July 1972 the students at the Auckland University School of Architecture suspended their studies and organised a series of workshops to discuss their discontent with the programme and to decide on action to improve it. Dominant amongst their dissatisfactions were: the narrow (professional) focus of subjects within the course and the subsequent lack of recognition of potentially diverse roles within a changing society;

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[21] Ritchie, J., 'See me, Feel me, Touch me, Heal me' in J. Feary, K. Francis, H. Gillies (ed.), *Printout: Report on the AASA Congress Auckland and Warkworth May 16-21 1971*, Auckland, Wakefield Press, p. 2.
[22] Hangi (earth oven) is a traditional Maori technique for cooking large amounts of food. Rocks are heated in a firepit for several hours. The embers are removed and the food, traditionally wrapped in leaves, is placed over the hot rocks and covered with earth. The hangi is "down" (cooking) for 2-4 hours depending on the amount of food.
[23] Austin, M., 'Warkworth' unpublished manuscript presented at RE_CONGRESS 2006, Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, May 2006, unpaginated. Congress 71 Archive.
[24] Wild, A., 'BArch Course Changes', *NZIA Journal,* 20 December 1972, p. 351.
[25] University of Auckland Academic Committee Minutes 26 May 1969, Item 1. New Architecture Syllabus, p. 436. School of Architecture Report: Material on New Course. pp. 439-50.

design assignments with preconceived solutions that constrain more complex and diverse responses, and; the use of final examinations as the sole method of assessing a year's work.

In a typed broadsheet boldly titled "THE JULY REVOLUTION" these workshops resolved that, "Architecture Students should BOYCOTT FINAL EXAMS in 1972 in an effort to pressure some course changes."[26]

These issues had been bubbling along for some time. The Architectural Students' Society broadsheet *ARK* was revived in mid-June 1972. It existed only from June until mid-August 1972 and appears to have been the most public forum for the clash of ideologies. The publication advertised films, art exhibitions and student events. But the most lively content was to be found in the comment section which invited students and staff to "throw their ideas into the ring for discussion"[27] And throw they did. Dissatisfaction in fourth year appeared to be the strongest. The comment section of *ARK* 72/2 contained a report by student Peter Walker of a meeting of this year group. In closing he articulated a collective desire for change, "A greater freedom to develop individual work patterns and thus stimulate creativity seems to be an essential and immediate requirement."[28]

This brought a passionate response in the next issue from long-time lecturer Michael Brett, who identified the issue as conflict between professional training and the liberal traditions of the University and argued that, as the Architects Act 1963 required all practicing architects to have a "University Training" and with the Auckland course as the sole course in the country, then the school had a responsibility to train Architects.[29] This circular, pragmatic, argument presented a fixed position that was designed to shut down the discourse. Walker, of course, responded. He quoted Maurice Smith on the dangers of predetermined design solutions. Smith had taught at Auckland from 1966-68 before returning to MIT and had been instrumental in helping get both Chermayeff and van der Ryn to the Congress. He quoted Sim van der Ryn on the issue of values and on van der Ryn's own move to the country, and publication of:

[26] The July Revolution, Congress 71 Archive.
[27] *ARK: a weekly broadsheet of information and comment*. University of Auckland Architectural Students Society (Inc.), New Series: No 72/1.
[28] Walker, P., 'Comment', *ARK* 72/2, 1972.
[29] M. Brett, 'Comment', *ARK* 72/3, 1972.

> …a 'Whole Earth Catalogue' type book called Farallones Scrapbook (see *AD 1/72* p5) OK; so Auckland had congress, but maybe some more and, continuing relief of this kind is required.[30]

Both of these quotes reference the Congress event and alternative modes of architectural practice to those promulgated by the majority of staff in the School, and argued for by Brett. During the period Smith taught at the Auckland School he initiated a series of student design-build projects in the wooden villas that housed the upper year design studios. These projects left a legacy that continued in the annual rebuilding of work spaces within the big wooden studio that was occupied by second and third year students. They were experimental building opportunities where the students were encouraged to explore material, structural and tectonic/spatial possibilities. In this sense they epitomized an approach to open-ended design responses engaging both design and build processes. Van der Ryn's contributions at Congress were about his work with the Farallones Institute and his involvement in community design and building in the making of People's Park in Berkeley in 1969. These processes were also played out at Warkworth.

In the following issues of *ARK* the student reaction became more strident and finally resulted in the strike of late July. In the last issue of the "new series" of *ARK*, fourth year student Peter Joyce made an articulate and reasoned case for 'A Basis for Enthusiasm in the School of Architecture' and he referred to Sim van der Ryn's comments at the 1971 Congress on van der Ryn's alienation from the values of exploitation:

> …the values of exploitation of the earth, money systems, exploitation of people, simply aren't consistent with the things I, and a whole lot of other people, believe and I can't create an architecture that reflects those values.[31]

[30] Walker, P., *ARK* 72/6, 1972.
[31] Joyce, P., 'Comment', *ARK* 72/8, 1972.

Van der Ryn articulated an ethos that was embedded in the Congress event and that many of the students identified with. If our education was to continue to be relevant and to maintain enthusiasm, Joyce argued, then it needed to provide opportunities for students to develop personal capabilities and to respond to a "milieu of ongoing change."[32]

The University Calendar and the School of Architecture Prospectus for 1973 contained a new course structure. The intermediate year remained, available at any University within New Zealand, followed by four professional years within the School. Instead of the 18 set subjects plus studio, the offering ballooned out to 75 subjects, grouped into themed subject groups, plus studio. Within these groups were additional special topics such as the newly-hired David Mitchell's "Vernacular and Popular Architecture" and Michael Austin's "Polynesian Architecture". The students now had the freedom to assemble a course that suited their interests and with it the responsibility to ensure an appropriate architectural education. The following year in 1974, the course offerings were restructured again, this time into two categories; core (compulsory) subjects and subjects other than core subjects. This re-reorganization could be described as a conservative restructuring of the 1973 content to rebalance the course towards a professional training paradigm. But the dominant result was that the student actions had catalyzed major changes, which resulted in a broad range of new course content.

Conclusion

The student group within the School of Architecture that began the revolt against their learning conditions in 1972 were in their Fourth Professional year, their final year of study. This year group contained the majority of the same of students who had organized, implemented and experienced the 1971 AASA Congress at Warkworth the previous year. As I have discussed, I believe the Congress failed to generate the atmosphere of "intense introverted study" that the organisers had desired and advertised. However, I now argue that the real value of the Congress revolves around the experience of collective action and, with that experience, a growth in individual confidence for the actors. There are a series of elements that tie together both of these events. The Congress was a huge

[32] Joyce, 'Comment'.

organizational endeavor, which instilled a confidence in the whole group that action at a scale beyond your imagination could succeed. This student group had organized for distinguished international speakers to come to New Zealand. They had organized the building and servicing of a whole community of 300 people (predominantly architecture students and architects) for five days in a remote location and everyone (well most people) had loved it. The insights from the 1971 Congress were two-fold: a recognition of the potential of collective action and, through the presence of Sim van der Ryn, a recognition of alternative practice models.

In 1972, when this same group of students was faced with the frustration and disappointments in their fourth year programme, they acted collectively. They repeated things that they had learnt from the Warkworth Congress. As at Warkworth, they created an event. They made their case forcefully but with discipline and maturity and they changed the way things were done. The 1971 Congress and the actions that buoyed it created an ether – an atmosphere of possibility – that provided the catalytic conditions for an enriched architecture programme and hence the learning environment at the Auckland University School of Architecture in 1973 which has continued in the subsequent 36 years.

Acknowledgments

Bruce Bohm, Julian Feary, Hunter Gillies, Peter Joyce, Barry Lonergan, Dave McBride, Nick Molloy, Rick Reid, Graeme Scott and Sarah Cox.

"Ciao Australia", postmodern Australian and Italian exchanges, 1978-1991: from Domus to the Venice Biennale

Karen Burns, University of Melbourne; Paul Walker, University of Melbourne *

In July 1985 the Milanese architecture and design journal Domus published an Australia themed issue. The front cover was emblazoned with a black stencil-print kangaroo, jumping amidst a swirl of rock art motifs. A detail of a swatch of silk-screened Australian dress fabric by an unnamed designer, it also featured stylised opera houses and boomerangs dancing across a fluorescent spray paint background. Combining globalised tribal and graffiti chic references with the banner headline "Ciao Australia Coast to Coast: The Last Wave", the cover art suggested all of the challenges involved in depicting a distinctive national identity within global international design markets in the mid-1980s. The reference to Peter Weir's highly regarded film The Last Wave, of 1977, also pointed to the challenges that such assertions of identity entailed. The Domus issue was one of four Australia themed international architectural magazines sponsored by Australia's federal arts funding body in the early to mid-1980s. The Australia Council's forays into curating Australian architecture for local and international markets were increasingly governed by a pluralistic, 'soft' critical regionalism. From 1978 to 1988 two architectural designs for Australia's Venice Biennale Pavilion appeared, a 1978/1979 unbuilt design by Edmond and Corrigan and a completed work by Philip Cox, opened in 1988. At first glance, the stylistic differences between the two designs suggest very different conceptions of Australian identity and its representation in the international territory of the architectural biennale. However both projects worked with local and international references, Edmond and Corrigan offering an Isozaki Baroque and Cox working with international modernism filtered through the prefabricated woolshed forms of Glen Murcutt. The two designs for the pavilion were examined in detail in Casabella, in June 1988. The first exhibition in the new pavilion, of the work of painter Arthur Boyd, also attracted media attention, in European art journals (Apollo) and in the English architectural press (Architect's Journal and The Architectural Review). This paper examines these two projects and the first art and architectural exhibitions displayed in the Australian Biennale pavilion. The building designs and exhibitions will be analysed within the context of transnational architectural media and the demands of the Global North for distinctively local content. In Milan and Venice the Australian Council was happy to comply, as it fulfilled a mandate of 'exporting' Australian architecture and fostering the development of design industries.

PAPER

In July 1985 the architecture and design journal *Domus* published an Australia themed issue. The front cover was emblazoned with a black stencil cut kangaroo hopping amidst rock art motifs,

stylised Sydney Opera Houses, and boomerangs, all printed over a fluorescent spray paint background. This fabric swatch - probably from Linda Jackson's 1984 bush couture series - combined graffiti and tribal chic references. The cover's banner headline 'Ciao Australia Coast to Coast: The Last Wave', suggested all of the challenges involved in depicting a distinctive national identity within international design markets in the mid-1980s. The reference to Peter Weir's highly regarded film *The Last Wave*, of 1977, also pointed to the challenges that such assertions of identity entailed.

Domus provides an anchor point for this paper's analysis of the presentation of Australian architecture within global media and exhibition markets across the 1980s, culminating in the 1988 project for an Australian pavilion for the Venice Biennale. 1988 was Australia's bicentenary year – actually the 200th anniversary of the establishment of a British penal settlement in New South Wales – and the pavilion was intended to mark this event. The *Domus* issue was one of several Australia themed international architectural magazines sponsored by the Australia Council, the nation's federal arts funding body, at this time.

Through two exhibitions promulgated by its Design Arts Board, the Australia Council had itself attempted to curate Australian architecture for local and international markets. These were governed by a pluralistic, 'soft' critical regionalism. 'Old Continent New Building: Contemporary Australian Architecture' toured Europe and the United States from 1982 to 1984, ending up in Los Angeles to coincide with the Olympics, while 'Australian Built: a photographic exhibition of recent Australian architecture responding to the place', was staged in 25 Australian centres from 1985 to 1988. Catalogue publications accompanied both exhibitions. The four essays for the 'Old Continent New Building' publication explored themes ranging from conventional views of Australian architecture's relation to landscape to a consideration of urban and suburban conditions as the ground of new Australian architecture. The 'Australian Built' catalogue had but a single essay, by Craig McGregor, emphasising both the inclusiveness of Australian architecture ('There is no mainstream; current Australian architecture is nothing if not pluralist') and its international connections. The regionalism that nevertheless dominated these exhibitions found its strongest image in John Andrews' Eugowra farm house of 1981. With its prefabricated steel frame and response to environmental conditions it could be read as a modern pavilion; but for its spreading roofs and use of the vernacular cladding of corrugated steel it was also seen to embody a historical self-awareness that aligned it rather with postmodernism. Multiple photographs of the house appear in both exhibition catalogues.

Locally, the regionalist perspective was boosted by Kenneth Frampton's public address to the Royal Australian Institute of Architects' national convention in May 1983, in which he set out his formulation of 'critical regionalism'.[1] Frampton's visit was followed in October 1984 by *Domus* editor Alessandro Mendini. In his subsequent essay on Australian architecture, Mendini granted a self-consciousness reflexivity to local architectural culture that Frampton did not. Mendini and Frampton offer different renditions of the local/global dynamic in 1980s architecture and their positions form a larger conceptual frame for this essay. The Australia Council's endeavours to address questions of Australian identity in its international exhibitions, catalogues and the 1988 Australian Venice Biennale pavilion exposed the fluidity of identity claims oscillating between national, regional and cosmopolitan visions of Australian architecture. Whilst these tensions were occasionally noted they were rarely addressed or reconciled. Mendini's pronouncements on cultural referencing and appropriation provide an important counter-point to the dominating influence of Frampton on 1980s accounts of regional architecture.

Australian *Domus*

Several special issues of international architecture journals devoted to Australian architecture emerged from the Design Arts Board's program of bringing editors and writers to Australia. Like other special issues – of *International Architect* and the *Architectural Review*, for example – *Domus*'s take on Australia reflected the journal's general editorial direction.[2] *International Architect*'s focus in relation to the Australian architecture it covered – whether stylistically late modern or postmodern – was on the role of drawing in its conception. By contrast, *Architectural Review* focussed on phenomenological aspects of Australian architecture to which stylistic niceties were beside the point. Only *Domus* seriously engaged with questions of postmodernism and the identity politics at stake in these. Such questions were urgent in Australia's case given its bipartisan – if sometimes diffident - embrace of multiculturalism, its growing awareness of its indigenous cultural heritages, and the immanence of its 1988 national celebrations. Like the catalogue essays from 'Old Continent New Building' and 'Australian Built' and the other journal special issues, *Domus* documented a wide range of Australian work. But it did not identify a unifying theme as its rival periodicals found in drawing or 'spirit of place'. Nor did *Domus* find a

[1] Kenneth Frampton, 'Critical Regionalism: Speculations on an architecture of resistance', in Chris Johnson, ed., *The City in Conflict*, Law Book Company, Sydney, 1985, pp. 9-16.
[2] A history of Australian architecture's representation in *Domus* is found in Silvia Micheli, 'Ciao Australia: *Domus* between Australia and Italy', presented at the Italy/Australia Postmodern in Translation symposium, University of Canberra, November 2015.

single architectural image to stand for Australia as the exhibition catalogues had in Andrews' Eugowra house.

Domus presented Australian architecture as contested. This was in line with Mendini's general editorial stance, but it also demonstrated that a disinterested view of the Australian scene might produce a different account than the drive to inclusion and resolution of the questions 'What is Australia?' and 'What is Australian architecture?' motivating the Design Arts Board's own promotional activities. Mendini's contributions to 'Ciao Australia' included an interview with the revered Sydney modernist Harry Seidler, which started calmly by questioning Seidler about his trajectory from Vienna to Harvard to Australia. But when Mendini turns to the contemporary Australian scene by asking about Peter Corrigan, Seidler's answer is explosive:

Ignoring and defying all constructional, let alone structural logic, [Corrigan's projects] are the tantrums of a rich spoilt child, delighting in being contrary, shocking us with corny stylistic idioms. I find the results unworthy of our time, they make me feel ashamed that I live in an era that can give rise to such an appalling cultural decline.[3]

Mendini's response plunged the knife deeper: 'Young Australian design culture today is looking to values different to the international ones which you have brought with you. The young today are talking in fact about tradition, context, local materials and small-scale works.' Corrigan was the only Australian architect to contribute a substantial essay to *Domus*'s 'Ciao Australia'. Under the title 'Learning from suburbia', he argued that Australian architects were turning their back on the myths of the landscape cultivated since the 19th century to learn from the suburban condition of the country's cities:

These values offer no social redemption, but at least they are ours. They owe nothing to the inner-city, the outback or the dream-time. The suburbs are not malevolent, any more than they are materialistic. They are now being recognized as the Australian communal form that possesses a moral imperative of its own.[4]

Domus's presentation of the conflicted nature of Australian architecture is further confounded by the inclusion in 'Ciao Australia' of the eclectic productions of Australian industrial design (a lawn mower, a rocking kangaroo, a telephone, a fan heater), graphics, fashion, and furniture (including designs produced under the Design Arts Board's auspices); the ambivalent furnishings of life in Corrigan's suburbs? It is, however, the art works included in 'Ciao Australia' that are really challenging - a self-portrait by Jenny Watson, stooped, bound, and bleeding ('This Year's

[3] Alessandro Mendini, 'Colloquio con Harry Seidler', *Domus* 663, July/August 1985, p. 1.
[4] Peter Corrigan, 'Learning from Suburbia', *Domus* 663, July/August 1985, pp. 6-7.

Fashion', 1984); the distracted figures of Bill Henson's photographs ('Untitled Sequence', 1979); Imants Tillers' serial appropriations ('The Enemies of Art', 1983); the hybrid homo-erotic and religious imagery of Juan Davila ('Pieta', 1984). These were transgressive in subject matter with powerful aesthetic gestures asserting the presence of the work whilst questioning ideals of 'authentic expression'. An article by Paul Taylor, editor of the journal *Art + Text*, reflected the position he had previously argued in an essay published by the Milan journal *Flash Art*, that Australian art was 'a carnivalesque array of copies, inversions and negatives', the 'shattered debris of a self in exile'.[5] Under the shadow of Baudrillard, Taylor pronounced that these images may only 'refer to and reflect other images'.

Mendini's editorial in 'Ciao Australia' was in line with Taylor rather than any commentator on Australian architecture. He suggested that 'eclecticism and adhocism are characteristics too structurally ingrained in the history and tradition of Australian thinking for us to imagine that they could have been extirpated once and for all through the injection of a few –modern - germs.'[6] Certain postmodern characteristics formed a tradition in Australia. Mendini refused 'stable territorial permanence or exact general identities.' He noted that it would be mistake to look for the 'absoluteness of a coherent and reproducible stylistic mark'.

Multiple inexact Australian identities might each find their own space in the world that Corrigan described in 'Learning from suburbia', but the defusing of myth in Corrigan's essay was not necessarily carried over into Edmond and Corrigan's designs. With mannered references to high architecture and vernacular buildings, and analogies to performance spaces, their buildings asserted the drama of everyday Australian life. Corrigan's *Domus* polemic was directed at the landscape mythos and rural nostalgia that had long dominated Australian culture and its accompanying disdain for suburbia. Yet, even as archetypes and myths faced determined interrogation in the 1980s, sometimes the circumstances of project commissions brought them back to life. Various identity claims would be made for the Design Arts Board's own building, Australia's 1988 Venice Biennale Pavilion.

The Biennale Pavilion: Australia in Venice

Among the artists featured in 'Ciao Australia', Tillers was to be Australia's Biennale representative in 1986, Watson in 1993, and Henson in 1995.[7] The final act of the Design Board – as it was

[5] Paul Taylor, 'Popism – The Art of White Aborigines', reprinted in *On The Beach* 1 March 1983, pp. 30-32.
[6] Alessandro Mendini, 'Old Trends New Directions', *Domus* 663 July/August 1985, p. 3.
[7] Stephen Naylor, 'Getting into the Giardini di Castello: Australia's representation at the Venice Biennale', *Art and Australia*, 40: 4, 2003, pp. 594-601.

styled in its last months in 1988 - was to build a pavilion at the Giardini della Biennale in Venice where such art works might find a temporary European home.[8]

In 1978, after a twenty year break, through the efforts of the Australia Council's Visual Arts Board, Australia had resumed a presence at the Venice Biennale. The possibility of an Australian pavilion at Venice was apparently first considered by the Board in 1973.[9] Sometime between early 1978 and mid-1982, Sydney magnate and art patron Franco Belgiorno-Nettis had lobbied Venice's mayor for a plot for an Australian pavilion. Belgiorno-Nettis paid for a design by Edmond and Corrigan that was ready by 1983 but may have been devised between 1979 and 1981.[10] Two years after the Edmond and Corrigan project, the Visual Arts Board's Annual Report for 1985-86 noted that the Board had 'committed itself to supporting the establishment of an Australian pavilion in Venice'. [11]

The Melbourne newspaper *The Age* reported in June 1987 that a decision that Design Arts Board members would draw up plans for an Australian pavilion had 'split the board'.[12] What appears to be a press release from August 1987 announced a joint design by 'Philip Cox, Richardson Taylor and Partners in association with John Andrews international for the Visual Arts Boards of the Australia Council', accompanied by a photograph of a schematic design model.[13] Cox was a member of the Design Arts Board, Andrews its chair. Between August 1987 and June 1988 the design simplified and the authorship changed to Cox alone.

The August 1987 statement noted that the pavilion's staggered plan derived from the 'wedge shape of the Venice site' but the 'three-dimensional form applied to the plan encapsulates aspects of Australian architecture'. These aspects were listed as the undulating corrugated iron roof characteristic of the Australian vernacular, 'the integral relationship between interior and landscape' and the 'exploration of light penetration'. The modular system of lightweight steel construction with 'connections exposed', acknowledged the 'optimisation of erection time' and was a 'remarkable tribute to Australian technology and precision'. Only the concrete footings and

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[8] Australia Council Annual Report, 1987-88, p. 23. The Design Arts Board of the Australia Council was abolished in 1988, a victim of economy measures. Paul Walker & Karen Burns, 'Architecture and the Australia Council in the 1980s' in *Architecture, Institutions and Change*, Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia & New Zealand, vol 32, eds Paul Hogben & Judith O'Callaghan, SAHANZ, Sydney, 2015, p. 692.
[9] Australia Council Annual Report, 1986-87, p. 55.
[10] A piece by Kevin Childs in *The Age* dates the Edmond and Corrigan building by referring to its 1983 cost estimate. Childs, 'Australian art in Venice, encased in a pavilion of BHP steel', *The Age*, 9 June 1987, p. 2. Another article by Childs a year later claims that the Belgiorno-Nettis's determination for the project arose from a conversation with Governor-General Sir Zelman Cowan, who held office from December 1977 to July 1982. See Childs, 'Australia builds a "shearing shed" in ancient Venice', *The Age*, 3 June, 1988, p11. The 1989 *Transition* essay by Baume cited below dates the scheme to 1979-81.
[11] Australia Council Annual Report, 1985-86, p50. See also Naylor, p. 598.
[12] Childs, 'Australian art in Venice, encased in a pavilion of BHP steel'
[13] 'Biennale di Venezia Australian Pavilion', Bryce Design, August 1987.

in-ground services would proceed on site; everything else would be prefabricated in Australia. A further 'Venice Biennale Australian Pavilion Report' dated December 1987 refined the building's claims to Australian identity, noting, 'we believe the design is distinctively Australian with its curved roof form expressing Australia's special affinity with water and sea'.[14] As the building's opening approached it acquired other Australian referents in the media reportage culminating in an ebullient pronouncement from the general manger of the Australia Council, 'It's a house on stumps. Our own shearing shed in Venice.'[15]

Australia's Venice pavilion could also be placed in an interesting conversation about origin, reuse and creative transformation by paying attention to more late twentieth-century architectural origins, both Australian and international. The demand for Australianness neglected this topic. The Venice building was indebted to Glen Murcutt's Kempsey Museum, with its double-barrelled offset pavilion, clerestory side glazing and corrugated iron. In turn, Murcutt himself may have been extending experiments begun by Louis Kahn at the Kimbell Art Museum (completed 1972). Finally, given the curious attribution of the early Venice pavilion design to both Andrews and Cox, the sectional profile has strong affiliations with Andrews' Miami Seaport Passenger Terminal, like the Kimbell a vaulted building completed in the early 1970s. All buildings have a constellation of sources creatively transformed by the design process; these muddy straightforward identity claims, but open up the vantage point of an Australian practice undertaken within circuits of international training, travel and media.

In *Domus*, Mendini had remarked that Australian architects faced a conceptual tyranny of distance, but this wasn't apparent in the adept handling of local and international referents in the Venice pavilion designs. Like the Cox building, Edmond and Corrigan's pavilion was an intriguing amalgam; bringing together 'customary' Australian suburban sources and various manifestations of baroque. In a classic Edmond and Corrigan gesture, the curved art deco portico stood in contrast to the building's rectangular volumes; emphasising the symbolic and performative space of entry, but suggesting familial rather than art rituals. Like other Edmond and Corrigan buildings the plan was an aggregation of singular room spaces. The plan drawing suggested Kahn's Trenton Bath House as one source. Multiple cupolas and domes crowned the roof, their antecedents stretching from Melbourne's Edwardian empire style to Aldo Rossi's recent Theatre of the World and Arata Isozaki's experiments with platonic geometries and the baroque.

At first glance, the stylistic differences between the two Venice designs suggest very different conceptions of Australian identity and its representation in the international territory of the

[14] 'Biennale di Venezia Australian Pavilion, Design Report', Design Board, Australia Council, December 1987.
[15] Childs, 'Australia builds a "shearing shed"'.

Biennale. However both reveal a range of sources and convergences from various places – including Texas, New Jersey, Kempsey and Melbourne. One building might appear more Venetian and the other more Australian, but the Giardini was a strange site where claims to internationalism and nationalism had to exist side by side. It was the perfect media site for negotiating the local and global intersections of the 1980s.

Reception of the project

This international information economy went unnoticed in the critical and media responses to the project. The European architectural press barely noted the Australian pavilion at all. English journals –more mindful of Australia than those from other parts of Europe – were certainly interested in Australia in 1988. The opening of Romaldo Giurgola's New Parliament House received much coverage, while the country's bicentenary occasioned a dossier on Australian architecture and interior design in *Blueprint* and another Australian special issue of the *Architectural Review*. Neither of these publications mentioned the pavilion. *Domus*'s coverage of the 1988 Venice Biennale was devoted to the competition for a new Italian pavilion.

In June 1988 *Casabella*, however, published an article describing both the Edmond and Corrigan design commissioned by Belgiorno-Nettis, and an early version of the scheme produced by the Design Arts Board. The authors of this article – Paolo Tombesi and Riccardo Vannucci – note that both designs addressed intermittent occupation by exhibitions with unpredictable requirements. They comment that the Edmond and Corrigan project draws on their personal creative world, the theatrical and esoteric architectural references in which they were interested, while they describe the Cox design - which they attribute to Cox and Andrews – both in terms of pragmatics (the modularity of its construction; the accommodation of its stepped section to the site) and 'identifiability', found in the project's reference to an Australian rural vernacular of corrugated iron roofs and relationships to landscape.

In this respect, Tombesi and Vannucci's assessment of Cox's design rehearses its reception in Australia. *The Age*, for example, published an enthusiastic article on the pavilion in early June 1988, foregrounding the 'shearing shed' comments of the Australia Council's general manager.[16]

The toughest article to appear in Australia was published in the critical journal of architecture *Transition*. Its author, Nicholas Baume, set out the history of both the Edmond and Corrigan and Cox designs, expressing deep dismay at the expedient manner in which the pavilion that was built

[16] Childs, 'Australia builds a "shearing shed"'.

came to be. Haste had compromised its design and led to the ethically dubious decision that it would be done by members of the Design Arts Board. Referring to the fact that the pavilion was still not complete when the Biennale opened in the first week of June 1988, Baume wrote 'Perhaps the circumventing of normal procedures for developing a brief, awarding a commission and reviewing the design could be excused had the project been a brilliant success.'[17]

That the pavilion was incomplete was a debacle for the Arthur Boyd paintings that were the Australian showing: 'Newly painted and stretched, Boyd's canvases were at their most vulnerable in the midst of a construction site. Enclosed in a non-airconditioned building of steel and glass in the heat of Venice's humid summer, the paintings began to melt.'[18] In reviews of the Biennale, however, the art press were relatively sanguine about the state of the Australian pavilion, while mixed in their views of the Boyd paintings.[19] Moreover, it seems likely that without Cox providing the design quickly and for free and BHP providing the steel – most likely on the basis of the excellent relationship Andrews had established with them in relation to his Eugowra house[20] - the Australia Council would not have been able to get the pavilion built at all.

Conclusion

The project of building an Australian pavilion in Venice was of course fraught. The Cox design was legitimated through its citation of a poetic-cum-pragmatic response to landscape and climate, a kind of regionalism, that was widely held to be proper to Australian architecture. But even the most nuanced conception of 'regionalism' could not be elastic enough to include such a building situated in Venice's Giardini. Rather, the pavilion projected a certain image of Australian architecture constructed in a broader process in which architectural images and fragmentary references – drawn from an unpredictable range of geographies and histories - circulate and concatenate. Moreover, this image was not uncontested.

Writing in 1983 Kenneth Frampton distinguished between 'Critical Regionalism' and 'simple-minded attempts to revive the hypothetical forms of the lost vernacular'.[21] Rejecting populism

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[17] Nicholas Baume, 'Guests in Venice: Australia's *Biennale Pavilion*' *Transition* 29, Winter 1989, p. 65.
[18] Baume, 'Guests in Venice', p66. See also Australia Council Annual Report, 1988-89, p. 37.
[19] Robert Hughes, 'The Venice Biennale Bounces Back Dominated by Jasper Johns', *Time* 132: 4 (July 25, 1988), p. 84; Richard Cork, 'Exhibition Reviews: The Venice Biennale', *Apollo*, 128, September 1988, p. 189; Michael Archer, 'Venice Biennale', *Art Monthly*, September 1988, p. 4; Howard Jacobson, 'Cast Among the Avid Art Merchants of Venice, a Biennale Virgin Writes Home', *Modern Painters*, June 1988, pp. 25-27.
[20] 'Silver in the eucalypt', *BHP Steel Profile*, 4, 1982. The sponsorship costs, including pro bono work, are listed by Childs, 'Australia building a "shearing shed"'. Belgiorno-Nettis donated $107,000 to 'put the building together'.
[21] Kenneth Frampton, 'Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance' in Hal Foster, ed., *The anti-aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, Bay Press, Port Townsend, Washington, 1983, pp. 16-30.

(surely a brand of postmodernism) for its insistence on communication via the sign, Frampton countered with a tactile, experiential architecture that responded to the range and quality of a local light, a tectonic derived from structure, the topography of a site. However, the local *cultural* circumstances of the projects he presents as key exemplars of critical regionalism are entirely absent from his accounts of them. In particular, Frampton disregards the design debates and critical conditions of architecture in the places – particularly Scandinavia – from which he draws his key cases. It would appear that in the regions architects should not talk, or write, but just build. Disengaged from the discursive contexts of their production, the works of architecture Frampton discusses become signs in another kind of globalised debate.[22]

The building designs, exhibitions and publications discussed in this essay point to a more complex situation. It is a situation in which architecture and media merge. This condition is tacitly acknowledged in the attempts by the Australia Council's Design Arts Board to engage with the international design publicity machine through exhibitions, key journals, and finally the Venice Biennale. Australian architecture wanted to talk to the world, but the circumstances through which it would be heard were beyond its control. On the one hand, this could produce an unanticipated critical response to the Australian scene, such as Mendini's view that there was an irreducible complexity in Australian culture such that it could not be rendered in a single 'reproducible stylistic mark'. On the other, and more insistently, the circulation of theories of regionalism, nationalism and cosmopolitanism within transnational architectural media participated in an import/export economy that saw the role of places outside the metropole such as Australia to be the production of architectural images of otherness. Intentionally or otherwise, while fulfilling its mandate of 'exporting' Australian architecture and fostering the development of design industries, the Australia Council sponsored and fed the demands of the Global North for distinctively local content. However, the production and reception of identity claims was not consistent. Writers often hedged their judgements with disclaimers acknowledging the difficulties of asserting national and indigenous characteristics. The performance of the disclaimer then allowed the identity claims to proceed.

[22] See Paul Walker, 'Kenneth Frampton and the Fiction of Place', in Andrew Leach, Antony Moulis & Nicole Sully, eds., *Shifting Views: Selected Essays on the Architectural History of Australia and New Zealand*, Queensland University Press, Brisbane, 2008, pp. 70-80.

Australia in Modern Architecture since 1900 Macarena de la Vega de Léon, University of Canberra *

Nothing shapes architectural production and debate as the writing of history. Given the process of reception and representation of European ideas in Australia and New Zealand (and vice versa), this paper analyses the case of Australia in Modern Architecture since 1900 (1982) by William J.R. Curtis. His aim is to present an overall view of the development of modern architecture including the architecture of the non-western world; a subject overlooked by previous histories of modern architecture. Curtis places authenticity at the core of his research and uses it as the criterion of his evaluation. With the full revision, expansion and reorganisation of the content for the third edition of the book, Curtis presented a more 'authentic' account of the development of modern architecture in other parts of the world, still excluding Australia. This paper discusses the absence of Australia as an example of Curtis' understanding of the notion of regionalism. Compared to other post-colonial examples that were modified, there is scant difference in Curtis' account of Australian modern architecture between the first (1982) and the third (1996) editions, based mainly on references to the Sydney Opera House and Harry Seidler. In the years separating both editions, regionalism in architecture was debated and framed by, among others, Paul Rudolf and Kenneth Frampton also disregarding Australia as an example, despite the fact that Australian modern architecture had been featured in international journals such as Domus ' monographic issue "Ciao Australia" (1985). Analysing Curtis' limited take on Australian architecture, this paper presents a critical overview of what he calls 'authentic regionalism'. Was there a lack of authenticity in Australia or a lack of understanding about Australia?

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William J.R. Curtis's *Modern Architecture since 1900*, first published in 1982, is "a study of the traditions of modern architecture in their cultural setting".[1] The aim, as stated by the author in the introduction, was to bridge a gap detected in previous histories of modern architecture and to present a "balanced, readable overall view of the development of modern architecture from its beginnings until the recent past".[2] A second edition appeared in 1987 with a preface and an *addendum* entitled "The Search of Substance: Recent World Architecture (1987)". Almost a decade after it first appeared, Curtis published the final third edition in 1996. Here, instead of extending the epilogue, the content was massively revised, expanded and redesigned prior to the release of the third edition of *Modern Architecture since 1900*. This scale of revision is unusual: while other histories of modern architecture were merely updated with extra chapters, Curtis

[1] W. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, London, Phaidon, 1996, p. 291. (1982, p. 238).
[2] Curtis, p. 13.

added nine chapters to the original three parts of his book and transformed the addendum into a whole new part.

Between the first and the final editions of the book, between 1982 and 1996, Curtis deepened his understanding and reflection on the notion of 'authentic' regionalism. Interestingly, it was precisely the time when other critics such as Kenneth Frampton, Paul Rudolph and Keith L. Eggener were also publishing their reflections on that notion. None used Australia as an example. Between 1982 and 1996 Australian modern architecture was featured in several issues in relevant architectural journals such as the Italian *Domus*, the British *The Architectural Review*, the American *Architectural Record* and the French *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. The aim of this paper is to discuss the impact of these media and Curtis' own experience on his account of Australian architecture in *Modern Architecture since 1900*.

Changes between 1982 and 1996

In the first edition (1982) 'Australia' appears twice in the index: 'Sydney' once and there are four references to the 'Sydney Opera House'. The opera house is mentioned in the addendum to the second edition (1987) as a clear influence to Fumihiko Maki's Municipal Gymnasium in Fujisawa. In the definitive edition (1996), there are no changes in the references to the opera house and there are a couple of new references to 'Australia'. Australia is considered, together with India, as an example of a country whose "modern architecture had to begin from scratch"[3], "virtually from scratch"[4] in the third edition. According to Curtis, other countries, including Australia, had received "bastardized and stereotyped" images and many of the "standardized emblems of modernization" from the United States after the war as proof of the international victory of modern architecture.[5] Australia appears for the second time in the chapter on 'the problem of regional identity' together with countries in Latin America and Japan, where around 1960, "transformations, deviations and devaluations of modern architecture had found their way", and not the orthodoxy of the International Style.[6]

Before moving on to Harry Seidler, Curtis briefly mentions Walter Burley Griffin as introducing of 'Wrightian' influences in Australia and discusses the particularities regarding the aboriginal population and the debates on the problem of an Australian cultural identity. First, it is especially interesting how Curtis changes the word 'indigenous' in the first edition (p. 258) to 'Aboriginal' in

[3] Curtis, 1982, p. 258.
[4] Curtis, 1996, p. 397.
[5] Curtis, p. 396. (1982, p. 258).
[6] Curtis, p. 491. (1982, p. 331).

the third edition (p. 503) and the use of the word 'tension' to refer to the Australian tradition (or lack of it) being complicated "by the relatively recent arrival of Europeans and by the fact that the Aboriginal population expressed its ideas through other means than permanent buildings."[7] 'Indigenous' has a broader meaning whereas the use of 'Aboriginal' shows a better understanding of the Australian context and its specific social circumstances. Second, Australia is considered as one of the countries asserting themselves after colonialism, as some Third World countries, where regional architectural tendencies ended up frequently allied to nationalism.[8]

Curtis presents Harry Seidler as responsible for introducing universalizing ideas and imitations of eastern American architectural language in Australia as a result of his cosmopolitan formation. Seidler makes only slight adjustments to this language, which in the author's opinion is evidence of his uncompromising stance and strong modernist position. This is one of the many critical judgements presented by Curtis in the first edition of *Modern Architecture* that is suppressed in the third edition. Curtis substantiates his criticism by citing Paul Rudolph, who was also part of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard, like Seidler. Curtis refers to how, in Rudolph's opinion, Seidler's House is "the Harvard house incarnate transferred to Sydney without any modification whatsoever."[9]

Apart from Harry Seidler and his 'foreignness', Curtis briefly mentions Peter Muller and his 'modern regionalism', Peter Johnson and his brutalist ideology and William Lucas when referring to the casualness of a new suburban way of life in Australia. Their work embodied, according to Curtis, an attempt at producing a new Australian architecture. In the third edition of *Modern Architecture*, the chapter is renamed to 'the process of absorption: Latin America, Australia, Japan', deleting the reference to regionalism. Curtis introduces the notion that at that time Australian modern architecture ran from internationalism to a 'species of regionalism' and that urban society in the country –similar to that in Latin America as opposed to Japan– had a more automatic affinity with the western understanding of modernity. But, the most interesting addition to this chapter regarding Australia is the acknowledgement of the impact of 'landscape' on the largely nomadic culture of the Aboriginal population.

The Sydney Opera House is, according to Curtis, more a result of the Scandinavian tradition and its influence in Utzon's design that a product of Australian architecture. The main description and analysis of the building appears in a chapter that in all editions of *Modern Architecture* is called 'Alvar Aalto and the Scandinavian Tradition'. Here Curtis focusses more on Utzon's design than on the actual result, giving more importance to the aims behind the section than to Arup's structural

[7] Curtis, pp. 503-04.
[8] Curtis, p. 504. (1982, p. 336).
[9] Curtis, p. 504. (1982, p. 336).

solution. There are three main ideas in Curtis' discussion on this iconic building: its originality, its symbolism and its significance. Firstly, the Opera House is considered a prototype and regarded for its newness, as are most works of art, with limited sources or analogies. Secondly, Curtis agrees with Philip Drew in his *Third Generation* and with Utzon himself in considering the building as a modern cathedral, consecrating its symbolism to a "supremely important national art."[10] Thirdly, the choice of this building as an icon of the second half of the twentieth century architecture was, according to Curtis, in a sense, premature. At the time this choice was made by Sigfried Giedion and other historians, it was not clear how buildable Utzon's design was.

According to Giedion, one of the aims of the third generation of modern architects was the transformation of ancient monumentality. It does not come as a surprise that the next reference to the Opera House appears in the chapter on Kahn and the 'challenge' of monumentality, together with Hans Scharoun's Philharmonie in Berlin as abstractions of classicism that created a new monumentality. Curtis understands the opera house together with Kenzo Tange's Japanese town halls, as new civic monuments. The Sydney Opera House, as a powerful image, exemplifies the reflection with which Curtis ends the text in 1982, or the third part in the third edition, without changing his position. "However, imagery is not overplayed and is supported by form. Form in turn arises directly from a simple structural means attuned to serve ideas."[11]

Apart from the above mentioned differences between the editions of *Modern Architecture* regarding Australia, there are two main additions in the content of the third edition which relate to Burley Griffin and to Glenn Murcutt. Burley Griffin's plan for the new capital city was "an organic conception blending a non-authoritarian monumentality with a dispersed garden city", while Newman College in Melbourne was "a hybrid of modern skeletal thinking, abstracted Gothic motifs, and vaguely geological metaphors".[12] At the other end of the twentieth century, Curtis includes Australia in his account of the universal and the local; landscape, climate and culture. It is important to understand that Curtis wrote the book in the midst of the debates on post-modern architecture and approaches to history. One of the aims of Curtis' book was to demonstrate that modern architecture is not the rootless phenomenon that previous historiography has presented with a Western bias. It is important for him to convey that modern architects did not reject history and tradition and that there were modern architects outside of Europe and the United States.

[10] Curtis, p. 469. (1982, p. 304).
[11] Curtis, p. 613. (1982, p. 385).
[12] Curtis, p. 299.

The interaction between the international and the regional, between modernity and tradition in the post-colonial world is a great example of the importance of roots. According to Curtis, regionalism was a notion, in 1996, which did no justice to the developments it tried to characterised, as it could imply a sense of provinciality or periphery. That is why Curtis uses the expression 'blend of different universalism'. Examples of these ideas are, on the one hand, the Australian domestic architecture of the 1970s and 1980s and Rick Lepastrier (who Curtis met and with whom he discussed Australian architecture in the early 1980s), and on the other, the response to different climatic zones given by Glenn Murcutt and his notion of 'legible landscape', that links him back to the Aboriginal Australians.[13]

> Before the arrival of the colonialists, the Aboriginal population of Australia had made shelters from the most minimal materials (...). In this largely nomadic culture, the landscape itself (both visible and invisible) had supplied a monumental framework and an extended hold of meanings. (...) In the mid-twentieth century a certain mythology of the 'outback' was developed by the largely urban population settled around the image of a temporary shed, often with a timber veranda and a tin roof.[14]

It appears that Curtis had, at least, problems 'locating' the content about Australia in the first edition of the book, both thematically and chronologically. However, as it has been shown, even having admitted to visiting the country, Curtis focusses his attention on the work of immigrant architects and on the import of modern forms. His general reflections on regionalism, universalism and landscape are supported by brief descriptions of few examples. But what is even more interesting is how the brave judgments of Australian complexities in the search for a national identity where suppressed when preparing the definitive edition of *Modern Architecture*.

Journals between 1982 and 1996

Between the first and the third editions of *Modern Architecture since 1900* Australian modern architecture appeared in relevant international architectural journals: *Domus*, *Architectural Record*, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and *The Architectural Review.* Between 1990 and 1996 Mauro Baracco wrote essays for *Domus* on Harry Seidler's and on Nonda Katsalidis' work. None of these buildings were included in the book. In a recent architectural symposium on 'Italy/Australia: Postmodern in Translation', Silvia Micheli presented her research on a special issue on Australia in the architectural journal *Domus* (07/1985). At the same time, the *Architectural Record* covered

[13] Curtis, p. 640.
[14] Curtis, p. 505.

Australian modern architecture regularly. Philip Goad wrote about Choong house (04/1988) and Jahn Graham and Fraser wrote about the situation of Economy and Architecture in Australia (7/1994, 7/1995). Philip Goad also wrote on Australian architecture for *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (02/1993).

The Architectural Review was other journal that featured Australian modern architecture at this time, with a special issue in 1988. Rory Spence wrote about 'regional identity' (12/1985), Glenn Murcutt (05/1987), about 'the Griffin plan for Canberra and the Parliamentary Zone' (10/1988), and he discussed several architects and buildings between 1985 and 1995. He even prepared the introduction to an issue devoted to architecture in Australia, with particular reference to architecture for the Aboriginal community and on a healthy living environment for aboriginal Australia (11/1994). This quick outline of some of the essays and journal articles published between the editions of *Modern Architecture since 1900* gives sufficient examples that characterised the situation of Australian architecture at the time when Curtis was preparing the revision and expansion of the book's content.

William Curtis still has very vivid memories of his three visits to Australia between 1980 and 1981. On his first visit he gave several lectures. During his second visit he taught at the University of New South Wales while working on the manuscript of *Modern Architecture since 1900*. "The last third of the manuscript was nearly lost at the bottom of the River Hawkesbury in Australia when a canoe tilted over".[15] In his third visit, Curtis gave the Power Lecture in several cities and taught six weeks at Queensland University of Technology where he met Tom Heath. Moreover, he finished writing the last chapter of *Modern Architecture*, whose last reference is to the Sydney Opera House, in a beach house in Coolum Beach, north of Brisbane. He recalls it being the result of a single sitting of twenty-four hours. [16] Therefore, it can be stated that the absence of more built examples of authentic Australian architecture is not the result of lack of knowledge or experience, but may be a result of the broader aims of the book. It is also true that some of these examples may be too urban and too real to fit the discourse of landscape and universalism.

Despite these remarks, Curtis provides with a comprehensive narrative of Australian architecture throughout his discourse on the development of modern architecture. Although he visited Australia while working on the manuscript of the first edition, and not while re-working on it, his understanding of Australian modern architecture deepened between 1982 and 1996, between the editions of the book. In addition to this, an important outcome of his research is the development of his own thinking, from the 'authentic' regionalism of the early 1980s to his

[15] Curtis, *Modern Architecture*, 1982, p. 6.
[16] In conversation with William J. R. Curtis.

definition of universalism. At this point, it may be worth asking: is this the most carefully constructed account of modern architecture in Australia of the general historiography of modern architecture? It promises to be a fruitful area of future research.

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Larrikinism in Corrigan's Architectural Theatre

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Reviewing "Architecture in the Antipodes" in 1984, RIBA journal editor Peter Murray, put Peter Corrigan in a van of Australian architects searching for an architecture that was positively, proudly and distinctively Australian. Besides through his completion of a postgraduate programme at Yale under Charles Moore, and his work experience in the offices of Paul Rudolph, Victor Gruen Associates, and Philip Johnson, Corrigan played a crucial role as an attractor and translator of a postmodernist model of regionalism in Melbourne and Australia in the latter half of the 1970s and well into the 1990s, through various media: journals in which he published or that he co-founded like Smudges, discussion groups like Half-Time, conferences such as the "Pleasures of Architecture"(1980) conference, and most importantly university lectures and his legendary studio training at RMIT.

While the current literature on Corrigan points especially to his familiarity with the ideas of Venturi and Scott-Brown as the main source for the way in which he a celebrates the unique ordinariness of suburbia in his architecture, his long-standing engagement with stage design since his student years seems to have been even more important. Australian identity was also one of the main themes that The New Wave theatre explored, in particular the Australian Performing Group (APG) in which Corrigan was deeply involved intellectually. Following Caspar Neher, he adopted as a stage designer the Brechtian technique of unveiling the constructed nature of the theatrical stage, which rhymed well with the self-parodic stereotyping of larrikinism through performance and gesture in the APG plays. Transferring carnivalesque, grotesque and burlesque design experiments from theatre to the field of architecture, Corrigan forged a unique brand of regionalism that challenged the dualistic centre-periphery model accepted by modernists such as Robin Boyd who assessed Australian suburbia as inhabited by a public that "knows no better, has seen no better design." Corrigan's anti-authoritarianism led him to a subversive postmodernist stance that found in the suburban 'periphery' the material to find a way out of the casting of Australian architecture as peripheral.

