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Editor's note

Besides putting together a Book of Abstracts for the conference, the Executive Committee of the EAHN 2010 decided to include a CD of Papers. This CD does not include all papers for two reasons. On the one hand, papers had to be submitted until 23 April. On the other, speakers or discussants were asked whether they would like their paper to be included or not. Therefore, only speakers or discussants who wished to see the paper included and submitted on time will see it here.

As EAHN 2010 was unable to engage in any extensive stylistic editing of manuscripts, a list of "Norms" was distributed specifying several requirements among which one can underline a few general ones:

- the main concern should be conformity to accepted scholarly usage and consistency;
- the paper must be in English, and it should be proofread by a knowledgeable native speaker or other expert before submission;
- authors are responsible for obtaining permission to reproduce copyright illustrations, paying any appropriate fee and indicating the correct phrase by which the copyright should be acknowledged;
- only four illustrations were allowed per paper.

Although all authors were asked to adhere to the "Norms", you may find differences between papers. Therefore, each author is fully responsible for his/her paper in this CD of Papers of the EAHN 2010.

Enjoy your reading!

Medieval Cistercian Architectural Heritage: From the Ideal to the Reality

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Medieval monastic heritage has inspired artists and architects to produce new works. Le Corbusier, who was inspired by his visit to the Carthusian monastery of Ema as well as the Cistercian monastery of Le Thoronet, designed the Dominican monastery of La Tourette. Similarly, the English architect John Pawson, who wrote the book *'Minimum'* (Phaidon Press, 1996), was influenced by the intensity and sense of order of the medieval Cistercian monastery of Le Thoronet in his design for the newest Cistercian monastery of Novy Dvur (Czech Republic).

This position paper aims to discuss the importance of the Cistercian legacy as well as the influence that this order had on architecture, since the beginnings in 1098, with the foundation of the Abbey of Citeaux, through to the minimalist rehabilitation in 2004 of an ancient farm in the post-communist Czech Republic to become the newest Cistercian foundation.

Monastic space is the reflex of an ideal, a vision of the world, a system of values that models all of its components. Spiritual and material orders play a decisive role in the choice of the building sites for each Cistercian monastery. The monastery is not just a paradise on earth; the places chosen by the Cistercians became also terrestrial paradises. They turned the most inhospitable and desert places into 'paradises' creating within themselves the city of God. This space was meant to conquer nature. It was a space in which man imposed an order on the community, where praying and working established a link with the Sacred. It was a space ordered according to God's will. In the case of the Cistercians, the search for God was achieved through the asceticism without any type of external solicitations to the soul. This Celestial Paradise was met through several terrestrial approaches where the form of monasteries were to be understood as small copies of the immense Celestial Jerusalem, the Paradise on Earth and City of God. *'...every worthy monastery represented a body by which life according to a Rule was first made possible, then rationalized, and finally symbolized. (...) Every good monastery strives to embody the Civitas Dei'* as Braunfels says. Within the Rule of St Benedict, fraternity, poverty and, simplicity are the key-words of the Cistercian spirituality.

St. Bernard's *'Apologia'* to Abbot William of St. Thierry was written in 1125. This tract was product of the controversy which arose between the Cistercians and the Cluniacs regarding the interpretation of the Rule of St Benedict. The aesthetics followed by the Cistercians and the aesthetics followed by the Cluniacs at that time were entirely divergent. The Cluniacs' opulence was challenged by the Cistercian's minimalism. St. Bernard of Clairvaux established a comprehensive plan for the construction of Cistercian monasteries which aimed to translate St. Benedict's Rule into architecture. His plan laid out the various territories of the monastery and shows that architectural design has consequences that go beyond aesthetics.

Going beyond the symbolic connotations, a Cistercian monastery is a functional and planned place where everything has its justification. Because it is a place of habitation of monastic men - and also of God - it is a mirror of the Celestial Jerusalem on Earth. A Cistercian monastery should be seen as an ideal city, one that is endowed with all the necessary elements of subsistence. As it is written in the Rule of St. Benedict, chapter 66: *'The monastery should if possible, be arranged that all the necessary things such as water, mill, garden, and various crafts may be within the enclosure'*. For Bernard of Clairvaux the cloister was the *'Paradisum Clausstralis.'* Being the life in the Cistercian cloister, it was not only a reflection of the ideal life, but also an image and anticipation of paradise.