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Introduction

In the late 1970s and early 1980s a group of Australian architects celebrated a regionalism that was more pluralistic than the regionalism pursued by the generation of modernists before them. [17] The renewed interest in the concept of regionalism was, besides a response to the so-called 'cultural cringe' and Australia's stigma of cultural isolation and derivation. In the 1960s, art historian Bernard Smith found that Australians, before they would dare to call Europe equally the antipodes of Australia, they had to overcome their embarrassment over the suggestion that they "stood on their heads at the bottom of the world."[18]

But the new embrace of Australianness was also a consequence of the appropriation of the postmodernist movement in Australia. According to Melbourne architect Daryl Jackson, postmodernism had 'freed things up' and allowed for a distinctive mode of hybridisation for the Australian architect who no longer had 'to look over its shoulder to see what is happening elsewhere.'[19] The National Times reported in 1981 about Australian 'new wave architects,' most of them in their mid 30s, advocating a new postmodern style that will be 'more interesting to the public because it is easier to understand.'[20] In analogy with new wave music it incorporated a pop feel while keeping the experimental and wayward ethos of punk.

Besides architects such as Greg Burgess, Peter Crone, and Norman Day, it was Peter Corrigan, leading an architectural firm with his wife Maggie Edmond since 1972, who played a pivotal role in giving direction to postmodern regionalism in Australia. The regionalism of Edmond and Corrigan explores the iconography of the suburban world Australia has built on its own; a regionalism that is very different from the evocation of a mythical harmony of nature, dwelling and building in the work of Glen Murcutt and others. Yet, just as the architecture that Kenneth Frampton labelled as 'critical regionalism' can be critiqued for falling back all too easily into the

[17] On the 'antipodean' regionalism of the Australian modernists in the 1960s, see: Doug Evans, 'Centre and Periphery: Melbourne Regionalism and its Global Context in the 1950's and 1960's', *Universal versus Individual*, *Conference Jyväskylä, Finland,* 2002, http://www.alvaraalto.fi/conferences/universal/finalpapers/doug.evans.rtf (last accessed 9 February 2016).
[18] P. Beilharz, *Imagining the antipodes: culture, theory, and the visual in the work of Bernard Smith*, Cambridge/New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997; p. 122.
[19] P. Murray, 'Architecture in the Antipodes', *RIBA Journal,* vol. 91, no. 2, February 1984, p. 21-28, 23.
[20] J. Sandeman, 'New wave architects show their wares', *The National Times,* 30 August to September 5, 1981, p. 56.

domain of world culture, one can wonder if Corrigan's regionalism does not suffer the same fate in following the international project of postmodernism.[21]

Although Corrigan's architectural approach seeks to distinguish itself in its Australianness, it is also greatly influenced by the appropriation of ideas that were part of the international discourse on postmodernism. Corrigan studied and worked for seven years in the United States after his studies at Melbourne University. His completion of a postgraduate programme at Yale under Charles Moore, and his work experience in the offices of among others Paul Rudolph, Victor Gruen Associates, and Philip Johnson, functioned as a sort of accelerator for the development of his postmodernist approach of which he had sowed the seeds already before his departure and, after his return back home, enabled him to play a privileged role as a translator and propagator of postmodernism in Melbourne and Australia in the latter half of the 1970s and well into the 1990s. It is not surprising therefore that current literature on Corrigan points to his familiarity with the ideas of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown who ran the Learning from Las Vegas studio when he studied at Yale as the most important source for his strategic sampling of ordinary architectural features of Australian suburbia.

The current literature on Corrigan tends to neglect the personal assimilation within his architecture of ideas derived from his long-standing engagement with stage design since his student years and in his later work for directors Lindzee Smith in the 70s, Peter King and Graeme Blundell in the 80s, Barrie Kosky in the 90s and Michael Kantor in the late 2000s.[22] In several places, Corrigan states that his architectural practice has always had the ambition to create 'poor architecture' as in 'poor theatre', a concept launched by the Polish theatre director Jerzy Grotowski in 1965, promoting a return to 'the personal and scenic technique of the actor as the core of theatre art' in response to 'rich theatre' using new media techiques.[23] Corrigan translates the idea of 'poor theatre' into architecture as 'an attempt to make public statements within tight budgets.'[24] One of the most important statements that his architecture makes is one about Australian identity. It is in this interdisciplinary exchange, which also crosses many geographical borders that this paper seeks to account for the larrikinism that characterizes his regionalist model of postmodernism.

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[21] P. Walker, 'Kenneth Frampton and the Fiction of Place,' in: A. Leach, A. Moulis, and N. Sully (eds.), *Shifting Views: Selected Essays on the Architectural History of Australia and New Zealand*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2008, pp. 70-80.

[22] An exception to this is Michael Anderson who has published about Corrigan's trajectory in theatre, notably: C. Hamann, *Cities of hope remembered/rehearsed: Australian architecture & stage design by Edmond & Corrigan 1962-2012*, Fishermans Bend, Vic, Thames & Hudson Australia, 2012, pp. 149-158.

[23] J. Grotowski, 'Towards a Poor Theatre' [1965] in: E. Barba (ed.), *Jerzy Grotowski. Towards a Poor Theatre*, New York, Routledge, 2002, pp. 15-27, 15.

[24] Peter Corrigan, statement as foreword to R. Munday 'Passion in the suburbs', *Architecture Australia*, vol. 66, no. 1, February/March 1977, p. 52.

Anti-naturalism

Corrigan recounts that while hanging round LaMama during his residency in New York he was most fascinated by John Vaccaro and the Theatre of the Ridiculous. One moment that he will never forget is when at a rehearsal John Vaccaro asked an actor to stop 'this acting shit:'

That struck me as significant. Acting was about technique. It was primarily English mainstream. What he was proposing was a radical model of performance – to bring your own life experience on stage rather than simulate life experience.[25]

In analogy with theatre, Corrigan says he could not help to think 'Stop this design shit' when seeing much of the architecture produced in his time. 'I really lost as a very young man the patience with the whole methodology of architectural design. And this happened in theatre,' he remembers.[26]

After returning from New York to Melbourne in 1973, Corrigan immediately joined the Australian Performing Group (APG) as a stage designer. He recalls how 'slightly smutty' and funny the first show was that he saw after his return in Australia, *Waltzing Matilda,* with Peter Cummins dressed up as a 'fucking kangaroo' and a machine of some sort.[27] The APG was active between 1967 and 1981. It produced experimental plays that examined the question of national identity and social values through actors seeking to establish, in reaction to the mainstream Anglophone theatre culture of its time, a collective yet each time uniquely personal and seemingly under-rehearsed performance that was rough, volatile, brimming with larrikinism, and that kept ample room for the unpredictable.[28] Although newly written plays by group members like Jack Hibberd, John Romeril, Barry Oakley, were instrumental in exploring Australian identity issues and political concerns, the script remained subordinate to the group's commitment to a 'performance' philosophy along the lines of Vaccaro. John Romeril's script *The Floating World*, directed in 1974 by Lindzee Smith – a play important not only in the development of APG's visual and gestural style but also in the treatment of the text as open for individual and collective interpretation. It featured a working class Australian and former prisoner of war of the Japanese in World War II, captain Les Harding, who finds himself with his wife on a cruise trip – a holiday which they had received as a present from their daughter and son-in-law. As Les Harding approaches Japan, the social mask of this stereotypical ocker with his gruff voice, racisms and sexisms, and his incapacity to express emotions, falls apart as a thin cover for his damaged psyche haunted by war traumas and

[25] Peter Corrigan, interviewed by Wouter Van Acker, (unpublished transcript), p. 26 October 2015.
[26] P. Corrigan interview 2015.
[27] P. Corrigan, 'From the Tim Robertson interviews' http://www.pramfactory.com/memoirsfolder/Corrigan-Peter.html (last accessed 11 January 2016).
[28] M. Williams, 'The Pram Family Show' http://www.pramfactory.com/family.html (last accessed 11 January 2016).

hallucinations.[29] One critic noted how during the play Romeril's 'prototype ugly Aussie […] is saved from caricature by his suffering.'[30]

The APG productions were moving away from naturalism, for example by exaggerating and charging everyday language with a poetic tone, but also by many non-verbal means such as the different costumes, props, lighting effects and provocative gestures. These gestural, visual and verbal systems complement the verbal and react to each other, each dealing with the coding of different facets of reality, including the subconscious and hyperreality. For *The Floating World* Corrigan designed an oval rostrum in APG's Pram Factory in Carlton, suggesting the prow of a ship, with carnivalesque zigzag lines painted along the side and a green floor cloth on its deck. He provided several performance areas for the fragmented scenes. A green chicken-wire cage was wrapped up around the stage and the audiences' seating area and closed off by ushers at the start of the play, placing the spectators inside a cage in which the drama of Les Harding's psyche unfolded.

Larrikinism

Corrigan's ambition to create a home-grown architecture and his strategies to deal with stereotypes of Australian suburban architecture has clear parallels with the project to create a home-grown theatre by the so-called New Wave theatre companies such as the APG and the Nimrod Theatre in Sydney. Corrigan likes 'to think that there is a dash of the larrikin architect in me…Australia is about a sort of rough expression of ideas that are true to us. Not about a polished, refined identification of ideas that may well be true overseas.'[31] A 'larrikin' was originally a term that was used to denounce working-class teenagers causing trouble in nightlife scene in the late nineteenth century, but has now become a rather positive term used to appreciate a characteristic Australian disdain for all that is snobbish, bourgeois and authoritarian.[32] 'Optimistic vernacular larrikins such as Roy Rene, George Wallace, Jack Hibberd and Dame Edna, always seemed to us to have "meaning" and "relevance"', Corrigan says about his architecture.[33]

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[29] G. Wolf, *Make It Australian: The Australian Performing Group, the Pram Factory and New Wave Theatre*, Sydney, Currency Press, 2008, p. 161.
[30] L. Radic, [Untitled], *The Age*, 9 August 1974, Australian Performing Group Archive, 1974. Box 50. As quoted in: D. Varney, 'Political Lessons of the "New Wave": Romeril's The Floating World', *Double Dialogues,* no. 11, Winter 2009.
[31] G. Missingham, 'Peter Corrigan's architecture: a kind of exposition', *Transition,* vol. 2, no. 1, March 1981, p. 14-21.
[32] M. Bellanta, *Larrikins: A History,* St Lucia, Queensland, University of Queensland Press/Penguin Books, 2012.
[33] P. Corrigan, 'Church news', *Architect,* vol. 3, no. 47, May 1977, p. 8.

The attitude and concept of the larrikin clarifies the architectural position that Edmond and Corrigan took in an international context. At the Paris Biennale of 1982 Edmond and Corrigan presented some of their buildings whose surrealism lied in the cream brickwork that was just out of fashion and its colour motifs that were at least a generation old – messages which are easily understood by the inhabitants of the suburbs in Melbourne but not by the French.[34] As an architectural critic noted, their 'larrikin-like ockerisms' in the brick patterns and colour codes seem to say either 'don't take it seriously' or 'we're the same as you, mate'.[35] 'Modernity is a centralist position,' said Corrigan, summarizing his view for the organizing committee of the Paris Biennale, 'It can't be confused with the Bodgie Wolf'– a colourful and irreverent popular Australian tattoo symbolizing 'home'.[36] The Bodgie Wolf also refers to a theatre play directed by Lindzee Smith, staged in a Romanesque church in Bogena in northern Italy in 1980. Corrigan, who acted as its stage designer, and Smith were tired of the audience 'arriving in Ferraris' and took the play to the fountain while drinking beer. 'We believed that was the place of the Bodgie Wolf – reflecting Australian culture and happy to be so disengaged from nostalgia.'[37]

Alienation

Despite the familiarity of the suburban iconography mined by Edmond and Corrigan, their buildings retain in their regionalism a sense of alienation, of the unfamiliar. This is not unlike the defamiliarization of the familiar that Tzonis and Lefebvre describe as an essential trait of successful critical regionalism, or the sublimation of the ordinary into the extraordinary which Venturi and Scott-Brown consider essential in their work. Corrigan however is not after a critique of a globalist capitalist culture, as Tzonis and Lefebvre want to have it, or a reconciliation of high and low art à la Venturi. More illuminating than the parallels in the field of architecture are the ideas of Berthold Brecht and his stage designer Caspar Neher. The Brechtian technique of unveiling the constructed nature of the theatrical stage – the *Verfremdungseffect* or the alienation or strange-making effect – is something Corrigan holds dear, just as the other members of the APG did. Theatre creates a double reality – a real world on stage and a world that exists as representation. When Corrigan writes that 'Brecht presented the stage as a stage'[38] he refers to the simultaneous revelation and collapse of that doubleness in order to open up the theatrical reality for social

[34] XIIeme Biennale de Paris 1982: Section Architecture, *Modernity or the Spirit of the Times*, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1982.
[35] M. Jorgenson, 'From Whence Comes Form?', *Transition*, vol. 2, no.1, March 1981, pp. 38-41, 40.
[36] 'Are the French ready for the Bodgie Wolf?', newspaper article clipping from Office Archives Edmond and Corrigan. Articles and Press Clippings Edmond and Corrigan (1980),
[37] P. Corrigan interview 2015.
[38] P. **Corrigan, '*Stage Space*'** [1962] in Holloway, Peter (ed.) ***Contemporary Australian Drama***. Sydney, Currency Press, 1979, p. 34-38, 36.

critique. In the Brechtian oppositional space, the reality that is represented on stage falls back through defamiliarization in the hands of the audience, deemed intelligent and ambitious enough to engage in the opportunity of a wider debate and critique of the social themes addressed by the performance.

Not unlike Tschumi's concept of cross-programming, inspired by Antonin Artaud's manifesto *The Theatre and its Double* (1938), Corrigan's architecture becomes a vehicle to interpret the 'Australian Dream' as constructed in suburbia. Artaud wrote that 'The theatre will never find itself again--i.e., constitute a means of true illusion--except by furnishing the spectator with the truthful precipitates of dreams.'[39] Edmond and Corrigan's Keysborough church (1977) is a key example of the ambiguity they seek. The architecture has lent itself to accommodate both liturgical and non-liturgical activities such as bingo, bucks' nights, yoga and childcare; the priest once refused to have it transformed excessively into a teenage disco. Like Venturi's both-and, Corrigan defends a pluralism of meaning: 'The notion that "if there are two good equal and opposite ideas, then choose one" never really appealed to me. I still do believe that they should both go in.'[40] But in the opposition of the familiar and unfamiliar, social commentary is never far away in Edmond and Corrigan's architecture. Their most notorious building, RMIT Building 8 (1993), carries narratives in its façade, stairs and corridors; they are devices that tell stories about education and identity to the users of the building and the passers-by. More than any other building of Edmond and Corrigan, Building 8 is a fragment of their utopia of a 'city of hope'; it illustrates their belief in an emancipation of a culture's interiority. Or as Corrigan summarizes: 'Narrative builds architecture and architecture builds society.'[41]

Transplanting architecture

In the closing session of the Pleasures of Architecture conference held in Sydney in 1980, an event of major importance for the reception of postmodernism in Australia, Peter Corrigan, Andrew Metcalf, Alec Tzannes, Michael Graves, Rem Koolhaas, George Baird, Norman Day and Philip Drew were asked to answer the question 'If Post-Modernism is the Answer, What is the Question?'[42] Rem Koolhaas used Corrigan's contribution to the exhibition to respond to the question of regionalism, making the point that the only regionalism he could conceive of was not

[39] A. Artaud, *The theater and its double*. New York, Grove Press, 1958, p. 92.
[40] P. Corrigan, interviewed by [Michael Anderson] 'Going after the Good. An interview with Peter Corrigan', p.1.
[41] P. Corrigan interview 2015.
[42] P. Hogben, 'The Aftermath of "Pleasures": Untold Stories of Post-Modern Architecture in Australia', *Progress, Papers from the 20th Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Sydney, 2003, pp. 146-151.

a style but a response to 'international issues inserted into different contexts'. For the exhibition that accompanied the conference, a group of designers were asked to make a proposal to complete Engehurst, a site in Paddington determined by a development commenced by John Verge (1782-1861). Edmond and Corrigan presented a house for theatre director Graeme Blundell, his wife and all their friends in order to propose a mini-manifesto based on a 'national uneasiness with the prospect of larrikin energy'.[43] Koolhaas found that their entry:

[…] looks different in different regional contexts, which is the first image and soul of Peter Corrigan's work. And his work is marooned or transplanted here. And this may be the problem of Australian architecture, but it may also be its excitement, in that it could be an architecture of fresh transplantations. The natural environment is so strong and the conditions are so obvious and so different from those elsewhere, that it provides a context to induce something Australian. I can't understand what the problem is with this. Everything I look at here is so Australian.[44]

Although Australia is, probably more than other country, aware of the failures of transplants of various species in its ecosystem, Corrigan's work grew through transatlantic and interdisciplinary implants. The seven years he spent in America were crucial, he said to realise what he held so dear of Australia: public toilets, public parks but most of all his 'larrikin friends, the larrikin humour, and the scepticism.'[45] These friends, mostly theatre people like Bill Garner, Lindzee Smith, Jack Hibberd, John Romeril, and Phil Motherwell embraced ideas about what constituted Australianess, ideas which he transplanted to, what he calls, 'the public marketplace which is the battlefield of architecture.'[46]

[43] 'The Pleasures of Architecture Conference, 1980: The Interviews', *Transition*, vol.1, no.4, October 1980, p. 5.
[44] 'Rem Koolhaas', in: *Transition*, vol.1, no.4, October 1980, pp. 14-18, 14.
[45] Peter Corrigan, interviewed by Dale Jones-Evans, *Tension*, 3 April 1984, pp. 34-36, 34.
[46] C. Peake, 'Suburban Manifesto', *The National Times,* February 10, 1979, p. 43.

KEYNOTE

Acts of God and Human Folly: medieval building and the empirical process **Roger Stalley**

It is often assumed that medieval construction was based on a system of trial and error, and empirical process that led, inexorably, to the great structural achievements of the Gothic era. The history of architecture is usually written as a series of success stories; we rarely hear about calamities or indeed failures to learn from past mistakes. Taking examples from various part of Europe, this talk will consider some of the things that went wrong, and the ways in which builders and their patrons reacted to the unexpected.

Roger Stalley is Professor Emeritus of Art History at Trinity College Dublin. His first book, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland: An Account of the History, Art and Architecture of the White Monks in Ireland, from 1142-1540*, won the Alice Davis Hitchcock medallion from the Society of Architectural Historians (GB). Subsequent publications include *Early Medieval Architecture*, and two edited volumes *Medieval Architecture in Limerick and South-west Ireland* and *Irish Gothic Architecture: Construction, Decay and Reinvention*. Stalley is a member of the Royal Irish Academy and of the Academia Europeae, an honorary fellow of the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland, and a fellow of the Society of Antiquities

FOURTH PAPER SESSION

SESSION: Time Travel II Mari Lending, Oslo School of Architecture and Design, Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, Yale University

Upon his arrival in Pompeii, Stendhal stated that he felt "transporté dans l'antiquité", and that by studying the ruins of Pompeii first-hand "one immediately knows more than a scholar." The ruins and rubble induced a feeling of time travel, and the place revealed a feeling of history of a sort that he obviously found more profound than scholarly, written history. By experience, the history of the place came alive, so to speak. At the same time, in 1818 Quatremère de Quincy travelled to London to inspect the Elgin marbles. Exposed to the massively dismembered building parts as installed in a provisory gallery adjacent to the British Museum under construction, he felt as if propelled back to their moment of creation, to the Athenian construction site or the studio, "you are confounded at the quantity of work and speed of execution that were required to carry off such an enterprise at once so quickly and so perfectly." Respect for such architectural time travel waned by the end of the century when the idea that art and architecture are products of a particular period and place, promoted by art historians like Heinrich Wölfflin, took hold. After Friedrich Neitzsche condemned the study of history as a dubious pursuit, looking forward, rather than looking backward, became the mantra of modern architecture.

Alternative approaches to time and change emerged in the mid 20th century, when architects and historians became increasingly interested in establishing historical continuities. For example, the exhibition "La Mostra di Studi sulle Proporzioni" at the 1951 Milian Triennale displayed photographic reproductions of buildings from different eras on a three-dimensional lattice, which allowed the eye to trace analogies without a particular chronology. Similarly, Sigfried Giedion saw the baroque in a similar vein as a timeless synthetic impulse. Yet, despite this sea change in historical imagination, the idea that architecture should be in sync with its time prevailed. When Eero Saarinen later in the 1950s mimicked a medieval Italian hilltown for his Morse and Stiles Colleges at Yale University, Reyner Banham deemed the outcome a mere stage set, suggesting that such travel belongs to theatre, not to architecture.

Art historian George Kubler can be credited for revealing the methodological shortcomings of modern historiography, demonstrating in his landmark The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things (1962) how formal motifs get transmitted through time and space. Kubler stated that "even architecture . . . . is guided from one utterance to the next by the images of the admired buildings of the past, both far and near in time." Yet, insistence on the periodization and

obsession with newness still dominated how we think of architecture's relationship to time. This session investigates conflating or competing temporalities, beyond the mere chronological schemes that have governed modern historiography. We invite papers that discuss convoluted constellations of architecture and time drawing on documents and monuments, images, landscapes, or cities.

Obsolete in Reverse Daniel Abramson, Tufts University

"The future is but the obsolete in reverse," wrote Vladimir Nabokov in a 1952 story about a time-traveling astronaut, "Lance." Nabokov's time-twisting axiom, conjoining past and future under the banner of obsolescence, was oft-quoted in the 1960s, a decade itself enthralled with the idea of architectural obsolescence.

One of those most enamored was Cedric Price, who characterized his imaginary Fun Palace as a "short-life toy," and who projected a grand Potteries Thinkbelt educational network composed of scores of limited-life teaching and residential elements. Price largely embraced the promise of obsolescence, its liberation from the past.

But others in the same period recoiled at obsolescence's waste and ephemerality, and tried to reverse its logic. Thus emerged sustainability in its various guises, from adaptive reuse to ecological design: the conservation rather than expendability of existing resources, natural and human-made.

This paper will sketch the history of the concept of obsolescence as it evolved in twentieth-century architecture and urbanism, from its initial use in early-century American real estate, and subsequent application to whole cities, to postwar architects' engagement worldwide across a spectrum from acceptance to repulsion.

The paper further argues that design itself proffers subtle meditations upon obsolescence's tangled temporalities of use and value, past and future. Temporal estrangement is the crux of Nabokov's axiom, for example: a similar alienation infuses Price's Potteries Thinkbelt imagery. The paper concludes by looking at the presentation of buildings, time, and mortality in Ridley Scott's futuristic 1982 film Blade Runner, a particularly vivid conjunction of the themes of obsolescence.

The paper's overall purpose is to elucidate obsolescence's manifold implications for understanding architecture's complex relationships to time, from both historical and philosophical perspectives.

Family of Minds: Plain Arts Eliana Sousa Santos, Coimbra University *

Human families of minds: experimental, classic, refined and baroque minds exist in every generation and seek one another out across time. (George Kubler, Note, GK Papers)

The art historian George Kubler, had many different research interests and most of them were connected: he paid attention to the plain character in pre-columbian art and architecture, in the colonial architecture of New Mexico, and in Spain and Portugal. This network of research topics allowed him to write the revolutionary The Shape of Time (1962), a book where he proposed a radical philosophy of art history as the history of things, as a great universe of many constellations, a great network of series of objects.

The book was very influential in the art history field, and mostly also in the field of art itself. As Pamela Lee noted, artists like Robert Morris, Robert Smithson, Ad Reinhardt and John Baldessari, quoted Kubler in their writings and artworks. In a sense, The Shape of Time opened the way for an expansion in the fields of architecture and art in the mid 1960s.

Kubler also wrote specifically about Portugal, Portuguese Plain Architecture: Between Spices and Diamonds, 1521-1706 (1972), where he described that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, supposedly a period of crisis, witnessed the development of a kind of architecture that was simple, austere, sparse — modernist in a sense. Shortly after the book was published there was a political revolution in Portugal. The country had been for many years very closed to the outside world, so Kubler's book provided a conceptual framework for a new tradition: Plain Architecture.

In a sense these two moments bear a Kublerian quality - 1960s American art and post-1970s Portuguese architecture - sharing the some of their essential qualities, they belong to the same family of minds, of plain arts.

PAPER

> "Human families of minds: experimental, classic, refined and baroque minds exist in every generation and seek one another out across time."
>
> George Kubler, Note, George Kubler Papers

In a lecture presented at the Yale School of Architecture in 1974, George Kubler, then a professor at the neighbouring department of Art History of the same university presented the argument of his book *The Shape of Time* (1962) while describing his heritage as a historian of art. He talked profusely about his mentor, Henri Focillon and about his ideas regarding the structure of historical time. Kubler translated Focillon's work *The Life of Forms in Art* (1942) and one might say that this

work generated the main arguments of *The Shape of Time*. One of Focillon's ideas that Kubler put forward was the presentation of art history as a network of *families of minds* that could be found across time and place.[1]

For Kubler, it was fundamental that Focillon had created a theory that regarded history of art as "a collection of universes, a collection of imaginary worlds", that he was interested in different "forms of society, which reflected his lifelong concern with socialist thought", and that he tried to look at the world without some of the art history tropes "allowing unexpected comparisons between artists of different cultures and eras" classifying them in "different *families of the mind* which he detected among artists."[2]

To explain the concept of *families of minds* Kubler compared two objects with similar features, that nevertheless originated from different places and eras, one from the Olmec civilisation, the other from ancient Greece:

"Here's another example of this echoing across time and space of people with a similar spiritual family. Here on the left is one of those colossal heads from Southern Mexico called Olmec heads and on the right is the work by a sculptor in Greece in the fifth century, named Skopas, who devised means for suggesting spirituality and intensity of spiritual life by the shadowed eye. The shadowed gaze where the shadow of the situation of the eyes suggested an intensity of inner experience, that are suggestive of spiritual existence of great depth. Now a similar operation appears in the work of the Olmec sculptor of about 1200 or 1000 BC, in Southern Mexico, so between Skopas in the 5th century BC and this sculptor in Souther Mexico of 500 years earlier in the New World there is this coincidence in a technical solution for an expressive problem that is shared by both of them and puts them in a family of mind although there is no historical connection whatever between them." [3]

[1] Kubler, G. (1974). Meso-American Spaces, and the Shape of Time [Mp4]. School of Architecture, Yale University, Lectures and Presentations (RU 880) Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid.

Image 1. *Cobata, Colossal Head found near quarry: View at excavation.* Photo property of George Kubler. Accession number M5001_0008_050. Visual Resources Collection, Yale University.

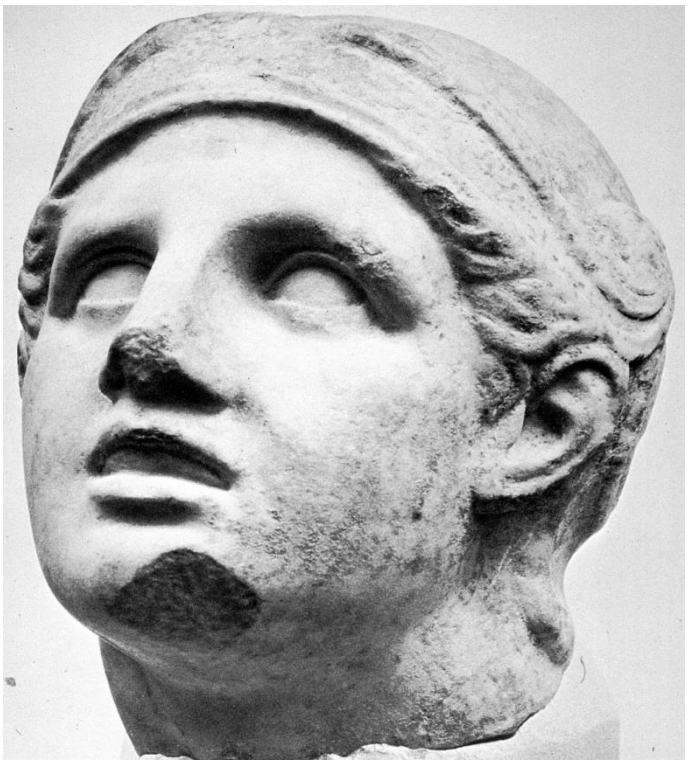

Image 2. Temple of Alea Athena (Tegea, Greece): West pediment; head of a warrior (cast). Skopas, fl. mid-4th century BCE. Accession number 237195. Visual Resources Collection, Yale University.

The idea of *family of minds* was one of the many that allowed Kubler to propose a new theory of art history in *The Shape of Time*. Kubler had a long list of historiographical conventions that he wished to dispute, it comprised:

> "causality, great men, narrative method, duality (polar opposites and dialectical materialism), symbolic compression, date (relative to system), sequence, duration and style"[4]

Thus, in *The Shape of Time*, Kubler presents a notion of time perceived not as a linear sequence but as a tesselate landscape. He studied subjects marginal to the conventional history of art that concentrated on Western achievements. And many of his subjects of study didn't fit in the categories that the discipline of history of art had built.
One might argue that his choice of subjects was peculiar for its marginality, as well as for their ubiquitous relationship with modernism, Kubler looked at historical objects as subjects in avant-garde art of the 1930s and 1940s. The churches that Kubler analysed in New Mexico were already represented and appreciated by modernist artists, such as Georgia O'Keeffee and Edward Weston. And pre-Columbian motifs were also adopted in modernity as a source of pre-western influence. The text of *The Shape of Time* is not illustrated, nevertheless in its draft Kubler listed a series of images that could illustrate his ideas. In it he parallels, among others, the work of Frank Lloyd Wright—who famously designed buildings in the 1920s with pre-Columbian motifs—with Mayan architecture, and Henry Moore with Chacmool sculpture.[5]

Kubler was, in a sense, looking at the culture of modernity in art practice that tried to look at, and borrow motifs of, peripheral cultures and non-Western practices.[6] Kubler's interest in the peripheral cultures—New Mexico, Peru, Portugal, Spain— can bee seen as

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[4] Kubler, George (nd) "Note" Accession 1998-M-082, MS 843, Box 1, Folder G. A. Kubler's Notes on Style. George Kubler Collection, Robert B. Haas Family Arts Library, Yale University.
[5] Kubler, George (nd) "Note" Accession 1997-M-022, MS 843, Box 4, Folder The Shape of Time. George Kubler Collection, Robert B. Haas Family Arts Library, Yale University.
[6] In *Art History after Modernism* Hans Belting about Barnett Newman's position at the time and his exhibition "The ideographic picture" in 1947, in which Ad Reinhardt and Mark Rothko participated among others: "In 1948, Newman therefore chose the epithet "sublime" when he wrote about the 'failure of European Art' in its two leading movements, geometric abstraction and surrealism. Here he called for the 'liberation from the burden of European culture'…" Belting, H. (2003). Art history after modernism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 44.

Image 3. Chichen Itza, Chacmool. 500 AD - 1499 AD. YVRC mounted photo; Gift G.A. Kubler, May 1967, Museo Nacional de Antropologia no. 835. Accession number M0009-026. Visual Resources Collection, Yale University.

connected to the modernist context of art at the time and part of a longer lineage of artists that started to look at other cultures.

After its publication, *The Shape of Time* became a theoretical instrument for artists who were interested in the expansion of the art field. Kubler was himself a collector of the artists notes about his book.[7] As Pamela Lee noted, many artists in the 1960s were inspired by Kubler's philosophy of art history and *The Shape of Time* became a cult book among artists.[8]

From planiform to plain

Portugal was one of the peripheral areas that Kubler studied. His work in the country started with an invitation by Nikolaus Pevsner to contribute to the Pelican History of Art collection and to choose one of two possible subjects to develop; one about the Art and Architecture of Spain and

[7] Kubler, G. (1982) The Shape of Time Reconsidered. Perspecta 19, 112-121

[8] Lee, P. M. (2004). Chronophobia : on time in the art of the 1960's. Cambridge, Mass. ; London, MIT Press.

Portugal and their colonial dominions in the Americas, the other about pre-Columbian Art.[9] Kubler chose to work on both, sharing the work of the Iberian volume with the historian Martin Soria. This combination of subjects was described by Kubler as the catalyst for the idea of the study art production across time and space that he put forward in *The Shape of Time.*

Kubler travelled to Portugal from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, sometimes staying for long periods, in that timeframe he managed to publish two other volumes about Portuguese art and architecture.[10] At that time, the county was under a dictatorial regime and also seemed to belong to a different era, if compared to the United States and the rest of Europe.

Portugal was marked by social inequality and a predominantly rural economy, where a large proportion of the population was illiterate and lived in poverty, while a small part of the urban upper and middle classes lived a charmed life in a place that seemed to exist in arcadian times. When Mary McCarthy visited Lisbon in 1954 she was impressed with this inconsistency, puzzled that the same place could hold such different realities. She reported this publicly to the New Yorker Magazine,[11] as well as privately in a letter to her friend Hannah Arendt:

> "I don't know anything about the country politically yet. It seems quite puzzling on the economic level, a strange mixture of prosperity and poverty. The prosperity must be quite widespread throughout the city middle-class, but I can't figure ou where it's coming from. The tea and coffee-houses are jammed with well-dressed men and women, whom you'd take for business people in the U.S. or even secretaries or salesmen; all the middling-class younger people, in fact, look very American, as if they'd modelled their gestures and expressions on the movies—it's only the aristocracy and the poor who look what I would call Portuguese. (I find this very different from Italy or France.) (…) On the back streets and in the Alfame [sic], there is plenty of medieval poverty, like Africa, as you say, or like the most graphic pages of Les Misérables or the Hunchback of Notre Dame."[12]

Kubler was travelling around Portugal during the same time as McCarthy, although he was primarily interested to document architecture, or what he called previosuly in *The Shape of Time* the architectural 'planiform tradition' of the seventeenth century, that appeared simultaneously to

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[9] Kubler, G., Soria, M., & James H. Sutton Jr. and Sylvia Leal Carvajal Collection. (1959). Art and architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American dominions, 1500 to 1800. Baltimore: Penguin Books. Kubler, G. (1962). The art and architecture of ancient America: The Mexican, Maya, and Andean peoples. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

[10] Costa, F. ., & Kubler, G. (1967). The antiquity of the art of painting. New Haven: Yale University Press. Kubler, G. (1972). Portuguese plain architecture: Between spices and diamonds, 1521-1706. Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press.

[11] McCarthy, M. (1955). Letter from Lisbon. New Yorker. New York: 83-102.

[12] Arendt, H., McCarthy, M., & Brightman, C. (1995). Between friends: The correspondence of Hannah Arendt and Mary McCarthy, 1949-1975. New York: Harcourt Brace, p. 17.

the Baroque:

> "Actually, the Baroque architecture of Rome and its scattered derivatives thorough Europe and America is an architecture of curved planes approaching a system of undulant membranes. These mark the changing pressures of inner and outer environments. But elsewhere in Europe, especially in Spain, France and the northern countries, another mode of composition prevails. It may be called platform, or non-undulant, having only ascending crises of accent and stress. Thus the seventeenth century architects align either with a platform tradition or a curviplanar one, and it is confusing to call them both Baroque."[13]

Travelling in Portugal, while photographing this preference for these simple forms in architecture, Kubler also captured glimpses of the social inequality and the country's poverty. To some extent both realities—the social and the architectural—blend in the architectural objects that Kubler photographed as he was travelling the country. He was searching for simple, proto-modernist forms of the planiform tradition—and he found them in erudite and vernacular architecture.

It was the Portuguese historian Mário Chicó, who had also been a pupil of Henri Focillon, introduced Kubler to the term Plain, as in Plain Style — *Estilo Chão* in Portuguese,[14] and convinced him to publish a book about Portuguese architecture. This became *Portuguese Plain Architecture: between spices and diamonds 1521-1706.* Kubler, borrowed the concept of plain to define a historical moment: a concept defining the character of the architecture developed in a period of crisis and austerity between 1500 and 1700.

The idea of Plain Architecture implied that there was a conscious decision to build simple structures rather than sophisticated designs. It is based on the belief that this was a matter of choice rather than condition, since it seemed farfetched to believe that an imperial country did not have the resources — material and intellectual — to build more erudite and opulent designs. For Kubler, Portuguese Plain architecture was a hybrid between erudite and popular architecture, manifesting certain essential architectural properties. This seemed to have a causal connection with the economic and political context of the time, a period of crisis that called for understated buildings and the optimal use of scarce resources for great effect: "The Portuguese plain style is like a vernacular architecture, related to living dialect traditions more than to the great authors of

[13] Kubler, G. (1962). The shape of time: Remarks on the history of things. New Haven: Yale University Press.
[14] This was a term that was first used by Julio de Castilho, referring to the unornamented architecture in Lisbon of the sixteenth century, when palaces and noble houses were built as simple structures, lacking sophisticated and erudite designs.

Image 4. Family at a doorstep in Leiria, in Sindicato nacional dos arquitectos (Lisbonne). (1961). *Arquitectura popular em Portugal.* Lisboa: Sindicato dos arquitectos.

Image 5. Quinta da Malagueira, Évora, Álvaro Siza Vieira, 1977

the remote past"[15] and "corresponds to an experimental attitude among designers who were nourished on Renaissance theory and yet were able to disregard its prescriptions in the quest for useful and inexpensive building."[16] Kubler's thesis implied that the nature of Portuguese architecture did not fit in any of the already defined categories of art history, and thus was an appropriate case study to demonstrate the thesis that Kubler had put forward in *The Shape of Time*.

Although Kubler started his research in Portugal around the early 1950s the book *Portuguese Plain Architecture* was only published in 1972. The research, writing and publication of the book spanned an important moment in the history of the country, and the same happened with its in the 1980s and 1990s. The 1974 revolution, the entry in the European Union and most recently the economic crisis of 2008, became moments in which Kubler's scholarship resonated.

The fact that the book took so much time to be published altered the context of its reception. The book gradually became part to the scholarly conversation in a post-revolutionary country and the tradition it represented became a attached to progressive values. It became part of a tradition untainted by the previous political regime and moreover it was proudly local, separated from the European norm. Gradually, the book was a catalyst for a change of perspective of art history and in architectural practice in Portugal, because of its emphasis on the specificity of Portuguese architecture.

After the Portuguese revolution in 1974, Portugal became a very present in the foreign press, and consequently too in international architecture publications. At the time, left leaning political ideologies were connected with the image of the country, as Jean-Luc Godard's film Comment Ça Va (1978) might attest. The film, an essay on the production of images as ideological signs, choses an image of a Portuguese protest as the centre of its thesis. This is also evident in architecture, or the publication of Álvaro Siza's SAAL project S. Vítor in Porto in an issue of the Italian journal Lotus International in 1978[17], and it is manifest in publications such as the Architecture d'Aujourd'hui special issue about Portuguese Architecture in 1976.[18] The cover of the later, drawn by the activist cartoonist Abel Manta, represented a woman 'of the people' holding a baby, sitting between what could either be read as a doorstep of a vernacular building or the entrance of Alvaro Siza's Malagueira social housing in Évora. The architecture that was

[15] Kubler, G. (1972). Portuguese plain architecture: Between spices and diamonds, 1521-1706. Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press. p. 3.
[16] ibid. p.165
[17] Siza, Á. (1976). "The proletarian 'island' as a basic element of the urban tissue." Lotus International(13): 80-93.
[18] Portugal. (1976). Paris: L'Architecture d'aujord'hui.

adequate for the people, 'the real people,' was an erudite interpretation of the vernacular tradition, and this had a lot in common with the notion of *Plain Architecture* that Kubler defined.

At the time of the publication of the Portuguese translation of the book, that only appeared in 1989, another kind of national identity reassessment was underway, related to the Portuguese entry in the European Union. Kubler's thesis was recovered in the 1990s in Portugal, Kubler's work gained importance within Portuguese art history scholarship in the graduate program at Universidade Nova de Lisboa. The subject of *Plain Architecture* eventually migrated to the architectural academic context.

In the early 2000s the subject merited an issue in Jornal dos Arquitectos [JA] where its contemporary relevance was discussed in interviews and essays. In this issue Varela Gomes presented Kubler's thesis as mapping Portuguese architecture in a nonaligned position. By nonaligned he meant that it satisfied the search for a political autonomy with a peripheral nature. According to Varela Gomes, the historiography of architecture in Portugal had been forced to conform to the categorization of European art history according to orthodox sequences of styles: Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, and so forth. Kubler's book, with its evident dismissal of the ideal of style, became instrumental to define an authentic Portuguese architecture: "The concept of plain style presented itself as the true denegation of periphery: it allowed Portuguese architecture some autonomy in relation to the dominion of Italo-centric concepts. Portuguese plain was a new concept that could be as relevant as Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque."[19]
More recently, in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008, the attractiveness towards the small, the peripheral and the radical re-emerged. Eduardo Souto de Moura inscribed his own work within the Portuguese Plain tradition. In 2012 Siza's S. Vítor project featured on the exhibition 9 + 1 Ways of Being Political: 50 Years of Political Stances in Architecture and Urban Design at the Museum of Modern Art in New York [MoMA]. The description of the project is latently indebted to Kubler's idea of an architecture that used scarce resources for great effect, where architects interpreted the vernacular tradition: "This housing project in Porto is one of Siza's most politically engaged works—due to the architect's sensitive relation to the existing urban context and the involvement of the population in the process of design. (...) Part of a greater planning intervention intended to renovate a densely packed neighbourhood in the historical centre of the city, the row of twelve houses fills the small site, adapting itself to the locale and offering an alternative for tabula rasa approaches to urban renovation. Poetically blending regional and modern references, the project demonstrates that a scarcity of resources

[19] Varela-Gomes, P. (2001). ""Arquitectura não-alinhada"." JA: Jornal Arquitectos(200): 5-9.

can result in a resonant cultural and political architectural statement."[20]

The ideas that were manifest in Kubler's book about Plain Architecture have a long genealogy. Paradoxically, given the book's late publication, what was tinted by a nationalist inclination was well received by the new generation of architects, working on the brink of the 1974 revolution, who eventually became internationally established architects.

Acknowledgements

This essay is co-financed by the POPH program of the European Social Fund and by National Funds by FCT Foundation for Science and Technology, with a postdoctoral grant with the reference SFRH/BPD/68962/2010.

[20] MoMA (2012). "SAAL S. Victor Social Housing, Porto, Portugal ". Retrieved October 25, 2014, from http://www.moma.org/collection/object.php?object_id=161432.

Planetarium in Reverse: Reconstructions of the Future in 1930s Moscow Juliet Koss, Scripps College

To live in Moscow in the 1930s, surrounded by reconstruction on a massive scale, was to experience temporal confusion – a kind of urban time travel – on a daily basis. Soviet construction narratives had been built on the utopian promise of a better tomorrow, yet this unidirectional approach soon gave way to a more complex sense of time, with five-year plans completed in four years and an architectural future that relied on stylistic historicism. How might such convoluted temporality be represented?

This talk explores three examples of architectural time travel in 1930s Moscow as laid out by the artists Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova and the writers Viktor Shklovsky and Sergei Tret'iakov. In a 1932 article in Pravda, Tret'iakov announced plans for the "Moskvarii," a building to house architectural models depicting historical Moscow along with the present-day and future city. He described the venue in science fiction terms ("the balcony provides not only a bird's-eye view; it is also a time machine, like the one described by [H. G.] Wells"); in approving the project the Mossovet chose, as its designer, Rodchenko, who further conflated time and space by labeling the project a "planetarium in reverse." Soviet constructions were depicted more famously in USSR in Construction, with twelve issues designed by Rodchenko between 1933 and 1941, eleven of these in collaboration with Stepanova. And in 1938, these two artists worked with Shklovsky to create Moskva Rekonstruiruetsia [Moscow reconstructs itself], an album showcasing the city's development using competing visual registers – diagrams, foldouts, varied photographic styles – to produce a dizzying conflation of temporal frameworks. In each case, photography and design not only helped document and promote the construction process but also offered visual parallels for the temporal confusion of Soviet urban experience.

Terragni's Casa de Fascio and its Afterlife Romy Golan, CUNY Graduate Center

This paper will focus on Giuseppe Terragni's 1936 Casa del Fascio in Como and its afterlife in Riflessione, an installation by the architect Mario Di Salvo and the conceptual artist Carlo Ferrari. Riflessione was staged at a one day event, Campo Urbano: interventi estetici nella dimensione collettiva urbana an artistic occupation of the city by forty artists, joined by musicians, architects, art critics, local firemen, electricians, and the public, who took over Como, as well as part of its lake on September 21, 1969.

Di Salvo and Ferrari lined a up a series of mirrors at the foot of the Duomo effectively unhinging the edifice via myriad reflections, forcing locals to rethink their relation to the town's iconic

historical monument. Already Terragni used glass on the main façade of the Casa to reflect the medieval and Renaissance Duomo creating a superimposition (or ghosting) of the older building onto its Rationalist, Fascist successor. At the same time, and understandably enough, in the agitated, post-68, climate of the Autunno Caldo of 1969 the authors of Riflessione sought, in reverse, to eclipse Como's most famous modernist building. Through their combinations of flashback and eclipse, both the Casa and Riflessione function as a devices: as 'memory-machines.'

All of these maneuvers were best captured by the camera. My talk will thus revolve around photographs. Those shot by Ico Parisi which appeared in two monographic issues on the Casa del Fascio in journals with the apposite titles of Quadrante and Quadrante Lariano in 1936 and in 1968 (the latter with a text by Di Salvo on the fraught legacy of Terragni) and the splendid photobook of Campo Urbano produced by the designer Ugo Mulas and the photographer Bruno Munari.

Highway Historicities: How Architecture Shaped Developmentalist Time Lucia Allais, Princeton University

The highway was arguably the most iconic planning device of the development decades. Between 1950 and 1970 motorized bands of asphalt were threaded across vast stretches of territory. In the global South, highways often funded through international aid were built to open new markets for tourism, cultivation, and urbanization. While theories about the effects of this motorized episteme on architectural perception are well-known, from Lynch's Image of the City to Doxiadis's Architecture in Transition, the temporal aspect of infrastructural modernization, and the role played by historic architecture in its rise and triumph, haven't been fully explored. To be sure, new travel networks often brought with them the simplistic hypothesis, central to what Johannes Fabian calls "typological time", that some places and people need to "catch up" to others. But a more complex reflection of how the development paradigm affected the reception and design of the built environment can be detected in the work of experts who travelled along this new infrastructure with a vested interest in time—heritage planners, architectural historians and preservation architects. This paper investigates how their involvement in development projects affected their "shaping of time" through historic architecture.

Focusing on architectural missions sent by Paris-based UNESCO and Rome-based ICCROM and ICR to the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Latin America, the paper reveals a shift in international preservation theory and practice: from the expression of temporal ruptures to a conception of time where continuity is paramount. In contrast to the before-and-after logic of postwar European

reconstruction, decolonizing or post-colonial missions proliferated strategies for selecting and restoring historic sites along a continuum, and designing fragments into sequences, patterns and overlaps.

These projects invented manifold and competing new ways to map time onto space. Ringroads in the historic cities of Syria and Lebanon were to be edged by a continuous urban-historical "profile". In the holy sites of Pakistan, a cardiogram-like graphic system would designate points of "concentrated" historicity. In the monumental destinations of Turkey, Morocco and Egypt, Franco Minissi tried to suspend time by encapsulating visitors and objects together in glass prisms, concrete canopes, or envelopes of light. And in Cuzco, Peru, the aftermath of an earthquake brought George Kubler himself, later the theorist of the "shape of time", to help re-shape the temporal experience of the city through a materialist re-zoning of modern voids and historic solids.

ROUNDTABLE: Pre-modern Architecture and the Shift of Historiography

Christian Freigang, Free University, Berlin

For several years now, architectural historians have seemed increasingly to concentrate of on the history theory and philosophy of the 20th and 21st centuries. It is evident that scholarly interest, teaching and professional discourses focus on modern architecture. In contrast, Early Modern and Medieval topics are understood as dwelling in a dark past, researched by apparently specialized circles and expert associations. Without any doubt there is a discernable shift in the self-consciousness and the choice of subjects by architectural historians that may be described as a crisis; the impact of this limited focus on the study of modernism on educational canons, social identities and teaching curricula is considerable. The possible reasons are multilayered: In a globalized world, pre-modern architecture tends to be seen as the expression of regional, even provincial identities, used moreover to create tourist clichés within a consumerist economy. Taking a more philosophical view, the loss of "big narratives" in favor of a constructed and fragmented notion of history has profoundly modified our understandings of continuity and relevance across scholarship in history and art history. At the same time, however, the public shows great interest in historic settings, as can be seen by the success of historic film sets as well as medieval fairs and plays and, not least, the historicist reconstructions of city centers. The round table seeks contributors who can take a broad view in discussing these phenomena, their causes, and their contexts. In lieu of mourning or being scandalized, specific insights into new notions of temporalities, chronologies, and historiographies are sought that enrich our understanding of writing architectural history.

Problem? No Problem Maarten Delbeke, Ghent University; Andrew Leach, Griffith University

We test the assumptions of this roundtable by reflecting on what we will position as an artificial if useful distinction: between those disciplinary habits and norms of architectural historians focussed on pre-modern epochs and those working primarily with the modern age. Despite appearances there is not a dearth of historiographical studies in pre-modernist architecture, but its attention to history's mechanisms is instead played out on two registers. The first is of architectural history as a product of the long twentieth century itself, where its histories function as modern artefacts—even when they concern subjects that might be cast as medieval, renaissance, baroque or neoclassical. The studies of the histories of these eras, we claim, use the proximity of modern knowledge to enter the mediated worlds of a deeper history, and to approach those worlds by understanding

the nature and circumstances of their mediation. This, we argue, is the study of historiography to better understand the modern era and its legacy, and in a way compounds the problem identified by the chair. The second register relates to the rise over the later twentieth century of a professional art (and architectural) history that draws no operating distinction between the world of ideas and that of artistic and architectural production—and in which attention to the fine grain demands attention, too, to the treatment of that fine grain within the discipline to date, and in which, therefore, historiography is processed as a matter of course within histories of the epochs under review. Both historiological registers, we argue, ultimately speak to twentieth-century disciplinary legacies and to an increasingly demonstrable capacity to consciously attend to the interplay of architecture and history—across history, for a range of disciplinary audiences—in which history itself, in all its guises, functions as an artefact while its historian confront the complications of contemporaneity.

Shift-Return Kyle Dugdale, Yale University

I will argue, from recent experience, that the much-advertised interdisciplinary nature of emerging scholarship has the capacity to transform architectural history's self-consciousness—transforming, not least, its relationship to pre-modern material, and rendering a narrow focus on the 20th and 21st centuries increasingly untenable.

I will argue, in this instance, from an engagement of architectural history with the concerns of critical biography and of theology, offering an assessment of why these ostensibly disparate disciplines are especially pertinent to a rethinking of architectural history's commitments. I am prepared to argue the case from a number of (geographically and temporally) distinct and seemingly unrelated standing-points, which render patently implausible, in each case, any bracketed conception of contemporary modernity's valid frame of reference.

Drawing on my own research, these profligate starting points could include the complex architectural-historical narratives surrounding the 2003 occupation by the American Marines of the site of ancient Babylon, the curiously medieval cover illustration to a 1918 novel by Josef Ponten, the latterday theoretical genealogies of the crane that for five hundred years symbolized the unfinished construction of Cologne Cathedral, or the beginnings of a more ambitious long-term project that aims to weave into a coherent fabric the various architectural, book-historical and theological threads that connect conceptions of architectural history to the trajectory of biblical architectures—and, more broadly, to the parallel course of Heilsgeschichte, which, ejected from

its native discipline along with other "big narratives", find a promising afterlife in the Elysian fields of contemporary architectural discourse.

In an overwhelmingly optimistic register, I will argue that this approach offers not a hard break with recent writings, but rather a soft return to older histories in search of new beginnings.

A Byzantinist with an interest in architecture or an architectural historian specializing in "things" Byzantine? Iuliana Gavril, Anglia Ruskin University

The point of departure for this position paper is a personal reflection on the dilemma I encounter every single time I sought to introduce myself. While it is very clear what I am doing, that is, investigating Byzantine architecture, when I say this to a group of practicing architects, or to colleagues in a school of architecture, it suddenly lacks in clarity and purpose. This dilemma encapsulates the tensions inherent in teaching and researching Pre-modern architectural history in schools of architecture, which favor largely a 'usefulness' approach to architectural history. By focusing on both the history and historiography of Byzantine architecture, this paper seeks to contribute to the present roundtable by stressing what is gained and lost when this 'usefulness' for architecture approach is embraced. The paper will specifically highly the Byzantine practice of writing about architecture, and it will briefly point out how this practice was subsequently used in the grand narratives of architectural history, and how it could be a subject of inquiry in itself benefitting us all, not only the architecture profession.

Pre-modern architecture and the shift of Historiography Bernd Nicolai, University of Bern

It is a commonplace that architectural history, especially as taught in architecture schools, has mainly focused on the modern era since the Enlightenment. The lack of former times was philosophically coated with the postmodern slogan that history has come to an end, with the consequence to life an eternal present. Important contributions of architects to the understanding of earlier epochs, such as Robert Venturi's Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture (1966) or Aldo Rossi's Archittura della Città (1966), were concerned with patterns of Mannerism to claim a new plurality in architecture or argued with a structural and semiotic approach for a holistic city conception with archetypes of the city fabric, like streets, squares and architectural signs. In both cases, history became a vehicle for their own agenda. On another level this can also be asserted with the position of Rem Koolhaas (Content 2005), where history is

displayed and deconstructed according to the principles of a neo-liberal globalized information society.

If, on the other hand, the announcement has stated a vital public interest in historic settings and sites, we have to ask what are the tasks of contemporary architectural history in order to bridge the gap to pre-modern epochs. From the perspective of an architectural historian who trained as an art historian in the humanities, we have to emphasize long term cultural issues, such as cultural transfer, migration, city culture and multiplicity. One of the most fruitful attempts to gain attention on a long term historical processes and development are global networks since antiquity, especially in the Mediterranean area (exchange of Arabic, Byzantine and European cultures) as well as the mundialization in the early modern age where the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch took agency. This allows further to discuss architecture in a wider process of cultural production.

A second aspect is a critical re-reading of national historiographies to contrast these approaches with a transnational architectural history. One of its pioneers was Arthur Kingsley Porter with his construct of the Pilgrimage roads to Santiago de Compostela. More recent research concentrated, for examples, on the art and architecture of the Hanseatic League, or on the International Gothic of the 14th and 15th century as a European phenomenon. Something similar has been done with baroque court culture (Da Costa Kaufman).

In addressing such topics the precondition for our present culture gets much more obvious and with it the meaning of architecture.

Fictive (his)stories: Daria Ricchi, Princeton University

In 1954, the historian Delio Cantimori stated that "it is no longer time for general histories, but only particular stories." But 1959 was the seminal year for 'historicism', when history and stories seemed to fill the pages of many magazines such as Casabella Continuità, L'architettura Cronache e storia and the Architectural Review. In the latter, Reyner Banham accused the Italian architects of retreating to history in his infamous article "The Italian Retreat from Modern Architecture." Banham, on the hand, was also a good storyteller. My claim is that historicism and fantasia or in other words the fictive component, the creative side, are two sides of the same phenomenon. The late fifties marked a return to more conventional writing styles in history, but also to more creative ones. In a period of disillusion and skepticism, the solutions seemed to be either a retreat to the past or an escape into fiction.

This double approach is clear in the work of the Italian art historian Giulio Carlo Argan, and I will use Argan and his texts to build the argument. Argan exemplified the interest for a distant past; he wrote extensively about Medieval, Paleochristian, and Gothic art. However, in his 1965 text "Progetto e Destino", Argan distinguished between project, one's freedom of expression—fantasia, and destiny could not unfold and critical texts could not be written. Storia, which in Italian synthesizes both story and history, is essentially untranslatable and undistinguishable. In other words, the fictive and the historical in writing are inseparable.

Early Modern Architecture Now Freek Schmidt, VU University Amsterdam

I have never understood why paradigmatic shifts that long ago have shaped periodizations of history, have so eagerly been embraced and transposed to try and make sense of something as fluid and whimsical as architecture. Why do we assume that some acts of building cease to be of interest because they predate others? Has this been caused by a persistent craving for modernist aesthetics, the success of the author-genius notion, a focus on design rather than process, or holding on to positivist interpretations of building and technology?

Not that pre-modernists cannot be equally narrow-minded where unconventional thinking and interpretations are needed. But this often happens out of conviction rather than ignorance. Unlike the much larger community of their colleagues working on 20th-century topics, most scholars of early modern architecture work alone, and are very persistent, but in rather less dogmatic or predictable ways. Despite often being marginalised and outnumbered at conferences and roundtables and in the scholarly press, the depth, variety and creativity of scholars working on early modern topics, architecture and source materials should incite the study of modern architecture - as was suggested at the EAHN conference résumé in Turin two years ago.

Rather than continue turf wars or focus on mutual short sightedness, however, we need an open dialogue and share thematic approaches to stories of architecture and building that go beyond questions of initial design and intention. These turbulent times in Europe may inspire a focus on alienation, on appropriation of the exotic and on uses after completion, in order to stretch established notions of historicity and authenticity, while keeping predictable debates on heritage at a safe distance.

ROUNDTABLE: Architecture and the Changing Construction of National Identity

Gary Boyd, Queens University; Hugh Campbell, University College Dublin

This roundtable session considers the various roles played by architecture in the creation and propagation of modern national identity. The production of a particular national identity can be thought of as a series of discourses cohering to form a consistent narrative. While this may have origins in a shared language, its development often extends to the cultural appropriation of physical and built space as much as to the production of new architecture. Such acts of collection and curation serve to confer order upon the messiness of territorial histories, producing consistencies rather than revealing disruption. Selected topological or architectural fragments become physical synecdoches for culturally constructed narratives.

Whereas national identity might be explicitly reflected in new monumental, religious, civic and governmental buildings, it might also be inferred through more ephemeral types of architecture deployed to celebrate a particular event, or through a country's more anonymous and ubiquitous institutional, domestic and industrial architecture. Architecture's embedding of national identity is necessarily complex. Histories are mediated and disseminated through built artefacts themselves (as they are restored, reused, become monuments and so on) but also through publication, exhibition and depiction. What architecture can signify as medium is often immediately dependent on is dissemination through other forms of broadcast media. Thus, the construction of such histories becomes bound up in the discourse of media as well as the discourses of identity, of nation-formation etc.

These narratives, in turn, tend to become sites of contestation and interpretation, to be periodically revisited and revised. Recognising that nations evolved different spatial and architectural strategies to define themselves over time, this roundtable hopes to convene a conversation across epochs and geographies: between the emergent nations of the 19th century; those whose collective history is much longer; and other, 20th-century nations for whom the language of modernism often promised a positive break from an inherited or imposed history. Within this, the focus is particularly on the processes through which meaning is contested and revised, exploring the means by which buildings themselves, as well as the images and texts which accrue around them, become the bearers of different sets of cultural meanings.

Contributions are invited from those involved in the historical study and critique of the theme as well as those who continue to explore the relationship of architecture and national identity through exhibition, publication and other media.

Building the Nation before Nationalism: The Cosmopolitan Historicism of mid 19th-century Europe Mari Hvattum, Oslo School of Architecture and Design

The Napoleonic wars may have been the beginning of the modern, European nation state, yet early to mid 19th century Europe was a cosmopolitan place. Professional groups such as craftsmen, academics, physicians, and not least architects, studied, worked, and married across national boundaries with astonishing ease, contributing to a mobile and cosmopolitan culture that was characterized by a rapid exchange of ideas and models.

Looking at examples of this mobility (for instance the German architect Heinrich Ernst Schirmer (1814-1888) who worked in Norway between 1838 and 1882, when a pronounced nationalist turn in Norway forced him to return to Germany), this round table paper explores the notion of a national architecture prior to national romanticism. I am particularly interested in the way the cosmopolitan historicism of the early to mid nineteenth century attempted to merge the universal and the national by means of architectural style. Schirmer and his generation were sensitive to local cultural conditions, but insisted nevertheless in translating the local into a universally legible idiom. They thus transcended the local and indigenous, seeing the nation state as part of a cultural commonwealth. In an increasingly multi-cultural world, it may be that the fluid notion of identity, encountered in early nineteenth-century Europe has something to teach us.

Straddling the National Divide: Appropriated Pasts, Inverted Archaeologies, and Byzantine Architecture in Europe, 1878-1939 Aleksandar Ignjatović, University of Belgrade

When in 1898 Emile Zola named the Basilica of Sacre Coeur in Paris a "citadel of the absurd", his designation did not refer only to the church's aura of religiosity and monarchism in the midst of the secular Third Republic. The chalky white edifice on the top of Montmartre also recalled the absurdity of the "French Byzantine architecture", which was methodically invented by nineteenth-century historians to distinguish the French from other European nations. Paradoxically, it was exactly the same nexus between the appropriation of the Byzantine Style and national exceptionalism that marked many other nations' architectural representation of identity at the time. From Russians and Christian nations of the Balkans, to Germans, Catalans and British Catholics, a number of European nations were simultaneously employing the tropes of Byzantine cultural succession as a symbol of national identity while erecting modern religious edifices and rewriting national architectural histories. While national architectural histories were being produced, creating a linkage between national styles and Byzantine architecture, new Neo-Byzantine edifices were springing up throughout modern European capitals to represent a kind of

"inverted archaeology"— from Christ the Savior in Moscow (1860-83) and Westminster Cathedral in London (1895-1903), to St.-Esprit in Paris (1928-35). Thus, a heritage that was, and still is, usually thought of as a symbol of the East-West divide, represented a common cultural treasury for creating architectural imageries of national identity and cultural exceptionalism. However, this simultaneity and interdependency of historical writing and the construction of modern national monuments is a telling example of a phenomenon that outstrips the question of the comparable (and competing) national appropriations of the "Byzantine Style". Namely, the outrageous insularity of these Neo-Byzantine edifices, which were constructed as islands of apparent architectural archaism in their increasingly modernizing urban settings, testifies to the duality of national identity that Homi Bhabha has called the tension between the "pedagogical" and "performative". It is this duality of nation as a historical object and subject of representation that can be traced in various architectural medievalisms—both built and written—across Europe in the critical moment of nation building between the Congress of Berlin and WWII.

Our Building Ourselves: How Architectural Photography Shapes National Identity

Shelley Hornstein, York University

While Europe braces for how to contend with the refugee crisis, its real challenge is not housing and jobs but the hierarchical and buried episteme of Eurocentrism and its modelling of the world that places European privilege as the central cartographic and regulatory agent. "The intellectually debilitating effects of the Eurocentric legacy," as Ella Shohat and Robert Stam describe it, are "…indispensable for comprehending not only contemporary media representations but…subjectivities…"

How does architectural photography participate in shaping and driving the narratives of nationhood in a time of modern identity formation and shifting borders? Recent media images of demolished archeological sites in Syria (Palymira) visually communicate the power of nationhood (ISIS) and its fragility (Byzantines, Rashiduns, Abbasids, Mamluks…). My contribution takes modernism's innovative, experimental, yet racist and colonialist starting point to ponder the question of nationhood seen or constructed through the lens of architecture. I will discuss the Archives of the Planet by French Banker, Albert Kahn. This project aimed to photograph cultures and geographies -- now a collection of 72,000 colour autochromes -- before would they would "disappear". Such systems for mapping and cataloguing the world crack open traditional readings of place shifting our eye to alternative forms of representation or non-linear practices of organizing culturally porous space and hence engagement across cultural, racial and geographic borders. Yet with the aftershocks from the Dreyfus Affair reverberating across France (and even

palpable today with the Charlie Hebdo attack, among others), I want to demonstrate how this innocent project foregrounds social media and photojournalism when it attempted to enable a new heuristic practice of "seeing" and undoing fixed notions that often paralyze the ability for citizens to speak to each other across identities.

Constructing the every-day: infrastructure as national identity in Berlin 1871-1920

Laila Seewang, ETH Zurich

Conquering natural resources by technological means and harnessing the associated enthusiasm for such projects has often had symbolic importance for a nation: Tulla's straightening of the Rhine in the eighteenth-century, Roosevelt's dedication of the Hoover Dam, Garribaldi's sketches for canals after the 1870 flood of Rome, and Hitler's opening of the Autobahn were also political narratives in the service of a national project. Yet so often the function of infrastructural projects outweighs their role as symbolic architecture.

The creation of a cosmopolitan city was a driving concern for Berlin after its promotion to national capital in 1871. Motivated to represent a modern German nation, a number of municipal infrastructural developments began to radically re-structure the city. It can be argued that urban modernity was effected at multiple scales through this infrastructure, particularly the water projects which created enormous impact beyond that of the network itself: from significant environmental change at the fringes of the city to the architectural identity of the pumping stations within the city, and finally the newly privitised, every-day rituals of the modern, bourgeois bathroom.

Like any of the new monuments erected in the new Germany, Berlin's municipal infrastructures were constructed as cultural artifacts and were heavily debated in periodicals of the time; they represented its past (all of the network's buildings were built in red brick neogothic architecture as symbols of a collective medieval history), its future (the waterworks adapted the latest scientific technology from Britain, France and within Germany to a modern concept of a democratic municipality) and linked it to its landscape (which had a long tradition in the drive towards German nationhood). In these years, however, the narrative of a Romantic landscape was confronting that of a scientific resource, and the dream of a technological future rivaled a Gothic past in the search for a new German capital.

Depicting Dreams and Facts the Role of Photography in the (im)Possible Construction of Postwar Spanish National Identity Iñaki Bergera, University of Zaragoza

Spain, maybe like no other country in Western Europe and up to date, is a country of countries, a nation of nations, that has constantly been struggling to shape an impossible collective narrative of itself. Deeply linked and in debt to its unique history, tradition and culture, the prewar avant-garde, linked to the political shift, made a first attempt to transform the image of the country leaving behind the weight of history. The Civil War, an international rehearsal of the 2nd World War, meant the bloody expression of the internal fracture and division.

The postwar Franco Regime imposed the construction of a unique national identity, in which architecture played a significant role. After the autarchic decade, the 'official' monumentality gave way in the fifties to an authentic and coherent modern architecture, born from within. Photography served as the right platform to disseminate and build, for internal and external consumption, the image of a modern country. The visual power of the landscape, the richness of vernacular architecture or the strength of the artistic impulse, served to set up a collective picture of a dreamed nation.

Nevertheless and as the landmark photo essay "Spanish Village" published by Eugene Smith in Life Magazine in 1951 clearly revealed the paradigmatic external vision of Spain is always that of an arcane, folkloric and mysterious country. Separated by the Pyrenees from Europe and sunk on the vestiges of orientalism, Spain couldn't get rid of its own clichéd portrait. This contribution to the roundtable will address the significant and paradigmatic role that the photographic depiction —and its media dissemination— of Spanish architecture and society had in the failed construction of its modern national identity. Beyond reviewing the learned uses and abuses of photography, assessing this issue under new perspectives, could contribute to enrich a collective discussion.

'Le passé est tantôt l'envers du présent, tantôt sa façade.' Portugal's National Identity Puzzle, c. 1940 Ricardo Agarez, Department of Architecture, KU Leuven

The commemoration of Portugal's multiple centenaries in 1940 (eighth of nationhood, third of regained independence) was an unmissable opportunity for dictator Salazar to reassert the regime's strength, both within borders and in the increasingly convoluted international scene. Looking at the country's history, staging it to produce 'a synthesis of our civilising action' and its 'traces around the globe' (his words) provided both scope and material for a top-down reordering of national-identity defining traits, blending erudite and folk, imperial, metropolitan and regional,

spiritual and material motifs, under a particular 'Unity in Diversity' banner. Assisted by propaganda mastermind António Ferro and the country's foremost urban planners, architects and artists – and its historians, ethnographers, cinematographers – the regime used the moment to impel its most noticeable policies, from public works to elementary schooling; as the centrepiece, an ambitious 'Portuguese World' exposition in Belém, Lisbon, where fifteenth-century ships ostensibly sailed from and symbolic monuments could be both re-presented and erected anew.

The 1940 events became one awkward episode in a world at war – Lisbon navel-gazing in forceful (expensive) celebratory mood while incredulous Central European refugees filled the city en route to America – and, in post-1974 Revolution collective conscience, another vivid example of Estado Novo's anachronism and conservativeness. Yet together with the images and texts with which the regime sought to prepare and extend the reach of the (temporary) exhibit, the 1940 monuments – stonework- or plasterboard-built – illustrate the apparent paradox of Portugal's identity construct, in which modernism required a place alongside historicism: the past was 'sometimes the present's reverse, sometimes its façade.' Using visual records of the exposition and coeval internationally-circulated material conveying other aspects of the regime's strategy, I will reconsider the cultural and political meanings of both the identity construct and the efforts to disseminate it, and broaden the analysis of an uncomfortable moment in Portuguese history to encompass its reception and assimilation in latter-day, EU-membership-proud Portugal.

SESSION: The Modern Village Neta Feniger, Technion, Ayala Levin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Although the village has been an important object of modernization, architectural history has mostly focused on the city as the locus of modernity. Yet throughout the 20th century the production of rural space was subject to much debate and research. Situated at a more complex intersection of modernity and tradition, the village presented specific challenges of modernization, as well as national-territorial opportunities. Various modernization schemes used the village as a strategic tool to naturalize colonization, often entailing displacement and coerced resettlement, as in the case of the Nazi plans to resettle and Germanize the occupied East, Italian settlements of southern farmers in its North African colonies and resettlement projects within Italy and Zionist rural settlements in Palestine.

The modern village was not only a nostalgic symbol of national, regional or vernacular identity. Especially since the 1930s, in regional projects inspired by the Tennessee Valley Authority, it served as a symbol of progress, and was subjected to rationalization and industrial reform. By the mid 20th century, the village became a global concern, and served as a means for active political and economic intervention. The increasing pace of urbanization, specifically in post-colonial nations, as well as the threat of social unrest, intensified village planning endeavors. As part of the Cold War development race, rural planning expanded from national to international institutions, primarily the UN. One of the problems governments and planners faced was how to reformulate the village as an attractive alternative to the lure and paying jobs of the modern city. African governments, for example, often in cooperation with international agencies, initiated agricultural resettlement projects to control urban migration. These projects served various national political goals, as in the case of the Iranian Shah's White Revolution, whose agrarian reform served to legitimize the regime.

This panel calls for papers that deal with the modern village and village planning, not as an isolated unit but as part of various scales: regional, national and transnational. Papers dealing with post-war and post-colonial development plans are especially welcome. The range of topics may include but is not limited to demonstration units (as in agricultural universities, farms or laboratories); rural planning and regional planning vis à vis urban centres; the work of international agencies (UN, OECD, USAID, Ford Foundation, Peace Corps, etc.) with national governments; humanitarian relief and resettlement projects.

Against the Migrant Tide: The Prussian Settlement Commission, from Posen to Togo, 1886 to 1924 Hollyamber Kennedy, Columbia University

In 1893, in a paper addressed to his colleagues at the Verein für Sozialpolitik, Max Weber advocated for an expansion of the Prussian Settlement Commission's program of "internal colonization," an anti-migrant land-use policy of settlement and forced displacement established by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1886. The program sought to settle German farmers in predominately Polish areas in the eastern provinces of the Empire. "It is not possible," Weber wrote, "to allow two nations with different bodily constitutions—differently constructed stomachs—to compete freely as workers in the same area." This paper will examine the planned communities, described as 'modern village estates', built by the Settlement Commission between 1886 and 1924, and their coercive financial structures in the form of binding tenancy contracts. The villages functioned as a governmental tool that sought to politically and economically regulate both the lives of the settlers, and the Polish and East Slavic migrants they displaced. The settlements were much discussed and adapted by a wide range of planners, from German colonial architects, in the wake of the Congo conference of 1885, to advocates of modern housing reform such as Martin Wagner and Bruno Sites. In the modernist "White Cities" of Wagner and his planning colleagues, I argue, we see material traces of the villages and border-politics of the Settlement Commission. The aim of this paper is two-fold: first, to demonstrate the central role that the village as housing colony—a cultural technology managed by social-scientific experts and bound up in forced mortgages—played in regulating the relationship between the body of the laborer, the landscape, and the state. And secondly, to observe, in the longue durée, how the typology of the village has functioned historically as a flexible mediator of power in the context of state (and supra-state) planning interventions.

Le Corbusier's Proposal for World War II Refugees: Le 'Murondins' Mary McLeod, Columbia University *

Most architects and scholars associate Le Corbusier with his large-scale, abstract urban schemes, such as the Ville Contemporaine and Plan Voisin. However, from 1933 to the end of World War II, he was deeply engaged with rural issues, resulting in part from his participation in a small political movement, regional syndicalism. Besides his unbuilt projects for a Ferme Radieuse (1933) and Village Coopèratif (1934-38), he and Pierre Jeanneret designed in 1940 Les "Murodins", a little-known project for provisional housing and villages (including a school, club and youth center), which was intended for war refugees. He proposed that these structures would be built by local youths using pisé (mud), trunks, branches, and other readily available materials. Beyond housing

those in need, Le Corbusier hoped that these new settlmeents would be the foundation of a new grassroots, regional culture that would revitalize the French countryside. During 1941-42, eh actively promoted the "Murodins" project to the Vichy government (unsuccessfully) as a means of mobilizing rural youth; and after France's liberation, he campaigned for it again. Nor did he abandon it in subsequent decades. In 1955, he proposed it to Abbé Pierre's Faim et Soif as a solution for sheltering the homeless; and in 1963, he offered it as a means of housing Algerian Muslims fleeing to France after the Algerian war.

In this paper, I hope to elucidate the complex political trajectory of Le Corbusier's "Murondins" project, and to show how it embodies a significant transformation in both his social orientation and formal ideas. More generally, I hope this case study will join a growing body of scholarship that has challenged artificial divisions in 20th-century architectural theory into prewar and postwar periods, as well as sweeping characterizations of all modern architecture as universalist, technologically progressive, and embracing a machine-age aesthetic.

PAPER

Le Corbusier designed two projects for refugee housing: the first, the Maisons Dom-ino, was a response to World War I, and the second, the Maisons "Murondins," to World War II. In both cases, the devastating destruction wrought by the war provided an opportunity to build and a chance to create a new kind of architecture. Today I shall focus on the second project, which Le Corbusier hoped would help forge a new kind of rural life—one that would be more collective and participatory, and that would especially enrich the lives of youths. This project also reveals the radical transformation in both his architecture and social vision during the interwar and Vichy periods.

He and his partner Pierre Jeanneret began working on the Maisons "Murondins" in May 1940, almost immediately after the German invasion of Belgium and France. Thousands had been forced to flee their homes. As Le Corbusier wrote in a letter to a friend, dated June 1, 1940, there was neither the time nor resources for industrial organization; the needs were too immense and too urgent. "One must," he declared, "make do with nothing."[1]

Like the word "Dom-ino, the name "Murondins" was a neologism: "Mur," for wall, and "rondins" for logs. Le Corbusier intended these temporary structures to be built by residents themselves, without any special expertise, using whatever materials were readily available: sand, logs from the forest, branches, and sod. The walls could be made of "pisé," adobe bricks, or simply blocks of

1. Le Corbusier, letter to "Mon Cher Ami" [recipient unknown], June 1, 1940, Fondation Le Corbusier.

earth with a little lime added, or even masonry-stone or bricks retrieved from destroyed or crumbling structures. The walls were to be 2 meters high (or 4 in exceptional circumstances), and to be placed, as Le Corbusier explained, to ensure stability; these interlocking L's would then create cells of space, which could be placed side by side, to accommodate various programs. The roofs were to be constructed of logs ("rondins"), nailed or pegged to horizontal sawn timber, with a covering of foliage and grass sod, over a simple system of lathe work with plaster and tar paper. The floor, Le Corbusier said, could be made of almost anything, packed dirt, wood, or cement. Only the windows and fittings required the skill of a local carpenter. If the project retained the notion of modular repetition, in most other ways it was the opposite of his earlier Dom-ino project—in its primitivism, its "wallness" (to invert Peter Eisenman's term for Dom-ino, "slabness"), its interlocking spaces, and its rejection of all attempts to revolutionize or modernize architecture. It was meant, first and foremost, to be a proposal that could be built quickly—and at minimal expense. In fact, it seems to have originated in a request from the undersecretary of state for labor Philippe Serre, an independent leftist, and deputy premier Camille Chautemps to design provisional housing for refugee children.[2] Le Corbusier hoped to find an alternative to the military-style "barracks" that he had originally proposed. The large-span structures were too expensive; but more important, the interior spaces were "morose," without "soul."[3]

Le Corbusier's and Jeanneret's first site plan for Les Maisons "Murondins," dated June 5, 1940 and intended for 160 children, was for their beloved Le Piquey, on the Bay of Arcachon (Bassin d' Arcachon), where the two partners had so often vacationed together but which was now occupied, as was most of the Atlantic coast, by German troops. Only seven days later, June 14, Paris would fall. Le Corbusier fled Paris with his wife and Pierre Jeanneret to Ozon, a small village in the foothills of the Hautes-Pyrénées, which was still in French territory. There, he and Pierre continued to work on the project, Le Corbusier doing sketches showing the steps of construction and interior spaces, and Pierre, the hardline detailed drawings. At this stage, Le Corbusier also showed how the "Murondins" system might be used to build temporary farms and a variety of social amenities, including workshops, meeting halls, a regional museum and clubs; in other words, public buildings for makeshift villages. The most important structure was the Maison de Jeunes, a facility most likely inspired by a youth center he had designed the year before, which

2. Philippe Serre, the independent leftist deputy of Briey in north-eastern France and Under Secretary of State for Labor, and Camille Chautemps, the radical Deputy Premier (and three-time prime minister of France) had asked Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret to find an immediate solution for housing 2,400 children whose homes had been located in a heavily bombed region (Le Corbusier, letter to "Mon Cher Ami" [recipient unknown], June 1, 1940). There is some indications in the archives that barracks might have been erected in the devasted town of Charmes in the Vosges (Le Corbusier, handwritten note to Ph [illipe] Serre, May 18, 1940). This project seems to be have sparked the first studies for Les Murondins, which were done at rue de Severes from May 28 to June 5, 1940.

3. Le Corbusier, *Les Constructions "Murondins"* (Paris and Clermont-Ferrand: Chiron, 1942), 5.

was a renovation of existing warehouses in Paris (again at the request of the leftist Philippe Serre).[4] Like that project, the "Murondins" center featured a large communal room that Le Corbusier said could be used for movies, temporary exhibitions, and plays, as well as a library, workshops, an art room, and even a place for bicycle storage. It also housed a small regional museum and reception space for refugees and visitors. His sketches for the village, done that fall, also show a swimming pool, sports fields, gardens, and Ecoles volantes, or flying schools; the latter were demountable buildings made of a sheet metal hollow-tube frame and exterior wooden panels, which he and Jeanneret had designed with Jean Prouvé in 1939. Le Corbusier imagined this small complex of buildings as one that would integrate "naturally with the landscape and create picturesque groupings" in a variety of terrains. Once these temporary villages were no longer needed, they might, he proposed be used as vacation centers, summer camps, and other recreational facilities for the young. Le Corbusier hoped to create not only a humane settlement for refugees and displaced rural residents—one that would foster creative endeavors and active participation in sports—but also a place where urban residents might be revitalized by nature and the simple pleasures of life.

However, before I discuss his intentions and his small booklet about the project (from which these sketches come), I would like to consider what might have led to this solution that seems so different from both Dom-ino and most of his architecture in the 1920s.

At a formal level, his willingness to use regional materials and the most basic of building techniques can be linked to his lifelong sympathy for vernacular architecture, whether the traditional Balkan or Turkish houses that he sketched during his youthful travels, the favelas in Rio, the Muslim dwellings in the casbah of Algiers and the villages of the M'zab, or even the modest old houses at Vézelay, which Jean Badovici and Eileen Gray had renovated with such care. If his interest in these modest dwellings was originally tied to his search for another vision of housing, one stripped of the styles and bourgeois convention,[5] by the late 1920s he seemed to appreciate vernacular dwellings simply on their own terms. This can be seen, first and most polemically, in his 1928 book *Une Maison, Un Palais*, where he juxtaposes a wooden fisherman shack with his League of Nations;[6] and then during the early 1930s in his own residential design: in the unbuilt

4. Philippe Serre had commissioned the atelier to create a "Maison de la Jeunesse" for unemployed youth in Ménilmontant (rue le Bua), which involved the renovation of dilapidated workshops. Le Corbusier claimed this was the first Maison de la Jeunesse, and wrote that it included a large meeting room for concerts, lectures, and theater, a "magnificent" sports facility, a library, and numerous studios for drawing, photography, film, etc.,as well as a garden. The buildings were painted, Le Corbusier wrote, in "a virtual fanfare of colors," which, along with the white-washed walls, gave it a "truly youthful" ambience. Le Corbusier, Letter to M. Alfred Corot, Ministère de Jeunesse, May 1, 1941.

5. This early interest in vernacular dwellings was also conjoined to his more abstract pursuits of pure geometric forms and interest in industrial standardization.

6. Both he claimed had "honesty" and "dignity."

Errazuris house in Chile, which used "rondins," if also still as vertical posts; then in Helen Mandrot's house, near Toulon, with its rubble walls; after that, in the house at Mathes which was built of wood and local stone and had an inverted pitched roof; and the Maison de weekend, at La Celle Saint-Cloud, with its vaults, brick walls, and prominent hearth. Le Corbusier's paintings also changed dramatically during this period, including scenes of fisherwomen, shells, rustic carts: it's as if the pristine precision of Purism was now replaced by what one might call a more "organic" or biomorphic sensibility, one in which his appreciation of folklore and regional culture was no longer overshadowed by his commitment to mass production and a new architecture. However, I should also mention two other sources for the rubble wall and use of local materials: his proposals for the Maisons Loucheur and Village Radieux. Although both projects were intended to be largely pre-fabricated, the 1929 Maisons Loucheur featured a load-bearing, rough stone wall, which was to be built by local masons; likewise, the buildings of the 1934 Village Radieux had partition and infill walls made of local stone or rubble, and again were erected by local residents. The concrete roof vaults would be covered with wild grasses and grains, joining the buildings "to the surrounding landscape."[7]

This incipient regionalism was not simply a formal or aesthetic shift, but one that was directly related to the political and social underpinnings of the Ferme and Village projects, and more generally Le Corbusier's political orientation in the 1930s. From 1931 to 1936, he was actively involved with a small, rather obscure political movement, regional syndicalism, and wrote for and helped edit three neo-syndicalist publications: *Plans* (1931-32), *Prélude* (1933-36), and *L'Homme Réel* (1934). The name itself, "regional syndicalism," indicates the movement's two major tenets. "Syndicalism," or trade unionism, alludes to the prewar syndicalist movement in France, which called for government by unions for unions. In essence, this meant a kind of decentralized socialism in which administration was based on economic units rather than political structures. Besides economic units or *syndicats*, the *Prélude* group called for regional administrative units, whose frontiers would be determined by purportedly "natural" criteria: climate, topography, language, and race. Le Corbusier illustrated this dual structure governing model—economic and geographic—in diagrams published in *Prélude* (which he later published in *La Ville Radieuse*). As much as political reform, the neo-syndicalists hoped that these new forms of organization would bring spiritual and emotional rejuvenation to France, replacing the sterility of capitalism and parliamentary democracy.[8]

7. Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Oeuvre complète 1934–1938*, ed. Willy Boesiger (Zurich: Girsberger, 1939; repr. Zurich: Editions d'architecture, 1964), 105.

8. In this respect, they were part of a much broader intellectual and cultural tendency in France, what historians have called "l'esprit des années trente," which rejected traditional ideological boundaries and party allegiances. "Ni

As part of their regionalist agenda, the regional syndicalists sought rural reform. The *Prélude* group believed firmly that the participation of both peasants and workers was essential to any major social transformation; as one editorial declared, "The peasant and the worker must walk hand-in-hand."[9] The peasantry and their rural life represented an alternative to the artifice and corruption that the group saw as having become rampant in present-day France.

It was through this movement and Le Corbusier's contact with a peasant activist Norbert Bézard, I would suggest, that his interest in rural reorganization emerged—and specifically, his proposals for the Ferme Radieuse and Village Radieux. At some point, in 1933 Bézard wrote Le Corbusier asking him to undertake a project for his old village, Piacé (located in the Sarthe department, north of Le Mans) which had suffered repeatedly from flooding. The two of them worked closely together studying local conditions and meeting with peasant groups to discuss the program for a new community. And if it's hard to believe that Le Corbusier could ever forego his ego, the program was in many regards a form of genuine collaboration, an incipient form, if you will, of advocacy planning. Although the final scheme certainly still shows Le Corbusier's aesthetic control and technological futurism,[10] the program also reveals a new emphasis on public life and community activities not at all apparent in the technocratic Ville Contemporaine, where public institutions were barely indicated. The village center included a cooperative silo, garage, store, school, and, most important, a club including a library, meeting hall, and even a regional museum. Here, Le Corbusier was influenced not only by his new political comrades but also by his experience in the Soviet Union and his discussions with the young ethnographer Georges-Henri Rivière, who had studied rural life and was a strong advocate of regional folklore and regional museums. While the proposal retained the small, privately owned family farm (which the regional syndicalists believed was suited to the local terrain of rolling hills and hedgerows, what the French call *bocage*), the new public facilities were explicitly meant to be collective and participatory. Le Corbusier had no interest in imposing Parisian high art or avant-garde culture on these rural residents: instead he envisioned farm laborers putting on theatrical events and youths working in the photography laboratory of the club. It is this new focus on peasant life and rural traditions, as well as a sincere belief in a kind of grassroots participation and collective public life, that I believe lies at the base of his "Murondins" proposal.

But his project for refugee housing and provisional villages did not get built, and, as is too often the case with our protagonist, it has a much more troubling history: one that reflects the split

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droit, Ni gauche" was a constant refrain. Bios was important than logos; *l'homme réel*, more than l'homme abstrait of the democrats or *l'homme économique* of the Marxists.

9. "Pour sauver l'agriculture, il faut," *Prélude*, no. 14 (November–December 1934), 1.

10. Note the cloverleaf intersection for a village of 600 residents.

between Pierre Jeanneret and Le Corbusier, and perhaps explains why Pierre's name is left off the project in the fourth volume of the *Oeuvre complète*. Shortly after he arrived in Ozon, Le Corbusier began to court the Vichy government, hoping to obtain an official position. Like many in France, he despised the Germans, but he saw Vichy, and its war hero Maréchal Pétain, sometimes known as the *maréchal paysan*, as a way to revitalize France. That November, Le Corbusier wrote a manuscript "Les Maisons 'Murondins,'" now envisioning that the project would be constructed by one of Vichy's youth groups, the Compagnons de France (young men, from 15 to 19) and he actively sought the support of its founder and head, Henry Dhavernas.[11] Moved by the plight of homeless children and youths separated from their family, Dhavernas had formed the organization as a way to help these often stranded youth. With never more than about 30,000 volunteers, it was meant to save these young men from the hazards of unemployment and the dangers of dissidence. A curious mixture of personalism, discipline, and communitarianism, the Compagnons assisted in a range of outdoor activities, such as harvesting crops, clearing war rubble, forestry, and road building; they also were involved in cultural activities, such as theatre productions.[12]

.Although Le Corbusier does not explicitly refer to the "Compagnons" in his text, except in one caption (generally, he usest he more generic phrase "circle de jeunesse"),[13] the book was published in 1942 under the patronage of the "Secretary-General of Youth.[14] Le Corbusier himself called the booklet a "petit cadeau" (a little gift) to his friends, the youths of France.

In many regards, *Les Constructions "Murondins"* is Le Corbusier at his most lyrical and charming. He opens it by writing, "You will be charged with awakening parts of the country, with your efforts, using your hands, your enterprising spirit, your courage, your invention, your emotion, and individual participation." And he then goes on to describe how the healthy, passionate youths

11. In fact, Daniel Michelin, who was involved the Compagnons, travelled to Ozon to meet Le Corbusier to discuss the project. [R.] Audigier to Le Corbusier, Ozon par Tournay, November 19, 1940. The letter from Audigier was on letterhead "Les Compagnons de France," located at the Hotel du Palais, Vichy.

12. Jewish youths were initially included in the organization—and in fact in many of the Campagnon sheltered them once new anti-Semitic legislation was passed in 1942. For the role of Jewish youth in the Compagnons, see Daniel Lee's excellent study *Pétain's Jewish Children: French Jewish Youth and the Vichy Regime, 1940–1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 109–14.

13. Even in this caption, the reference to the Campagnons is vague, since the word is not capitalized. "Le chef d'un club de Jeunes expose à ses compagnons le plan de l'entreprise." The figures in his drawings, while wearing shorts, like those of the Campagnons, do not have on the group's signature berets. Le Corbusier, *Les Constructions "Murondins"* (Paris and Clermont-Ferrand: Chiron, 1942), 2.

14. The Secretary-General or Minister of Youth was Georges Lamirand. As Daniel Lee has shown, that although Lamirand can hardly be excused for his complicity in a government that deported thousands of Jews, he did not personally discriminate against French Jewish youth, believing that they too could help rebuild the nation; indeed he was severely attacked by the collaborationist press for his support of Jewish youths until he resigned his position in March 1943. Lee, *Petain's Jewish Children*, 54-57.

after they build the simple structures might paint them, first whitewashing them, and then applying "bursts of bright color here and there, so the structures will stand joyously in the country. . . ."[15] And of the new houses he writes, "Their joviality, their exuberance, full of life, their enthusiasm, their faith will make miracles."[16] He ends the text saying "good luck, amiably Le Corbusier."

However naively, Le Corbusier had put his faith in the new government. He hoped, despite the despair of defeat, that it would bring a cleansing of France, and that it would be a means to realize not only his architectural projects but also aspects of the regional syndicalist program. There is no discussion of this in the booklet—or even an overt sign of his new political sympathies, except one brief statement, "Your initiative will take on a national character, a national utility."[17] The most local of initiatives, which had links to a grassroots regionalist philosophy, now had an overtly nationalist agenda, one so completely foreign to the tone of his writings in the '30s, and one might even claim, the internationalism of much of his work in the 1920s. By January 1941 he had moved to Vichy to campaign for his projects; Pierre had gone to Grenoble and worked as a messenger for the Resistance. Two of his regionalist syndicalist colleagues, Pierre Winter and François de Pierrefeu, also joined Le Corbusier in Vichy.

Needless to say, Les "Murondins" was rejected by the Maréchal's new government, as were all of Le Corbusier's schemes. By the fall of 1942, he had quit Vichy, disillusioned and bitter. We're left again with the paradox of a man, one who sincerely wished, I believe, to revitalize the French countryside in the face of its devastation but one who also, whether owing to opportunism, naïveté, and egoism—undoubtedly all three—made the wrong political choice—a choice with disturbing, potentially tragic, consequences.

However, this is not quite the end of the story. Le Corbusier continued to write about Les "Murondins," promoting it in a 1943 publication *Agriculture et Communauté*.[18] In November 1944, as the Germans were fleeing Eastern France, Le Corbusier designed a variation of the "Murondins" unit to serve as provisional lodgings in destroyed towns, suggesting that the

15. Ibid., 27. In an earlier passage (p. 22), he mentions using all "the great colors red, blue, yellow, green, brown," allowing for "the explosion of a brilliant mural painting," and suggests that the youths might want to ask for the advice of Fernand Léger."

16. Ibid., 27.

17. Ibid., 30.

18. Le Corbusier, "Eléments modernes d'une communauté villageoise," *Agriculture et Communauté*, preface by L. Salleron (Paris: Librairie de Médicis, 1943), 95–108. This publication represents well the political ambiguities of the era. The preface is by the Catholic and right-wing agrarian activists Louis Salleron, but some of the essays in the collection such as the one by Roger Grand and R. Delatouche are explicit in their seemingly left-wing communitarian values.

residences might be grouped in a sort of horseshoe pattern, like a gypsy camp (though without any collective amenities, other than an essential playing field for youths), and in 1945, he proposed that the "Murondins" system might be used in the devastated city of Saint-Dié until more permanent, Unité-type housing could be erected. He also designed another variation, what he called the Mesopotamian house (again with pisé or earthen walls), for La Rochelle-Pallice. Once more, these projects were not realized; apparently, in Saint-Dié, because nature did not cooperate—the region had the wrong kind of clay.

But even long after the armistice, Les "Murondins" continued to preoccupy Le Corbusier. In February 1955, he offered the project "gratuit" (though it's unclear if this offer included village plans) as a solution for France's homeless to *Faim et Soif*, the publication of Abbé Pierre's group, explaining that it would allow individuals to construct their own homes immediately. And in 1963, only two and a half years, before his death, he again offered it as a "cadeau" or gift—this time to house "les Harkis," the French Muslims who had fled Algeria following the war.

In his letter to Alexandre Parodi, the head of the National Committee for French Muslims, he ridicules the "expensive and luxurious" youth centers being built with public funds in France. He then recounts his own youth, saying how much he enjoyed constructing huts of wood and straw when he went camping—and assures Parodi that he's not relaying this anecdote to make light of his proposition, but, to the contrary, to "ennoble it by simply humanizing it."[19]

This "simple humanization" gives us, I believe, a clue to the meaning of Les "Murondins" for Le Corbusier—why in his architecture after the war, the walls remained (in St. Baume, Sarabhai, Jaoul)—and even the logs (in his Cabanon), as did his yearnings for a simpler, more elemental life, one closely tied to nature, and full of joy—an *architecture de bonheur.* But whether the villages, if built, would have offered the same happiness to their proposed residents, be they war victims, homeless Parisians, or displaced Algerians, all so desperate for shelter, is another, more difficult, question.

19. "Je ne donne pas ce détail pour ridiculiser ma proposition mais, au contraire, pour l'anoblir par simple humanisation." Le Corbusier, letter to Monsieur A[lexandre] Parodi, February 28, 1963. Parodi was also the vice-president of the Conseil d'Etat. Le Corbusier included with his letter a copy of the page devoted to Les Murondins that appeared in *Techniques et Architecture*, nos. 11–12 (July 1945), 204.