Bernard of Clairvaux united the aesthetic and the religious experience, presenting Cistercian architecture as the most adapted expression to the newly reformed Order (1098). Beginning in 1150 there seems to be a rise of the *'de more nostro'* construction and disposition of the different architectonic spaces. The cloister was the epicenter of the monastic space. Three of its sides correspond to the essential functions: *'spiritus'* (church) facing north, *'anima'* (sacristy, chapter house, rooms of intellectual work) facing east, *'corpus'* (kitchen, calefactory, refectory, latrines) facing south and the fourth side of the cloister, facing west, is open to the *'converses'* (storeroom, dormitory, refectory, latrines). There is a difference of meanings and opposition between the side of the *'spiritus'* and the side of the *'corpus'* revealing the dichotomies of earth/heaven and matter/spirit.

For the Cistercians, the simplicity of lines, the purity of forms, the brightness, the light/shade are enough to allow the elevation to God. According to S. Bernard, nothing should distract the eye and the spirit from the idea of God.

Writing on another Cistercian monastery, Le Thoronet, Le Corbusier states *'...witness to the truth. Stone is man's friend; its necessary sharp edge enforces clarity of outline and roughness of surface (...). Light and shade are the loudspeakers of this architecture of truth, tranquility and strength. Nothing further could add to it'. 'Because architecture embodies ideas, reflects identity, and gives physical form and expressive meaning to values'*. (Fergusson)

The Cistercian legacy has similarly been a positive influence on modern rehabilitations, particularly the rehabilitation of the building of Novy Dvur. It is possible to distinguish ancient Cistercian monasteries and Sites, all across Europe, adapted to other functions, but always highlighting the importance of the memory of its previous uses and the character of its architecture. The Cistercian monastery, born of an ideal of monastic life, assuming the ideal of the Celestial city through a plan of unity and simplicity, was a place for man and God's habitation. Admiration for these buildings continues--the austerity of the white stones, the grandeur of the configuration and the functionality of the space. Having now been adapted to the modern times, these buildings carry out other functions, but have not stopped affirming their minimal origins.

It is, however, also possible to find examples of the misuse of this legacy. This brings to mind the necessity of maintaining the memories and the significances of the medieval Cistercian architecture heritage, either by heritage institutions of each country or by the gathering of contacts and information in organizations like the 'European Charter of Cistercian Abbeys and Sites'. The relationship between medieval Cistercian architecture and its modern actuality is deeply linked to the practice of building rehabilitation, where the actions and the strategies to be used as well as the methods and instruments applied are analyzed.

The last General Assembly of the 'European Charter of Cistercian Abbeys and Sites' occurred in the 1st of May 2009 in Alcobaça Abbey (Portugal). The president of the European Commission, Mr. José Manuel Durão Barroso, delivered an introductory speech for the opening of the general assembly, stating that *'Without doubt, in our European culture the cultural legacy of the Cistercian Order is very important. (...) The European Union also supports projects to preserve our cultural heritage. These projects help to give us a sense of belonging, identity, a sense of community: exactly the kind of ideals inspired by the Cistercians (...).'*

For building the new Cistercian Monastery of Our Lady of Novy Dvur, an estate was acquired which included a Baroque manor house, thought to be the work of the architect Kilian Dietzenhoffer (who designed St. Nicholas' Church in Prague) and three agricultural wings framing a courtyard. Pawson's scheme preserves the Baroque manor, while replacing the three agricultural wings with new construction.

Quite by chance, in 1999, the abbot of the French Monastery of Sept-Fons which was to be the mother-monastery of Novy Dvur, came across John Pawson's book 'Minimum.' In the contemporary architecture of John Pawson they recognized the ancient traces of Cistercian architecture. These images, revealed the precise, ascetic and spare architectural language of the medieval model. In the architect's introduction to 'Minimum' he states, 'To create simplicity, to reduce an artifact, an object, an artwork, or a room to its essential minimum, requires patience, effort and care.' And also refers in the same book that: 'In the medieval Cistercian order, the aspiration to define a purer, simpler form of Christianity was reflected both in the lives of the monks and in the form and character of the monasteries that they built for themselves. Cistercian monks made a virtue of poverty (...). Every Cistercian foundation was built to the same plan, and displayed exactly the same restraint in its use of materials and shapes. (...) In fact, restraint has produced some of the most beautiful works of architecture that mankind has ever achieved' It is remarkable that this was written by Pawson in 1996 only to be discovered by the Sept-Fons monks three years later and eight years before the work of a lifetime was concluded in 2004.

Like Saint Bernard, Pawson defends the statement that 'An absence of visual and functional distraction supports the goal of monastic life: concentration on God.' Pawson's aim was to remain true to the spirit of St Bernard's plan while expressing the Cistercian spirit with absolute precision in a language free from pastiche, introducing some new and distinctive vocabulary. He questioned the necessity of every element, even structure. For example, in the glass-enclosed cloister, a barrel-vaulted ceiling cantilevers toward the inner court and because there are no columns at the perimeter, an interior bench becomes a rainwater canal on the exterior, opening the walkway visually to the contemporary cloister and this has no precedent in Cistercian architectural history. For Pawson, as for the monks, it was important that Novy Dvur should reflect the simplicity of Cistercian architecture, but nonetheless be rooted in its own time. Simplicity, utility, economy: these are the principles at the heart of the Cistercian aesthetic. There is something strikingly contemporary in the desire to eliminate what is ostentatious and superfluous, to choose the simplest solutions and materials whilst making no concessions on the quality of the workmanship, to connect the dramatic qualities of natural light.

In the speech given by John Pawson at the ceremony of laying the first stone for the church at Novy Dvur on March 21, 2002 he referred: 'When I first received the commission from the monks, I knew what I wanted to achieve here at Novy Dvur. It involved going back directly to St Bernard's twelfth century architectural model for the Cistercian order, with its emphasis on the quality of light and proportion, on simple, pared down elevations and detailing. From a rigorous understanding of the essence of this original model, I was sure, would follow the perfect form for its contemporary expression. Some of the architectural vocabulary of Novy Dvur may be new, but there is a strong underlying continuity of aesthetic. The cantilevered design of the cloister, for instance, has no literal precedent in Cistercian architectural history, but is true, I believe, to the spirit of its twelfth century blueprint. (...) The combination of new and old elements has made the project more complicated, breaking the architectural unity which is normal in a monastery, but there is a nice symbolism here in the link between past and future, in the integration of religious life within a secular context.' The architecture of Our Lady of Novy Dvur is a blend of the ancient and contemporary, of the ideal and of the reality, of the spiritual and of the secular. It gives life to the newest monastery and symbolizes the changes in the region in which it stands.

Cistercian architecture is an integral part of the Cistercian spirituality, prescribing austere simplicity and the renunciation of paintings and sculpture to avoid distracting the religious from their prayers and meditation. In Pawson's architecture, the light, the simplicity, the 'minimum' are largely supported by the Cistercian ideal. It is therefore interesting to think about this and at the same time remember S. Bernard of Clairvaux in his treaty 'De la Consideratione' with a very 'architectonic' definition of God when he writes: 'What is God? He is at once the breath, and length, and depth, and height. Each of these four divine attributes is an object for your contemplation'. So we can say as well that we truly can find God in Pawson's Novy Dvur Monastery.

The Cistercian monastery of Our Lady of Novy Dvur in the Czech Republic was awarded the '*Frate Sole International Prize for Sacred Architecture*' in October 2008.

It is an ideal of monastic space based on a medieval plan was translated into a material reality. It converges an appropriation of the ideal space that embodies and changes. It remains an important memory and influence to past and present architects and without doubt a cultural landmark to mankind.

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Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly: A World Heritage Site in the Making?

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The Republic of Ireland has at present only two World Heritage Sites: Brú na Bóinne prehistoric archaeological complex (inscribed 1993), and the medieval eremitical monastic site of Skellig Michael (inscribed 1996). Of the eight sites which were on the WHS Tentative List, a political decision was made in 2008 to proceed with a submission for Clonmacnoise, an important medieval monastic complex which reached the apogee of its power and wealth in the tenth-twelfth centuries. Patronised by high kings, Clonmacnoise's significance lies in its tenth-century cathedral church, its two Hiberno-Romanesque churches and round towers, as well as its accompanying carved stone high crosses and extensive collection of inscribed tombstones of the eighth-twelfth centuries. The sharp decline into which it sank after the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169 has, fortuitously, preserved the site from later development, leaving the monumental early core intact.

Several features make this a site difficult to judge by western European architectural and artistic standards; the nature of Irish pre-Norman architectural practices (the building of a multiplicity of small, scattered churches), their ruinous condition (roofless, lacking furnishings), the fact that such examples as survive of altar vessels, manuscripts and relics are concentrated in Dublin museums, and the weathering which the crosses have suffered through a thousand years of outdoor exposure.