The La Martella Village in Matera. Rural Modernity in Postwar Southern Italy

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After World War II the city of Matera became known as the capital of peasant civilization and as the symbol of the cultural and economic backwardness of Southern Italy.

The Sassi neighborhoods were the most ancient part of the city and were formed by houses created by digging sections out of the rock. In the 1940s, 15,000 people lived in this city of caves in precarious hygienic conditions.

In 1951 Umra-Casas, the Italian branch of the international relief agency (part of the UN and prominent actor for the Marshall Plan action), established a committee to examine the physical and social organization of the Sassi. The aim was to develop guidelines for the La Martella village, a new semi-rural housing project to be constructed outside Matera where to resettle people from the Sassi and that was part of a wider project of reorganization at regional scale.

The village, whose form drew upon the theory of the neighborhood unit, consisted of about 200 houses and various public buildings and was conceived as a model for the development of the Italian countryside since it aimed at merging the instances of modernity with the legacy of vernacular architecture and tradition.

The village, completed in 1953, was structured as a modernized version of those aggregations forms—both social and physical—that were individual in the Sassi community and that were reformed so as to fit better with the requirements for a modern lifestyle.

Reminiscent of the experiences of ruralization as a means of facilitating social control during Fascism but widely influenced by the transatlantic exchange that characterized the post-war architectural debate, the La Martella project played a relevant role it the construction of the Italian approach to modernism.

'Emerging' Rural Networks and Planned Communities in Postcolonial Zambia

Petros Phokaides, National Technical University of Athens *

The paper focuses on the planning of sixteen rural settlements by the Athens-based firm Doxiadis Associates, a key project for the socioeconomic development of rural Zambia in the mid-1960s. In line with postcolonial discourses of modernization, Doxiadis Associates employed the scientific and rational framework of 'central place theory' developed by geographer Walter Christaller in 1933, which became a major influence in Doxiadis' Ekistics theory and practice. The firm utilised the theory's abstract hexagonal geometrical model as a tool to organise different-sized

settlements within a single spatial system, incorporating existing rural settlements and developing new ones into a hierarchical network. The establishment of such an all-encompassing network over rural areas of Zambia was consistent with Doxiadis Associates' practice for a cross-scale approach on human settlements and it was aligned to the government's ambitious decolonization and nation-building efforts.

On another level, the planning of middle-size settlements was seen as a strategy to alleviating rural-urban migration and managing the rising tensions between urban centres and rural areas. Aiming to address these dynamics, the firm promoted the standardisation and reformulation of existing sociospatial patterns, aspiring to introduce the rural population, as active participants/agents, in the networks of the monetary economy and community life patterns. However, the firm's encounter with rural Zambia and politics demanded its response to a whole new set of planning challenges. Consequently, large-scale visions for 'urbanizing' rural areas were questioned, thereby contemplating more cautious responses to the realities on the ground.

PAPER

Introduction

When in 1941, Edward Ulman introduced Walter Christaller 1933's study on central places to an English-speaking audience for the first time, he insightfully highlighted its limitations but also stressed its potential as 'a theoretical norm from which deviations may be measured' but also '[as] an aid in planning the development of new areas'.[1] It was during that time that Christaller also realized that his deductive theory on the 'special economic geographic laws' that explain 'the sizes, number, and distribution of towns', could be translated into a spatial device for optimising settlement patterns.[2] Christaller's *Central Place Theory* had a very strong impact on the Greek architect Constantinos Doxiadis in the mid-1930s when he was completing his doctoral studies in Berlin. Doxiadis, as well as a new generation of post-war American geographers, who were aligned to the quantitative and rationalist ethos of scientific research of the time, aimed to offer empirical confirmations on the validity of Christaller's theory and became active proponents for its expansion to various research fields: human ecology, rural sociology, marketing research, urban and community planning. Despite its numerous applications, it was generally accepted that the theory reached its uncompromised status in rural areas, where the assumed evenness of the

[1] E. Ullman, 'A Theory of Location for Cities', *American Journal of sociology*, vol. 46, no. 6 (May, 1941), p. 864.

[2] W. Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*, trans. C. W. Baskin, Prentice-Hall, 1966, p.2. This was the first translation in English of the original publication of the study: W. Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Suddeutschland*, Jena, Gustav Fischer, 1933.

agricultural landscape would lead to the emergence of a geometrically defined network of interconnected rural centres.[3] This merging of rational, scientific thinking with the 'organic' metaphors of a 'place-based rural romanticism,' as Barnes and Minca suggest, is precisely what made Christaller's theory susceptible to a range of ideological claims: from the 'reactionary modernism' of the Nazi's colonization of Eastern Europe all the way to the post-independence modernization of rural Zambia.[4] This paper examines the application of Christaller's theory in the planning of sixteen rural settlements, by the Athens-based firm Doxiadis Associates, and analyses how it was connected to the country's early nation-building and decolonisation efforts.

Rural Development Planning in Postcolonial Zambia

The socioeconomic development of rural areas was considered key for the country's nation building and decolonisation efforts. Keneth D. Kaunda, the country's first President, explicitly stated, in 1966, that the country's First National Development Plan aimed to provide 'prosperity and higher standards of living for every Zambian citizen' by assigning a greater emphasis to 'the rural areas than ever before, as these are parts of the country which have for too long, been neglected.'[5] Following the lead of most postcolonial countries, Zambia's Plan was aiming to overthrow the country's 'dual economy' a problematic colonial 'inheritance', where the main economic activities were still in the hands of 'a small privileged minority' of Europeans.[6] This had its origins in the 1920s when Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), previously administered by the British South African Company was transferred to British Colonial Office, around the time the country discovered its rich copper resources in the north and attracted Western private mining companies as well as a significant number of European farmers. These settled on 'Crown land' under British law, appropriating fertile areas from the natives who continued to live and cultivate on the rest of the land, the so called 'Native Reserves', according to existing customary laws. European farmers benefited from colonial governments' agricultural policies finally dominating the agricultural sector, so much so that combined with mining, these two activities amounted in the mid-1960s, to the 75% of the country's overall economic production.[7] Located also along the rail line that

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[3] B. Berry, A. Pred, and W. Christaller, *Central Place Studies: A Bibliography of Theory and Applications*, Philadelphia, Regional Science Research Institute, 1961, p.18.
[4] T. J. Barnes, and C. Minca, 'Nazi Spatial Theory: The Dark Geographies of Carl Schmitt and Walter Christaller', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *103*(3), 2013, pp. 669-687.
[5] K. D. Kaunda, 'Introduction', *First National Development Plan (FNDP) 1966-1970*, Republic of Zambia: Office of National Development and Planning, July 1966.

[6] *First National Development Plan 1966-1970*, Republic of Zambia: Office of National Development and Planning, July 1966, p.2.
[7] *FNDP 1966-1970*, p.21.

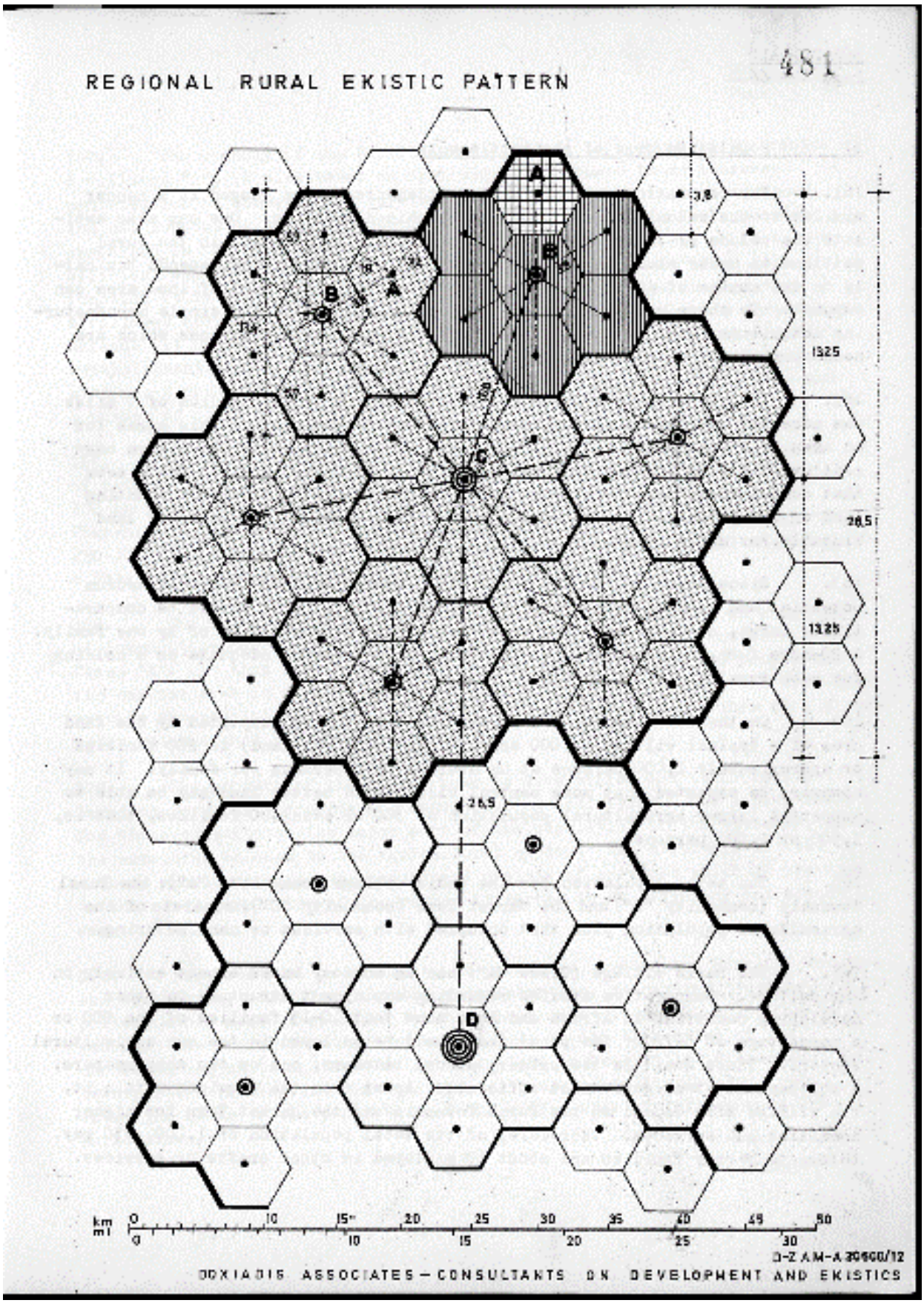


Figure 1: The abstract hexagonal geometry of the regional rural Ekistic pattern. *Source*: 'Rural Townships of Zambia – General Report,' 15 December 1967, Archive files 24657, Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

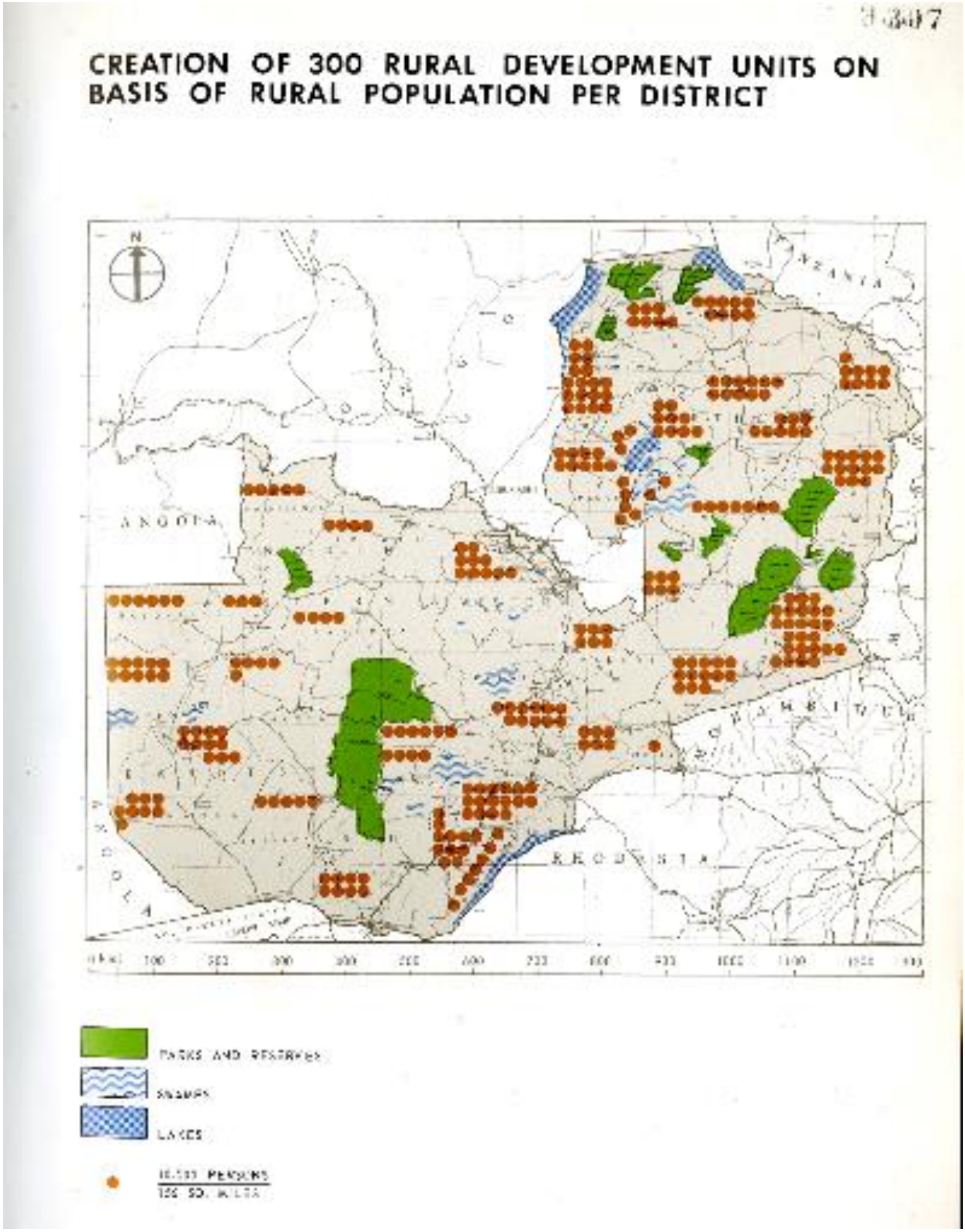


Figure 2: The distribution of 300 rural settlements according to district population density in Zambia. *Source*: 'Organization of the Countryside,' June 1968, Archive files 24672, Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

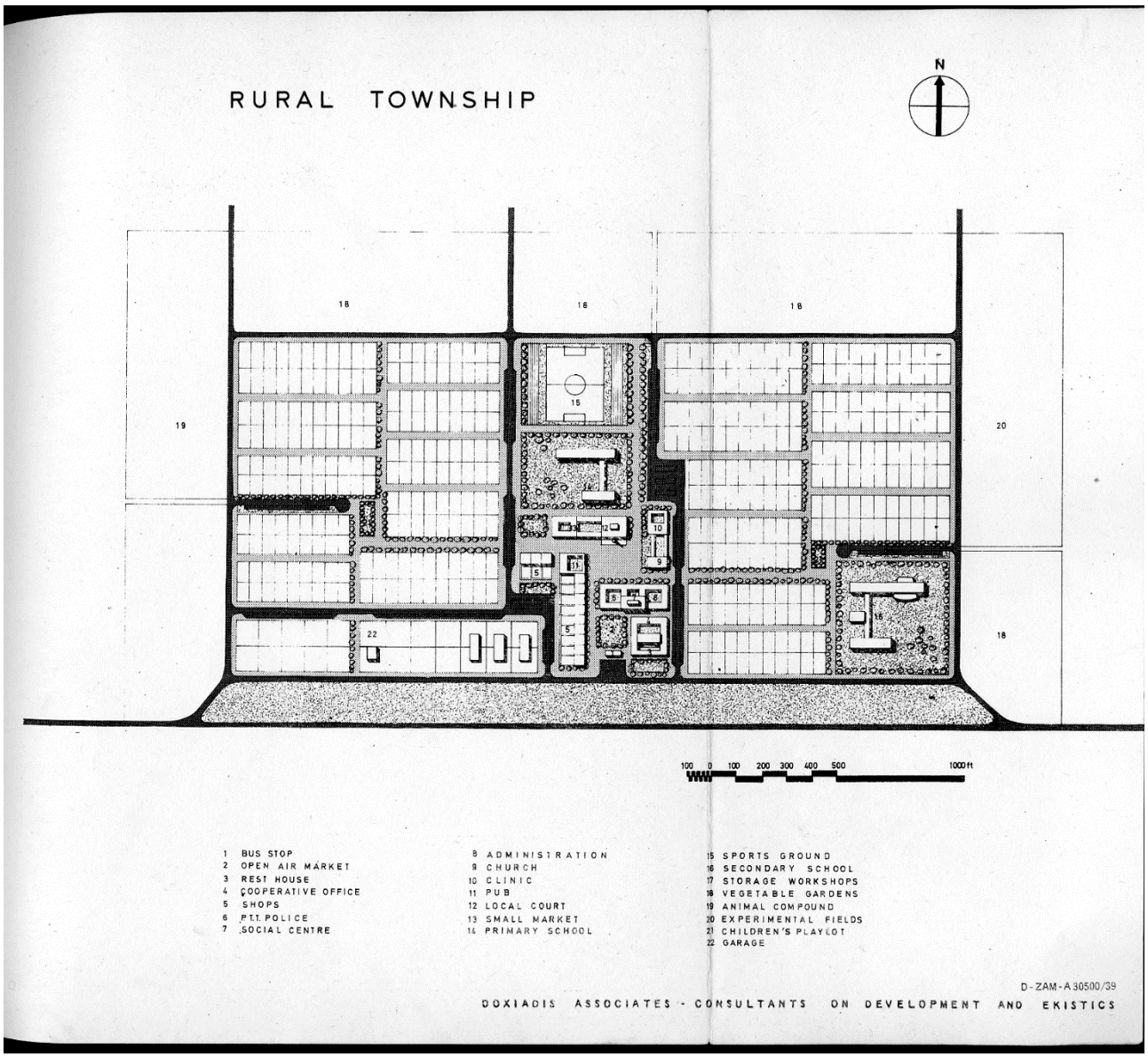
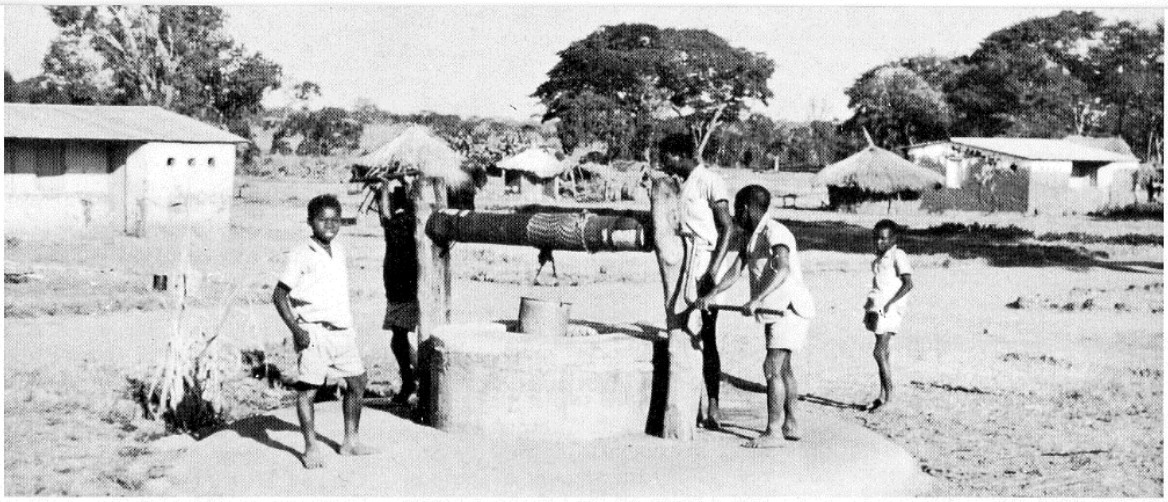
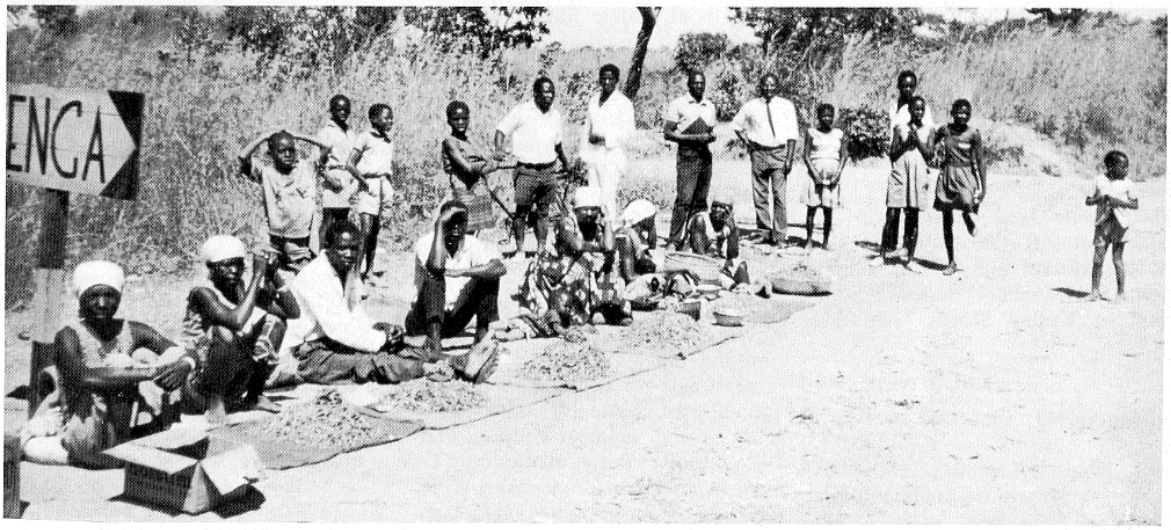


Figure 3: The model plan for a 'rural township' was a settlement of 440x880 m. size for 2000 inhabitants. *Source*: 'Rural Townships of Zambia – General Report,' 15 December 1967, Archive files 24657, Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



Imansa: water well scene



Open-air market at Senga Hill settlement

View of a village in the Imansa area

Figure 4: Photographs from Doxiadis Associates' surveys in rural areas of Zambia documenting everyday life. *Source*: 'Zambia: Plans for Twelve Villages Completed,' *DA Review*, December 1969, p.11, Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

transferred copper to South African ports, they shaped the distribution of main urban and rural centres along a north-south axis. All in all, the racial as well as geographical production patterns continued to ignore the 75% of the country's native population, the 'rural masses', which further enlarged the gap in living standards and economic productivity between the rural population and the urban and industrial sectors.[8]

While these imbalances were yet to remain undisputed, the government aimed to diversify the economy by growing further the agricultural and manufacturing sector. The Plan projected 'massive injections of capital' for infrastructure and technical training in order to mobilise the 'mass of the rural population', to increase its productivity and 'purchasing power'.[9] Important for achieving these goals was the promotion of village regrouping schemes, which were expected to facilitate 'the redistribution of people in areas of over-population', and 'the aggregation of population in the sparsely populated areas of the outlying provinces'.[10] Anticipating a more effective management of state funding and human resources in rural areas, the schemes' aim was two-fold: firstly, to respond to the serious lack of economic and social infrastructure, such as storage and marketing services, schools, health centres, transportation and water supply, and secondly, to stimulate agricultural productivity by promoting policies for co-operative and family-scale farming, credits, fertilizers, technical training, and tractor mechanisation schemes.[11] Moreover, these schemes aspired to advance 'radical changes in the social organisation of scattered rural populations contributing to one of the Plan's key goals: the rural population's 'psychological re-orientation towards a monetary economy.'[12]

These schemes fell into a long tradition of scientific and administrative experimentation with agrarian settlement projects in Africa, which exemplified the social engineering and developmental logic behind both colonial and post-colonial projects.[13] Extensive 'villagization' schemes became the basis of nation building and modernization efforts, in the neighbouring Tanzania, and a manifestation of President Nyrere's socialist ideology in promoting communal values and forms of cooperation.[14] In Zambia, also, these expressed wider ideological goals as these were framed by the President and the ruling party's Humanist-oriented philosophy. Drawing

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[8] *FNDP 1966-1970*, p.2.
[9] *FNDP 1966-1970*, p.21.
[10] *FNDP 1966-1970*, p.23.
[11] See also P. Ollawa, 'Rural Development Strategy and Performance in Zambia: An Evaluation of past Efforts', *African Studies Review*, 21(2), 1978, p.115.

[12] *FNDP 1966-1970*, p.21.
[13] See C. Bonneuil, 'Development as Experiment: Science and State building in Late Colonial and Postcolonial Africa, 1930-1970', *Osiris*, 2000, pp. 258-281.
[14] For an extenisve analysis on Tanzania's villagization schemes see J. C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 223-261.

on African traditional values, socialist and Christian ideals, Humanism promoted a 'man-centred society' based on the principles of egalitarianism, mutual aid, self-reliance, attention to the weak and the poor, and communal effort, while rejecting colonialist, capitalist and Marxist ideologies.[15] In 1967, humanism became the official ideology and connected the vision 'One Nation, One Zambia,' with the promotion of ambitious economic and social reforms. Among these, rural development was seen as a joined effort of the government and the rural population, ultimately aspiring to register the participation of the largest portion of the population to the state's national goals. The rural settlements scheme was thus positioned within the overall efforts to redress the country's imbalances on three levels: racial (Europeans vs Zambians); geographical/economical (rural vs urban/industrial), and administrative (centralisation vs decentralisation). Lying on these dichotomies, these schemes would become a privileging site for decolonization and nation-building processes to unfold and to be contested, actively promoting the reformulation of the rural 'both in the imagination and on the ground.'[16]

'Emerging' Networks of Rural Communities

Doxiadis Associates was actively involved in industrialisation and planning projects in other African countries, such as Ghana, Libya and Sudan, and was also commissioned to design the master plan and housing for the industrial development of Kafue (40km south of the capital city, Lusaka), right after a top associate visited the Zambia in October 1966. The assignment of the sixteen rural settlements project was seen by the firm as a great opportunity to further expand the firm's planning activities in the country and to firmly establish another node in its transnational office network. Moreover, the firm's involvement in the country's rural development promised to shape close connections with the country's government. Even if Doxiadis was critical of the government's intention to start a settlement policy without first investigating 'optimum sizes,' he would not miss the chance to align himself with the President and the government's philosophy by associating the decolonisation of Zambia with a spatial vision 'for implementing a correct conception of the Ekistic model to the country.'[17]

Doxiadis casted the rural schemes project within wider development visions at national scale exceeding perhaps the government's own objectives. While the government aimed at focusing labour and capital resources in autonomous settlement projects spread throughout the country,

[15] W. Tordoff, *Politics in Zambia*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974, p. 370.
[16] See R. Martin, *Mediators: Aesthetics, Politics, and the City*, Minneapolis, Minn, University of Minnesota Press, 2015, p.23.

[17] C. Doxiadis, 'Conception of Settlement Patterns', 2 April 1968, Archive files 24666, Doxiadis Archives [In Greek].

DA aspired to shape 'regional organic cohesion' in the rural areas, proposing a 'structural network of linkages with a full range and hierarchy of functions that will exploit and enhance their productivity and social activities.'[18] DA claimed that the shaping of a hierarchical network of interconnected rural settlements was not only justified from a planning and administrative perspective, but it was also the way to trace (and emulate) a universal 'natural' evolution of human settlements, wherein rural Zambia was still at its earliest stage. Drawing on the latent organicism of Christaller's theory, DA explained:

> Experience has shown that in rural areas with more or less homogenous terrain where people walk to their fields, the agricultural areas of each settlement will tend to close upon each other, compressing their sides roughly in a hexagonal pattern.[19]

According to the same theory, in the evenly divided agricultural field retail and other central functions are gradually established, attracting inhabitants while offering services to the surrounding area. As this process evolves, central locations of higher levels emerge following the spatial patterns determined by the underlying hexagonal geometry, following a mathematical scale which comes to define their distribution and their interconnections. (Fig.1)

Christaller's idea of a hierarchical classification of settlements was incorporated in the Ekistics Logarithmic Scale, a key element of Doxiadis' Ekistics theory and the main planning tool used by DA in several urban and rural projects in various contexts.[20] Following this universal scale as a starting point, DA proposed the creation of rural settlements on three levels: a 'village', a 'rural township,' and a 'market town.'[21] The 'village' would become the centre of a region of approximately 1,000 people; the 'rural township' the centre of 8,000 people, including the population of the township (2,000) and six surrounding villages; the 'market town' would serve a population of 50,000, including the population of six rural townships and 42 surrounding villages. In support of the proposal's validity, Doxiadis compared the settlements of the first two levels,

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[18] 'The Development of Rural Townships: A Programme for the Creation and Development of Rural Centres in the Country', October 1968, Archive files 24663, Doxiadis Archives, 1968, p.6.

[19] 'The Development of Rural Townships: A Programme for the Creation and Development of Rural Centres in the Country', p.6.

[20] For Ekistics theory and Ekistics Logarithmic Scale, see C. A. Doxiadis, *Ekistics: An Introduction to the Science of Human Settlements*, London, Hutchinson, 1969, p.134. For the use of this tool in urban and rural projects in Iraq and Syria see for example P. Pyla, 'Architects as Development Experts. Model Communities in Iraq and Syria', in P. Pyla (ed.), *Landscapes of Development: The Impact of Modernisation Discourses on the Physical Environment of the Eastern Mediterranean',* Cambridge: Harvard University Aga Khan Program, 2013, pp.167-189.

[21] 'The Development of Rural Townships', p.8.

with the Greek rural context, with *kefalochori* (head village) and *komopolis* (rural town) correspondingly, while the 'market town' made a reference to colonial traditions and the construction of marketing services for farming areas, which Doxiadis said to have seen in Zambia.[22] For DA the naming was important so far as to communicate the settlements scale and size, stressing in this way the principle of hierarchy and the role of each settlement in the wider network, which was expected to reach its full development around the year 2000.[23]

This long-term projection conveyed the firm's belief in technocratic planning and aimed to grasp the future image of rural Zambia. Delivered as a promise for the restructuring and modernisation of rural societies, the project was endorsed by the country's very own President.[24] The firm, however, was alarmed by the project's delays almost two years after its assignment and despite the Lusaka office's efforts to put pressure on government officials and local authorities, only the plans for twelve out of the sixteen rural settlements were eventually completed. Whishing to overcome these difficulties, Doxiadis tried to remind the government of the scale and the urgency of the problem:

> The greatest problem in the rural areas of Zambia which are inhabited by about 3.000.000 people is the complete lack of organisation without which no economic or social life and nor development are possible. […] I do not know of <u>any</u> country in the world that faces such a grave problem of lack of organisation.[25]

At that time, DA was also becoming conscious of the limited impact such localized solutions would ultimately have not only in initiating rural development but also in addressing a more pressing matter: the anticipated 'huge invasion of the urban areas by the rural dwellers.'[26]

Considering the rural centres only as pilot projects, DA continued to explore a more widespread strategy at national scale through a self-funded study titled: 'Organization of the Countryside'.[27] The firm utilised the knowledge it accumulated from the various surveys on geology, soil, climate,

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[22] C. Doxiadis, 'Conception of Settlement Patterns', 1968, [In Greek].
[23] Governmental officials reacted to the use of the term 'township' as having colonial undertones and the firm was prompted to use terms such as 'village regroupings' or 'rural service centres'. Kakisopoulos letter to DA office in Athens on 27 November 1968, Zambia v.14 – Correspondence C-Zam-A (1968), Archive files 24670, Doxiadis Archive.
[24] See 'President Kaunda Interviewed', *DA Review*, V.4, No.40, April 1968, pp. 15-16.
[25] C. Doxiadis, 'A special program for the organisation of human settlements in the rural areas of Zambia', 4 March 1969, Archive files 24672, Doxiadis Archive.
[26] C. Doxiadis, 'A special program for the organisation of human settlements in the rural area of Zambia'.
[27] 'Zambia: Organisation of the Countryside', June 1968, Archive files 24672, Doxiadis Archive.

economy and population, and calculated that the country needed approximately 300 rural centres of 7-10.000 people, distributed according to district population densities. (Fig. 2) DA's vision of a network of rural settlements throughout the country, responded to the government's postcolonial anxieties for developing sufficient alternatives to the existing (colonial) production patterns—the mining in the Copperbelt areas and the commercial farming along the rail-line. But as the country was struggling with the consequences of the intense rural-urban flows—which did not only drain the skilled labour from the rural areas but also created housing pressures that the government tried to relieve through special action programmes for urban resettlement, and self-help housing projects in the periphery of Lusaka—DA saw the reorganization of the rural areas as a counter-strategy to manage the rising (economical, social, environmental) tensions between urban centres and rural areas. Visualizing a network of rural settlements was thus an alternative way to find a balance between urban and rural life, which ultimately entailed the social and cultural transformation of the rural population.

Planning Self-Sustained Rural Communities

In search for solutions for the planning of rural communities in Zambia, DA drew on its exhaustive surveys and collection of data collected from various local sources, which mapped an 'uneven' rural landscape: various settlement typologies and sizes, difference in productivity level, and cultivation methods, construction techniques, architectural and cultural expressions, variations in local topographic/climatic conditions. Although, the firm had also gained insights into a complex sociopolitical environment and acknowledged the strong social, economic, and cultural ties between the population and the land it eventually typified rural settlements as unstable, characterised 'by constant movements over the land in response to ecological demands as well as flooding or kinship pressures.'[28] Conceptualizing the rural population as essentially mobile and settlement patterns as constantly shifting, DA rendered the rural landscape as uniform 'without any regional organic cohesion' where rural settlements appeared '[as] independent molecules in an undefined space.'[29]

[28] According to DA rural settlements were not permanent as a result of constant rebuilding of traditional huts in every 5 or 6 years, but also because entire hamlets or clusters of hamlets 'are not likely to stay in the same place from more than 10 to 12 years'. See 'Rural Townships of Zambia – General Report', 15 December 1967, Archive files 24657, Doxiadis Archives, p.24.

[29] 'The Development of Rural Townships: A Programme for the Creation and Development of Rural Centres in the Country', October 1968, Archive files 24663, Doxiadis Archives, p.6.

This understanding of rural life was not to be misconstrued as a setting of freedom, for DA; rather, it exposed the primitive struggle of humans against nature, where the role of planning was not only to offer protection 'from the elements of Nature,' but also to create 'conditions different from those one finds in the open country.'[30] Exposing DA's modernist predispositions this approach demanded the conformity of planning to an aesthetics of order, standardization,[31] and spatial confinement where rural centres, and modern planning in general, were perceived as platforms of emancipation: on the one hand, claiming to liberate human subjects from their primitive struggle against nature, and on the other hand, introducing them, as active participants/agents, in networks of monetary economy and urban life patterns.[32] In DA's mind-set, the anticipation of the social and cultural change of rural life in the postcolonial era, justified fostering it through the design of typical settlements, where the ultimate goal was to create 'a sense of cohesion and urbanity' as a precondition to nurture 'social interaction and progress within the rural settlement.'[33]

Under these assumptions, DA shaped a model plan, a rectilinear settlement with a north-south orientation which was organized in three zones: The residential zone, broken down in two neighbourhoods, divided by a central zone of public facilities, and a third zone of manufacturing and storage that was placed along a service road, which separated internal and regional traffic. Larger plots for gardens, cattle farms, and experimental fields were placed in the periphery offering space for the future extension of the settlement. (Fig. 3) DA's model plans were expected to adapt to topographical features and development conditions of each location and surrounding region. However, all twelve designs followed the same planning principles leading to standardization and reformulation of existing sociospatial patterns, irrespective of the regional and local differentiations: firstly, the plans assigned typical plots for single five-member families—although this was not the typical case in rural Zambia—where each would have enough space for a 'small private garden, one or two domestic animals (even if these do not yet exist), and space for a cart or eventually a tractor,' as well as 20-acres of arable land in the surrounding area. [34] Secondly, by attempting to shape a community identity through social interaction in a clearly shaped zone of administrative functions and social infrastructure, as well as in public spaces, which were also expected to accomodate cultural traditions through 'public gatherings,

[30] 'Rural Townships of Zambia – General Report', p.79.
[31] For a critique on the standardization of rural schemes see J. C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, p.253.

[32] See the pertinent analysis, M. Ijlal Muzaffar, 'Boundary Games: Ecochard, Doxiadis, and the Refugee Housing Projects under Military Rule in Pakistan, 1953–1959', In Aggregate. *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*', Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012, p. 435.
[33] 'Rural Townships of Zambia – General Report', p.79.
[34] 'Rural Townships of Zambia – General Report', p.90.

commercial (open air markets), social (dancing, performances etc.) activities', which DA tried to documented in rural surveys.[35] (Fig.4)

As Doxiadis Associates expected that cultural traditions and local preferences could still flourish inside these standardize settlements, at the same time, they ignored wider linguistic differentiations that organized rural population in larger cultural/political groups as well as other existing divisions within the peasantry, power relations and gender divisions of labour.[36] Furthermore, as rural life was seen taking place 'neatly' within self-sustaining communities, the tensions brought by its interaction with wider socioeconomic transformations remained unaddressed, and outside the planners field of control. Various factors were at play affecting the project's implementation: it was the government's interdepartmental disputes around the nature of rural development, the allocation of government funding which was still constrained by other sectors needs, the challenges on decentralisation policies and the population's uncertain response to agricultural policies and resettlement planning.[37]

Wishing to address these dynamics, DA proposed the gradual implementation of the rural settlements in five-year phases to correspond to the government's development planning. It also suggested to begin with the construction of service centres, with social, health and educational infrastructure; administrative and commercial facilities, as these could 'survive in all future phases of development […] irrespectively of how the people are going to settle within them in the next few generations.'[38] With this proposal, DA also tried to bypass the ongoing debate over the success of village regrouping schemes, anticipating the gradual transformation of existing settlement patterns, as rural population would be slowly adapted into to the new conditions:

> These [service] centres will act as poles of attraction for the farmers and will improve the standards of living and incomes in the surrounding area, by bringing people into contact and directing rural economy towards the road of barter and trade.[39]

This modest confidence in the better alternative offered by modernized planning and professional agriculture, did not resonate well with large scale strategy of urbanizing rural Zambia that DA was imagining, nor with Doxiadis' vision of 'leap-frogging' rural development, when he emphasized that the country could achieve in one or two generations what would normally take 'four or five

[35] 'Rural Townships of Zambia – General Report', p.79.
[36] See W. Tordoff, *Government and politics in Africa*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p. 83.
[37] All these factors are documented by subsequent studies, for example: D. Siddle, 'Rural Development in Zambia: A Spatial Analysis', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 8(02), 1970, p.271; P. Ollawa, 'Rural Development Strategy and Performance in Zambia: An Evaluation of past Efforts', *African Studies Review*, 21(2), 1978.
[38] C. Doxiadis, 'A special program for the organisation of human settlements in the rural area of Zambia'.
[39] 'Zambia: Organisation of the Countryside', p. 298.

generations with large expenses, big mistakes and great efforts.'[40] Doxiadis' vision of accelerating development placed, even more, confidence in the capacity of planners to manage the risks and tensions created by social, cultural and political transformations in the name of postcolonial development.[41] At the same time, it presupposed the increased capacity of central government to mobilize extensive capital and direct administrative resources towards such long-term and large-scale goals.

Another understanding of rural planning was becoming evident through the case of Zambia. By utilising the extensive knowledge produced during the surveys, DA proposed also small-scale interventions such as: 'the construction of a pier to facilitate communication between the two banks of the rivers when it is in flood'; 'the construction of bridges over the two rivers in the area to provide easy access to the fertile land'; the improvement of a road connection; and the creating of facilities for the marketing of a particular product. Contrary to the implementation of standardized rural settlements, such interventions could have proved a more cautious response to the realities on the ground and more responsive to the existing social, economic and ecological practices, sustaining them rather than aiming to replace them.[42] While such an approach was never explicitly promoted by Doxiadis Associates, the firm's encounter with rural Zambia, seemed to have demanded a response to a whole new set of planning challenges. By exploring the reactions of modernist and scientific planning practices to such challenges, allows us to grasp a more nuanced understanding of the histories of modern planning of rural areas as well as the complex genealogies of agrarian experiments in Africa.

Acknowledgements

This paper publicizes findings from a doctoral study taking place in the School of Architecture, National Technical University of Athens (NTUA) under the supervision of Prof. Panayiotis Tournikiotis. A 'Doctoral Research Scholarship' provided by the French School at Athens further supported the research and the writing of this paper. I would like also to thank the Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives and in particular Giota Pavlidou for her valuable assistance in accessing archival material.

[40] C. Doxiadis, 'Conception of Settlement Patterns', 1968, [In Greek].

[41] Doxiadis letter to K. Kakisopoulos DA's representative in Lusaka, 22 January 1970, Archive files 19200, Doxiadis Archives [In Greek].

[42] 'Zambia: Plans for Twelve Villages Completed', *DA Review,* December 1969, p. 11.

Modeling the Global Village Olga Touloumi, Bard College

In 1953, the Indian Government and the United Nations invited Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, the town planner and educator, to organize the United Nations Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in New Delhi. As an active and core member of the CIAM meetings, Marshall McLuhan's collaborator in the Communication and Culture seminars at the University of Toronto, and a UN consultant, Tyrwhitt operated in intellectual and institutional circles debating the role of design and technology in an increasingly globalized world. For the UN Seminar, she proposed an exhibition to illustrate different planning-models for the developing world. Her work set the tone for future UN efforts to address the habitat and human settlements. Among the exhibits laid the "Model Village," which attempted to respond with design to Jawaharlar Nehru's call for land and agrarian reform. The aim was to modernize villages, expand agricultural activity, and establish farming cooperatives. In doing so, the exhibition brought CIAM's debates on planning to the outskirts of New Delhi, while also constructing a model for future UN efforts to address the habitat of the developing world.

This presentation will examine the United Nations Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement against the backdrop of post-World War II efforts to institutionally reorganize the world. The seminar and exhibition partook in intellectual and diplomatic debates over an emergent Third-World of non-aligned nations and their role within the increasingly globalizing realities of the postwar period, displacing processes of decolonization from the urban to the rural environments and bringing urban planning internationalism in dialogue with third world ideologies. In the years to follow, McLuhan would employ Tyrwhitt's "village" as a metaphor to discuss processes of globalization, radically decontextualizing the term from its historical and political framework. This displacement and decontextualization, I argue, was not only instrumental in the myth-making of the "global village," but it also produced the village as a core concept in the postwar discourse on globalization at large.

SESSION: Asia at Play: Ideas of Leisure and the Emergence of Modernist Recreational Landscapes, 1900-1970

Cecilia Chu, University of Hong Kong; Dorothy Tang, University of Hong Kong

Play spaces have historically functioned as temporary ideal worlds, not complete utopias but imagined perfect worlds in which people find momentary escape from everyday reality. Research on the histories of recreation in Europe and America has shown that the emergence of modernist "playscapes" in the early 20th century, such as amusement parks, expositions, theme parks and fun fairs, etc., was part and parcel of the advent of industrialization and concomitant social reform movements that sought to introduce new "free time" and collective leisure activities to the working class. While these processes helped generate new relations between work and leisure and gave new meanings to collective social life, some of these spaces also worked to reinforce existing social and cultural hierarchies and perpetuate social stratification. Meanwhile, the provision of recreational landscapes was incorporated into practices of planning, landscape architecture and real estate, where a multitude of experts, institutions and other agents participated in their development, with varied implications for the ongoing reshaping of urban forms as well as the connection between city centres and suburban territories.

Although developed under very different conditions, a variety of modernist recreational spaces emerged in major metropolises in East and Southeast Asia in the early and mid 20th century and provided mass entertainment to Chinese audiences in Shanghai, the zoos and amusement parks constructed by private railway companies in Japan to facilitate suburban expansion, and the new spectator sports venues such as baseball fields in Taiwan and racecourses in other cities that were adapted from earlier colonial models. While these and other play spaces have been studied by historians, research to date has tended to approach them as discrete entities with little connection either to accelerating capitalist development in the region or the larger network of experts, entrepreneurs and other institutional players that participated in their conception and development. Papers in this session will explore the diverse agendas, strategies and transnational exchange of knowledge in the production of recreational landscapes in East and Southeast Asia from the 1900s up to the 1970s. Of particular interest are the changing roles of recreation and their impacts on spatial relations, the adaptation of foreign planning and design models and their implications for local urban forms, the commercialization of leisure and their links with new consumption practices, and the relations between formal and informal recreational spaces.

Invisible Utopia: Civilizing the Recreational Spaces of early 20th-century Bangkok Cinemas Lawrence Chua, Syracuse University

While the images projected on the screens of early 20th-century Bangkok cinemas gave audiences glimpses of an ideal modern world, the timber-framed theaters themselves were contested arenas where the senses of wealthy audiences were routinely offended not only by the real smells, sounds, and touch of lower-class patrons but by acts of political disobedience. This paper examines the transformation of Bangkok cinemas from heterotopic counter-cultural spaces into places where audiences could experience the pleasures of modern life in the imagined community of the nation. Siam's nascent architectural profession played a key role in this "civilizing" process when the absolutist state attempted to re-brand itself during the global economic and political turbulence of the 1930s by commissioning the design of Bangkok's first modern cinema, the Sala Chaloem Krung (M.L. Samaichaloem Kridakon, Bangkok, 1932-1933). This paper argues that the cinema's infrastructural innovations worked in tandem with the hierarchies of both the theater's Beaux-Arts influenced plan and the symbols of royal authority that ornamented its facades. Air-conditioning purchased from the Carrier Corporation of Syracuse and installed in the steel-framed concrete cinema drew on a transnational network of expertise and knowledge to create a commercial environment that sought to suppress many of the unpleasant sensory reminders of Bangkok's class and racial differences with limited success. Using a series of letters in the Thai-language press that debated the primitive design and phenomenological experience of the early cinema in distinctly class-biased and racialized terms, correspondence between Siam's last absolute monarch and his architects, as well as photographs, drawings, and newspaper accounts, this paper excavates the importance of the invisible networks that underwrote modern spaces of leisure and recreation in 20th-century Southeast Asia and created new experiential environments for their consumption.

Modernity and Urban Space: Beijing's First Public Park (1914 - the 1970s) Paul Clark, University of Auckland *

Beijing's first modern public park was situated in the heart of the city, ironically under the walls of the Forbidden City in an old imperial temple and garden. Yet from 1914 Central Park (so named in an echo of New York) became a site for the display and consumption of modern spaces, attitudes and behaviours. Using ideas about the social construction of urban space of Lefebvre and their contemporary elaboration by Edward Soja, this paper will trace how the citizens of Beijing made this park their own as they engaged with the novelty of modernity.

Across the transition to the Communist regime in 1949 and in three subsequent decades under Mao, Zhongshan Park (re-named in 1925) remained a space for innovation and the promotion of modern ideas to China's citizens. The development of the park reflected evolving notions about leisure in a rapidly modernizing nation. Before 1949 most park users were middle-class Beijingers, with the means and time to enjoy the sights and diversions that the park offered. The new regime after 1949 earnestly promoted the democratization of leisure and recreational spaces, constructing new sites in the park for that purpose.

But throughout the twentieth century Zhongshan Park was viewed by its designers and users as a utopian space where women, for example, could try out new, public roles and young people could experiment with the new concept of dating. Exotic foods – ice-cream, coffee, curries – could be consumed while enjoying the zoo, new-style Chinese versions of hot-houses for foreign plants, a children's playground and other sporting spaces. From the 1950s the park saw more organized, collective recreation, though private citizens could still pursue their own interests in both its public and more intimate spaces, beside Tian'anmen Square.

Extending a current study of leisure spaces in Beijing from the 1940s to the present, this paper uses archival, published and observational materials to map the changing patterns of modern recreation in twentieth-century China.

PAPER

In 1914, as war began in Europe, Beijing's first modern park was opened under the shadow of the walls of the imperial palace, the Forbidden City. Central Park, named in an echo of New York, for both urban planners and park users became associated with modern attitudes, ideas and pastimes. These associations for the park persisted strongly through a century of rapid change and major upheaval, from the Republican period (1912-1948), across the eight years of Japanese occupation (1937-1945) and throughout the Maoist era (1949-1978). This paper will map the continuities from the park's establishment to the 1970s both in the ambitions for the space on the part of urban authorities and planners and also in the public and private pursuits of the ordinary users of the park.

The tensions and mutual influences between these two groups (authorities and citizens) are the focus of this paper. In his analysis of the social construction of space, Henri Lefebvre observed how ordinary people in everyday existence make uses of space in ways unanticipated or even condemned by the planners of such spaces. Edward Soja has expanded on this observation in his studies of Los Angeles and other megacities. Inspired by these two writers, the sociologist Nihal Perera has shown how Sri Lankans and other people in developing countries defy the ambitions of

urban planners. Applying theoretical viewpoints drawn from the Third World to China can be questionable: China has a long imperial history as the centre of its world (and indeed seems today intent on reviving such centrality). But Perera's most recent book, *People's Spaces* (2016) draws vivid attention to the responses of ordinary citizens to the plans of those in power:

> …ordinary people do not passively submit themselves to abstract places and constituent social orders. As people use their own imaginations in occupying space, the subjects transform the provided and/or assigned spaces – and their subjectivities – into something meaningful to them.[1]

People see that "abstract spaces are incomplete and have cracks, gaps, fissures, and fuzzy margins" through which they can create their own uses for the space.[2] Inspired by these approaches, this paper will outline the official plans for Zhongshan Park across the Republican, Japanese and Communist eras. All three regimes show a remarkable uniformity and consistency in their ideas about what the park symbolised and how it should function. A similar consistency characterised the ways in which Beijingers made use of the park across the three eras and seven decades, the latter three of which are usually assumed to have been marked by authoritarian control over China's citizenry.

Zhongshan Park was established at a time of rapid social and cultural change in China, facilitated by the removal of dynastic rule in 1911. China's modernisation had accelerated in the nineteenth-century as the Qing dynasty struggled to meet the challenging international circumstances thrust upon China by defeat in several international wars. New ideas and new ways of behaving in public took hold in the treaty ports that were most open to foreign influence. By the second decade of the twentieth century many educated Chinese embraced new ideas and life-styles in the so-called New Culture Movement. A rejection of traditional values (labelled by some Confucius and Sons) and an endorsement what were considered scientific principles were two features of this movement. Included in this dramatic shift in public discourse were new ideas on the private status and public roles of women, on the need for Chinese to build healthy, strong bodies, and an opening up of public participation in politics. All these shifts were reflected in the design, development and popular uses of Zhongshan Park from its beginnings through to the second half of the century. The park became effectively a staging ground for the production and

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[1] Nihal Perera, *People's Spaces: Coping Familiarizing, Creating*, New York & London, Routledge, 2016, p. 3.
[2] Perera, p. 223.

performance of new ideas and modern behaviours. As the decades passed, the range of participants in these activities in the park widened considerably, particularly with the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. But the continuities in official ambitions for and popular uses of the park across seven decades are striking.

A: The Republican period (1914-1937 and 1945-1948)

In 1914 for the Republican planners of a new Beijing, the conversion of a former imperial altar and restful retreat into a new-style recreational space in the heart of the ancient city was a powerful symbolic statement (three years after the fall of the last dynasty) on behalf of a new China and modern life-styles and attitudes.[3] The park was renamed Zhongshan Park after the 1924 death of the founding President of the Republic of China Sun Zhongshan (more commonly known as Sun Yat-sen). Planners transformed the park during the 1920s and 1930s into a mix of modern leisure and recreational amenities – coffee shops and restaurants, a zoo, experimental glasshouses, children's playground, and Forbidden City moat-side boating jetty. These sat alongside renovated older buildings, including the altar at which successive Ming and Qing emperors had conducted rituals to ensure the prosperity of the empire.

The reformist planners of Zhongshan Park intended to shape public behaviour in the new republic, creating a new-style space that would promote the ideals of the new republic. Proper planning would also allow for appropriate social control in this new public space. The individual most associated with the creation of (then) Central Park was Zhu Qiqian (1872-1964), the first of a line of radical re-makers of the urban fabric of Beijing in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[4] From being a mostly religious space for the conducting of solemn ceremonies by the emperor himself, the 23.8 hectare site became a space for new, modern pursuits that emperors might still recognise. The re-design of Zhongshan Park, with new, modern buildings, contrasts with the emphasis on the preservation of traditional architecture and lay-outs in other former imperial parks in the city, including Beihai and the Temple of Heaven.

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[3] Treaty port cities on China's coast and major rivers included public parks from the late nineteenth century, but these were generally seen as spaces for Western (and Japanese) leisure rather than for locals. They served, however, as a model for entirely Chinese efforts at creating modern parks.

[4] Zhu remained chairman of the park board from 1914 through to the arrival of Japanese military government in the summer of 1937. He returned as a member of the new, post-Japanese board in 1947. A new, short-lived board established after the January 1949 arrival of the Communist army in Beijing also included Zhu Qiqian, according to the lists of board members in the 2002 park history: Zhongshan Park Management Office (*Zhongshan gongyuan guanlichu*) ed., *Zhongshan gongyuan zhi* (Zhongshan Park gazetteer), Zhongguo linye chubanshe, 2002 [hereafter ZSGY], pp. 203-204.

Old buildings and other sites were given new uses. The former Hall of Prayer became Sun Yat-sen Hall (after 1925) and was used for public meetings. New buildings were erected in Western style to accommodate new activities in the park. Greco-Roman decorations on some of these buildings fitted the internationalist ambitions of the park planners. The buildings included aviaries, hot-houses for exotic plants, zoo cages for deer, pumas, among other animals, and rooms for billiards, card-games and other new pastimes. One new building housed privately run shops, including a photographer's studio and an outlet to cater to park visitors' needs for films and other supplies for the new-style hobby of the urban middle-class, taking photos of friends and family in attractive outdoor settings.[5] In 1915 electric lights were installed along the main pathways in the park.[6] Lighting extended the use hours of the park and also facilitated the supervision of park users.

Public parks provided venues for healthy activities by the population. Sports were part of the recreational facilities constructed in the park by the municipal government within six months of the opening. A football field was built in the 1920s among the ancient trees. Tennis courts and even a 555m^2 golf area became available in the 1930s.[7]

The central location of the park meant that park continued to be a focus for political activities. Building on the experience of the memorial commemorations after the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, Zhongshan Park served from the 1920s through the 1940s as a space for public memorial meetings marking the deaths of important public figures in the city.[8]

Most users of the new Central (Zhongshan) Park went there for leisure as the park took on a role as a stage for the performance of modern life-styles, attitudes and habits. Entrance fees, charged from first opening through until today (with some exceptional periods), limited access in Republican times to those with the time and money to spend in a park. Middle-class Beijing, however, became avid visitors, as did Chinese from the rest of the nation keen to observe the new things on display.

The establishment of the new park coincided with the emergence of women in the public sphere in China. The assertion of public roles by women and the greater visibility of so-called respectable, or non-working class, women needed a space. Zhongshan Park provided just such a venue for female emancipation from the confines of the household. The park was a zone in which

[5] This remarkably Western building was demolished in the 1970-1972 reconstruction of the park: ZSGY, p. 121.
[6] ZSGY, p. 107.
[7] ZSGY, p. 20.
[8] The park gazetteer lists 21 such funerals or memorial meetings, including 15 held after 1949: pp. 169-174. The park could serve other national purposes, such as venue for the 1973 commemoration of the 107th birthday of Sun Yat-sen. This was an odd number for an anniversary, but in line with the CCP's reaching out to overseas Chinese, including in the United States a year after President Nixon's visit.

women, who could afford the entrance fee and had the time for leisure, could enjoy this new freedom. Even unaccompanied by men, young women visited the park, shared the entertainments with female friends, and could have a cup of coffee (a new-style beverage) or a curry (associated with British imperial customs). Other women could bring children to enjoy the amenities in the park, including the fresh air that scientists had identified as a factor in promoting health. By the 1930s young women joined young men in playing badminton in the open air or ping-pong in a pavilion set up for this purpose.

Part of the New Culture Movement's rejection of tradition was the idea of so-called free marriage. Young people should be allowed to select their own partners and not rely on parental or professional match-maker efforts. Zhongshan Park was a highly suitable spot to meet and assess potential partners: being open and public meant a degree of safety. Group gatherings of young people could provide a semi-neutral context in which a couple might decide to get to know each other. This function was not unique to public parks, but other potential venues had distinct drawbacks.

New sporting activities included calisthenics, skating on the palace moat, ball games and a children's playground. A full-sized football field became available after 1923, but six years later, pressure from the numbers of visitors made the football field a luxury the park could not afford. The field was converted for more sedate recreation and part set aside for a new children's playground, with swings, bar frames, slide, seesaw and a roundabout. Alongside these activities for the body, the mind could be exercised with exhibitions, displays, and more passive leisure. Exhibitions presented messages about health, patriotism and other public issues.

The park was also regarded by non-governmental organisations as an ideal place for fund-raising activities for various national and international causes. These efforts could include performances by famous opera artists and others beloved by Beijing's citizens.[9] In 1936, for example, Beijing's educated elite turned out to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the birth of the Song dynasty poet Su Dongpo. Some participants publicly composed poems to mark the occasion, a time-honoured Chinese literati practice.[10] In 1946 a public meeting in Zhongshan Hall in the park, called to protest for electoral reform, was disrupted by alleged government agents. Communist sympathisers seized upon the violent incident as a means to direct public resentment at the Nationalist government, newly re-installed in the city.[11]

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[9] ZSGY, p. 179 lists a few of these events.
[10] ZSGY, pp. 167 and 20.
[11] See newspaper reports in *Jiefang* (Liberation), 23 April 1946, p. 1, 26 April 1946, p. 4, and 29 April 1946, p. 4. Accessed in *Minguo jiu baokan* (Republican newspaper files) in the Peking University Library, December 2015.

In the 1930s and 1940s visitors to the park had a wide choice of refreshments at teahouses and restaurants. Special snacks drew Beijing's flâneurs to the park: wisteria pancakes were a speciality of the Changmei (Long-lasting Beauty) tea shop on the western path. Made in spring from flowers plucked from the creepers growing over the frames that extended over the rustic rattan tables and chairs, these pancakes were not unique to the park, but in memories the park setting enhanced the enjoyment of them, freshly made and hot from the pan.[12] Having enjoyed several pots of fragrant tea and nibbled on a small dish of fresh or dried fruits, most flower admirers in the park ordered their pancakes at around 2:30 or 3:00 p.m. even until lanterns were hung. The next morning there were none available, as custom insisted that the pancakes be sold fresh on the day. But it was possible to have the pancakes wrapped for taking home, a service which attracted a lot of people to the park. Only the preserved-vegetable buns, sold by the poetically named *Lai jin yu* (lit. Today It Rains, but being a poetic allusion to new friendship) restaurant on the eastern side of the park, ranked with the floral pancakes as special park treats in the eyes of regular park-goers.[13] This restaurant served a mix of Chinese and Western dishes. *Paisixin* ("Passion" or "Paysan," perhaps) served coffee, cakes and sandwiches in the 1930s and 1940s.[14] This cuisine fitted well with the modern aspirations of the park planners and Republican era users.

B: The Japanese occupation (1937-1945)

The Japanese military occupation of Beijing from July 1937 until August 1945 did not mean that developments in Zhongshan Park were put on hold. Although it changed the name back to Central Park, the Japanese administration saw advantages in using the modernist reputation of the park and its influential position in the lives of many citizens to advance Tokyo's new imperial agenda. In the summer of 1942 the Great East Asia Exposition (*Da Dongya bolanhui*) took over the whole of the park, with displays of Japanese industrial achievement and beneficial solidarity with the peoples of the region. In the same year the first of a succession of music auditoria on the southeast corner of the ancient earth altar was constructed to serve as a venue for singing performances to support the (Japanese) war effort. Boating on the Forbidden City moat on the park's northern boundary was introduced.[15] This is not to downplay wartime impacts on the park, both under Japanese occupation and during the civil war of the late 1940s. One estimate was

[12] See the culinary memoir of Beijing by Zhao Heng, *Laotao manbi* (Notes of a glutton), Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001, pp. 28-30 (Zhongshan Park's wisteria pancakes).
[13] Zhao Heng, p. 28.
[14] Zhao Heng, p. 169.
[15] ZSGY, p. 193.

that the number of trees in the park, many of which dated from Ming times five-hundred years earlier, had decreased by about 40 percent between 1938 and 1949.[16]

During eight years of Japanese administration, Zhongshan Park remained a central site for Beijingers' recreation. Sports competitions and informal exercise continued in the fresh air, as did more passive enjoyment of both the natural landscapes and the built facilities for food, education and rest. Some city activities continued across the arrival of the Japanese army. From 1934 to 1938, a lot of space in Zhongshan Park was devoted to annual educational displays on public hygiene directed at parents and children.[17] As in other changes of regime, the continuities in the ways in which Beijingers used the park and made it their own during the Japanese occupation are striking.

C: The People's Republic in the Maoist era (1949 – 1978)

Nineteen forty-nine is often assumed to mark a major break in Chinese history, with the establishment of a Communist Party government led by Mao Zedong. But the considerable continuities between the period before 1949 and the years and even decades after that year should not be downplayed. For Zhongshan Park, patterns and expectations that planners had established in the preceding three decades can be found in the popular park experience in the 1950s and beyond. Zhongshan Park remained a site for the staging of modernity, but there were new definitions of what counted as modern and positive.

This does not mean that we should discount the major changes made in the ways Beijing's citizens were expected to behave under the new, Communist regime. Some kinds of leisure activities associated with the park were open to criticism as bourgeois indulgence. As the 2002 park gazetteer editors point out, with the new government came a greater emphasis on serving political and economic production needs. There was also, they note, a general cleaning up and refinement of old park habits now deemed unacceptable by the new regime.[18] The social profile of park-goers in the pre-1949 era did not match the new emphasis on the so-called broad masses. The latter could include educated people alongside the core worker-peasant-soldier membership of this majority social category, but the new thrust by the authorities was on catering to the ordinary citizen and reshaping his or her attitudes and behaviours. The most notable shift for

[16] ZSGY, p. 132.
[17] ZSGY, p. 181. This gazetteer cites similar displays in 1989 and 1990, showing the continuity in park uses across the 1949 divide.
[18] ZSGY, p. 175. The editors claim changes came particularly after 1980, with an expansion of leisure options and new building work. This was in line with a twenty-first century valorising of "reform and opening up" of the post-Mao era.

previous users of the park was a more obvious official presence in the park's calendar of activities. Celebrations or festivals associated with the new regime – International Women's Day. May Day/International Workers Day, Children's Day, Army Day and other commemorations needed public spaces for their ceremonies or entertainments. Zhongshan Park was an obvious, central choice and remained so into the 1980s.[19]

Exhibition and performance spaces in the park were enlarged or renovated to serve the tasks of mass education and uplift favoured by the new regime. Visitors had a different or new experience of some of its various amenities. Collective activity became more the norm in the early 1950s. Most of the food outlets, tea shops and commercial enterprises in the park disappeared or were modified to reflect the new clientele and what officials thought were their needs. The kinds of informational displays that had been typical features in the park since its post-imperial beginnings were modified, expanded and given greater prominence. A captive audience in the park was an ideal target for propaganda displays, noticeboards and the like. In the first years of the 1950s such posters covered such issues as public health measures to clean up parts of Beijing, support for the Chinese volunteers fighting in Korea, and praising model workers.[20]

While the city planners after 1949 emphasised the value of organised, collective park visits, park users could still come to the park by themselves or with friends and still find a relatively quiet corner in which to read a book, have a chat, nap, play cards, or smoke a cigarette. The mix of eateries and teashops slowly disappeared after Liberation in 1949, a change accelerated by the nationalisation of private enterprises in the city by 1953. But food outlets and tea houses were in operation until the start of the Cultural Revolution in the mid-1960s. By the 1970s, food and drink in the park were mostly supplied from food stands selling pre-packaged snacks and soda. The kinds of visitors to the park from the 1950s showed the greater democratisation of the space, encouraging more ordinary citizens to approach its ticket kiosks and enjoy its amenities. Ticket fees were not removed for ordinary days, but prices were lowered to widen access to the park. Tickets for groups were half the individual price at one stage in 1951, for example.[21] Certain other users, including soldiers and revolutionary veterans, received discounted tickets. On some festival days, including May First, Children's Day and National Day, tickets were not required.[22]

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[19] Proximity to the leadership compound of Zhongnanhai, just half a kilometre west of the park, was a factor. Indeed in 1954-1955 Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other leaders at times took early morning walks in the park: ZSGY, p. 167. Other parks in today's Beijing (e.g. Purple Bamboo Park, Taoranting Park, Yuyuantan Park) were under development or re-construction in the early 1950s.

[20] Educational activities had not been absent in the park from its opening in 1914. The Ministry of Education had directly managed a library reading room in the park from 1916 onwards. It closed in 1950: ZSGY, p. 126.

[21] ZSGY, p. 25.

[22] ZSGY, p. 212.

Children continued to find attractions designed for them in the park. In 1952 these expanded to include electric cars on a fixed circuit and seating four children: activities should be collective not individual in the new era. Nine fixed airplanes were also set up at this time, each seating two children, and also moving around a fixed circuit.[23] In the 1950s one thousand people could enjoy ice skating at the same time. Stopping in the first Cultural-Revolution winter of 1966-1967, skating became available again in late 1972.[24] From 1965 a fixed open-air cinema attracted Beijingers keen to escape the summer heat in their apartments.[25] On important festival days the park remained open late, even until midnight, providing opportunities for non-political, more private enjoyment of the park's less illuminated nooks.[26]

Peaceful rest was not guaranteed, for from 1962 a loud-speaker network was constructed in the park, coming into full operation in the summer of 1964. Along the two major north-south routes that crossed the park 41 trumpet-shaped speakers conveyed music to visitors from a central broadcasting room.[27] These have the effect, in my experience of Chinese parks, of reminding users that they are not alone: there is someone playing music and, perhaps, even able to monitor their activities. The music played over this network could range from the quiet and traditional, to revolutionary songs and stirring, martial tunes. The speaker system could also convey announcements on performances about to begin or on lost children, and so on.

The Cultural Revolution era (1966-1976) saw major modifications in Beijingers' use of Zhongshan Park, though a lot of the unofficial uses of the space continued even during this time of heightened political tensions. The park remained mostly open to the public, welcoming among others university and high-school students from all over the nation who travelled to the capital as part of the Red Guard "building links" effort in the early years of the Cultural Revolution. The only activity listed in a chronology of the park for 1967 is a May 28 opening of a display of photographs under the title "Chairman Mao is always in our hearts."[28] However, to support the major reconstruction of the Gate of Heavenly Peace (Tian'anmen) on the northern edge of the

[23] ZSGY, p. 181.
[24] ZSGY, pp. 192-193.
[25] ZSGY, p. 190. From 1986 these screenings and associated evening park opening hours were abandoned. Beijingers by then had television (and electric fans) at home to divert themselves.
[26] ZSGY, p. 180 lists several such occasions. My own acquaintance with Beijing parks in the mid-1970s and in the years since is behind the speculation here about unsanctioned park use.
[27] ZSGY, p. 112. A wider network of more speakers was installed after 1971. Passengers on trains in the 1970s and 1980s were similarly regaled with uplifting music and announcements from a broadcasting booth in one of the carriages.
[28] ZSGY, p. 32.

square and beside the park, Zhongshan Park was closed from December 1969 for almost two years. It reopened to the public for celebrations of National Day in October 1971.[29]

A visit to Zhongshan Park could also alert ordinary Beijingers to changes in public policies. In 1973 orchid exhibitions resumed, having been condemned as "feudal indulgence" at the start of the Cultural Revolution. The flower display, like others of fish and collectables, served to indirectly send a signal to the public about acceptability of the revival of pre-Cultural Revolution behaviours.[30] After the death of Mao Zedong and the effective end of the Cultural Revolution in late 1976, Beijing public life returned to a more varied and increasingly colourful pattern. Zhongshan Park hosted flower displays, offered places for relaxation over food or after sports, and returned to its centrality for many inner-city Beijingers that it had held for several generations.[31]

This paper has tried to show how, even in a public space as carefully planned and tightly overseen as Zhongshan Park in the heart of Beijing, ordinary people managed throughout the twentieth century to find Nihal Perera's "cracks, gaps, fissures, and fuzzy margins." Park users continued to make their own uses of the space, even as they shared a rhetoric of modernity with those who designed and oversaw the park. Built on an imperial religious and leisure ground and designed to express and shape modern attitudes, this public space was in effect a contested zone. Urban planners used the park as a showcase for new ideas about public behaviour. As is other public spaces in Beijing, park users remained resistant to these ambitions. Campaigns and propaganda were quietly ignored or avoided by citizens doing what they wanted to do in this public zone. Becoming modern for the people of Beijing was to be on their own terms, as public behaviour in the decades since the 1980s has vividly illustrated.

[29] ZSGY, p. 32. In 1969 the park became headquarters of police in charge of security in the square. They took over the quarters used by the East is Red Peking Opera Troupe, which had moved in in 1965 to work on new-style operas which were central cultural productions in these years (pp. 31 and 32).
[30] ZSGY, p. 134. Likewise 500 pots containing 154,685 grasses plants in autumn-winter 1965 were reduced to 33,680 in 270 pots by the end of 1967. Chinese record-keeping continued despite political and social upheaval. The 1972 flower display is listed in the park chronology (p. 32). The following year fish joined the displays (p. 33).
[31] After the Tangshan earthquake damaged many buildings in Beijing, the park served as the temporary residence for hundreds of people, living in tents among the ancient trees: ZSGY, p. 34.

The Recreational Landscape of Weltevreden before Indonesian Nationalism

Evawani Elissa, Universitas Indonesia

Dutch colonial rule lasted for almost three hundred and fifty years across Batavia and other parts of Indonesia from 1618 to 1945. By the rise of the Dutch colonial city in the mid-19th century, Batavia was divided into the old town of Batavia Centrum and new town of Weltevreden. At the time, the changing perception of the settlement's distance from Europe and growing number of women immigrants affected the colonial urban culture, forming new social groups that sought to articulate their lifestyles in the Dutch manner. Batavia 's society also became increasingly multicultural as city dwellers became more diverse in terms of profession, gender and nationalities.

As in many colonial cities, the landscapes of Weltevreden were divided by class; with a minority of Europeans, Indo-Europeans and wealthy Asians, who gained access to the best lands and urban facilities, and a majority of indigenous people who were confined to unplanned areas known as Kampungs. Its public spaces were not only key sites to promote civic and cultural values, but also places for people to show off their disposable wealth and availability of leisure time. A visitor to Batavia in 1862 reported that in the city square of Waterlooplein, during the afternoon, gentlemen paraded around on horsebacks in elegant dresses, while ladies with the most beautiful gowns exhibited their charms.

This paper explores the formulation of recreational landscapes in Weltevreden, focusing on individual agency and human experiences over the span of the colonial legacy. The recreational landscapes featured expressions of a colonial society through modern urban design and architectural morphology that responded to the tropical climate and indigenous culture. As the form of the city was mainly dictated by planning decisions made by aristocrats, private companies and wealthy individuals rather than officials of town planning departments, prototypical public spaces in Weltevreden were discriminatorily accessible to the public and sporadically provided.

Animals in the Palace: Changyeonggung Palace and the Introduction of Modern Domestic Space in Korea during the Japanese Occupation (1910-1945)

Hyun-Tae Jung, Lehigh University

The Japanese colonizers introduced the first modern recreational park to Korea around 1910. After the destruction of ancient buildings and the reorganization of the spatial layout, a zoo, a botanical garden, and a museum were built inside an old royal palace. The Japanese employed modern recreational facilities as a political apparatus to expedite the forceful annexation of Korea.

The fourth ruler of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897), King Sejong (r.1418-50), built a house for his retiring father, King Taejong (1400-18). The house was first named Suganggung and later served as residential quarters for queens and concubines. During the reign of King Seongjong (1457-94), the house was expanded and renovated. It was then renamed to Changgyeonggung, and would become one of the five royal palaces of the dynasty for centuries.

During the Japanese Occupation of Korea (1910-1945), the palace was converted into a public park with a zoo, a botanical garden, and a museum. In order to do this, the Japanese colonial administration demolished about 20 structures and added new Japanese style buildings. In 1911, its name changed from Changgyeonggung (palace) to Changgyeongwon (park or garden). In 1922, the colonial administration planted thousands of Japanese cherry trees and began the festival of the cherry blossoms in 1924. Once sacred and most authoritative, the palace became a place for public entertainment and spectacle.

Through these measures, the Japanese destroyed ancient structures and thus the sanctity of the place, and then superimposed a new order with a large recreational park. An old home for a king now became one for exotic animals, plants and mass entertainment. The old (the Joseon Dynasty) and the new (Japan) were juxtaposed to illustrate the superiority of the latter. The new Korean public, which was clearly distinguished as secondary to the superior citizens from Japan, participated in modern recreation with the complicated reactions of fascination, buoyance, and deep humiliation.

SATURDAY: 4 JUNE 2016

FIFTH PAPER SESSION

SESSION: Formalizations of Ambience since the Eighteenth Century Joseph Clarke, University of Toronto

In recent decades, renewed scholarly attention to the space of everyday life, critiques of the ocularcentrism of architectural discourse, and technologies for visualizing and stimulating otherwise unseen spatial processes have marked the ambient environment as an important field of research. This session situates architectural efforts to conceptualize the ambient within the larger historical trajectory of modernity, by focusing on cases over the past 250 years in which designers have found intangible characteristics of their physical surroundings to possess an "architecture" of their own.

If the nebulous shadows of Giambattista Piranesi's Carceri etchings suggested an incipient desire to bring the atmospheric environment within the scope of architectural thought, Enlightenment advances in optics, pneumatic chemistry, and acoustics were already pointing the way toward a project of managing ambient characteristics of space. Miasma and airbourne disease soon became issues of particularly urgent concern, both in densifying European capitals and in the less familiar environments of colonial lands, but other invisible spatial phenomena, such as the ringing of bells, proved no less politically contentious. By the time Karl Marx declared, "all that is solid melts into air," the landscape was beginning to be defined as much by new patterns of light, sound and foul air as by monumental buildings. These new ways of conceiving the physical environment—and the architectural techniques associated with their amelioration—set the stage for more recent critical interventions ranging from Guy Debord's psychogeographic mappings of ambiance to R. Murray Schafer's systematic documentation of "soundscapes." At the scale of the building interior, too, the circulation of air, oders, and acoustic and luminous energy has been the object of increasing efforts at representation and control.

This session focuses on the modeling techniques, design procedures, and formulas that have been posited in order to make architectural sense of such intangible spatial factors. Speakers are invited to analyze projects of visualizing, diagramming, manipulating, and otherwise formalizing ambient or atmospheric phenomena, particularly those at the juncture of aesthetic and scientific interest, and to consider the role of these practices with respect to broader conceptions of

architectural modernity. At stake in the session is how elusive spatial effects ordinarily thought to be experienced on a prereflective level become objects of critical architectural reflection.

Architecture as the Production of Atmospheres: The Early Contribution of Richard Lucae (1829-1877) Jasper Cepl, Hochschule Anhalt, Dessau

"When talk comes to spaces, one so often hears it said that they were cosy or uncosy, serene or solemn, unhomely, stately, ceremonious, or the like. Our feeling leaves it at that impression and, with justice, does not ask, in the instant of excitation, out of which moments the latter is assembled." Thus begins Richard Lucae's lecture "On the Power of Space in Architecture", held in Berlin in February 1869. Lucae sets out to describe the immediate impressions we have in the different kinds of spaces architects can produce, in a range from "the ridiculous to the sublime". He tries to explain how spaces instantaneously influence the mood of the beholder, and his mental state. Ultimately, his intention is to foster a systematic approach that will make architects aware of the means they have at their disposal to provide spaces with the appropriate atmosphere. In order to do so, he proposes a system of spatial factors that could describe spaces without reference to style: form and light, scale and colour. He argues for an approach to form in which the spatial imagination of the architect has supremacy over the questions of construction. With his highly innovative and comprehensive take on the problem of space, Lucae's approach foreshadows 20th century endeavours into the phenomenology of architecture.

Drawing on previously unknown archival material, the paper will shed light on Lucae's arguments and his sources. It will show that Lucae could only develop his approach because he was deeply involved in intellectual and academic circles in Berlin, which made him aware of the latest advances in philosophy and psychology, and broadened his sphere of influence beyond professional discourse. The paper will also situate his approach within the further development of discourse on atmosphere in architecture, highlighting his novel understanding of form.

The Ambience of Commerce: A 19th-century Utopian Marketplace Irene Cheng, California College of the Arts

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the American Spiritualist John Murray Spear and his associates presented several visions of what they called a "heavenized" architecture, transmitted from an association of divine spirits that included Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. The Spiritualist designs included a series of Harmonial Homes and an institution of equitable commerce. Under the influence of the French utopian Charles Fourier, the American

Spiritualists imagined that in the new commercial structure, springs, a "whispering gallery," and other technologies of transmission would transform commerce into a tranquil, quasi-aesthetic experience.

It is tempting to read these architectural proposals—and mid-century American Spiritualism in general—as naïve, evasive response to the conflicts and contradictions of antebellum American society. The circular Institution of Equitable Commerce and the Homes of Harmony could be seen as utopian in the worst sense: vaporous fantasies of a post-revolutionary world, with little realistic sense of how to arrive there beyond divine intercession. My paper develops an alternative reading of the Spiritualists' commercial structure in particular, arguing that by creating a temple-like environment with elevated platforms, special odors, ritual dress, and infrastructural networks facilitating the frictionless transmission of goods and information, the Spiritualists were imagining an ambience of seamless movement and communication, where economic exchanges could be reimagined as primal social encounters. This was an environment imagined as an alternative to the contemporary capitalist marketplace, with its predations, deceptions, frictions, and relentless instrumentalizing rationality.

Through the Network of Wires: Two Projects by Richard Lippold Alice Friedman, Wellesley College

My paper considers two projects by Richard Lippold as multisensory aesthetic and spiritual experiences. In these wire installations, Lippold -- a sculptor who occupied an uneasy position between the New York avant garde and the his many corporate clients in the postwar decades -- went beyond artistic metaphors to imagine large-scale representations of time, presence, movement and chance. In a 1957 lecture entitled "Experimental Music", Lippold's friend and collaborator John Cage noted that, as with his own work and "the glass houses of Mies van der Rohe, "in the constructions in wire of the sculptor Richard Lippold it is inevitable that one will see other things, and people too, if they happen to be there at the same time, through the network of wires. There is no such thing as empty space or empty time...In fact, try as we may to make silence, we cannot." Since 1944, when Lippold's wife Louise had begun dancing with Merce Cunningham, "chance operations" and the tension between seen and unseen had shaped these artists' work: living in close proximity in New York and at Black Mountain College, and strongly influenced by Zen philosophy, Cage, Cunningham and the Lippolds had collaborated on a number of projects, including dance, film, and a wire installation --with random motion-sensor generated sound by Cage --in the lobby of Gropius and Belluschi's Pan Am Building (1960-63) in New York City. Entitled "Flight," the work uses unplanned visual and aural experience to disrupt

the ritualized movements of passing commuters, while at the same time including a conventional representation that appealed to the corporate clients.

Lippold's "Flight" is the focus of one half of my paper. The other half considers an extraordinary project for the Chapel at the Portsmouth Abbey School in Portsmouth, Rhode Island (1960) also by Pietro Bellushi. Commissioned by the Benedictine Prior Dom Aelred Graham, author of Zen Catholicism (1963), Lippold's installation was intended to enhance the meditative experience of changing light, sound, and embodied multisensory stimuli: here again Lippold brought Cage's ideas to bear on his work, as well as his own spiritualized phenomenology, imbricating transparency, sound, and silence in a "distributed array" of stretched wire in the chancel.

Refractions Reflected in a Ripple Tank, Reconsidered (1951) Sabine von Fischer, École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne

The visual representations of sound waves in water can be traced back to Vitruvius' architectural treatises and to naval engineering in the nineteenth century. This case study, however, focuses on a late appropriation of the techniques. In 1951, Swiss acoustician Anselm Lauber conducted elaborate experiments in photograph sound in ripple tanks at the PTT laboratories in Bern. With a fairly simple technique of illuminating moving water in a water-filled basin of a particular geometry, the reflections of light on the water's surface created astounding patterns—even an ambience in the sense of visual magic. The purpose of the experiment, however, was to study the propagation of sound, especially phenomena of diffraction.

Among the questions addressed by this paper is why mid-20th century scientists decided to go back to far older techniques even though modern, electroacoustic methods offered much more precise results to the investigation of sound reflection, refraction, and diffusion. What was the role of the ripple tank experiments both for acoustical research by experts and for the communication of the results to a lay public? The study also suggests the obsolescence of distinguishing high-tech from low-tech practices, since in the same laboratory the same experts conducted water-wave experiments side by side with electroacoustic measurements. By analyzing the foregrounding or concealment of scientific explanations, this paper scrutinizes the rhetoric of modernity, which, as the regression to ripple-tank experiments in 1951 shows, had already undergone multiple crises by this point.

In addition, a comparison with research now ongoing at the SINLAB experimental laboratory in Lausanne, Switzerland, highlights the issue of "old" versus "new" media in architectural research, asking what we expect from these media that materialize invisible phenomena—phenomena that

are far from being "ineffable," as claimed by modernism, but cast light on a range of changing scientific explanations.

Barefoot in January: Temperature, Sensation, and the Visualization of Energy

Albert Narath, University of California, Santa Cruz

In a full-page ad for the American Gas Association published in Life Magazine, a nearly naked toddler stares through a living room window to a blustery winter scene outside. As curtains, cushions, and a fake flower arrangement bloom with artificial profusion above a large heating vent, the ad's text declares going "barefoot in January" and "even warmth" as American imperatives. In the highly engineered yet impalpable ambience of room temperature—the product of decades of research within biometeorology, applied ergonomics, and mechanical engineering as well as a vast physical infrastructure of pumps, pipes, and vents--, the modernist fantasy of visual interpenetration between inside and outside is sustained by a technology of sensory deprivation.

What is remarkable about the ad is not just its distillation of an HVAC utopia, but also its appearance in 1973, at the height of the oil crisis in the United States. In this paper, I will explore how the spatial concept of room temperature became a point of crucial debate in the early 1970s about the relationship between energy and sensation. Following a brief historical sketch of the expansive regiment of sensory experimentation that assured room temperature's indiscernibility, my paper will focus on an influential critique of room temperature formulated by Murray Milne, a pioneer in computer aided design and environmental control during his tenure at Yale University and UCLA. Milne's research was centered on cataloguing, visualizing, and modeling the invisible energy forces that shaped interior space. Inspired by the psychologist James J. Gibson's writings on the senses and Christian Norberg-Schultz's attention to undervalued aesthetic categories such as sound, small, and radio-activity, Milne contended that architecture only existed as the manipulation of "palpable energy" brought to physiological perception through conduction, convection, or radiation. Ultimately, I will argue that his redefinition of architecture around energy exchange—and his related replacement of an idealized universalized subject with a perceiving body—represented a broader political polemic reflected in President Carter's pleas for homeowners to turn down their thermostats and put on sweaters. More than a strategy for resource conservation, it equated sensation with agency in an attempt to loosen the control of environmental control.

SESSION: Ornament and the Renewal of Architecture in the 19th century

Ralph Ghoche, Columbia University; Martin Bressani, McGill University

During the 19th century, the call to renew the decorative surface of architecture was heard far and wide, and from voices in diverse artistic fields. French author and critic Théophile Gautier, for instance, published an impassioned plea in 1848 decrying "old and ancient emblems ... now empty of meaning" and calling for a "whole new, vast system of symbols" to be "invented to answer the new needs of our time." Gautier appealed to artists and ornamentalists to collectively transform the "nudity of Parisian edifices" and "envelop them with resplendent garments" made up of decorative murals and surface ornamentation.

The call to renew ornament, however, was primarily championed by architects, many believing that experimentation in ornament would be the most expedient way of arriving at a new architecture. The thought may seem paradoxical today, especially in light of the modernist debasement of ornament by the early 20th-century avant-garde, but architects such as Owen Jones in Britain and Victor Ruprich-Robert in France, among many others, were explicit in their belief that ornament could engender a wholly rejuvenated architectural form and expression. In Grammar of Ornament, for instance, Jones proposed that a new style of ornament would be "one of the readiest means of arriving at a new style" of architecture.

This session will examine the production and theorization of ornament as it relates to a renewal of architecture. We seek papers that consider the role that ornament played in catalyzing a reassessment of architecture in the nineteenth century. Rather than treat ornament as a vestige of pre-modern impulses, this session is premised on the understanding that ornament in the 19th century was the privileged terrain where the issue of the "modern" was being waged. As such, we seek papers that provide new ways of narrating the history of architectural modernism, countering the canonic view that the shedding of ornament is its most conspicuous characteristic.

19th-century utopian movements, architecture and ornament

Antoine Picon, Harvard University

The architecture advocated by utopian movements such as Saint-Simonianism has been often interpreted as a brand of the rationalist creed epitomized by the work of Viollet-le-Duc. A closer look at their theoretical writings on the arts and architecture reveals a different orientation. On the question of ornament, the Saint-Simonians are for instance very far away from the ambition to interpret it as an offspring of structure, as a logical development of its main articulations. What

appears instead is an ornament partially free of structural constraints, an ornament the spiritual function of which is not without analogy with Ruskin's approach to the problem.

Using sources like Emil Barrault's Appel aux Artistes or the Livre Nouveau des Saint-Simoniens the presentation will analyze the contribution of utopian thought, of Saint-Simonism in particular, to the rich nineteenth-century debate regarding architectural ornament. Traces of the Saint-Simonian attitude can still be found in the quarrel that opposes Michel Chevalier and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in the early 1850s on the use of iron in religious buildings.

From Herbal to Grammar: Theorizing Ornament Estelle Thibault, École d'architecture Paris Belleville *

> "The grammar of a language is something different, as is a chrestomathy, nor should we confuse a theory of botany with a flora or a garden."

This excerpt from the 'essential notices to the reader' which opens Jules Bourgoin's Grammaire élementaire de l'ornement (1880) expresses the idea of a break with a cumulative historicist approach represented by the collection of ornaments in favor of an analytical one. Fourteen years earlier, Owen Jones's Grammar of Ornament had been judged insufficiently 'grammatical' by Victor Ruprich-Robert, who found the geometrical analyses unconvincing and its classification excessively bound to chronology. In the introduction to his Flore ornamentale (1866), he declared that he had abandoned 'history' in order to establish a thoroughgoing 'grammar of ornament' and that his teaching on the subject predated the Englishman's book. However, he used the grammatical metaphor to comment on a morphological approach drawing primarily on that of the botanists: the 'artistic herbal' that arranged plant-derived motifs according to their formal characteristics.

With a secondary consideration for Ruprich-Robert, the grammatical analogy came to dominate Bourgoin's thinking, relegating botany to the background. Must we, though, read these quotations as more than mere metaphors – as an indication of more far-reaching methodological borrowings?

This paper will try to explain why both analogies—naturalist and grammatical—seemed relevant to those architects, whose reflections were oriented towards the prospect of a renewal.

PAPER

Until the 1970s, the dominant historiographical narratives linked the emergence of modern architecture and art to the ousting of the decorative. Since then research has reinstated the part played by the various theories and practices of ornament in the evolution of architecture in the 19th and 20th centuries[1] Rediscovered some ten years ago, the work of the French architect and theoretician Jules Bourgoin (1838–1908) merits our attention[2]. His first books approach ornament as a whole: *Les Arts arabes* (1868–1873)[3] proposed a geometrical analysis of Middle Eastern output, and was followed by his *Théorie de l'ornement*[4] (1873) [ill. 1], which set out to "encompass the universality of the arts in all times and all places[5]." Addressing ornament as the outcome of intuitive work by craftsmen, he was committed to obtaining recognition for it as a specific field of study. Then came *Grammaire élémentaire de l'ornement*[6] (1880), his *Etudes architectoniques et graphiques* (1899–1901) and *La Graphique*[7] (1905), all of which took a more pedagogical line. The aim was a revitalised body of knowledge that would form the basis of a system of craft education. Overall, these books reflect an ambitious intellectual project for a new discipline that would focus on ornament rather than fine art. The issue was to liberate its teaching from two influences Bourgoin saw as unacceptable: that of science as practised by engineers – descriptive geometry – and that of the arts of drawing and the philosophy of the beautiful.

Bourgoin's work is also informative regarding the connections between studies of ornament and ways of teaching architecture. For his generation ornament was a kind of test bench for the art of building. In the hierarchical education system of the time training in ornamental design served as a preliminary to the study of architecture: one mastered geometry and acquired technical skills and an aesthetic awareness. The *École de dessin et de mathématiques* in Paris – later the *École des arts décoratifs* – was a kind of side entrance to the *École des beaux-arts* for young people of

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[1] A. Payne, *From Ornament to Object. Genealogies of Architectural Modernism*, New-Haven CT, Yale University Press, 2012 ; L. Hubatová-Vacková, *Silent Revolution in Ornament : Studies in Applied Arts and Crafts from 1880-1930*, Prague, Academy of Arts, Architecture and Design, 2011.

[2] M. Volait, 'Jules Bourgoin', in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, Leipzig, K. G. Saur, 1996, t. XIII, p. 381 ; M. Bideault, E. Thibault and M. Volait (ed.), *De l'Orient à la mathématique de l'ornement. Jules Bourgoin (1838-1908)*, Paris, Picard, 2015.

[3] J. Bourgoin*, Les Arts arabes, architecture, menuiserie, bronzes, plafonds, revêtements, marbres, pavements, vitraux, etc. avec un texte descriptif et explicatif et le trait général de l'art arabe, par Jules Bourgoin*..., Paris, Vve A. Morel, [1867]- 1873.

[4] J. Bourgoin, *Théorie de l'ornement*, Paris, Lévy, 1873.

[5] J. Bourgoin, *Études architectoniques et graphiques : mathématiques, arts d'industrie, architecture, arts d'ornement, beaux-arts. Collection raisonnée d'études et de matériaux, de notes et de croquis, pour servir à l'histoire, à la théorie, à la technique des arts et à l'enseignement théorique et pratique dans la famille, dans l'école et dans l'atelier*, Paris, C. Schmid, 1899-1901, 2 vol., vol. 1, p. 26.

[6] J. Bourgoin, *Grammaire élémentaire de l'ornement pour servir à la théorie et à la pratique des arts et de l'enseignement*, Paris, Ch. Delagrave, 1880.

[7] I J. Bourgoin, *La Graphique : collection raisonnée d'études et de matériaux, de notes et de croquis, pour servir à l'histoire, à la théorie, à la technique des arts et à l'enseignement dans la famille, dans l'école et dans l'atelier* , Paris : Ch. Delagrave, 1905, 3 vol.

humble origins, from Charles Percier to Hector Guimard[8]. Eugène Viollet-le-Duc and Victor Ruprich-Robert, the architects who taught ornament there, saw the subject as a small-scale equivalent of architecture which dealt with issues that could later be transposed to a higher level: modes of composition, use of symbolism and the fit between form, material and technique. In this context the study of ornament provided a theoretical workshop for stimulating the evolution of architecture.

Four decades separated Bourgoin's own education in ornament – in Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux's atelier[9], not far removed from the floral references of Ruprich-Robert – from the mathematical austerity of his last books. I would like to show how, during this period, he used different morphology-inflected scientific fields of enquiry to modernise the study of formal structures.

Among the issues raised by ornament, Bourgoin went most deeply into matters of composition. In order to codify the formal principles underpinning the creation of ornament, he worked his way through different domains. Antoine-Augustin Cournot's philosophy of science served as his main point of reference, with its concepts of order and form. In *Traité de l'enchaînement des idées*[10] (1861) these concepts were taken as common to the various branches of knowledge. The concept of order had initially been developed by the mathematician Louis Poinsot[11] as a means of designating the relationships in space between different objects; as such it could be readily applied to disciplines that described the spatial organisation of material objects, such as botany and crystallography. Cournot, however, increased its scope considerably, extending it to all spheres involving ideas of organisation and classification. In his wake Bourgoin made order and form the pillars of an "architectonic science[12]" embracing the study of the industrial arts and architecture. His grounding in Cournot's epistemology then led him to an interest in different morphological systems rooted in the natural sciences and linguistics.