In considering a site like Clonmacnoise for World Heritage status, all of these particularities can be condensed down to two main problems: lack of monumentality, and poor preservation leading to issues of authenticity. In one sense, inauthenticity is visible and provable. Thus, the Nuns' Church is an undisputed Victorian reconstruction. But is this a case of later intervention damaging an otherwise perfect candidacy, or not? The church is, firstly, incredibly important to the study of the Romanesque style in Ireland because it is dated by documentary evidence.¹ Furthermore, its patron is known: Derbforgaill, daughter of the king of Meath. Not only is this a rare instance of documented female patronage in twelfth-century Ireland, but Derbforgaill is of further historical importance, as she was arguably responsible for the English invasion of Ireland due to a series of circumstances which her desertion of her husband in 1152 set in train. Thus the church is significant not merely from a stylistic point of view, but also in terms of social and political history. The carving of the jambs, capitals, and voussoirs, is also very fine, while its simple architectural planning is typical of the Hiberno-Romanesque style. In sum, it is in every respect, except its ruinous and rebuilt condition, a perfect example and indeed a gem of the style. That said, outside an Irish context, its sculpture and architecture are overshadowed by the average medieval parish church: the very lack of monumentality mentioned before. It is difficult in visual terms to argue for its place in what is, effectively, a European canon. On the one hand it arguably conforms to World Heritage criteria ii, iii, and iv; on the other, the adjectives 'unique' and 'outstanding' fit uneasily with such a modest edifice. The situation is made more complex by the UNESCO need for authenticity. How does the Victorian reconstruction of the Nuns' Church square with this need? This question is in fact more easily answered. The early interventions at Clonmacnoise in the 1860s, which were carried out by the then Kilkenny Archaeological Society, now the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, under the Rev. James Graves, were exceptional for their time. As a result of the Society's influence, these principles had a considerable impact on the treatment of medieval buildings which came into state care in the nineteenth century across what was then the entire United Kingdom. The KAS's conservation principals became, to an extent, enshrined in conservation practice throughout the British Isles, and their work at Clonmacnoise was key to this.²

¹ NÍ GHRÁDAIGH, Jenifer – "But what exactly did she give? Derbforgaill and the Nuns' Church". In KING, Heather - *Clonmacnoise Studies II*. Dublin: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2003, 175-207.

² EMERICK, Keith – "Whitby and Clonmacnoise". In KING, Heather - *Clonmacnoise Studies II*. Dublin: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2003, 209-21.

But, just as the Nuns' Church lies outside the main monastic enclosure at Clonmacnoise, so too its significance is minor in comparison with the overall meaning of the site. Temple Ciarán, the possibly ninth-century shrine chapel of the patron saint, is an Irish "copy" of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem.³ Clonmacnoise itself was conceived as a *civitas* which should draw on all the connotations of the Heavenly Jerusalem, not merely its earthly counterpart. Should it matter that it did so in a language of rubble, not ashlar? Certainly to compare the great *damliaig*, the stone church – later cathedral – of 909 with a site like Vézelay or Chartres, both inscribed on the WHS list in 1979, does beg the question. No masterpiece of human creative genius here, surely? Not even its inserted Gothic north doorway deserves this accolade,⁴ let alone its west façade, marred by the recent restoration of its doorway after an eighteenth-century engraving. And the round tower of 1124 is not the most perfect specimen of its kind. But what of the Cross of the Scriptures of 909, known by this name as early as 1058? To present a balanced and rational argument that any artwork is that most subjective of things, a "masterpiece of human creative genius" is surely impossible. But setting aside scale and durability, surely the Cross of the Scriptures has as great a claim to this as Vézelay or Chartres?

³ Ó CARRAGÁIN, Tomás – "The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Relics in Early Medieval Ireland". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 133 (2003) 130-76.

⁴ MANNING, Conleth – "Clonmacnoise Cathedral". In KING, Heather - *Clonmacnoise Studies I*. Dublin: Dúchas, 1998, 57-86.