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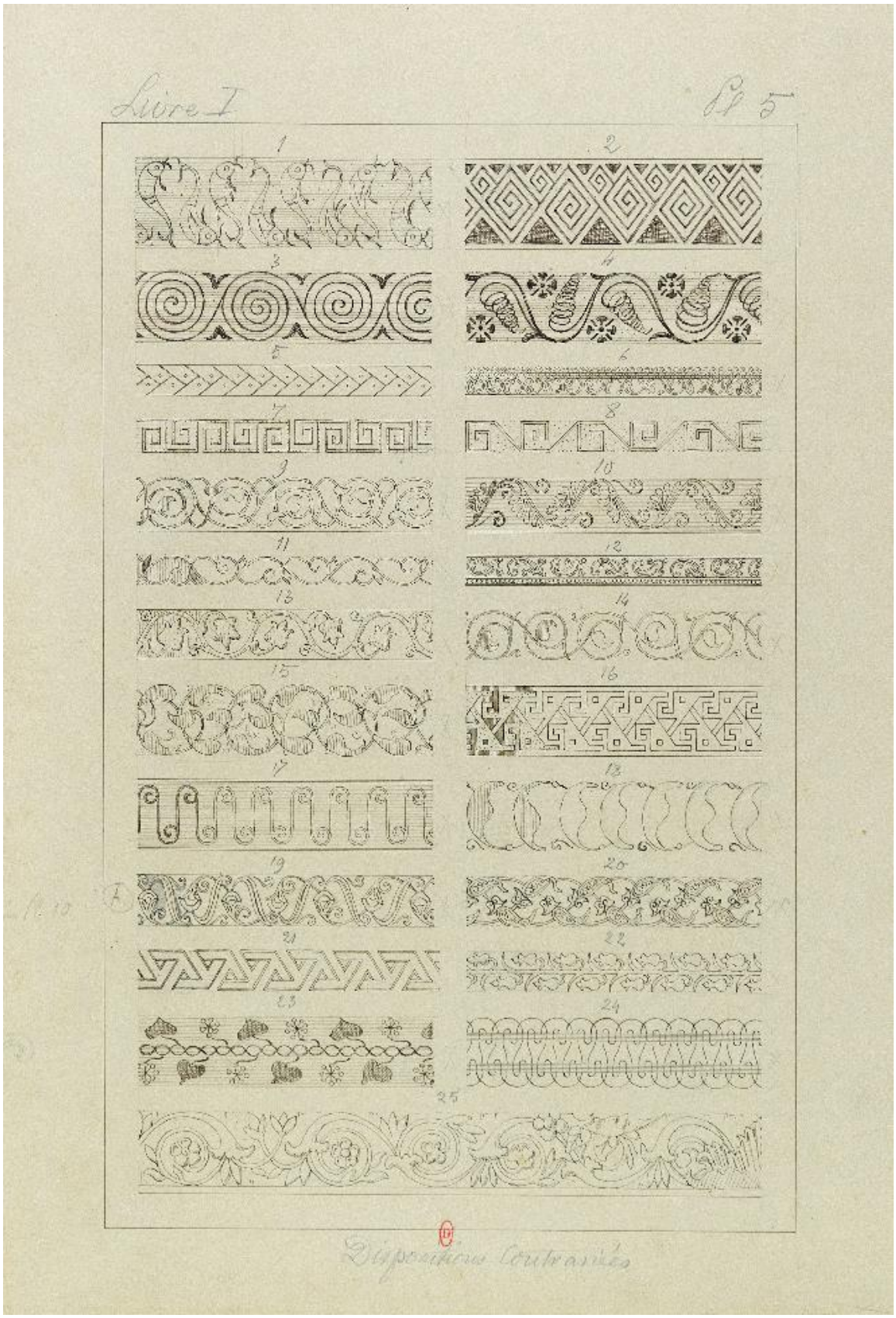
[8] F. Ballon, 'Teaching the Decorative Arts in the Nineteenth Century: The École Gratuite de Dessin, Paris', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol. 3, n° 2, Spring-Summer 1996, pp. 77-106 ; U. Leben et al., *Histoire de l'École nationale supérieure des arts décoratifs* (1766-1941), Paris, ENSAD, 2004 ;

[9] R. Ghoche, 'The Symbolic, the Lithic and the Litteral : Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux and Mid-century Architectural Eclecticism', PhD Thesis, New York, Columbia University, 2014 ; id., 'Dans l'atelier de Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux', in Bideault, Thibault and Volait (ed.), *De l'Orient à la mathématique de l'ornement*, pp. 43-60.

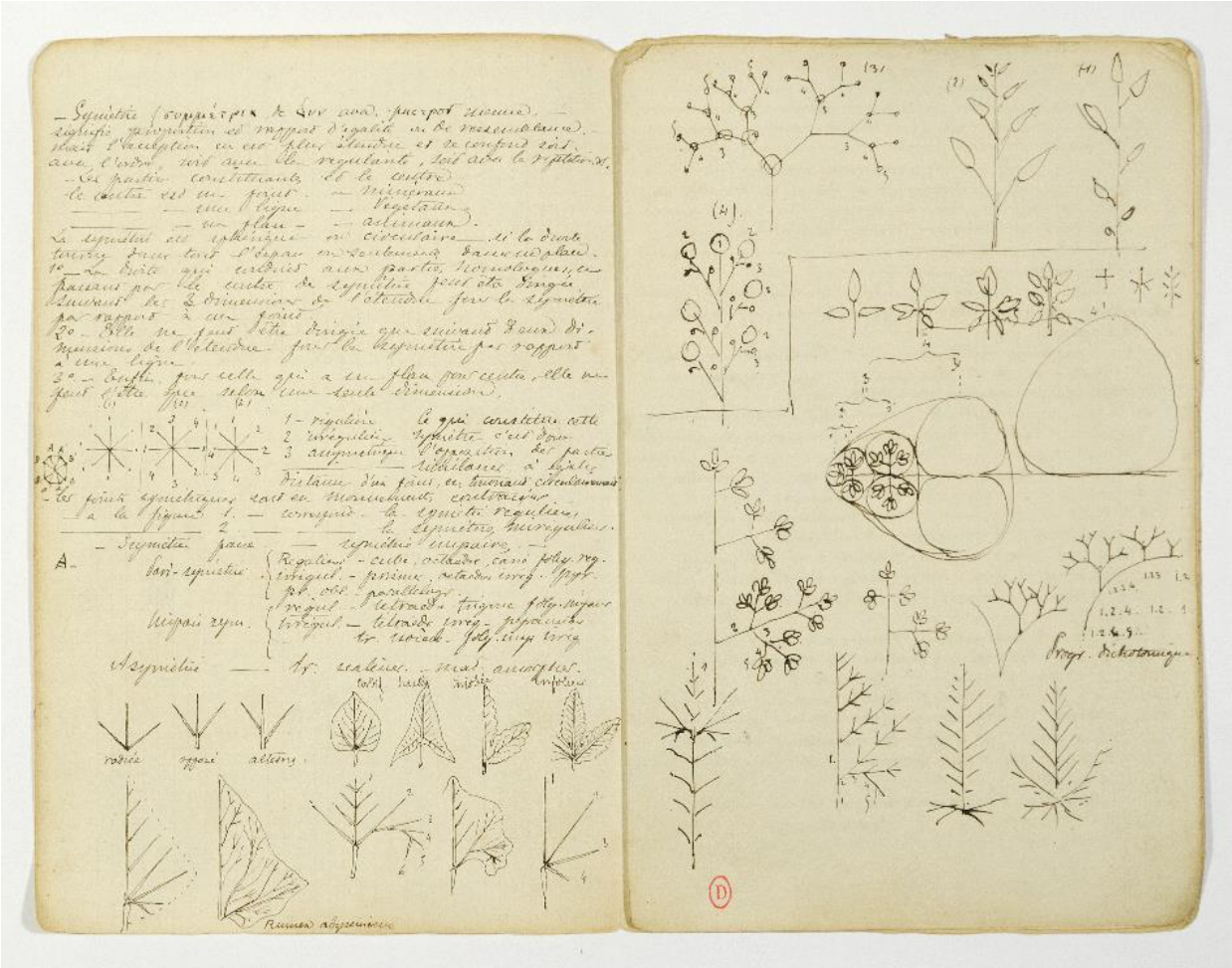
[10] A.-A. Cournot, *Traité de l'enchaînement des idées fondamentales dans les sciences et dans l'histoire*, Paris, L. Hachette et Cie, 1861, 2 vol.

[11] J. Boucard and C. Eckes, 'La théorie de l'ordre de Poinsot à Bourgoin: mathématiques, philosophie, art ornemental', *Revue de synthèse*, t. 136, n° 3-4, 1995, pp. 403-447.

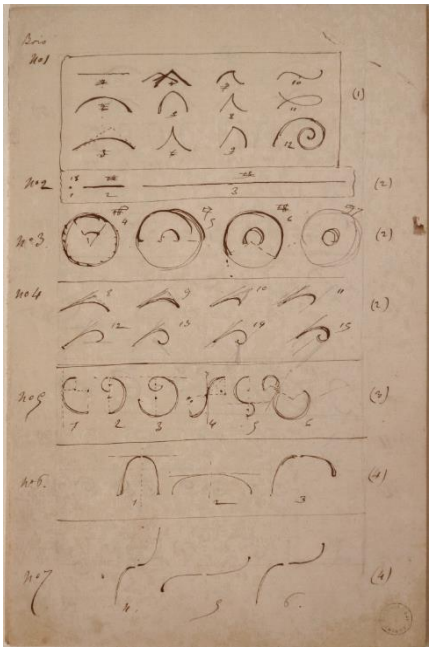
[12] J. Bourgoin, *Théorie de l'ornement*, p. 24.

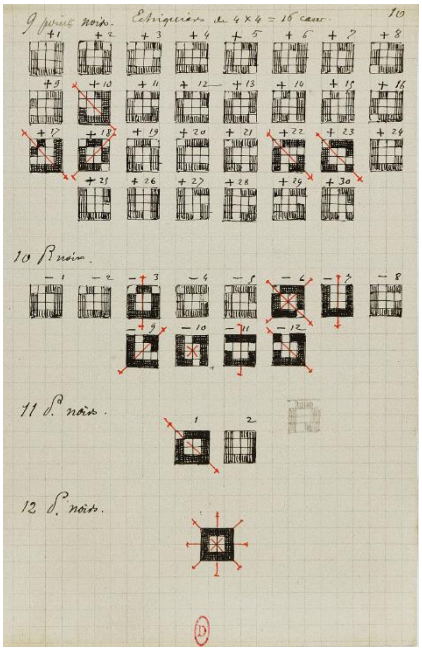


Ill. 1 : J. Bourgoin, *Théorie de l'ornement*, study for Pl. 5 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art - collections Jacques Doucet, Arch. 67.15).

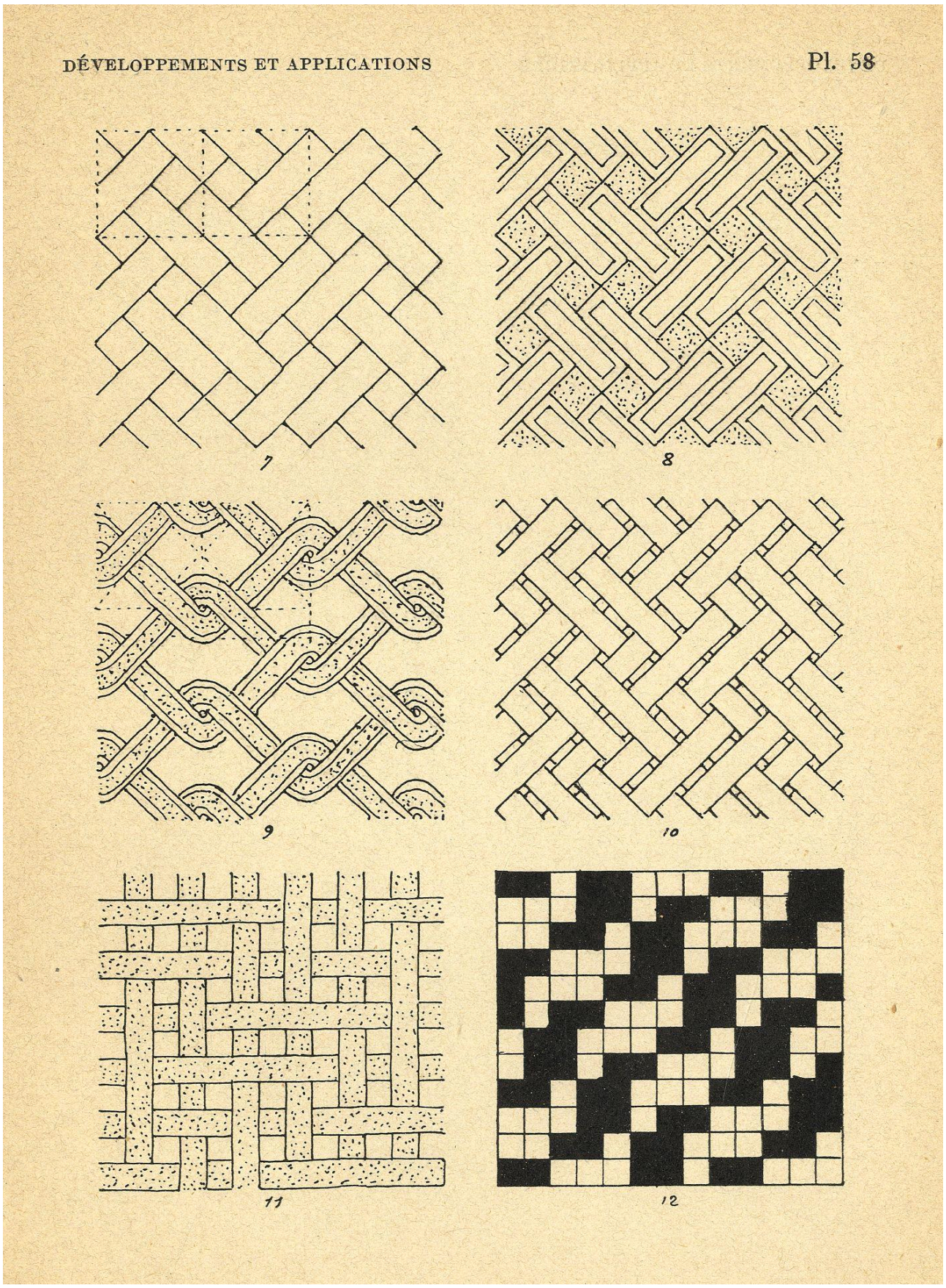


Ill. 2 : J. Bourgoin, notes on *Essai de phytomorphie* (1864) by Charles Fermond and other botanical works, undated (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art - collections Jacques Doucet,. 67.11)





Ill. 3 (left): J. Bourgoin, study for the illustrations of the *Grammaire de l'ornement* (Library of Joigny, 64.10)
Ill. 4 (right): J. Bourgoin, 'checkerboard figures', study for *La Graphique* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art - collections Jacques Doucet, Arch. 67.8).



Ill. 5 : J. Bourgoin, 'Textile figures', *Études architectoniques et graphiques*, vol. 2, pl. 57.

Other theorists of ornament – Victor Ruprich-Robert, Gottfried Semper, Owen Jones and Christopher Dresser[1] – also drew on models like these and fruitful analogies with botany and linguistics were further enriched[2]. Bourgoin was not working in isolation, but the extensive notes from scientific works to be found in his archives[3] provide a clearer understanding of how the transfers to his own field were effected. His writings and drawings, both published and unpublished, throw useful light on the effects of different methodological models – botanical, linguistic, mathematical – on the evolution of formal questions in the technical arts. In Bourgoin's case they formed the most general of guides in shaping an "elementary" grammar of ornament and of the "elements" of Arabic art. These terms reference both the identification of linguistic units and the *Théorie élémentaire de la botanique*[4] defined by Augustin Pyramus de Candolle as the outline of the principles and fundamental components of the botanical science.

Botanical science: forms and functions

Where plant sciences were concerned, these incursions into the most recent research shifted the focus of thinking about ornament from naturalistic copying of floral motifs towards assimilation of an abstract science of form. From Ruprich-Robert to Bourgoin, this increasingly abstract turn can be correlated with the schematisations of Christopher Dresser, himself trained in botany by John Lindley[5]. In Germany, a few decades later, Moritz Meurer's books[6] deployed related approaches, with their borrowing of diagrams summing up the spatial arrangements of inflorescences.

The botanical theories outlined in, for example, the writings of Jean-Baptiste Payer and Emmanuel le Maout[7], raised the question of the connections between the function of organs and their form. Architectural discussion in the second half of the 19th century often drew on questions

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[1] R. Ghoche, 'On the Philosophical Foundations of V.M. Ruprich-Robert's Flore Ornementale', Master's paper, New York, Columbia University, 2006 ; H. F. Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper Architect of the Nineteenth Century*, New Haven CT, Yale University Press, 1996; C. A. Hvol Flores, *Owen Jones : Design, Ornament, Architecture & Theory in an Age of Tradition*, New York : Rizzoli, 2006 ; M. Whiteway (ed.), *Christopher Dresser, a Design Revolution*, London, V&A Publications, 2004.

[2] D. Schafter, *The Order of Ornament, the Structure of Style: Theoretical Foundations of Modern Art and Architecture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003 ; R. Labrusse, 'Grammars of Ornament: Dematerialization and Embodiment from Owen Jones to Paul Klee', in G. Necipoglu and A. Payne (ed.), *Histories of Ornament : from Local to Global*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2016, p. 320-333.

[3] Paris, Library of the Institut national d'histoire de l'art [Arch. 67].

[4] A. P. de Candolle, *Théorie élémentaire de la botanique*, Paris, Deterville, 1813.

[5] S. Durant, 'Christopher Dresser and the Use of Contemporary Science', in *Christopher Dresser in context. Papers of the Symposium held jointly by the Victoria and Albert Museum and the decorative Art Society*, London, 2004; Id., 'Dresser's Education and Writings', in M. Whiteway (ed.), *Christopher Dresser,* pp. 47-59.

[6] L. Hubatová-Vacková, *Silent Revolution in Ornament*, p. 25.

[7] E. Le Maout, *Atlas élémentaire de botanique, avec le texte en regard, contenant l'organographie, l'anatomie, et l'iconographie des familles d'Europe*, Paris, Fortin, Masson, Langlois et Leclercq, 1846 ; J. B. Payer, *Éléments de botanique : organographie*, Paris, Langlois et Leclercq, 1857.

of animal anatomy as already debated by Georges Cuvier and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire[8], but the world of ornament seemed more inclined towards plant-based thinking. In Bourgoin's case this interest in "organography" and "phytomorphism" [ill. 2] is clearly present in the synopsis for an unpublished essay on the "science of buildings[9]". He divides his subject into two parts: the first is "morphological" and involves comparative analysis of forms, while the second, "physiological" section looks into the functional interactions between architectural "members" and between buildings and their broader environment.

Plant metaphors also led to consideration of forms not as completed entities, but in terms of their generative dynamics, with a simple, schematic focus on cycles of growth or metamorphosis. Bourgoin's illustrations of variations stress this dynamic aspect: the botanical literature, while certainly concerned to describe types, put more emphasis on the potential for transformation and modalities of development. Analogously, his "science of buildings" urges an appreciation of stylistic types in the course of their evolution: not only "at their most perfect and stable, at adulthood, at the truly historical, definitive phase of full completion", but "through their successive states from the outset to the definitive state, and on through their decline to their withering[10]." It also investigated the workings of the ambient setting and the external conditions that influenced this process.

The appeal of the sciences of language

While plant sciences stress form/function interaction and the dynamic character of structures, the sciences of language situate analysis of ornamental forms with the humanities, between anthropology and history, starting out from the concept of style. The work of Gottfried Semper is emblematic of the pull exerted by the linguistic model[11]. The naturalistic paradigm of his earliest writings was, by the 1860s, having to compete with his interest in the comparative history of languages. Bourgoin's research followed a similar way [ill. 3]. In his *Éléments de l'art arabe*, he suggests the possibility of stylistic divisions reflecting nature's three kingdoms[12] – animal, vegetable, mineral– but at the same time he was concerned that this kind of analogy might be

[8] C. van Eck, *Organicism in Nineteenth Century Architecture: An Inquiry into its Theoretical and Philosophical Background*, Amsterdam, Architectural & Natura Press, 2004; B. Bergdoll, 'Of Crystals, Cells, and Strata : Natural History and Debates on the Form of a New Architecture in the Nineteenth Century', *Architectural History*, vol. 50, 2007, pp. 1-29.
[9] J. Bourgoin, 'La science des édifices', manuscript [Arch. 67.11], undated, Paris, Library of Institut national d'histoire de l'art.
[10] J. Bourgoin, 'La science des édifices'.
[11] H. F. Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper*, pp. 156-164.
[12] J. Bourgoin, *Les éléments de l'art arabe*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1879, pp. 5-6.

superficial. Alerted to linguistic matters by Cournot[13], himself a reader of Max Müller and August Schleicher, Bourgoin envisaged deeper connections between the grammatical structures and ornamental patterns of any given people. Thus ornamental studies became part of more far-reaching history of civilisations. There emerged from this a notion of form no longer bound solely by spatial configurations – relative arrangements of lines, types of symmetry – but also taking account of the derivations and syntactic markers. The study of ornament was thus seeking its model in a morphological typology characteristic of inflected, agglutinative and isolating languages. Bourgoin began thinking in terms of a "comparative grammar of Greek art – of Arabic art – of Japanese art"[14] that began with the system richest in "plastic inflections" and worked its way down to Japanese motifs, brought together "without order or symmetry" and governed by "no definite syntax".

Bourgoin also investigated the relationship between fine arts and crafts, initially advancing a comparison between cultivated and wild plants, then between scholarly language and the vernacular.

Sparked by figures like Bourgoin, the mirror-image interplay between the sciences of language and the science of ornament can in fact be observed over a long period between the 19th and 20th centuries. If we are to believe French literary historian William Marx, the "formalist revolution"[15] that swept through literary criticism in the first half of the 20th century had its roots in a concept of form that originally took shape in the field of art history. We know, for example, that Paul Valéry had read Bourgoin[16] when reflecting on a methodology for a stylistic study combining formal analysis and ethnological enquiry. More than in the history of the fine arts, the idea of a science of anonymous forms was developed in studies of ornament.

Mathematics: combinatorics and textile notations

On the mathematical side, Bourgoin's attempts at describing and organising motifs drew on geometry of position and combinatory analysis. The quantity of reading notes found in his archives testifies to a deep, wide-ranging scientific culture. He went first of all to the mathematical works of Cournot and Poinsot, then to the problems of position examined by Alexandre-

[13] A. A. Cournot, *Traité de l'enchainement des idées*, t. 2, pp. 53-118.
[14] J. Bourgoin, manuscript for a lesson at the École des beaux-arts [Arch. 67.02.03], undated, Paris, Library of Institut national d'histoire de l'art.
[15] W. Marx, *Naissance de la critique moderne : la littérature selon Eliot et Valéry*, Arras, Artois Presses Université, 2002, pp. 14-16.
[16] J. Jallat, *Introduction aux figures valéryennes. Imaginaire et théorie*, Pise : Pacini Editore, 1982, p. 255.

Théophile Vandermonde, and to Johann Heinrich Lambert's *Essais de taxéométrie*[17]. Using what he learnt from these texts and their graphic notations, he described serial arrangements with a system of circles, squares, stars and triangles. From the mathematicians Charles-Eugène Catalan and Nicolas-Joseph Lidonne he learned about the arrangements of polygons and polyhedrons. As a reader of reviews such as *Philosophical Transactions*, Bourgoin acquainted himself with current visual representations of complex configurations. His notebooks show how he appropriated schematisations for summarising ornamental arrangements, while also mastering the accompanying terminology: series, recurrence, period, alternation, etc.

Various systems of notation caught his attention. The most abstract of them were the "checkerboard figures"[18] with their infinite alternations of black and white squares [ill. 4]. This type of checkerboard was also used in the textile industry for schematising satin weave, and in mathematics for representing abstract problems in number theory. In the 1860s Bourgoin was reading technical books including manufacturer Pierre Falcot's *Traité encyclopédique de la fabrication des tissus*[19], and his *Théorie de l'ornement* borrows Falcot's simplified renderings of squared networks, useful for symbolising the quincunx fabric patterns called *contre-semplages*. At the same period industrial draughtsman Édouard Gand and mathematician Édouard Lucas were working together to rationalise production of punch cards for different types of weaving[20]. In taking inspiration from both standard textile practice and Lucas's permutations, Bourgoin extrapolated from exchanges between the technical arts in quest of abstract conceptual tools, and mathematicians and their search for concrete applications [ill. 5].

The scientific path to abstraction

What exactly is the place of Bourgoin's work in a history of abstraction in architecture? Unquestionably his books, together with other contemporary works using formal elementarisation, contributed to the joint abandoning of the figurative and the decorative. Some of his 20th-century readers, among them André Lurçat, were striving for a paring-down of visual language, but Bourgoin himself was far from having opted for simplification of architectonic form; on the contrary, he extolled the infinite variety of humanity's ornamental interpretations. He explored the

[17] J. Boucard and C. Eckes, 'Théorie de l'ordre et syntactique chez Jules Bourgoin', in M. Bideault, E. Thibault and M. Volait (ed.), *De l'Orient à la mathématique de l'ornement*, pp. 281-297.
[18] J. Bourgoin, *La Graphique*, vol. 3 'Figures d'échiquier'.
[19] P. Falcot, *Traité encyclopédique et méthodique de la fabrication des tissus*, Elbeuf, l'Auteur, 2e édition, 1852. See E. Thibault, 'La graphique, une science des figures pour l'école et l'atelier', in M. Bideault, E. Thibault and M. Volait, *De l'Orient à la mathématique de l'ornement*, pp. 255-280.
[20] A.-M. Decaillot, 'Géométrie des tissus. Mosaïques. Échiquiers. Mathématiques curieuses et utiles', in *Revue d'histoire des mathématiques*, vol. 8, 2002, pp. 145-206.

"very essentials[21]" of ornament, i.e. order and form, independently of colour, contour and materials; for him only the geometrical roots of the question could be pinned down scientifically. The abridged schematisations that dominate his last published volumes betray no loss of interest in the elaborateness of the ornamentation whose subtleties are recreated in the plates of *Précis de l'art arabe*[22] in 1892 – and which it was his intention to enlarge on in the illustrations accompanying *La Graphique*.

The increasing abstractness of Bourgoin's works reflected a broader evolution in architecture publishing. His successive ventures followed the evolution of the genre, as hefty, luxurious albums gave way to more modest educational formats. This change especially affected the imagery, with documentary plates being replaced by illustrations directly related to the text and focusing less on tangible recreation than on types and structures. This modernisation of the image had little to do with artistic abstraction, if we take that to mean a quest for pure forms capable of embodying a spiritual, expressive or symbolic content. On the other hand it was part of an attempt at visual illustration observably at work in scientific publications since the middle of the century: examples were the analytical illustrations in the books by botanists Jean-Baptiste Payer and Emmanuel Le Maout, far removed from the realism of Pierre-Joseph Redouté[23]. In a broader sense this recourse to schematic illustration and diagrammatic notation was characteristic of the literature Bourgoin's research drew on so heavily in stereochemistry, acoustics, phyllotaxis and other fields. Thus when it came to describing not just individual examples, but the types and processes of generation of forms, his books had their sources in a history of scientific and technical abstraction.

This quest for abstract schematisation was driven by the needs of an increasingly mechanised world, as signalled by Bourgoin's interest in the abridged notations used in the textile industry. The shift in figurative renderings also reflects pedagogical concerns conducive to a pendular movement between schematic and concrete interpretations. The point was to boost creative autonomy through formal gymnastics, swinging from the abstract to the concrete and back again. With this juxtaposition of the documentary and the schematic, Bourgoin was out to trigger the "capacity for abstraction[24]" which contemporary educational theorists – Ferdinand Buisson, for example – intended to inculcate into future generations

[21] J. Bourgoin, *Les éléments de l'art arabe*, p. 5.
[22] J. Bourgoin, *Précis de l'art arabe et matériaux pour server à l'histoire, à la théorie et à la technique des arts de l'Orient musulman*, Paris, F. Leroux, 1889-1892.
[23] W. Wheeler, *L'illustration botanique*, Paris, L'Aventurine, 1999.
[24] F. Buisson, 'Abstraction', *Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire*, Paris, Hachette, 1887, t. 1, pp. 9-11.

Ornamental Crises: Architecture and Modern Subjectivity in Victorian Britain Alex Bremner, University of Edinburgh

With the destruction of the Houses of Parliament by fire in 1836 came calls for a new kind of architecture in Britain—one that would, as Charles Eastlake put it, "inspire the citizens with loyalty, patriotism, and enterprise." By the mid-1850s this call had amplified, with architects insisting that architecture in Britain not only reform but become 'modern'.

The term 'modern' had specific connotations for Victorian architects, not only as a means of distancing contemporary practice from what many considered to be the vacuous inanity of pre-industrial tradition, but also to signify a type of architecture enabled by industrial technology. As Britain had changed so radically by 1850—in terms of population size, industrial development and global power—many were demanding that this be reflected in its architecture. Something of a crisis had arisen; ornament was suddenly no longer about taste and refinement but invigorated with notions of purpose, character and identity.

Inspired by the literary and religious sensibilities of the age, architecture was now encumbered with a sense of moral agency—buildings were, as Ruskin had famously quipped, 'sermons in stone'. Ornament was considered central to this agenda. In 'speaking' through decoration, architecture could impart 'lessons'. But this decoration needed to be 'phonetic', G. G. Scott insisted—that is, 'factual' rather than esoteric or 'sentimental' (i.e. allegorical). Only an architecture that 'spoke' directly to its age could be truly 'modern'.

This paper will unpack the enunciative and didactic capacities that lay at the heart of attitudes towards the 'new ornament' in Victorian architecture, couching these in relation to perceptions of the 'modern' and modernity in the Victorian imagination. It will consider how this change in attitude occurred, and argue that, in Britain at least, modernity in architecture was a form of political economy concerned with the paternalist democratization of ornament.

The study of ornament and the shaping of a new architecture in 19th-century Belgium Daniela Prina, University of Liege *

Didactic courses focused on the analysis of ornament with the attempt to modernize and develop architectural training were among the innovative practices introduced in Belgian academies and design schools during the second half of the 19th century. The study and composition of ornament was indeed considered a crucial part of architectural education by many reformers of

the time such as Charles Buls, Louis De Teaye and Jean Baes: the rational and analytical comprehension of the characteristics of different types of ornament, stressing the relationship between form and function, emphasizing the importance of the industrial processes and the rational principles of design, were considered to be a fundamental resource in developing a new style of Belgian architecture. Ornament was indeed not seen as mere decoration form, but an 'ideal form of art': it should not deform the surfaces it embellished, but become one with them," according to T. J. Canneel and I. De Taeye, writing in 1874. The vivacity of the debate subsequently led to the inclusion of innovative courses related to the possible uses of ornament in the existing architectural training in academies as well as in the newborn design schools in the surroundings of the capital (Ixelles, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode and Molenbeek, after 1860), the Écoles Saint-Luc in Gent (from 1863) and especially the École des Art Décoratifs created in 1886 within the Brussels Académie des Beaux-Arts.

This paper will analyze how the focus on ornament and its didactic and practical applications in these schools shaped and renewed Belgian architecture and represented a progressive field for new methodological and operational possibilities. The professionals who worked on the most important building yards in the second half of the 19th century were indeed trained within the context of this crucial debate that led to remarkable developments in Belgium, contributing to the birth of Art Nouveau.

PAPER

Introduction

After the achievement of national independence in 1830, liberal Belgium rapidly adopted a stable institutional structure and reached a level of industrial and economic development that resulted in the new-born nation-State ranking among the more advanced European powers. As a consequence, the problems posed by the marrying of art and industry and quality and quantity, became the kernel of the debates within Belgian artistic, architectural, productive and commercial sectors throughout the nineteenth century[1]. Architectural education was especially impacted by these discussions, for the connection between industry, architecture and the applied arts bred new methodological and operational possibilities in several domains like economy, art, commerce, industry and production. Therefore the efficiency of artistic and architectural teaching

[1] On this subject see: D. N. Prina, 'L'unité des arts avant l'Art nouveau. La réforme de l'enseignement artistique et industriel dans la deuxième moitié du XIXème siècle en Belgique', PhD Thesis, Politecnico di Torino, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2009.

(mostly offered in Fine Arts Academies) started already to be questioned in the first half of the 19th century[2].

A first series of reform attempts.

A first reorganisation of the royal Academy of Antwerp – by then the most important art school of the country – planned in 1840 was developed during the subsequent fifteen-year period[3]. The education at Antwerp's Academy focused on the classic world: the copy of ancient models and the study of history, literature and antiquity aimed at offering students the 'classical models', considered in their double role as being the best in their category and part of a classical historical and artistic education, thereby reinforcing the purpose of dispensing "good taste" through valid and unquestionable examples. Propaedeutic courses on the study and assembly of Greek and Roman orders, technical instruction with courses on stone cutting, timber framing, carpentry, house composition were complemented by subjects such as architectural ornament, and architectural polychromy, at the time central to architects' research[4]. The Academy's pedagogical mission was however broadened by stressing the link between art and society, extending artistic education to the needs of craftsmen and artisans that worked in the building yards and represented the majority of enrolled students. Courses of ornamental composition were therefore developed with the aim of propagating drawing skills not only among the artists but also among the craft workers. Moreover, in 1848, a new branch of studies in the Decorative Arts was added to the curriculum[5]. Architect Frans Durlet, praised for his remarkable stalls of Antwerp's cathedral (Fig. 1), was tasked with the mission of teaching

[2] A. De Vrière, 'Rapport de M. le Gouverneur du Hainaut sur l'organisation des académies et écoles de dessin', in L. Alvin, *Organisation de l'enseignement des arts graphiques et plastiques*, Bruxelles, Emmanuel Devroye, Imprimeur du Roi, 1853, pp. 136-141.

[3] See: *Académie royal d'Anvers, Réorganisation. Arrêté royal du 18 octobre 1841*, Anvers, Imprimerie Schoesetter, 1846. With a Royal decree 29 of December 1851 King Leopold I approved the new regulations of the institute: see the 'Moniteur Belge' n. 364, pp. 3633-3637. See also: *Réorganisation de l'Académie royale des Beaux-arts à Anvers. Arrêté royal du 27 Mars 1855*, Anvers, Typographie Buschmann, 1866.

[4] In France for instance, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte. L'Architecture Polychrome Chez les Grecs,* in which Jacques Hittorf exposed his theories on polychromy in Greek architecture, was published in 1851; meanwhile, Viollet-le-Duc, Inspector of Historic Monuments, was promoting and carrying on the restoration of the most important gothic buildings of the country.

[5] See: Archief van de Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten, Mutsardstraat Campus Library, Antwerp University (hereafter AKASKA), dossier Durlet, PD 651, letter sent by Durlet to the director of the Academy pleading for the institution of the Decorative Arts course, 17/09/1846. In 1846, of 1232 students, 517 were craftsmen and artisans (mostly practicing an activity in connection with architecture and decorative arts), 214 were painters, 146 were sculptors, 16 were engravers, 32 were architects, 6 were soldiers, 4 were ship builders. The remaining 297 students were enrolled without a precise orientation in their career. See: *Académie royale d'Anvers. Cours de 1846-1847. Proclamation et distribution solennelle des prix. 9 mai 1847*, Anvers, Imprimerie de la Veuve J.S. Schoesetters, p.7, Palmarès, MA 212.

these courses that included all the disciplines related to architectural design, such as stone cutting, carpentry, study of orders and ornament, etc. Indeed, following the academy's regulations, courses were to be taught by an architect, highlighting a strong connection between architecture and applied arts that anticipated the appeals for the unity of arts – made throughout the second half of the nineteenth century – that preceded the emergence of Art Nouveau.

Durlet's pioneering role could explain his affiliation in the Commission for the evaluation and reform of artistic teaching instituted by the Minister for Internal affairs Charles Rogier in 1852[6], after the failure of Belgian decorative art productions at 1851 London's Great Exhibition. Rogier sought to improve and adapt artistic training to the needs of an industrial society, and tried to reform academic teaching with the help of experienced advisors and institutional commissions, such as the later *Conseil de Perfectionnement de l'enseignement des arts du dessin* (created with RD of 26 November 1859)[7]. In line with Rogier's intentions, the *Conseil*'s action should have been largely focused on reorganising educational programmes, extending them to meet the needs of artisans and simple workers, improving the local production through accomplishments in drawing and the study of ornaments and artistic models of good taste, therefore contributing to rediscovering and revitalising the national historical and artistic tradition. The first reform attempts, however, lacked impetus and proceeded slowly, remaining entangled in classicism trammels. Consequently, a new impulse in architectural education came from the design schools established by private initiative during the first half of the 1860s in the surroundings of Brussels, and from the catholic Saint Lucas School in Gent.

New approaches in education: anti-academic teaching and the study of nature.

In 1862, Brussels' Academy of Fine Arts was reformed: although the new curriculum insisted on linear drawing as a common language necessary both to the artisan and the architect and on the courses of composition and ornamental sculpture, architecture remained, according to habit, a propaedeutic discipline to geometrical representation.

[6] The reports on the work of this commission are documented by Louis Alvin, in *Organisation de l'enseignement des arts graphiques et plastiques*, Bruxelles, Emmanuel Devroye, Imprimeur du Roi, 1853.
[7] For an overview of the Conseil's work and a complete bibliography on the subject, see again: D. N. Prina, 'L'unité des arts avant l'Art Nouveau', 2009.

Fig. 1: Frans Durlet, *Stalls of Antwerp's Cathedral*, 1840-62 © The Author

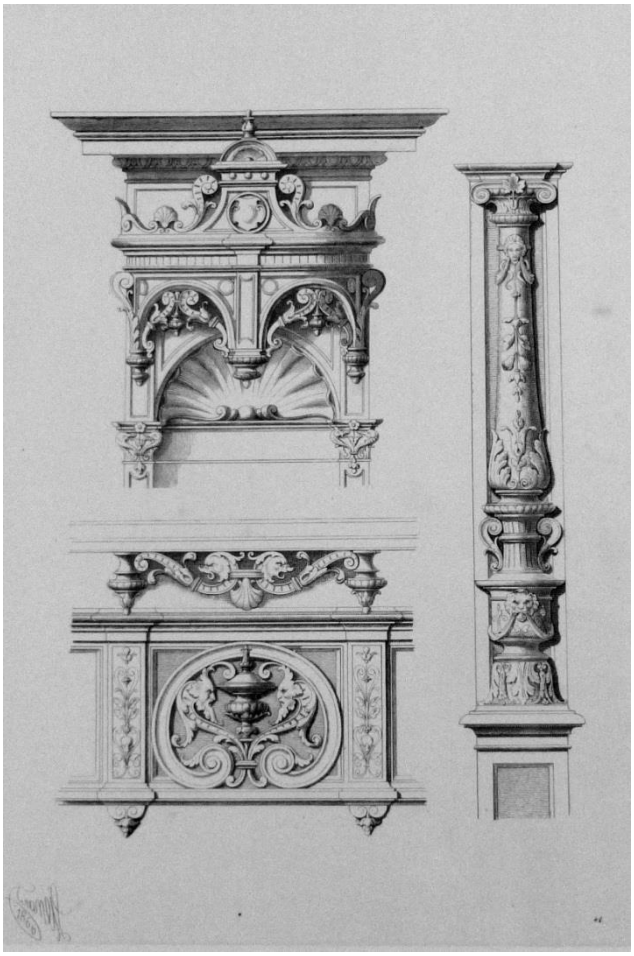


Fig. 2: Michel Liénard: *Spécimens de la décoration et de l'ornementation au XIXe siècle*, 1872. This pattern book, rich in Flemish Renaissance ornaments, was used in particular in Saint Josse-ten-Noode's drawing school, a pioneering institution for the education of artisans, workers and craftsmen, created in the surroundings of Brussels in the 1860s. © Mutsardstraat Campus Library, Universiteit Antwerpen.

Fig. 3 (left): A plate from Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament*, 1856 © Mutsardstraat Campus Library, Universiteit Antwerpen.

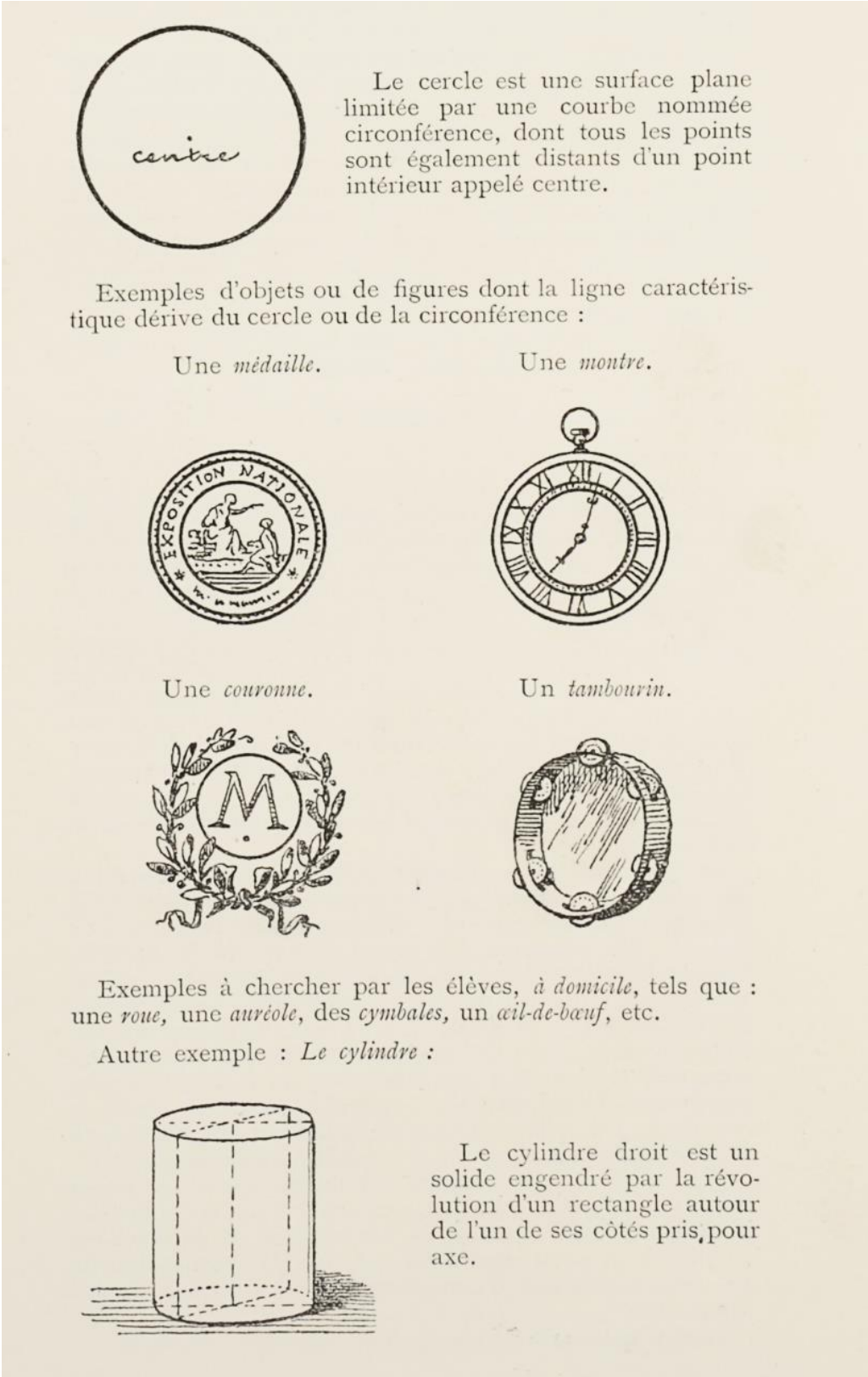
Fig. 4(right): Jean Baes : *Théâtre Flamand*, Brussels, 1887*.* With this project Baes reinvented the characteristics of Flemish neo-Renaissance and applied them to a modern building. The open use of metal structures, the decorative program and the fluidity of spaces announce the Art Nouveau. © The Author

Refusing the traditional slavish copy of prints which represented the most common method of training, insisting on ornamental composition and adopting a didactic philosophy based on the synthesis between an artistic approach and the rigour of a gradual teaching of linear drawing, the new schools born in Brussels' neighbourhoods of Ixelles[8], Saint Josse-ten-Noode[9] and Molenbeek[10], therefore offered a valid alternative to academic training. Their curricula included

[8] For some information on this school see : *Ecole des arts industriels et décoratifs d'Ixelles. Cinquantenaire 1863-1913*, s.l., 1953.

[9] Educational practices at Saint Josse-ten-Noode's school are of special interest for they were quite innovative at that time. For the drawing method taught in the school see: H. Hendrickx, *Le dessin mis à portée de tous*, Brare, Paris 1869, and *Le dessin mis à portée de tous. Méthode autorisée dans les écoles par M. le ministre de l'Intérieur, sur l'avis du Conseil central de l'instruction primaire. Géométrie artistique, enseignement élémentaire et analytique du dessin à main levée : études recommandées par Albert Durer, Leonard de Vinci et Rubens, comme moyen infaillible d'amener l'élève à se servir du dessin comme tout autre langage, par H. Hendrickx, l'auteur* , Bruxelles, s.d. A series of undated books with the same title with progressive drawing exercises are preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

[10] On the study program of this school see : *Ecole de dessin et de modelage de Molenbeek-St. Jean. Programme des cours*, Molenbeeck-St. Jean, Strickaert, 1873. Recently an exhibition on the school was organized in Brussels' Museum of Industry, La Fonderie: *Faites quelque chose de beau! 1865-2015. 150 ans à l'Académie de Dessin et des Arts Visuels*



centre

Le cercle est une surface plane limitée par une courbe nommée circonférence, dont tous les points sont également distants d'un point intérieur appelé centre.

Exemples d'objets ou de figures dont la ligne caractéristique dérive du cercle ou de la circonférence :

Une *médaille*.

Une *montre*.

Une *couronne*.

Un *tambourin*.

Exemples à chercher par les élèves, *à domicile*, tels que : une *roue*, une *auréole*, des *cymbales*, un *œil-de-bœuf*, etc.

Autre exemple : *Le cylindre :*

Le cylindre droit est un solide engendré par la révolution d'un rectangle autour de l'un de ses côtés pris pour axe.

Fig. 5: An excerpt from the Conseil's report written by Baes, as it appeared in the pages of '*L'Emulation'* n°6, June 1893, col. 84. © Mutsardstraat Campus Library, Universiteit Antwerpen.

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de Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Les Ateliers de l'Académie de Dessin et des Arts Visuels de Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, 2015.

Plants foliages were among the models used to exercise drawing, with the aim to seek the origin and the purpose of decoration, thus reconnecting art with the real principles of truth and nature. The observation and comprehension of natural ornaments and of past styles, was completed with theoretical courses aiming at developing the student's personal knowledge and taste. Brussels' new schools were thus in step with European developments in didactic issues associated with the discourse on ornament and its prominence as a fundamental tool for the renewal of both artisans' drawing, modelling, sculpture on stone or wood, and other disciplines related to building yard practices. Moreover, their educational model relied on the direct analysis and study of natural plants for design and composition of ornamentation applied to ironwork, wooden sculpture, and architectural decoration.and architects' work[11]. For instance, founder of Saint Josse-ten-Noode School Henri Hendrickx[12], following Owen Jones' theories, claimed that "a lack of abstraction", and a "banal interpretation of nature" were the causes of the ordinariness of Belgian design, and its deficiency of taste was attributable to the "scarcity of analysis and comparison between different artistic productions"[13]. Saint Josse's school soon became a remarkable institution which thanks to professors such as Georges Houtstont[14], a French-born decorator and close collaborator of Henri Beyaert, or architect Ernest Hendrickx[15], son of Henri, who had trained in Viollet-le- Duc's workshop in Paris, offered a solid, rational education in all the trades connected to the building yard.

The focus on the conceptual nature of forms, the insistent use of straight and curved lines in the didactic of these schools, prefigured several elements of a new aesthetic such as the emphatic use of the line and marked contours, persistently present, towards the end of the nineteenth century, in Art Nouveau's art and architecture.

Viollet-le-Duc's doctrines and the study of nature were also embraced by another anti-academic institution, the catholic Saint-Lucas School in Ghent, founded in 1863[16], whose more developed

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[11] The teaching offered by these schools was praised by Marius Vachon in his famous report to the French Ministry of Education : M. Vachon, *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts sur les Musées et les écoles d'art industriel et sur la situation des industries artistiques en Belgique et en Hollande. Mission de 1888*, Paris, Quantin, 1888.

[12] On Hendrickx see: J. Delulle, *Henri Hendrickx (1817-1894). Peintre, illustrateur et pédagogue*, Bruxelles, Banque Nationale de Belgique, 1971.

[13] The quotes are taken from : P. D'Hondt, *L'Académie royale des Beaux-Arts et l'école des Arts décoratifs. Notice historique*, Bruxelles, Lebègue & Cie, 1900, pp. 135-136.

[14] On the work of Houtstont see: Linda Van Santvoort, 'De ornamentele beeldhouwkunst van Georges Etienne Houtstont (Parijs, 1832 - Sint-Gillis, 1912) : de synergie van kunst(ambacht) en architectuur', in : *Gentse Bijdragen tot de interieurgeschiedenis*, Leuven, Peeters, 2012, pp. 1-24.

[15] On Ernest Hendrickx, see : E. Hennaut, 'Ernest Hendrickx et l'influence de Viollet-le-Duc', in R. Hozee (éd.), *Bruxelles carrefour de cultures*, Anvers, Fonds Mercator, 2000, pp. 26-31.

[16] At Antwerp's Academy, despite the early introduction of notions of pointed architecture, the prevailing style in educational programs remained that of an eclectic classicism. Therefore the Gothic revival found a broader development and application inside the network of the Saint Luke schools, which offered an alternative to academic

branch of studies in both its technical and ornamental aspects was architecture. Brother Marès, the School's founder, claimed that the logical purpose of each element implied a practical and decorative function: the application of rational principles and the refusal of counterfeit materials such as stucco or papier-mâché in favour of natural materials embodied truthfulness. Figure drawing, with rare exceptions, was excluded from teaching: Renaissance and antiquity works of art were indeed regarded as a symbol of paganism and lack of decency, whereas the geometrical analysis and abstract representation of nature, and the study of vegetal ornamentation were associated with specialised training in all the decorative disciplines (ironwork, embroidery, engraving, decorative sculpture on wood and stone, cabinetwork, stained glass, etc.) that could be involved in the creation of a total work of art, identified in the model of excellence of the Gothic cathedral. The exclusive adoption of Gothic style– evoking an ideal society with fewer social inequalities, founded on the solid ideals of Christian ethics – should be seen as an anti-academic and ideological choice made in the framework of the political antagonism between the liberal and the catholic segments of Belgian society. Indeed, examples taken from Flemish neo-Renaissance ornaments were preferred in Brussel's schools, politically closer to the liberals, to orientate future designers towards the application or the reinvention of a national style[17]. (Fig. 2)

Both Brussels' and Saint Lucas schools had a practical and social goal: trained students actively participated in the restoration of monuments or worked in alliance with workshops, manufacturers, or in building yards, thus establishing a cycle of virtuous relations between the world of education and that of a qualitatively high and qualified work.

The first effort to modernise artistic and architectural education was therefore initially carried out in these institutes. Their successful educational policies set an example for the renewal of the curricula of other Belgian academies and design schools. Moreover, the international Conference of Art Professors organised in Brussels in 1868, stigmatised the presence of lacunae in architectural education[18], which still relied too much on Vignola's book[19]. The 1874 report of an

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training. See: J. De Maeyer (ed.), *De Sint-Lucasscholen en de neogotiek 1862-1914*, Leuven, KADOC, 1988, W. Wouters, *Van tekenklas tot kunstacademie. De Sint-Lucasscholen in België 1866-1966*, Gand, UGA, 2013.

[17] *Exposition des Académies et des écoles de dessin et Congrès de l'enseignement des arts du dessin*, Bruxelles, Lelong 1869, pp. 202-204.

[18] *Ibidem*, pp. 242-258.

[19] Due to its good interpretation and proportioning, Vignola's book was considered the most practical work for the application of the five orders. Often reprinted and translated since its first publication in 1562, it was the most widely used architectural textbook of all up to the nineteenth century, constituting one of the universal bases of courses of architecture. It was used in Antwerp as well: H. Redig, *Les cinq ordres d'architecture de J. B. Vignole, dessinés d'après les leçons de l'Académie d'Anvers*, s.d.. In 1868, Flemish architect and professor at Brussels' Academy Félix Laureys (1820-97) conceived a simplified method of proportioning the classical orders based on the adoption of the decimal scale: *Cours classique d'Architecture. Comprenant l'analyse complete des cinq ordres, d'après le systeme decimal, avec des exemples relatifs à leur emploi dans les edifices*, Ch. Claesen, Liège. 1870. Laureys' method was divulged and became popular in the United States, at the beginning of the 20th century, thanks to a concise manual inspired by his

inspection of the Belgian academies and design schools[20] launched by the government after the Conference further confirmed the situation and led to the approval of a new study plan subsequently applied in Belgian academies[21], and to the drawing up of a list of recommended publications to be used for educational purposes – including the most important Belgian and European ornamental grammars and pattern books, from Owen Jones' to Racinet's, to Lienard's[22]. (Fig. 3)

The report, co-written by reformer Louis De Taeye[23], a member of the *Conseil* and supporter of a rational and eclectic teaching, insisted on the necessity to improve and extend the theoretical and practical study of ornament as a fundamental tool in developing an artistic and architectural consciousness. Ornament, he stated, was not a mere decoration form, but an "ideal form of art" that "should not deform the surfaces it embellished, but become one with them"[24].

Brussels and the Decorative Arts School.

This principle was also shared by a group of Brussels' liberal reformers – including burgomaster Charles Buls[25] and architect Jean Baes[26] – who were at the origin of a Decorative Art school opened in 1886 in the capital alongside the Fine Arts Academy (thus ideally completing the restructuring process started in 1862)[27]. The curriculum of this new school, drawn up by De Taeye and Buls, was based on the study program of 1874 to suit the organisation of the Academy, with which the new school shared some of the professors and the building. It was widened by multiplying the specialised courses and practical trainings, accelerating in particular the process of inclusion of decorative trades in architecture teaching. The contribution of director and

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work: F. A. Bourne, F. Ch. Brown , J. R. Coolidge, *Study of Orders*, Chicago, American School of Correspondance, 1917 (1st edition: 1904).

[20] T. J. Canneel, L. De Taeye, *Enseignement des arts du dessin. Rapports des délégués chargés par le gouvernement de l'inspection des académies des beaux-arts et des écoles de dessin du royaume de Belgique*, Bruxelles, Dehou, 1874.

[21] *Conseil de perfectionnement de l'enseignement des arts du dessin. Session de 1874*, Gobbaerts, Bruxelles 1874.

[22] The list of recommended books was not included in the program, but was sent to the different schools by the Ministry of Interior. *Ibidem*.

[23] De Taeye was a professor at Antwerp's Academy and from 1865 the director of Leuven's Academy. In Leuven he introduced a reform plan on which the program of artistic schools and academies in Belgium in 1874 was modeled. See: Louis De Taeye, *Rapport motive sur les réformes à établir à l'Académie des Beaux-arts de Louvain*, Louvain, Typographie Massart, 1865.

[24] T. Canneel et L. De Taeye, *Enseignement des arts du dessin. Rapports des délégués chargés par le Gouvernement de l'inspection des Académies des Beaux-Arts et des Ecoles de dessin du Royaume de Belgique*, Typ. Dehou, 1874, Bruxelles, p. 155.

[25] M. Smets, *Charles Buls et les principes de l'art urbain*, Liège, Mardaga, 1995.

[26] L. C. Baes, 'La carrière de Jean Baes, architecte et acquarelliste bruxellois 1848-1914', in *Cahiers Bruxellois*, vol. III, n°1, 1958, pp. 59-84.

[27] *École des arts décoratifs. Eléments de l'enseignement. Organisation*, Bruxelles, Mertens, 1879.

architecture professor Jean Baes was significant[28]. Baes, a partisan of Flemish neo-Renaissance architecture, whose work was praised by Victor Horta[29], became popular thanks to the introduction of innovative typologies, the use of new materials, and a strong synaesthesia between the arts. In his projects – especially the Flemish Theatre[30] (Fig. 4) – craftsmen and architects experimented with new ornamental, spatial, technological, and constructive ideas under the sign of the absence of hierarchies between the arts, thus announcing the advent of Art Nouveau.

The Flemish Renaissance was considered a stylistic valued model[31], appropriate for industrial use for its picturesque characteristics as well as for the intelligibility of its design, thus confirming the attribution of a certain educational vocation to the Renaissance style: its clarity and harmony enabled an easy and explicit ornamental use. Moreover, in the Belgian capital, Flemish Renaissance architecture became the instrument for building a broad modernity that in the intentions of its promotors could solve problems of national, cultural and social identity, giving impetus to industrial productions in the arts and in architectural design[32]. The Flemish Theatre's project thus embodied Baes' didactic principles, published in the pages of *L'Émulation*, the house organ of the *Société Centrale d'Architecture de Belgique*, a journal that since its inception had maintained a focus on "the progress of industry and industrial arts in their relationship with architecture"[33]. The curriculum of the Decorative Art School was based on linear drawing and rational teaching methods aiming at training mindful craftsmen and architects capable of understanding the nature of forms and translating it into a functional linguistic code. Tonally rendered illustrative drawing was replaced with diagrammatic conventions: the geometrical demonstration of a circle, for instance, was done by associating it with real decorative objects and ornaments such as a medal, a clock, a crown, or a tambourine; a cylinder was linked to a tankard, a column to a quiver, and so on, progressing from two-dimensional to three-dimensional models (Fig. 5). The value of such rational method rested on the insight it gave students to reinforce their powers of observation and initiative that could be used to generate variations of the original

[28] J-P. Midant, 'La création de l'Ecole des arts décoratifs et l'enseignement de l'architecture à l'Académie des Beaux-arts', in ID, *Académie de Bruxelles : deux siècles d'architecture*, Bruxelles, Archives d'architecture moderne, 1989, pp. 324-329.
[29] V. Horta, 'Le Théâtre Flamand de Bruxelles', in *Émulation*, 1888, col 155-156.
[30] *Théâtre Flamand de Bruxelles par Jean Baes*, Bruxelles, Claesen, 1892.
[31] On Flemish neo-Renaissance see in particular: A. Willis, 'Flemish Renaissance Revival in Belgian Architecture (1830-1930)', PhD thesis, New York, Columbia University 1984; P. Lombaerde, 'A la recherché d'une identité historique : l'architecture néo-Renaissance à Anvers au XIXème siècle', in F. Lemerle (ed.), *Le XIXe siècle et l'architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris, Picard, 2010, pp. 165-178.
[32] On this topic see in particular: D. N. Prina, 'Les intérieurs bruxellois et les arts décoratifs dans la deuxième moitié du 19e siècle : entre les modifications du goût et les enjeux didactiques, idéologiques et industriels', in *Bruxelles Patrimoine*, Journées du Patrimoine special issue, n. 18 (in press).
[33] 'L'Émulation', in *L'Émulation* 1880, n. 1, col. 2.

model through combinatorial procedures: it was expected to alert designers to their powers of intervention in the design process[34].

Moreover, ornamental composition courses aimed at stimulating the students' creativity and originality: Baes recommended "making a wise choice and a reasoned application of ornaments, taking into account, for each of them, their relative value, their expression and their particular significance"; avoiding "any disordered meeting of disparate ornament not fully contributing to reinforce the aesthetic character of work" [35]. The correct application of decoration was subject to the provision of good models, considered essential to the understanding of ornament's aesthetical, technical, historical, and archaeological characters, and to stimulate its comprehension and invention.

Those practices were also partially introduced by the new *Conseil* – which at that time included Saint Lucas Schools professors and sympathisers, such as Brother Marès or architect Louis Cloquet – in the new study plans recommended for art academies and schools formulated in its 1898 final session[36]. The *Conseil* therefore promoted an organisation of artistic education which put the arts at the service of architecture, whose enormous modern and original potential was by then unanimously acknowledged. The *Conseil* stated that architectural evolution, from the use of new materials to the creation of new typologies of buildings, foresaw the birth of new forms of ornamentation indicating the future developments of a new style, thus assuming a leading and dynamic role in the rebirth of Belgian crafts[37].

Conclusion.

Since its independence and throughout the 19th century, Belgium was confronted with the intertwined problems posed by unification and industrialisation. Issues related to the creation of a national artistic consciousness, as well as the aesthetic quality of its productions motivated a reform of artistic and architectural education aimed at instilling "good taste" in the masses and creating a national style. Consequently, a number of private initiatives aimed at promoting design reforms, strengthened the government's awareness to engage with a theme: the relationship between art and industry – something which remained central to the economy of the young

[34] Voir: 'Conseil de perfectionnement de l'enseignement des arts du dessin. Réponse aux questions posées par le ministre de l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie et des Travaux publics', in *Émulation*, 1893, n°5, col. 65-67 ; n°6, col. 81-85 ; n°7, col. 97-103 ; n°8, col. 113-120.
[35] *Ibidem*, col.100.
[36] *Conseil de perfectionnement de l'enseignement des arts du dessin. Session de 1896-1899. Procès-verbaux, documents et rapports*, Bruxelles, Daem, 1899.
[37] *Ibidem*, p. 65.

nation-state. In order to update artistic and architectural education, both public and private initiatives insisted on two aspects in particular: a rational approach to the teaching of drawing and the study of ornament. The latter especially proved to be crucial for the renewal of Belgian architecture: indeed the relationship between decorative arts and architecture presented a vivacity of methodological connections leading to the inception of a range of initiatives which under their didactic and practical aspects can be compared to those initiated in the most advanced countries (Germany, France, and England). The alliance of decorative arts and architecture thus represents the key element which allows the discovering of the cultural and pedagogical roots of Belgian Art Nouveau, characterised more than any other western variations, by a strong synaesthesia as well as by the absence of hierarchical sequences matured since the 1860 in Belgian academies and design schools, and thus challenge the vision largely spread by the preceding historiography of its ground-breaking nature.

Directional Decoration: Orientation and Ornamentation in Gottfried Semper and his Followers

Spyros Papapetros, Princeton University

One of the qualities that distinguishes the use of ornament in late 19th century modernity is its ability to organize and project space. Moving beyond the limitation of flat wall decorations, modern ornamentation gradually engages with space not only by establishing correspondences between isolated decorative motifs but also by encompassing three-dimensional artifacts or building elements that demarcate a clear spatial orientation. Motivated by contemporary theories of physics as well as Schopenhauer's natural philosophy praising the energetic directionality of the "will," Gottfried Semper invented a novel type of ornament, which he called Richtungssmuck—a directional form of bodily and architectural adornment ranging from feathers in male and female hats to acroteria and flags in building decorations. While in their vestigial afterlife, directional ornaments were associated with architectural pageantries and festivals, Semper traced the origins of this type of decoration in implements of "hunting and war,"—artifacts in which ornament had to follow the vital necessities of human survival as well the drive for territorial dominance and expansion (qualities that Semper had recently witnessed in the directional adornments of military horses in battle representations of the Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud exhibited at the British Museum). Unlike the two other categories of ornament distinguished by Semper in his 1856 Zurich lecture on adornment, such as the "ring" that accents the "microcosmic" proportions between individual body parts, or the "pendant" that underlines the macrocosmic connections between the body and the larger universe, the "directional ornament is the most sociable or even environmentally conscious form of decoration because it connects the adorned body to the bodies and objects of its immediate surroundings. While masking itself as a virtual prosthesis or a mere index of movement, this is a living ornament that moves and exists in the physical world while striving to extend the contours of bodies and buildings beyond their material limits. This drive for projection also applies to the history (and historiography) of ornament as a whole, since the "directional authority" of ornament was one of the properties that survived its professed demise from architectural practice in the beginnings of the twentieth century. This paper investigates the origins and evolutionary trajectory of Semper's "directional ornament," as well as its afterlife in the projects and writings of a host of the architect's followers or unacknowledged readers. Of particular interest is the 1865 French translation of Semper's 1856 lecture on adornment by the aesthetician and politician Paul Challemel-Lacour and the employment of that translation in the 1875 book treatment of adornment by French design theorist Charles Blanc, whose publications have often been cited among the sources of education of the young Jeanneret/Le Corbusier.

SESSION: Architecture and the Neoliberal Turn

Kenny Cupers, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Helena Mattsson, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm

Recent scholarship on the postwar period has significantly revised our understanding of architectural modernism by examining the complex role of architecture in the larger historical processes such as the expansion of the welfare state, decolonization and Cold War modernization. In doing so, such scholarship implicitly or explicitly posits the 1970s as a historical break, dually marked by economic restructuring and the advent of a new cultural condition. While innovative studies are currently being pursued on the architecture of this period, analysis continues to be elided by recourse to black-boxed terms such as "postmodernism" and "neoliberalism." Yet what exactly is the historical relationship between architecture—whether we call it postmodern or not – and the so-called neoliberal turn?

This session aims to answer this question and in doing so, to develop new analytical and methodological approaches to the more recent history of architecture. The changing relationship between state, society and economy during and since the 1970s is often shorthanded with the rubric of neoliberalism. Yet the term itself describes and economic theory whose roots long precede the policies of privatization, deregulation, and market reform of the Thatcher and Reagan era. Rather than to ask what a neoliberal architecture looks like, or how architecture represents neoliberalism, this session aims to examine how architecture has participated in neoliberalization—a historically and geographically specific process rather than a blanket condition.

We are looking for papers that critically deconstruct the term "neoliberalism" by shifting the focus from discourse to the analysis of specific economic or political transformations such as the reorganization of government spending, policies of deregulation, privatization and market reform, the rise of free trade zones, and so on. Of special interest are papers that demonstrate how architectural form and materiality articulate and specify neoliberalization. We ask that papers demonstrate a method for analyzing the role of architecture in such historically and geographically specific processes. While we are primarily interested in papers covering the period since the 1970s, we also welcome approaches that proved a longer historical narrative. Topics could include but are not limited to: public housing and design, the transformation of participatory and community planning, the role of aesthetics in new economic formations such as the "experience economy," the relationship between private developers and architects, the role of postmodern theory "on the ground," the changing role of the building industry, and the global economic geography of architectural practice.

Space, Time and Neoliberalism Ross Exo Adams, Iowa State University

This paper contends that, if neoliberalism is to be understood as a meta-economic order, as living thought (Hayek), our analysis of its impact on the practice and conception of architecture must see it as more than simply a passive artifact bearing traces of neoliberal logics, policies and values, but one that actively participates in its unfolding. More specifically, this paper looks at how architecture has, since the recent past, assisted in the construction a new, non-modern temporality, whose corresponding proposals articulate a capacity for architecture and urbanism to preserve the present conditions of life in a world increasingly characterized by unstoppable change. If modernity invented 'progress' as the device to compress the present toward a teleological future, then this new temporality impoverishes both past and future in the fabrication of a blinding, unending present – a temporality that cuts across and synchronizes the social, political and spatial into a single economic rationality. By revisiting Grimshaw's Eden Project in Cornwall, UK, this paper will speculate on how architecture has begun to participate directly in the production of this new temporal experience of the world. Projects like Eden reveal not only how architectural practice under neoliberalism has overcome the modern distinction between nature and culture by inverting it, but how the emerging architectural imaginary that accompanies such practices frame architecture as a problem *restricted to the present*. In this, architecture inscribes a temporality that seems to lack both past and future – history and possibility – in favor of presenting time as continuous, homogeneous and bound to the perpetual management of the present. I call this the *architecture of preservation*. The Eden Project, now a global franchise, paradigmatically reveals that in the theater of neoliberal governmentality and its perpetual production of crisis, it is now the present that is the object of architectural design, and 'design' becomes indistinguishable from the technological management of the world.

In the Shadow of the Slum: Towards a Prehistory of Neoliberalism and Architecture Sheila Crane, University of Virginia

According to Mike Davis, "rapid urban growth in the context of structural adjustment, currency devaluation, and state retrenchment has been an inevitable recipe for the mass production of slums" (17). Mega-slums, particularly as they have reconfigured cities across the global south, from Rio to Mumbai and beyond, have thus been identified as a defining architecture of neoliberalism. In Morocco, the state's strategic disinvestment in housing production and the concerted privatization of infrastructure have been defining features of recent projects, including the much-heralded Ville sans bidonvilles, or Cities without shantytowns, program, inaugurated shortly after the suicide bombings of May 16, 2003 in Casablanca. This paper reconsiders these

recent developments within the longer history of the bidonville, a term first coined in the late 1920s to describe an area on the outskirts of Casablanca distinguished by the rapid construction of unauthorized dwellings by recent rural migrants to the city, and successive proposals for its radical reordering that were articulated in the late stages of the French Protectorate. Here the urban planning proposals developed in the early 1950s under Michel Ecochard, in dialogue with extensive surveys of existing bidonvilles and their residents coordinated by Robert Montagne, are particularly revealing. Ecochard's diagrammatic proposal for an "improved" bidonville imagined a minimal network of streets and infrastructural services that would be filled in with dwellings constructed and financed by inhabitants. Here the grid became a mechanism for regulated growth with limited state investment, an architectural framework that would be embraced shortly after independence as the template for subsequent attempts to eliminate the bidonville. By shifting the vantage point from Davis's emphasis on global trends to historically and geographically specific processes, the defining architectures of neoliberalism might be understood not simply through the lens of dramatic ruptures but also as the redeployment of explicitly colonial strategies of disinvestment and self-help housing.

The Energy Underground: Neoliberalism and Solar Architecture in the 1970s

Daniel Barber, University of Pennsylvania

Neoliberal forms of governance have increasingly, since World War II, developed new political rationalities that redefine issues of citizenship, democracy, representation and regulation. This presentation will focus on environmental regulatory mechanisms in the 1970s as they applied to architecture, and the delicate resistance to them. The emergence of codes and systems for managing the integration of solar power with existing energy grids—a process that intensified during the oil crisis—represents a crucial moment when ideas and processes generated in architecture encountered the regulatory regimes of the global neoliberal governance.

A group of architects and engineers, led by the architect Malcolm Wells and including the then-well-known solar engineer Steve Baer, formed the "Energy Underground" as a loose collective to offer alternatives to neoliberal regulation on these terms. The presentation will focus on three disparate elements of this dynamic discourse. First, Wells' underground, energy efficient houses and offices will be described as well as his vision of the expansion of below-grade buildings. Second, and in contrast to this anomalous production, mainstream solar building practices in Colorado and New Mexico will reveal how this anti-regulatory impulse infused the building culture of the period. Third, the proliferation of related experiments will be discussed. Trombe walls in France, earth houses at the Centre for Alternative Technology in Wales, and solar innovations in

Germany, all speak to a desire to operate outside of the global regulation of energy systems—to manage one's own community needs, through architecture.

At stake are the specific tactics that architects adopted in order to integrate their practices into alternative trajectories. At stake as well is the cultural relevance of new building forms, and how the profound absence of the Energy Underground in architectural historiography suggests that designed resistance to regulatory regimes has wilted since this period.

Deregulation and Design in the Financial Centre: The Transformation of Corporate Space in the Post-war City of London Amy Thomas, University of Chicago

The deregulation of financial services since the 1970s has occurred in tandem with a radical transformation of the financial workplace. Yet the tendency towards abstraction in popular and academic discussions of financial practices has historically precluded a material understanding of its processes. In recent decades, a body of dedicated scholarship in urban studies and economic geography has helped uncover the spatial ramifications of high finance in the material world, but as yet, there have been few critical investigations into how this so-called 'space of flows' manifests itself in built, architectural form. Much of the current analysis of the financial marketplace is two-dimensional, with an emphasis on the skyline as symbol of capital accumulations, relegating unceremonious interiors and back-office counterparts to the grey matter of real estate. Such readings not only privilege the visible, but also position the architectural environment as benign container for financial activity rather than an active agent in the process of exchange. Through an analysis of the changing design of office buildings in the post-war City of London (London's financial centre), this paper aims to unravel the reciprocal relationship between the increasingly deregulated financial system, and the commensurate transformation of the environment in which it operated.

This investigation considers how financial and technological revolutions of the 1970s and 80s were facilitated by changes in the development, design and construction of office buildings in the City of London. The paper argues that the rise of computer dealing and the growing volatility of deregulated markets created a demand for the commensurately flexible office space that could simultaneously accommodate the new technological infrastructure, necessitating a reconfiguration of the office building from a static object with a singular life-span to a dynamic, temporally-layered form—a kit-of-parts designed to maximize profit for both the occupant and developer. Building on this idea, the paper interrogates the connection between the physical fragmentation of the office building and the changing relationship between architects and developers, arguing

that where previously the maximization of floor space and manipulation of planning regulations had been the central concern of the developer's architect, now their dominant responsibility was to devise an architectural image sellable to the occupant in two-dimensional form.

Building Reform: The Block and the Wall in Late Maoist China, 1974-76 Cole Roskam, University of Hong Kong

This paper examines "hollow block and wall reform" (kongxin qikuai ji qiangti gaige) in late Maoist China, a building initiative launched between 1974 and 1976 by a Chinese Communist Party (CCP) torn over the ambiguous trajectory of socialist China's state-run economy. Broadly conceived and promoted as a series of tectonic gestures designed to improve socialist Chinese building practices, hollow block and wall reform need also be understood in light of the more dramatic economic reforms that followed—an early and important moment of procedural as well as ethical recalibration in the face of Mao Zedong's imminent demise and the realities of looming fiscal as well as ideological bankruptcy.

My paper attends specifically to the ways in which new variations on the brick or cement building block—two fundamental indices of socialist Chinese architectural production as well as representation—concretized the practical and psychological adjustments taking shape within China following an initial wave of diplomatic liberalization highlighted by Sino-American rapprochement in 1972 and the normalization of China-Japan diplomatic relations in 1973. Chinese-language textual and diagrammatic analysis of the new blocks, which were both cheaper and more efficient to manufacture than their antecedents, reveal a Chinese architectural establishment's efforts to sublimate the impact of intensified international economic and technological exchange within the socialist design precepts under which the country still operated. As objects designed to simultaneously condition the country to, and defend it from, the uncertainties of impending political and economic change, China's reformed bricks and blocks evince a nascent and distinctive material neoliberalization grounded in political struggle over the evident shortcomings of Maoist-era governance and deep ambivalence over its alternatives.

SESSION: Open Session Sussan Babaie, Courtauld Institute of Art; Ola Uduku, University of Edinburgh

Towards a Narrative of Connected Geographies: Display of Architecture and Transnational History Marianna Charitonidou, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre Le Défense and National Technical University of Athens

In order to shed light on the ways in which the adoption of a historiographical point of view regarding the construction of national identity can be depicted through the conception of architecture exhibitions we could compare the following two exhibitions: World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation National, which took place at the Building Museum in 1994, and Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War, which took place at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in 2011 and was transferred to the Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine in Paris and to the MAXXI in Rome in 2014. The first exhibition included in its material a range of building projects undertaken during the wartime; its main aspiration was to show how they contributed to technical innovations and social changes concerning postwar architectural production. The catalog that accompanied this exhibition addressed the chronology and architectural, technological, social, military and planning legacy of wartime. The exhibition aimed to show how the materials of wartime building and the visual language of their representation influenced architecture. The focus of the exhibition was centered on the nation, since, as the poster at its entrance reflected, its purpose was to present "how a wartime building change a nation". By contrast, the second exhibition, which treated wartime technological products as components of the puzzle of the interactions of different national contexts, escaped the danger of celebrating economic productivity, political organization, and social consensus within the constrains of a national perspective. This was made possible through the inventive narrative zig-zags of its sequence, which was based on cross-sections that shed light on the policies undertaken in parallel by the belligerents jumping from one significant place to another, from Los Angeles to London and from Auschwitz to Moscow. In this case, the use of archival material coming from different institutions in different national contexts as well as their historical interpretation played a key role. Its main purpose was to make visible and comprehensible to the spectator that every fragment of the history narrated can take on different meanings if the interpreter adopts a different point of view. The curator based the research and its display on archival material coming from different institutions in order to make explicit the deformations that can take place because of the change of the perspective from which the events are diagnosed. The historical archival research preceding the exhibition was based on material coming from different institutions. Its narrative instead of producing consistencies it aimed to

reveal disruptions. My presentation aims to show how architecture exhibitions are able to reveal different sets of cultural meanings through the strategies according to which the artefacts, that constitute their material, are articulated and through the tactics according to which the sequence of their narrative is conceived, functioning as a vehicle of transnational historiographical research.

Criminality and Public Opinion: Architectural Reformation among Parisian Prisons, 1778-1799 Jennifer Ferng, University of Sydney *

Between 1768 and 1790, the Académie royale d'architecture called for three distinct competitions for architects to design a public prison. The architectural program not only emphasised the evolution of the status of prisoners but also their relationship to societal reform. Separate premises, for instance, were required to keep civil prisoners apart from incarcerated criminals. Criticism and public opinions of these designs, such as Jacques-Pierre Gisors' 1778 prison in the form of a Greek cross (similar to Ledoux's design at Aix) triggered greater discussions about the humane treatment of prisoners. Most of these 1778-9 designs never materialized into built form; nevertheless, their discussion and display among intellectual circles brought architecture much closer to the current debates on prison and criminal reform for the public good. This paper takes Gisors' winning entry as a starting point for how prison designs began to circulate in the Parisian public sphere and sparked individual reactions to improve penal conditions. In essence, architecture as a medium empowered critics like Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Cesare Beccaria to become staunch advocates of progressive social policy.

In light of "narrow, ill-contrived, and unwholesome" conditions, dramatist Louis-Sebastien Mercier suggested that "confinement…ought to be rendered as supportable as possible." A few of these suggested improvements in penal reform through the written word inspired greater amendments of prisoner treatment in later maisons de correction and depôts du renfermeries. Up until the French Revolution, the transformation of the Palais du Luxembourg, the Bastille, and the convents of Les Carmes and Port Royal into civic prisons prompted the rise of public perception as a powerful force for change. Eighteenth-century French prisons evolved into multifaceted institutions in the nineteenth century that eventually embraced shorter prison sentences, solitary confinement, and education for prisoners as methods of reform during the July Monarchy.

PAPER

Between 1768 and 1790, the Académie royale d'architecture issued three distinct competitions for architects to design a public prison. Formulated by members Ange-Jacques Gabriel, Richard Micque, and Julien-David le Roy, the architectural program emphasised the ongoing evolution of

the status of prisoners and their relationship to societal reform; in this sense, prisoners were perceived as mutable beings whose innate character could be molded into the ideals of a bourgeois citizen. Architecture students participating in the Prix de Rome were required to design separate premises to keep civil prisoners apart from incarcerated criminals. From this point onwards, these two distinct categories of prisoners were clearly differentiated from each other, and among some of the institutional building typologies for social experimentation towards the latter half of the eighteenth century, Parisian prisons generated much interest among the public, who were mobilized to denounce barbaric living conditions associated with such designs.[1] Since most of these prison designs were never constructed, their potency as modes of critique were experienced most fully in the realm of public opinion — that is, architecture as an instrument of critique existed as an object of discussion for those who were highly educated and active in intellectual circles.[2] Methodical reformation of such spatial designs did not rest with the elite members of the royal academy but instead with the teeming masses of common people whose judgment would become more influential during the first years of the French Revolution.

These academy drawings remain all the more valuable for their potential to illustrate visual ideas about the state of prison reform; nevertheless, their dissemination among intellectual circles brought architecture much closer to the current debates on prison and criminal reform for the public good. This paper takes Jacques-Pierre Gisors' 1778 winning entry as a starting point for how prison designs began to circulate in the Parisian public sphere and sparked individual reactions to improve penal conditions. Scholars such as Neil Levine and David van Zanten have closely examined the politics behind the royal academy's pedagogy and competition structure; however, it is my interest here to consider how the visual designs of public prisons, many of which never materialized, empowered critics like Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who wrote copious literary novels, treatises, and editorials about these designs, to become staunch advocates of progressive social policy. As Arlette Farge concedes, "speaking about" such forbidden topics like imprisonment was almost as derogatory as "speaking against" it — French citizens, in essence, had no right to inform themselves of current events. They were sometimes forced to give consent to these acts of authority, often "canalized through [ceremony] – ritual, festival, religious service, or punishment."[3]

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[1] Michel Delon, *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2001), 747.

[2] Antoine Lilti, "Private Lives, Public Space" in *The Cambridge Companion to the French Enlightenment*, ed. Daniel Brewer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 14-28, 18.

[3] Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), viii. Farge investigates the social and political functioning of witnesses and the dossiers of prisoners sent to the Bastille for malicious intentions towards the king.

In light of "narrow, ill-contrived, and unwholesome" conditions, contemporary critics like Louis-Sebastien Mercier suggested that "confinement…ought to be rendered as supportable as possible." Most of these improvements in penal reform about architectural design as a vehicle inspired written commentary that pushed for greater amendments in *les maisons de correction* and *depôts de renfermeries*. Up until the start of the French Revolution, the transformation of public and private buildings such as the Palais du Luxembourg, the Bastille, and the convents of Les Carmes and Port Royal into civic prisons signaled the rise of public opinion as a powerful force for change. Eighteenth-century prisons as "universities of crime maintained by the state" functioned effectively until the end of the revolution as they gradually converted into multifaceted institutions that extended models of surveillance and policing well into the nineteenth century.

Of reform and reformation

Within the prescribed curriculum outlined by the Académie royale d'architecture, the expectations demanded from students in the late seventeenth century moved well beyond their initial incarnations of codified design elements into more specialized solutions that articulated the public identity of civic buildings. Critical questions about quality for the Académie inherently centred less on the structural logic of a building and shifted slightly towards the quality of living for building inhabitants. The constructed logic of the seventeenth century – including the edifices of the *ancien régime* – was dismantled and fully replaced by the isolated geometry of incarceration, whose instrumentality was defined by the dimensions of a prison cell. Classical precepts of architectural design, as proclaimed by François Blondel, lost much of their pragmatic heft when contemporary prison populations were faced with deteriorating living conditions, rats festering in drinking water, and overcrowding while in confinement. The academy *métier* that characterized architectural practice in works such as that of Gisors produced an intellectual exercise that idealized the prison as another public building equipped with appropriate neoclassical elements of design.

Despite this insistence on the purity of the neoclassical orders, criminality across eighteenth-century Europe, reinforced by vivid images of degradation, poverty, and prostitution, became primarily shaped not through public prisons, but through the expansive power of the written word. In particular, pervasive opinions of delinquency and related felonies in Paris, like many other urban centres of the time, were communicated through oral exchanges as well as larger-scale

media such as printed journals and newspapers.[4] Such affiliated misdeeds were scattered widely throughout pamphlets and printed announcements that censured some of the dire conditions in which most common criminals were retained. Reprehensible behavior and other incidents of reckless law-breaking violence were generally perceived as being morally bankrupt qualities. The derelict state of Parisian prisons in the last decades of the eighteenth century incited some of France's vigorous philosophers and playwrights to put pen to paper in order to dispute these less than humane conditions imposed upon their fellow citizens.

Intangible qualities of prison living, among them, very minute details, were often brought to life in writing: the rotten stench of stinking flesh, the coldness of a bare stone floor; or the dim light filtering inside from a singular window. Producing a "troubling and somber atmosphere that matched eighteenth century sensibilities," foul odors and insalubrious conditions only reminded those like Mercier of Paris' unhygienic nature.[5] Air and the threat of putrid degeneration ranked prisons alongside sewers and unkempt city streets.[6] Earlier origins of affective architectural design can be discovered in the material and palpable textures of the carceral spaces that Parisian prisons embodied. In this way, "olfactory vigilance" preempted many architectural concerns by taking miasma and its effects as a cause of the detrimental state of prison living. Most dramatists and critics like Mercier responded to these affective qualities of space that rendered sympathy from even the most hardened of readers.

Criticism and public opinions of these designs, in particular, that of Jacques-Pierre Gisors' 1778 prison in the form of a Greek cross (similar to Claude-Nicolas Ledoux's design at Aix) triggered greater discussions about the humane treatment of prisoners. Gisors, as a student of Étienne-Louis Boullée, competed for the Prix de Rome with a responsible attitude towards public monuments. Classical in nature, Gisors' floor plan and his massing of his proposed prison evoked a monument dedicated to the grandeur of the previous century. The large circular perimeter of the prison is flanked symmetrically by four courtyards, each with inward looking cells. Rounded towers for stair access are positioned at each corner of the lower ground level, with circulation occurring along each of the corridors connecting the substantial forum to each courtyard. The Gisors plan, in particular, seems to be only the existing design left over from this particular competition. The Doric order was often chosen for its severity of appearance to decorate the exteriors of prisons. Gisors design in practice would never be assembled since many Parisian

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[4] See the works of Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (1985), *Revolution in Print, The Press in France, 1775-1800* (1989), and *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (2010).

[5] John Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales with preliminary observations and an account of some Foreign Prisons* (Warrington: Printed by William Eyres, 1777).

[6] Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 25-28.

prisons were never erected as new constructions and only existed as renovations or adaptations of pre-existing buildings. In 1793, Gisors later adapted the theater of the Palais des Tuileries (Salle des Machines) into an assembly hall for the national convention and in effect, fabricated a new type of monument dedicated to the progress and immediate display of industry.

According to Allan Braham, one of the first so-called humane prisons was developed by Pope Clement XI at the turn of the century, which was executed by Carlos Fontana. Meant for sixty young criminals, each of the separate cells for one inmate was made visible to the large central hall that acted as a chapel.[7] Along similar lines, the ground floor layout of the *Palais de justice* in Caen designed by Armand Lefebvre (1788) echoed Gisors' use of symmetrical wings with open access into adjacent courtyards. The enclosed character of this particular design emphasized a central passage connecting both sides of this panopticon-shaped building. As the inspector of the Colombier hospital recalled, the living conditions of the Caen prison were next to appalling: "Le rapport qu'il en fit, dénonçant l'horreur de ces espaces humides et malsains, fut probablement à l'origine de la décision de détruire la tour."[8]

This intensified relationship between architecture and the literary criticism on prison conditions was based less upon the proof provided by the brick and mortar buildings of the cityscape and more so, in the written tracts that were circulated to the Parisian public. Many narratives written about prison environments (and sometimes even by those writers who wrote about them while imprisoned) were notoriously acerbic towards the king's policies of favoritism. Inaugurated in the thirteenth century, Bastille prison began receiving far fewer prisoners during the reign of Louis XIV – many of whom were Jansenists arriving from the upper classes of society, who were detained for their religious beliefs. Most prisoners were kept in the Bastille for anti-social reasons rather than for political ones. The Bastille joined as part of a larger policing network across Paris where the lieutenant general was responsible for reporting to the Maison du Roi. The prison was generally controlled directly by the king and thus as a consequence, many civilians could be imprisoned secretly without due process. Even prisoners, who required a great deal of processing, were obligated to remain at the fortress to wait for further developments of their respective cases.

Even Jean-Jacques Rousseau's notable visit to his friend and colleague Denis Diderot, who remained interred at Vincennes for writing *Lettres sur les aveugles*, changed his attitudes and became convinced to return to humanistic literary pursuits after seeing Diderot locked away. His *Du contrat social ou Principes du droit politique* (1762) not only stirred political sentiments for those who lacked basic privileges, but in essence, he awakened the public need for defending the

[7] Allan Braham, *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 201.

[8] Patrice Gourbin, "Le palais de justice de Caen, construction et transformation de 1781 à 2006," *Annales de Normandie*, 57e année, no.1-2, 2007, 75-94.

common good while still protecting the individual rights of the citizen. "The problem is to find a form of association," Rousseau affirmed, "which will defend and protect with the common whole force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before."[9]

Most penal colonies took the shape of medieval fortresses like those in Brest designed by Chocquet de Lindu. Prison architecture was not typically subjected to strict regulations, and as a result, many buildings intended for other functions were repurposed and employed as prisons. National prisons like the Bastille or Vincennes, prisons for serving life sentences, state penitentiaries and general hospitals varied from individual cells to dark dungeons.

Punishments endured by European prisoners in Tonkin, or now present day Vietnam, mirrored those suffered by European prisoners back on the continent. The inconvenience of having to procure one's own food was rampant in Tonkin prisons, and this practice was the same in Parisian prisons where prisoners were forced to pay relatives to bring victuals to their cells. Most European prisoners were confined to their individual chambers while awaiting trial or sentencing. In parallel, French prisoners apprehended in Great Britain were paradoxically captives, who held special exceptions and were allowed to socialize with other individuals from various social classes.[10] French prisoners remained unique in their de-regulated status as respected individuals with greater rights than those of common British criminals. John Bender recounts that the easygoing, fluid traffic of external visitors streaming into English prisons like Newgate could be contrasted with the more strict operations of French prisons in Paris.[11] The Penitentiary Act put forward by the English Parliament was merely a permissive piece of legislation that was not solely responsible for the prison reform occurring in some of the farthest regions from London. Incremental corrections in areas such as Gloucestershire, Lancashire and Middlesex, in fact, were propelled by penal reformers' emphasis on overt changes in culture and language that related to the operations of public prisons.

Political challenges in print

This dual transfer between print and architecture provides the opportunity to understand how literary and philosophical criticism took prisons as their subject. Mercier's commentary in *L'homme*

[9] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat sociale ou Principes du droit politique* (1762), 6.

[10] Renaud Morieux, "French Prisoners of War, Conflicts of Honor, and Social Inversions in England, 1744-1783," in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 56, issue, March 2013, 55-88.

[11] John Bender, *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of the Mind in Eighteenth Century England* (Chicago, 1987), 29.

sauvage (1767) channeled risible derision when it came to remarking upon the atrocious conditions for prisoners to endure. In his anecdote on a prisoner in his *Tableau de Paris* (1781-1788), Mercier displayed an equal amount of distrust in the French penal system. His urban chronicle attempted to reverse the traditional use of the novel genre for social critique by ordering the city into a spatial reality that was comprehensible.[12] Mercier commented on many existing buildings of the city that had been converted into prisons. For instance, the Hôtel de la Force, located in the 4th arrondissement, in 1754 was acquired by the Ministry of War and transformed into a prison for debtors and criminals who committed civil offenses. Originally belonging to Henri-Jacques Nompar de Caumont, La Grande Force consisted of several buildings connected to a separate yard with an infirmary located to the left of the site. Mercier noted, "Cette prison est un exemple du bien qu'amenent les justes réclamations des écrivains plaidant la cause de l'humanité. Il faut donc écrire, ou plutôt tourmenter la partie qui gouverne. La punition d'une faute n'est plus un supplice, l'imprudence ne se trouve plus à côté du crime; on n'y a point creusé ces cachots & ces souterreins, où je ne fais quel oubli cruel ajoutoit à la rigueur de la loi."[13]

Singled out for his utopian visions, Mercier also dared to venture into the speculative realm of science fiction publishing *L'An 2440: Rêve s'il en fut jamais* that became promptly banned in France and Britain for its suggestive and dangerous propaganda.[14] Yet, it remained one of the eighteenth century's most popular books with over 60,000 copies in print in multiple languages. Its ideal structure of Paris in the future described the role played by natural religion and a new political and social structure for the city. In the hands of Mercier, utopia became a temporal destination that could be reached and embodied a variant on the philosophy of progress that matched the early socialist desires of Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier.

In his writings on universal political thinking, Montesquieu likewise helped raise critical awareness of despotism that had become ingrained in the political lexicon and advocated for a major reform of slavery in *De l'esprit de lois* (1748). It was one of the first works to survey "the varieties of human society, to classify and compare them, and within society, to study the inter-functioning of institutions." To overcome some of the secrecy associated with criminal justice, Montesquieu argued for predictable and unequivocal laws that would restrict the powers of the state when it came to criminality. He was strongly adamant that any judicial system should be independent of and separate from executive and legislative branches of government. No person could be

[12] Michael Mulryan, "A Grim Cycle of Life: The Indigent's Spatial Journey in Louis-Sébastien Mercier's Tableau de Paris (1781-88)" in *Cithara*, volume 51, number 2, May 2012.

[13] Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, volume 6, 192-193. Louis XVI jettisoned any regard for decent amenities for prisoners and as Mercier points out, dungeons were an available and "free cruelty." (193).

[14] Riikka Forsström, *Possible Worlds: The Idea of Happiness in the Utopian Vision of Louis-Sébastien Mercier* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2002).

rightfully punished unless a prior law declared his action an offense, and legislative powers were to be bestowed upon an executive who had the right to effectuate such laws and the judiciary who could judge these disputes. Much of Montesquieu's own perspective on political philosophy drew upon his previous experience as a *président de mortier* in Tournelle, the Parlement's criminal division where he listened to legal proceedings, supervised prisons, and even administered various types of punishment, including torture. He did believe, contrary to progressive thought, that women were secondary to men in their abilities and he actively supported slavery.

At the Parlement of Bordeaux, the same building that was home to the decrepit Bordeaux prison proved to be a failed penitentiary whose walls were easy to break through. In the 1720s, this was brought to the attention to the main chambers of the Parlement but was soon forgotten by the magistrates who became caught up in other matters.[15] Laws of other countries, as Montesquieu observed, could be made far more humane in nature. Drawing upon the Roman tradition of using work in the mines and galleys as a form of punishment, as *esclaves de peine*, he directly connected this theoretical lineage to eighteenth-century developments in places like Bordeaux that attempted to continue this practice. Forced labor on convicts was justified by these ancient precedents that imbued the state with the authority over the life and death of a convict in order to institute a regime of slavery. Penal sentences ranging from whipping about 24-30 lashes in a public square, restraints on a convict's freedom was common, including the use of the carcan, the pillory, perpetual imprisonment or even banishment.[16]

Rousseau, Voltaire, and Jeremy Bentham also challenged the philosophical justifications for punishing criminals. Similarly, Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794), who penned *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764), condemned the secrecy of criminal justice and demanded an end to the widespread use of torture. In reading some of the seminal texts of Enlightenment and forming the "academy of fists," Beccaria in Milan sought to explore the fundamental tenets of free will, rational manner, and manipulability. Free will enabled individuals to make rational choices that helped them achieve self-gratification. More importantly, Beccaria wanted to protect the rights of criminals as being equal to that of the rights of victims. Beccaria stated that "Crimes are more effectually prevented by the *certainty* than the *sever*ity of punishment. In proportion as punishments become more cruel, the minds of men, as a fluid rises to the same height with that which surrounds it, grow hardened and insensible; and the force of the passions still continuing in the space of a hundred years, the *whee*l terrifies no more than formerly the *prison.* That a

[15] Rebecca Kingston, *Montesquieu and the Parlement of Bordeaux* (Geneva: Droz, 1996), 67. See also Jean Dalata, *Montesquieu Magistrate*.

[16] Ibid, 123, 125.

punishment may produce the effect required, it is sufficient that the evil it occasions should exceed the *good* expected from the crime, including in the calculation the certainty of the punishment, and the privation of the expected advantage. All severity beyond this is superfluous, and therefore tyrannical."[17] Beccaria's mix of Rousseau's social contract theory and Helvetian proto-utilitarianism assisted in creating a much needed consensus for more humanitarian treatment of prisoners. Criticized by Immanuel Kant as being overly compassionate towards humanity, his work as a corrective technique and punishment attempted to repair the damages that prisoners had inflicted upon society.

Modern retribution

Contemporary renditions of the public prison have followed this path set down by eighteenth-century models and exemplars. The growing proximity between the buildings constructed of this period and the literary criticism that covered their expanding influence in France defined the Parisian intellectual public sphere, which challenged many preconceived notions of criminal deviance. Uniquely, public opinions only reinforced ongoing attempts to reform French prisons and their living conditions. Many of the scholarly and journalistic reactions generated by Gisors' design tried to recast the public prison not as an instrument of modern retribution but as a repeated echo of literary endeavors that encouraged more decent treatment of all human beings, including convicts, felons, and thieves.

[17] Cesare Beccaria, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments*, translated by E.D. Ingraham (Philadelphia: H. Nicklin, 1819[1764]), 104-105.

Building a National Identity: The Representation of Estado Novo during the Exposicao do Mundo Portugues 1940 Annarita Gori, University of Lisbon

In 1940, while in the rest of Europe was enraging World War II, Portugal hosted its biggest national exposition: the Exposição do Mundo Português. On this occasion Portugal celebrated the 800th anniversary of its foundation (1140), the 300th anniversary of its regained independence from Spain (1640), wanted to propose 1940 as date of the renewed renaissance, and its dictator Salazar as creator of this new period of recovery.

The paper that I'd like to present revolves around three key topics. The first deals with the singularity of Exposição do Mundo Português, designed and conceived as a historical exhibition and not, as usually happened in the panorama of expo, as an industrial, as one of commercial or colonial nature; the second aims at investigating how the History, through the use of ephemeral architecture, has been used to build a sense of belonging to the nation and to the Estado Novo in an ongoing cross referring of "past and present": in fact, symbols and rituals of Portuguese history were at the center of a re-"invention of tradition" that sometimes was not fully understood by the population. Finally, the paper attempts to explain the uniqueness of propaganda of Salazar Regime at the 1940 Expo in a period in which the country still looked to the forms of fascist propaganda in other countries, namely Italy, but it was already in a phase of detachment from it and consolidation of its own path to fascism and national belonging.

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In 1940, while World War II was occupying the rest of Europe, Portugal hosted its biggest national exhibition: the *Exposição do Mundo Português* (EMP). On this occasion, Portugal celebrated the 800th anniversary of its foundation and the 300th anniversary of its regained independence from Spain. It also intended to propose 1940 as the date of its renaissance and its dictator, Salazar, as creator of this new period of recovery.

The particular features of EMP allow us to better understand Estado Novo propaganda and the strategies used by the regime to build a common national identity.

Firstly, the heart of EMP was a historical exhibition. For this reason, analysis this section enables us to investigate how history, through the use of ephemeral architecture, was used to build a sense of belonging to the nation and to the regime in an ongoing cross-referencing of past and present[1].

[1] Augusto De Castro, *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua finalidade nacional*, (Lisboa: Edição da Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1940), 217-218.

Furthermore, the EMP allows us to analyse the uniqueness of propaganda of the Salazar regime's during the late thirties, a period in which the country still looked to forms of fascist propaganda used in other countries, namely Italy, but was already in a phase of detachment from them and redefining its own path to fascism and national sense of belonging.

Memory Policies

The public use of history to build a common national identity and a consensus is not solely a feature of fascist regimes[2]. Examples of this practice were present in Portugal from the beginning of the 19th century[3], but they grew significantly during the decades 1890-1920. In this period, some historical, social and cultural events occurred which led to the rise of Salazarism and its strong public use of history to legitimise the regime.

- the English ultimatum in 1890 that threatened politically and economically Portuguese expansion goals in Africa and, above all, undermined the colonialist supremacist image of Portugal.

- World War I – and its subsequent cult for the dead and martyrs – and the apparition of the Fatima Virgin in 1917 amplified the importance of sacredness and its use in politics[4].

- The brief First Republic (1910-1926)[5] that emphasized the appropriation of some religious features (liturgies, terms, symbols) to such a point that some historians referred to these innovations as a creation of a new "civil religion"[6].

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[2] See among others, Nicola Gallerano, *L'uso pubblico della storia*, (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 1995); Anne Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1999).

[3] Isabel Nobre Vargues, *A Aprendizagem á cidadania em Portugal (1820-1823*), (Coimbra: Minerva Editora, 1997).

[4] Emilio Gentile, Il *culto dei caduti e la sacralizzazione della politica nella Prima Guerra Mondiale*, in Sandro Barbera , Cristian Grottanelli , Alessandro Savorelli, eds., *La riscoperta del sacro tra le guerre mondiali*, (Firenze: Le Lettere 2005), 1-14; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1995); George L., Mosse, Fallen *Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1991). On the importance of Fatima see: José Barreto, Pessoa *e Fátima: A propósito dos escritos pessoanos sobre catolicismo e política*, in Jerónimo Pizarro ed., *Fernando Pessoa: O guardador de papéis*, (Alfragide: Texto Editores, 2009), 219-281.

[5] On the First Portuguese Republic see, among others: António Costa Pinto, Paulo Jorge Fernandes, eds., *A primeira República Portuguesa*, (Lisboa: Clube do Coleccionador dos Correios, 2010); Fernando Rosas, Maria Fernanda Rollo, eds., *História da primeira República português,* (Lisboa: Tinta-da-china, 2009); Maria Fernanda Rollo ed., *Atas do Congresso internacional I república e republicanismo*, (Lisboa: Assembleia da República, 2012); Catroga, F., *O Republicanismo em Portugal, da formação ao 5 de Outoubro de 1910*, (Lisboa: Notícias Editorial, 2000).

- The rise of fascisms across Europe, and its particular public use of history to legitimize themselves.

The Estado Novo, raised after the *coup d'état* of 28 May 1926[7], started working hard to redefine the national identity largely due to the creation of the propaganda ministry, the *Secretariato da Propaganda Nacional* (SPN)[8]. Its director, António Ferro, was able to involve in this project a lot of intellectuals creating an interesting blend between the promotion of the historical past and modernism. One of the most eloquent displays of this mix was the 1940 *Exposição do Mundo Português*.

Commemorate History. Commemorate Estado Novo

In 1938 a special national committee was created under the presidency of the intellectual Júlio Dantas, and was divided into several sections. Augusto de Castro was appointed as president of the historical section. Castro was the director of the daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias* and former Portuguese ambassador in Rome during the early thirties, a period in which he was able to see the fascist propaganda firsthand.

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[6] Fernando Catroga, *Entre deuses et Césares,* (Almedina: Lisboa, 2009); Ernesto Castro Leal, 'República portuguesa, secularização e novos símbolos (1910-1926)', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Porto – História*, III Série, vol. 11, 2010, 121-134.

[7] The debate about the nature of the Estado Novo and its inclusion into the fascism or authoritarian regimes started during the eighties. In particular two congress organized by the University of Lisbon are considered as the first approach to the theme: *O Fascismo em Portugal, Actas do Coloquio realizado na Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa em Março de 1980*, (Lisboa: A Regra do Jogo, 1982); *O Estado Novo das origens ao fim de autarcia 1926-1959*, (Lisboa: Fragmentos, 1987). The debate has been continued along the nineties and is still on progress; for a first approach to the different positions see among others: António Costa Pinto, *Os camisas Azuis. Ideologia, elites e movimentos fascistas em Portugal, 1914-1945*, (Lisboa: Estampa, 1994) (eng. edition: *The Blue Shirt: Portuguese fascists and the new state*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Fernando Rosas, José Maria Brandão De Brito, eds., *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo*, (Lisboa: Beitrand, 1996); Fernando Rosas, 'O salazarismo e o homem novo: ensaio sobre o Estado Novo e a questão do totalitarismo', *Análise Social*, vol. XXXV (157), 2001, 1031-1054; Luís Reis Torgal, e Heloísa Paulo, *Estados autoritários e totalitários e suas representações*, (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade), 2008; Costa Pinto, A., *The nature of fascism revisitated*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2012.For the international debate see, among others: Stanley Payne, *Fascisms. Comparison and definitions*, (London: Winsconsin University Press, 1980); Roger Griffin, *The nature of fascisms*¸ (London: Routledge, 1991); Enzo Collotti, *Fascismo, fascismi,* (Milano: Sansoni, 2004); Emilio Gentile, *Fascismo. Storia e interpretazione*, (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2002); Goffredo Adinolfi, *Ai confini del fascismo. Propaganda e consenso nel Portogallo Salazarista (1932-1944)*, (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2007). For a comparative approach: António Costa Pinto Costa Pinto, Aristotle Kallis, *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorship in Europe*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Manuel Loff, *O nosso seculo é fascista*, (Lisboa: Campos das Letras, 2008).

[8] António Ferro published four articles on the daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias* in which exposed the new cultural politics (*política do espírito*), the importance of propaganda and the role of intellecutals in the Estado Novo*: Política do Espírito*, (21 Nov. 1932); *O ditador e a multidão* (31 Oct. 1932), *Vida* (7 May 1932), *Falta um realizador* (14 May 1932).

The Belém suburb, was chosen as the exhibition site. This was an obvious tribute to the Portuguese empire and the age of discoveries: the entire area, in fact, enshrined the values of faith, empire, Latin lineage and openness to the world[9]. Belém was also a good choice for the dictatorship's propaganda: in the years before the exhibition, the area had become dilapidated deteriorated and the recovery of the river banks was largely publicized in the official magazine and newspapers. The Belém recovery was inserted into the largest national programme which aimed to renovate the historical and architectural heritage. The propaganda's intention was clear: the Estado Novo took care of its historical heritage, saved it from the decay, and brought it back to the former magnificence that it deserved.

The strong link between past and present, and future, the importance of the cultural concepts of *saudade* (the nostalgia for a mythical past) and *sebastianismo* (the hope and desire to bring back and revive the magnificence of the past) were the bases on which the EMP was planned.[10] For this reason the Belém exhibition represents a countertrend in respect to the most parts of exhibitions held between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in Europe and in the USA. Along with some exhibitions organized by parties, such as the *Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista* (Rome 1932) or the *Exibição do ano X* (Lisbon 1936), or some pavilions present at Paris *Exposition Universelle* (1937) and at New York World's Fair (1939), in which propaganda and the public use of history played a determinant role, the EMP is one of the few example of exhibition in which the commercial activities were relegated to the background and the main focus was on the country's history.[11]

The first EMP's pavilion was the one dedicated to the nation foundation designed by the architect Rodrigues Lima in collaboration with the historian Pastor de Machedo. The building was a tribute to medieval Portuguese history. The façade was inspired by the cathedral and castle of Lisbon. The main room held a scale model of that of Guimarães (the first castle built in the

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[9] António Ferro in a report to Salazar explained the importance of the monastery in the general plan of exhibition: 'the exhibition should be plan in the plots between Junquéria and Belém, making sure that the perspective on the Monasteiro dos Jerónimos might not damaged', ANTT/AOS/CO/PC-22, pt.1.

[10] Miguel Esteves Cardoso has defined "Portuguese contradiction" the relation beetween *saudade* and *sebastianismo* in '*Misticismo e ideologia no contexto cultural português: a saudade, o sebastianismo e o integralismo lusitano'*, A*nálise Social*, vol. XVIII (72-73-74), 1982, 1399-1408. On the importance of *saudade* in the portuguese politic see also Cecília Barreira, C., 'Três nótulas sobre o integralismo lusitano (evolução, descontinuidade, ideologia, nas paginas da "Nação Portuguesa, 1914-1926)', *Análise Social*, vol. XVIII (72-73-74), 1982, 1421-29 and Afonso Botelho, *Da saudade ao saudosismo*, (Lisboa :ICALP, 1990).

[11] On this theme António Ferro wrote: 'the EMP commemoration's dates have an important significance. …1140 explains 1640, as well 1640 prepares 1940. These three dates represent three sacred years of our history: the birth, the renascence, and the glorious resurgence!'. Ferro, A., 'Carta aberta aos portugueses de 1940', *Diário de Notícias*, 17 Jun. 1938. The idea of a historical commemoration of these three dates was already proposed by Agostinho do Campo at the end of twenties ('1140-1640-1940', *Diário de Noticias*, 20 Feb. 1929).

country, considered the genesis of Portugal as an independent nation)[12] and hosted the Dom Afonso Henriques – the founding king" - big statue sculpted by Maximiliano Alves and the king's original sword.[13] The foundation pavilion was situated on the right of the railway tracks and it was connected to the other part of the historical exhibition by the foundation door. The structure was designed by the architect José Ângelo Cottinelli Telmo as an aesthetic solution to cover the flyover and insert a dynamic element among the pavilions. This footbridge, that maintained a reference to the medieval era by use of the four warriors used to cover the supporting pillars, connected the two parts of historical section, and also represented the idea of the flow of time due to a big inscription on its parapets: 1140-1640-1940.[14]

The second pavilion designed again by Lima-Machedo was dedicated to the nation's construction and its conquests. The main theme of this pavilion was: 'the importance of the Church during the building, conquest and strengthening of the nation'.[15] In the main room was represented the myth of the Battle of Ourique.[16] According to legend, during this battle some angels saved Dom Afonso Henrique's life and helped him when he was fighting against the infidels and protecting the nation. The pavilion inner was a glorification 'of faith and religiosity, thanks to the presence of angels, priests and a big cross accompanied by the legend "Portugal has always been Christian"'.[17]

The following pavilion, also planned by Lima and Machedo, was dedicated to the independence period and represented some of the most important phases of Portuguese history during the long period between the kingdom of Dom João I and the Peninsular War.[18] This choice to restrict a long period of Portuguese history in a single pavilion was disapproved of by the art critics thaht

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[12] Fernando De Pamplona., 'Uma obra de arte: A exposição do Mundo Português', *Ocidente*, vol. XI, Nov. 1940, 166.
[13] Cavalheiro, 'O pavilhão da Fundação', *Ocidente*, vol. VIII, Feb. 1940, 440.
[14] The project presented by Cottinelli Telmo was preferred to the more modernist designed by Cassiano Branco (Margarida Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo. 1934-1940*, (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte,1998), 140. See also Id., *Os anos 40 em portugal,* Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Junho de 1991). The idea to build a door dedicated to the foundation of Portugal was proposed in an anonymous project presented during the planning phase for the 1940 exhibition and the recovery of the city. The proposal aims to build an arch inspired to a medieval castle at the end of the Avenida da Liberdade in front of Eduardo VII's Park. The monument would have to demonstrate that 'it was under the blessing of Cross that Portuguese have found their own nation, conquest their independency, discovered their empire' (ANTT- AOS- PC-22 cx 525).

[15] Cfr. Cavalheiro, *O pavilhão da Conquista*, 113.

[16] De Pamplona, O*bra*, 167.

[17] Andrade Dias do Nascimento, *Brazil*, 135.
[18] The rooms in the pavilion were: room of Dom João I, room of Battle of Aljubarrota, room of Túmolo, room of Dona Felipa de Vilhena, room of 1640, room of Dom João IV and room of Peninsuar war.

questionated 'this three centuries long somersault'.[19] Beyond the artistic choices it is possible to see a clear decision made by the organizing committee to highlight some parts of Portuguese history to the detriment of the events' linearity and the architectonic and artistic homogeneity. The selection of the elements stand out in this big patriotic lesson, made depending on their functionality in a narrative that aimed at glorifying the nation and emphasizing the new regime. For this reason, the absence of some "dark periods", such as the Spanish domination before the restoration war in 1640 and the 1910-1926 republican period, does not seem strange.

The last pavilion of the historical section was planned by the architects Pardal Monteiro and Cottinelli Telmo, in collaboration with the historian Quirino da Fonseca, and was designed to commemorate the historical saga of discoveries.[20] The pavilion, was internally divided into two themed sections: the first one was dedicated to the great protagonists of the discovery period; the second presented the legends of the sea via a dreamlike scene. The connection between these two parts, between history and mythology, was the Luís de Camões'masterpiece *Os Lusíades* that was displayed in a "shrine". The main room of the first part was dedicated entirely to Infante Dom Henriques, who played a pivotal role in the Belém exhibition and in Estado Novo propaganda. For example, in 1932, António Ferro, drew a parallel between the Infante and Salazar[21]: Infante spent his life spreading the Portuguese soul around the world through civilizing and Christianising actions; Salazar brought back the ancient magnificence, fighting the threats to traditional and Western Christian society. These affinities enabled the Estado Novo to commemorate one of the most important figures of Portuguese history, and, consequently, to emphasize Salazar and the dictatorship.[22]

The oneiric atmosphere that characterized the Pavilion of Discoveries was also present in the discovery sphere designed by Pardal Monteiro and Cottinelli Telmo. The building was a big

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[19] De Pamplona, *Obra*, 168.

[20] Pardal Monteiro and Cottinelli Telmo designed a considerable part of the "new" modernist buildings built during the '30 and '40 in Portugal such as Instituto Técnico, Railway station of Cais de Sodré (Pardal Monteiro), Estação do Sul e Sueste, Lisboa and the general plan for the Cidade Universitária of Coimbra (Cottinelli Telmo). Cottinelli Telmo was a multifaceted intellectual: film maker, journalist and cartoonist, see José Augusto França, *A arte e a sociedade portuguesa no século XX*, (Lisboa: Bertrand, 1974), and Id., *História da Arte em Portugal: o Modernismo*. (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2004); João Paulo do Rosario Martins,. *Cottinelli Telmo, 1897-1848: a obra do arquiteto*, Lisboa, MA thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1995; Fernandes, J. M., *Português Suave: Arquiteturas do Estado Novo*, (Lisboa: IPPAR, Departamento de Estudos, 2003).

[21] '[Salazar] looks like the Infante for his tenacity, his mysticism, his self-confidence'. (Ferro, A., 'Salazar o homem e a sua obra', *Diário de Noticias*, 23 Dec. 1932. The interviews were after collected in an homonymous book and edited by Empresa Nacional de Publicidade in 1935. In the following years the book was translated in Italian, French, English, Spanish, Polish.

[22] Pedro Vieira de Almeida wrote 'Salazar recognizes himself in the legendary figure of the Infante. … Both were ambitious although Spartans, both were implacable'. Pedro Vieira de Almeida, *A arquitectura no Estado Novo. Uma leitura critica*, (Lisboa: Horizonte, , 2002), 46.

dome enclosed by a low relief with zodiac signs. Inside the dome was an Earth globe in which the discovery routes were reproduced using some luminous trails. Magazines described the final effect as dreamy and surreal.[23] Pardal Monteiro and Cottinelli Telmo used modern propaganda methods and a "theatrical" setting to lead the visitor to the most poignant point of the historical exhibition.

The age of discoveries was also the inspiration for the monument that would be became the symbol of the entire EMP: the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos.* Designed by Cottinelli Telmo and sculpted by Leopoldo de Almeida, the monument enshrined symbols and values of the discoveries: the caravel, the sails with the emblem of Dom João I, and the giant "sword-cross" that clearly symbolized the link between nation's greatness and the Christian faith. Furthermore, the name of the monument was a tribute to one of the empire's most important symbol of discoveries, the *padrão,* a particular type of column that Portuguese explorers erected in new lands to mark their belonging to the nation.[24] The monument was a sort of "family album": on the sides, Leopoldo de Almeida sculpted the 15 main protagonists of the Portuguese age of discoveries: kings, sailors, warriors, missionaries, but also scientists, cartographers, and the poet Luís de Camões. The statue of Infante Dom Henrique stood on the bow of this symbolic caravel.

The historical section ended with the discovery pavilion, omitting the last axes of the historical path: 1940. In effect, António Ferro had planned a 'big Estado Novo exhibition, however, due to budget cuts Ferro's project was scaled back. Instead a specific pavilion dedicated to Estado Novo was only designed a particular room, called *Portugal 1940.* This room, that was positioned in the south wing of the pavilion dedicated to the Portuguese diaspora (*Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo*), completely reflected the memory policy of the *Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional*. The set-up was a tribute to the Estado Novo and was realized with some artistic and propaganda techniques already used for the first historical Salazarist exhibition held in Lisbon in 1934. In the room the different features of Portuguese society before and after the 1926 *coup d'etat* were displayed. Due to this comparison, visitors could see directly the crucial role of the new regime in the national renaissance. Once more, Ferro used a mix of traditional and modern techniques. He juxtaposed the statues of Carmona and Salazar made by the artist Francisco Franco and graphic and photo-collage representing the "extraordinary" works carried out by the Estado Novo. He also used some theatrical tricks, such

[23] De Pamplona, *Obra*, 169-170.

[24] The idea to use the *padrão* as an homage to the Portuguese empire was proposed several times during the months before the EPM. For example, Vitor Ventura Ferreira, after that he made a complete list of this kind of columns around the world, proposed to recovery these ones damaged and to erect some new ones in these countries where were destroyed or never built. The proposal contained also the suggestion to plan in Belém a big garden with a spherical map in which should have been indicated all the columns erected in the world. Planificação da fixação de padrões alusivo aos Descobrimentos Portugueses, ANTT/AOS/CO/PC-22, pt. 10.

as the big ramp similar to a proscenium that symbolized a ship's bow into which visitors must walk in order to see, at a glance, all the illustrations that showed all the 'conquests of the Estado Novo'.[25] The particular lighting and the almost obsessive repetition of the national anthem and political organization songs created an empathetic atmosphere and a strong link between the Nation and the regime.

In conclusion, even though a specific pavilion was not built for the history of Estado Novo, the figure of Salazar discreetly lingered over the exhibition for the entire period. This choice seems to reflect the Portuguese dictator's character as shy and distant compared to the physical presence of Mussolini or Hitler.[26]

Conclusion. Too complex a means of propaganda?

The EMP officially closed on 1st December. The ephemeral pavilions built on the Tagus were demolished.

With the end of the commemorations, many Portuguese intellectuals started to reflect on the propaganda's forcefulness and the capability of dictatorship to instil a sincere patriotism largely shared by the people. The major criticism was related to the low turnout and to the lack of emotional engagement despite the efforts to promote the «City of History» in Belém.[27] Critics, in fact, admitted that the EMP was widely publicized – mostly via mentions in newspapers and the special visits promoted by the municipalities – but they also stressed a gap between the official propaganda and effective population feedback. The causes of this discrepancy were pinpointed both in some organizational failures – such as poor quality of official guide or a chaos in public transport– and in the nature of the EMP itself. Jorge Machedo[28] harshly criticized the lack of a specific patriotic educational awareness that could have involved the working class population. For other intellectuals the spectacular effect of the pavilions at the expense of clarity and immediacy of the patriotic concepts at their basis were disapproved.[29]

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[25] M. Acciaiuoli, *Exposições,* 182.

[26] Jesus da Costa Pinto, T., *Exposição,* 9.

[27] *Declarações do senhor Dr. Augusto De Castro comissário geral da exposição,* in *Revista dos Centenários*, Feb.-Mar.1939, 2, 6.

[28] Machedo, J., '*A História na Exposição de Belém', O Diabo*, 14 Dec. 1940.

[29] *A Voz*, 3 Aug. 1940; *Novidades*, 26 Aug.1940. On a particular satirical litterature about the exhibitions see: Acciaiuoli, *Exposições,* 202-203 e João, *Memória,* 368

It is possible, therefore, to define the EMP as an exhibition that conveyed multiple meanings: an immediate one based on the architecture prominence, the light games, the ephemeral set design; and another more complex one that, through the historical representation and the allegories, invited visitors to reflect on Portuguese history and its importance for the world of tomorrow. Augusto De Castro has been described many time "the silent and almost fervent reflection" and the "instinctive respect" of the audience while was visiting the exhibitions.[30] It's seems that the historical exhibition planned by Castro was more similar to a secular temple in which the working class part of the population risked not understanding the main propaganda due to the many allegories, information, metaphors. It could be said that the historical exhibition provoked a general interest and amazement in Portuguese society that many flocked to it; what the critics and the historians have pointed out is that it was not the emotional involvement or the patriotic feeling of the people, but the poor perceptibility of the deep meaning of the exhibition. Basically, the EMP was criticized because it intentionally had an evocative rather than didactic meaning. Despite great diligence and many artistic results, the exhibitions did not have much success in the area of patriotic pedagogy and its 'architecture, globally well produced if we take into account the propagandistic regime proposals, did not fully reach its goals due to some gaps in the communicative process'.[31] In conclusion, what emerges from analysis of the EMP, in particular from its historical session, it is not a lack of patriotic feeling among Portuguese people, but a deep complexity in the public use of history. The regime's propaganda used the country's past on many occasions and in many ways; a basic one that was employed in the historical parade and in the popular festivities, often blended with the religious tradition (such us on the occasion of the St Anthony holiday in June)[32]; and an elitist one used in the historical exhibition that was fully understood, largely by the more cultured part of Portuguese society

[30] Vieira de Almeida, *Arquitetura*, 101.
[31] João, *Memoria,* 370.
[32] Vera Alves, *Arte popular e nação no Estado Novo. A Política Folclorista do Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*, (Lisboa: ICS, 2014).

‘The most architectural slums in Europe’: Patrick Abercrombie’s Dublin

Brian Ward, Dublin Institute of Technology/University College Dublin

Patrick Abercrombie had established himself as a leading thinker and propagandist within town planning prior to his winning of the 1914 Dublin Town Planning competition. The editor of Town Planning Review, he had recently become the Professor of Civic Design in Liverpool University. However his success was important in consolidating his career as a practitioner. Within his winning entry the spatial implications of ideas being developed in the Liverpool School were overlaid onto an existing city that also helped to form those ideas. At the vanguard of a stylistic shift in British architecture away from medievalism and towards the classical tradition, the Liverpool School had contributed to a renewed interest in the Georgian heritage of Dublin. Through study trips and the publication of survey drawings, the city was appropriated into the School’s enterprise of promulgating the classical language as the idiom of modern architecture and town planning.

This synergy results in a competition entry, Dublin of the Future, which often looks simultaneously to the past and the future. Abercrombie proposed Dublin’s Georgian architecture as an exemplar in his attempt to construct a modern town planning distinct from the Arts and Crafts-inspired approach that had typified much of British town planning in the first decade of the twentieth century. This paper compares the approach to planning being developed by Abercrombie with that proposed by a figure closely associated with the Arts and Crafts movement, CR Ashbee, whose entry into the competition achieved a commendation. In doing so it highlights how, during a time when Dublin was hyper-politicised as a city, its classical architecture was sequestered into the promotion of town planning as a discipline abstracted from social, cultural and political issues.

ROUNDTABLE: **What is Europe?** Mark Crinson, University of Manchester

The emergence of new, European-wide architectural history groupings like EAHN and ABE Journal (Architecture Beyond Europe) encourage us to think more about the entity – Europe - that underpins them and the way it functions in our discipline. These new groupings and journals may enliven debates about how strongly that entity, whether geographical (Europe as continent) or conceptual (Europe as idea), might be played up as a core element of our work and what the consequences of such moves might be. The potential for Europe to act as either a bulwark against encroachment (in disciplinary terms, a definition of limits) or as a means towards colonization (a license to take in wider areas), will no doubt also loom large. Definitional tightness and definitional looseness both have their problems, while Europe as idea and Europe as geographical referent may not be so easily separated.

Nations and regions, rather than continents, have tended to be used as frameworks in architectural history. Where 'European architecture' framed historical studies it was often a synonym for the classical tradition or for Christian architecture. Perhaps, similarly, in foregrounding Europe again as entity, there may be more than an undertow of the European Union, the sense of an intellectual phenomenon opportunistically emerging alongside contemporary political and economic phenomena.

Thus we might want to reconsider that poorly theorized term 'Eurocentrism' in architectural terms. Might it now be regarded as a local example of a wider cultural phenomenon, or is there really something uniquely European about its centricity? And, in either case, how have the practices and experiences of architecture contributed?

There are many all-too familiar accounts in which European architecture, like European empires, spread by influence or imposition like either a beam of light or a stain across the world. But what happens to 'Europe' during the various phases and forms of that spreading? The edges of the phenomenon may be where its characteristics are most sharply defined and most blurred; it is there that non-European agents claim the phenomenon as their own; there that motley and trans-cultural forms question what was taken for granted; but there, too, that what is universal may come into sharper clarity. Where does European architecture stop beyond Europe?

The Buddha's Europe (or should it be Europe's Buddha?) How 'Europe' Was Transformed through the Study of Buddhist Architecture Vimalin Rujivacharakul, University of Delaware

Thanks to Edward Said and ensuing generations of postcolonial writers, it is now commonplace knowledge that Europe's modern identity was formed through a dialectical negotiation with the constructed Orient. What we are less aware of is that such a dialectical negotiation is highly fluid. Any change on one side always determines an adjustment of the other. 'Europe' therefore can never exist as a fixed, permanently identified self, for the Oriental construct always changes according to subjective interpretations. And whenever Europe's selfhood is transformed, its dialectical other must also change in tandem. Thus, between Europe and its Oriental other, there is always perpetual tension instigated by change and reform.

In order to examine mutual transformation of the European self and Oriental other, this position paper probes the formation of the history of Buddhist architecture. It examines ways in which the concept of 'Europe' and 'Buddhist' architectural aesthetics concurrently reformed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century owing to growing enthusiasm about Buddhist art and architecture. Close readings of that period's materials, both in architectural history and museum practices, show multilayered circulations of knowledge—ones that proliferated trans-disciplinary connections between the Vienna school of thought and Buddhist Indology-Sinology, Formalism and Greco-Buddhist art history, as well as between archaeology in Asia Minor and that in Afghanistan and India. With discussions involving James Fergusson, Josef Stryskowski, and Alfred Foucher, as well as Itō Chūta and Adanda Coomaraswamy, this paper brings to the fore the perpetual correlation between modern interpretations of the architecture of Europe and those of Buddhist monuments.

Architecture, Migration, and Spaces of Exception in Europe Itohan Osayimwese, Brown University

What is Europe at this moment of transformation of its body politic by the largest influx of migrants in recent memory? How do we conceptualize European architecture in this crisis? Over the past two years, a long-simmering problem with irregular migration to Europe has boiled over as a result of political and economic instability in the Middle East and North and West Africa. The ensuing surge of migrants has been interpreted variously as an attack on European civilization, on individual national identities, and on the economic security of Europeans. In response, European states have developed carceral regimes based on what Giorgio Agamben has described as the

state of exception—the expansion of military authority into the civic sphere and suspension of laws protecting individual liberties (Agamben 2005).

The architecture community has generally been silent about these developments. Yet irregular migration and the current Mediterranean crisis are imbricated with architecture on several levels: 1) they concern a clash between the anachronistic, territorially-defined order of nation- states and the creeping new configurations of the 'political community to come' (Agamben 1995), and 2) a wide variety of spaces and designed and built structures—from the open sea to people-smuggling boats, potato fields fenced in barbed wire, and asylum shelters built in shipping containers—are indispensible to the new carceral regimes.

My position is that we must redefine and study European architectures in this context. Questions to be discussed include: How does this present relate to the past? What is the role of the historian and theorist? How do architects design for or against states of exception? I will discuss these questions with reference to the history of migration and multiculturalism in Germany, the rise of the far right, and the German state's recent about-face regarding 'immigrant politics' and its current task of accommodating immigrants.

Provincializing colonial architecture: European architecture seen from modern Egypt Mercedes Volait, Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris

Seemingly-European architecture, whether French Art déco apartment buildings, Bauhaus-style villas or steel-frame construction, in extra-European settings is commonly attributed to colonial agency, and consequently categorized as extra-territorial expressions of metropolitan architecture, i.e. French architecture in Algeria or Italian architecture in Libya. The Egyptian prism invites us to reverse the lens and consider a broader understanding of the mediation and domestication of architecture from Europe outside its original soil. Afrangi [Frankish] or alla franca architecture reached Egypt in the 19th century from several routes, be it imperial Ottoman channels or Mitteleuropean migration. Autochthonous representations of Egypt as being part of Europe had endurance. From the 1900s onward, Egyptian architects were increasingly educated in Europe and brought back home what they learned and saw while in Liverpool, Paris or Zurich. They joined regional or international professional networks and were equally exposed to Brazilian modernism through architectural journals in Arabic such as al-Emara [Architecture, published 1939-1959]. The architectural outcome was selective borrowing mixed with local constraints, provided by patrons' requirements or available techniques or materials, may be not 'pure' European architecture, rarely avant-garde but in most instances a middling modernism not that

different from what was being ordinarily built in the continent. Somehow, the best way to apprehend the imprint of Europe on Egyptian architecture is when it faded away after WW2 due to Americanism and later, Sovietism. Looking at Europe from outside and in global perspective might add another layer to our understanding of what is Europe.

Europe: Post-coffee house, post-museum, into the unknown Jorge Figueira, University of Coimbra

George Steiner wonderfully defines Europe as being 'made of coffee houses, of cafés.' From Fernando Pessoa's favourite café in Lisbon to the coffee houses of Odessa, Copenhagen, or Palermo (but neither in Moscow nor in England), 'the café', in Steiner's view 'is a place for assignation and conspiracy, for intellectual debate and gossip.' At the end of the 20th century, however, the museum is the place that redefines Europe in a post-modern, reflexive, popular, mediated way, supplanting the avant-garde and volatile features of the café. From the Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art in Helsinki, designed by Steven Holl or the Serralves Museum in Porto by Álvaro Siza to thousands of institutions large and small across Europe, the museum space has overtaken and absorbed the café space, thus placing all the artistic forms of Europe's long history into perspective.

My point is that what defines Europe today, more than the café as a saturated, agile, infernal space, and the museum as a refined, heavy and institutional space, it is the movement, without 'architecture', of the masses. Be it in the form of tourism or in the form of migrations in their wide range of expressions. We are thus going from an identity established in buildings and stable structures, either informal or institutionalized, to spaces of mobility that are unstable and can only be read through statistics, diagrams, and flows.

The contemporary definition of Europe, following the intellectual debate of the cafés and their institutionalization in museums, has now taken on a spatial dimension that either has no architecture or is defined as an architecture of the souvenir (in tourism) or of despair (in the migrations).

Europe, Le Corbusier and the Balkans Mirjana Lozanovska, Deakin University

The Balkans has been constructed, indeed mythologized as the barbaric outpost of Europe, and the term has become an adjective and a verb, a decontextualised synonym for backward, tribal, and un-civilized. The perception of the Balkans as the 'non-European part of Europe' exploits the

edge location against a Europe inscribed as centre of civilization, even if it is geographically part of Europe. Such sentiments have erupted again with the tragedy of Yugoslavia generalized by the West as a Balkan problem. Todorova's seminal publication, Imagining the Balkans, dismantles this and points to differences between Balkanism and Orientalism. One key knot is the role of the Ottoman Empire and its departure from the Balkans (and Europe).

This paper addresses this issue from the perspective of Le Corbusier's so-called 'reversed' travel east to Istanbul, rather than to Rome, the grand tour destination. In 1911, one year prior to the 1912-13 Balkan Wars, the architect departed from modern twentieth-century Europe and finished at the Acropolis, its origin; but in between Le Corbusier travelled inland through the Balkans. By highlighting the Oriel principle (Istanbul) and the Parthenon, and only minimally engaging the inland Balkan journey, architectural discourse illustrates the imaginary boundaries of European interest and desire. Yet Le Corbusier's letters as transcribed in Voyage d'Orient (1966; Journey to the East, 2007) reveal a charged and erotic language. He was taken by Slavic peasant pottery and purchased several items in villages between Belgrade and Trnovo. But he also felt disappointment and disgust towards the Balkans, especially the cities like Belgrade and Bucharest. His criticism of Europe, at times describing it as the real 'savage' evolves a reflexive attitude to the question 'What is Europe?'. Le Corbusier's journey of self and otherness provides an intertextuality of the sense in which the Balkans is [not] European.

Tours EAHN Dublin 2016

June 1

Walking Tour, Myles Campbell, Dublin Castle

June 2

Christ Church Cathedral: **Roger Stalley, Trinity College Dublin**

George Edmund Street considered the restoration of Dublin's Christ Church, conducted between 1871 and 1878, as one of his greatest achievements. He sought to re-instate the building as it might have been around 1250. While ancient parts of the building were carefully preserved, later accretions were systematically removed. Street took control of all aspects of the restoration – incluing the design of fittings and furnishings, as well as the floor tiles. Not the least of his achievements was the audacious engineering that underpinned the medieval fabric. The restoration provoked acid criticism from Dubliners, but the fact remains that he effectively saved one of the city's most ancient buildings. Although Street's status as a restorer remains somewhat ambivalent, Christ Church provides telling examples of the difficulties that confronted Victorian architects, involving issues that are still pertinent today.

While the tour will focus on the architecture of the building, there will be opportunities to look at Street's furnishings, as well as the stained glass. By the end of the visit we should be in a position to judge whether Street's critics were right or wrong!

Dublin Castle: Con Manning, Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht

Much of what survives of the medieval castle of Dublin is below street level. Its layout however dictated the plan of the seventeenth to nineteenth century buildings. At the heart of government

until the foundation of the state in 1921, the architecture of the upper and lower yards of the castle was in a continuous dialogue with the city during those crucial centuries.

The seventeenth century saw some building within the upper castle yard and Lord Deputy Wentworth consolidated the grounds that would become the core of the lower castle yard as well as a stable block. A devastating fire in April 1684 might have been the impetus for a radical re-imagining of the castle, the fact however that many of the core medieval functions – parliament, council chambers, and four courts – were moved outside the castle following the conflagration, meant a more protracted re-building campaign from the 1680s to the 1760s. In many cases the surveyors general work at the castle responded to rather than initiated an architectural dialogue with the city. Nevertheless the set pieces – the enfilade of state apartments following the precedent of English palaces, St Patrick's Hall (formerly the Ballroom), the swagger of the Bedford Tower and entrance gates, the rebuilt Bermingham Tower – are an essential part of Irish architectural theatre. Johnston's Chapel Royal in the Lower Castle Yard was truly innovative and widely imitated until superseded mid-century by Pugin's demands for authenticity in materials. The castle perimeter pervious to some extent to the city was gradually isolated in the early nineteenth century following the 1798 and 1803 rebellions, the more ambitious schemes for a radial entrance to the lower castle yard and wide streets to the west and south were never achieved. At the centre of the British administration in Ireland for seven centuries, in 1922 it was 'quietly handed over to eight gentlemen in three taxicabs'.

Temple Bar: Valerie Mulvin, McCullough Mulvin

Three Dublin Houses: Palladian, Rococo, and Neoclassical, Conor Lucey, Trinity College Dublin.

Extravagant plasterwork ornament is a celebrated and distinctive feature of Ireland's eighteenth-century domestic architecture. This tour explores three different examples of this decorative medium in terms of style, material and conception. We begin at 8 Henrietta Street (1730), a particularly fine specimen of the architectonic Palladian taste with columnar screens and coffered ceilings *all' antica*. Built to the designs of Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, the premier architect of early Georgian Ireland, the chaste classical decoration of its grandiose double height stair hall will form a counterpoint to the formal reception rooms of our next building, 20 Dominick Street (1758). Here we will encounter a paradigmatic example of the typical row house in Dublin: an austere, unarticulated brick envelope concealing virtuoso interiors of extraordinary plasticity and febrile

invention. An original and idiosyncratic interpretation of the continental rococo idiom – boasting fully three-dimensional Chinoiserie "ho-ho" birds and musical trophies – the stair hall here is deservedly one of the best known stuccoed interiors in the city. From Dominick Street it is a short walk to our last destination, Belvedere House in Great Denmark Street (1786), one of the foremost examples of the neoclassical decorative style in Dublin. Though dependent on the printed book for its vocabularies of form and ornament, specifically the published designs of Robert Adam, George Richardson and Michelangelo Pergolesi, these richly embroidered rooms signal the importance of adaptation as a form of invention. Taken together, they confirm the creative prowess of Dublin's eighteenth-century artisanal community.

Trinity College: Christine Casey, Trinity College Dublin.

June 3

Bank of Ireland: Edward MacParland, Trinity College Dublin

Following lunch in City Hall, this tour will process down Dame Street to the Bank of Ireland, built as the Irish Parliament.

Dame Street Banks: Mike O'Neill

Competition between joint-stock banking companies in the nineteenth century was intense and architectural prowess was part of the arsenal employed by the boards. This has resulted is some of the most impressive buildings still dominating many streetscapes of the city. The locations, eclectic architectural styles and exquisite banking hall interiors are the subject of this talk.

Most eighteenth century private banks in Ireland had a small turnover and did not use a specific building type. An exception is the very fine neo-classical Newcomen bank on Castle Street, built in 1781 by Thomas Ivory and located outside the main entrance to Dublin Castle. Following the Act of Union, the Bank of Ireland purchased the Parliament Building as a head office and accompanying banking hall. The internal changes were made by Francis Johnston and the influence of Soane's work at the Bank of England is apparent. Due to the Bank of Ireland monopoly and the delay in the introduction of joint-stock banks, it was mid-century before Johnston's monumental top-lit banking hall could be responded to by other banking companies. Bank head offices were drawn to College Green and Dame Street following the precedent set by the Bank of Ireland. These were initially built in an Italianate classical style – The National and Royal Bank and later, following the influence of Deane & Woodward's Museum Building in Trinity College Dublin, in an Italianate Gothic style – Provincial, Hibernian and Munster & Leinster. These bank headquarters were inserted into a later Georgian streetscape. Their monumentality is striking, the innovative settings are perhaps harder to capture now. The employment of industrial quantities of cast iron and glass by mid-century allowed newer solutions to top lit banking halls, again executed in exquisite detail to rival competing institutions. Branch banks were rarely as elaborately treated, nevertheless a series of branch banks built on O'Connell street in the aftermath of the 1916 rising are built with Edwardian Baroque detailing with ingenious solutions to top-lit banking halls or cash offices. Bank architecture is an integral part of the urban landscape of the capital city.

Dublin's Medieval Churches: Rachel Moss, Trinity College Dublin

City Hall and Newcomen Bank: Paul Arnold, Paul Arnold Architects

Soufflot's 1755 design for the church of St. Geneviéve in Paris found an early echo in Thomas Cooley's 1769 design for a Royal Exchange in Dublin, latterly Dublin City Hall. Many of the formal elements are shared between the two buildings, although sublimated in the Dublin project to become mannered.

Following its redundancy as an exchange hall, the building was subsequently subdivided to provide offices for the city administrators. While the City Council continues to hold formal sessions in the former coffee room overlooking Parliament Street, the remainder of the building became underused following construction of the new civic office on Wood Quay.

The conservation architect responsible for the restoration of City Hall in 2000 will outline the history of the building and the process of restoration of the main square. The exhibition of the history of city governance located in the basement of City Hall will also be of interest.

Dublin's Georgian Squares: Simon Lincoln

Iveagh Trust Complex: Nathalie de Roiste

June 4

Dublin 1916: John Cahill, Office of Public Works, & Grainne Shaffrey, Shaffrey Associates

Dublin's Georgian North City: Charles Duggan, Dublin City Council, and Melanie Hayes

Dublin's Victorian Suburbs: Susan Galavan, Griffith College

From Burgh to Pugin Alistair Rowan

Joyce's Dublin: So this is Dyoublong? Hugh Campbell, University College Dublin

James Joyce famously boasted that if Dublin were to be destroyed it could be rebuilt brick by brick from the pages of *Ulysses*. Given the paucity of conventional physical description and scene-setting in that book, the boast doesn't seem viable in any literal sense. It is also somewhat at odds with the spirit of a novel more attuned to the everyday minutae of urban life than to the enduring certainties of urban architecture.

Most of Joyce's evocations of his native city – from the short stories of *Dubliners* to the vivid dream-world of *Finnegans Wake* - were written at a spatial and temporal remove. Although *Ulysses* is exhaustively focused on Dublin, June 16th, 1904, it's last words are 'Trieste-Zurich-Paris, 1914-1921'.

All of this presents challenges for the contemporary tour guide: how can we meaningfully access the city as remembered by Joyce through the act of writing and as experienced in the minds of his wandering protagonists? Rather than promising to offer a solution, this tour will use a walk through the city in order creatively to consider this question. Using the River Liffey as a recurring register ('riverrun, past Eve and Adam's, from swerve of shore to bend of bay') we will meander through some of the routes and locations frequented by Joyce's characters, looking for coincidences, equivalencies and resonances between Dublin 1904 and Dublin 2016. By it's nature, the tour will have more to do with memory than with monuments. It will alight upon fragments and episodes. It will be fuelled by talk and punctuated by chance encounters.

June 5

Boyne Valley: Willie Cumming & Geraldine Stout, Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht,

The Boyne Valley Tour travels through the rich pastures of county Meath, and provides a physical history of the architecture of Ireland. The tour starts at the prehistoric tomb at Newgrange in Bru na Boinne World Heritage Site. What makes Newgrange so special is its sheer scale, proliferation of megalithic art and its winter solstice alignment. From Newgrange we travel to the early medieval monastic settlement of Monasterboice, which date from the 5th century. There we will see some of the tallest high crosses in Ireland, including the magnificent Muiredach's Cross. This features narrative biblical iconography from the Old and New Testament, and is arguably one of Ireland's most important contributions to the history of early Medieval art. The informality of the layout of this early medieval Irish monastery contrasts sharply with our next site, Mellifont Abbey, the first and the most influential of the continental religious houses to be built in Ireland. It is a Cistercian monastery, founded in 1142 by St Malachy of Armagh and a direct daughter-house of Clairvaux in France. The abbey became the model for other Cistercian abbeys in Ireland. One of its most elegant features is the Romanesque lavabo. Mellifont and its daughter house Bective Abbey were both converted into residences after the dissolution in the sixteenth century and represent excellent examples of this transformation from religious to secular building. Bective Abbey has been the focus of recent research excavations and the results of these excavations will be discussed at the site. The tour finishes in the medieval walled town of Trim, county Meath where we will explore Trim castle, the largest Anglo-Norman castle in Ireland. Built by Hugh De Lacy, it features a central keep set in impressive curtain walls.

Eighteenth-century Country Houses: Finola O'Kane, University College Dublin, and Conor Lucey, Trinity College Dublin.

This tour will visit some of Ireland's great country houses and their landscapes. The tour will begin at the treasure house of Russborough, Co. Wicklow. Designed by Richard Castle for the Earl of Milltown in 1741, its landscape includes important eighteenth-century canals and woodlands. Russborough also features spectacular interiors, extraordinary plasterwork and a notable collection of paintings.

We will then visit the spiral Wonderful Barn, Co. Kildare, one of Ireland's most eccentric follies. Recent archaeological excavations in the walled gardens have revealed much about

eighteenth-century estate management and gardening culture. The view from the top reveals the barn's position within Kildare's great web of avenues and prospect points.
The party will lunch at the Courtyard Cafe in Castletown House and afterwards will tour the house and landscape. Built in 1721 by Speaker William Conolly, its facade is attributed to Alesssandro Galilei with other architectural design contributions by Edward Lovett Pearce. In the mid-eighteenth century Lady Louisa Conolly began to play a role in the estate's design lending it a particularly female cast for much of her occupancy. She had her greatest design impact in the landscape and its satellite buildings, which we will also tour briefly.
Passing by the great Conolly Obelisk, another monumental Irish folly, the tour will end, time permitting, with a relaxing drink at Carton House, another Richard Castle house and arguably Ireland's greatest Brownian landscape garden.

Limerick: Judith Hill & Jan Frohburg, School of Architecture, University of Limerick

The first stop will be the University of Limerick, Ireland's third largest university. Its modern campus is centred on the River Shannon. The tour will visit the Medical School Building by Grafton Architects. This characterful building introduced a new standard of design on campus. Crossing the Living Bridge, designed by Wilkenson Eyre architects, the tour will stop at Plessey House. This late 18th-century estate is now home to the university's art collection.

Upon concluding this brief walking tour of the campus, the bus will continue on to Limerick City. It will stop at the Strand Hotel, where lunch will be available at the bar. After gaining an overview of the growth of the city from the north bank of the river, the tour will cross Sarsfield Bridge and taking in the Hunt Museum (formerly the Custom House), the Chamber of Commerce, No. 2 Pery Square, and the terraces in between, will explore the development of this mercantile Georgian new town. The tour will end at the Limerick City Gallery of Art.