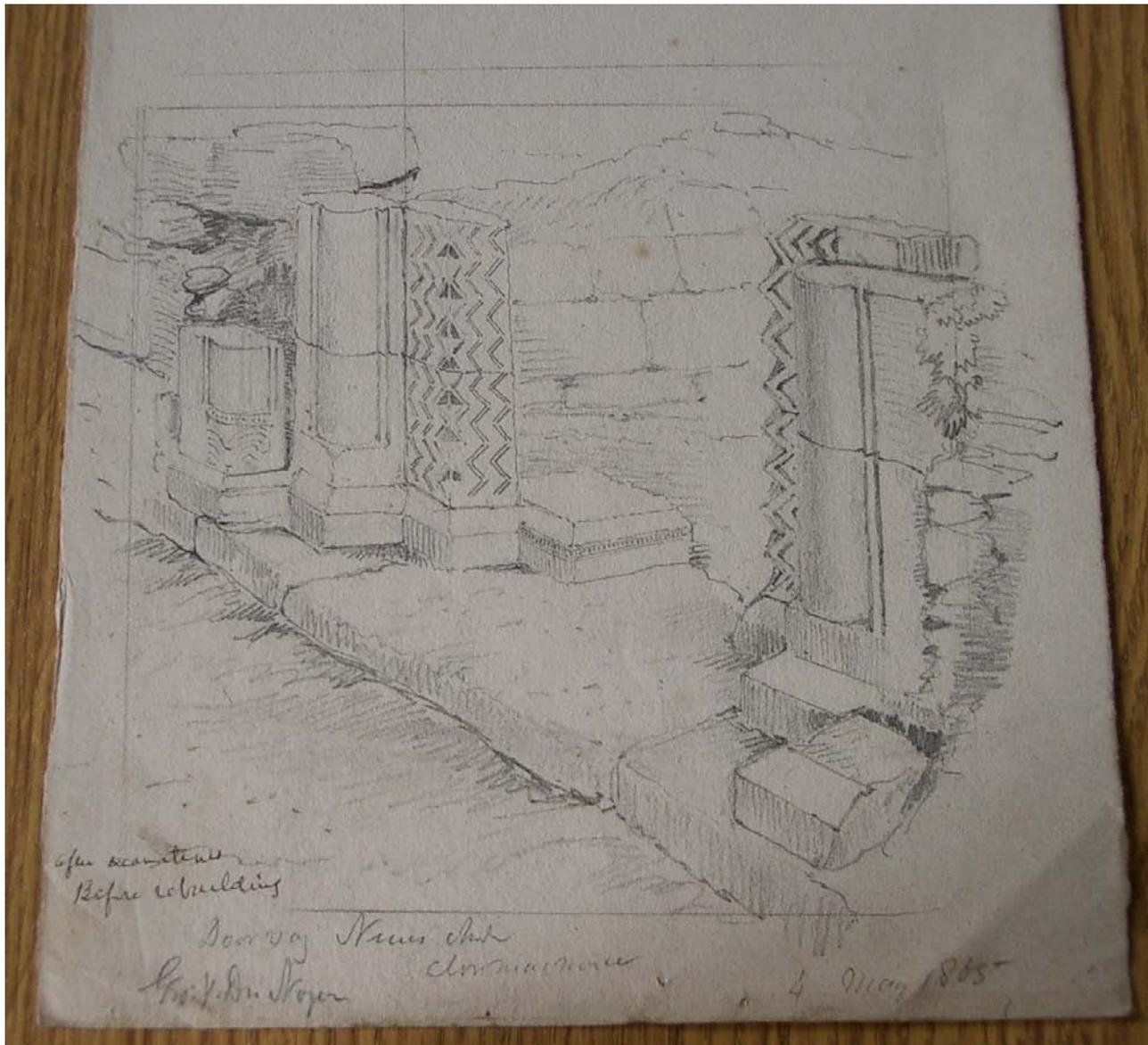


Fig. 1: George Victor du Noyer, Before rebuilding: Nuns' Church, 1865. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Reproduced by permission of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland ©.



Fig. 2: Nuns' Church, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly, Ireland, as it stands after its Victorian reconstruction.



Fig. 3: Replica of the tenth-century Cross of the Scriptures, in front of the tenth-century damhliag or cathedral, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly, 2003.



Fig. 4: Reconstructed Gothic doorway of the cathedral, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly, after twenty-first century restoration work, 2009.

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Urban Design and Functional Planning in the Royal Academy Projects for Central London, 1941-1945

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This paper focuses on the evolution of the proposals for London replanning that the Royal Academy Planning Committee, created in January 1940, presented in the aftermath of the London Blitz.¹ Offered to the public for the first time in 1942, the Committee's projects aimed to raise the debate on the reconstruction of Central London. Connecting the study of architectural solutions with the improvement of traffic networks, these projects are not a simple resumption of Haussmann's urban model, but they express a wider view on the role of the civic design in the circumstances of the World War II.

In the wake of the London Society's action during World War I, the new conflict gives in turn the opportunity for a more advanced reflection on 'London of the Future'. But what happens during the World War II has an essential and more recent premise in the survey (*Highway Development Survey 1937, Greater London*) that the minister of Transport Leslie Hore-Belisha had entrusted in December 1934 to Charles Bressey as an engineer head of the Roads Department in the Ministry of Transport with the collaboration of Edwin Lutyens, as a consultant for the architectural aspects. Parallel to interest in the dynamics of the traffic at the metropolitan scale, this survey had already stressed the relation between the remodelling of some junctions of the road network in the city centre and their redesign as architectural spaces at urban scale.

In the autumn of 1940, in the middle of the German bombing campaign on London, the war is presented in the press as the occasion to achieve the town's transformation that the *Highway Development Survey* had minutely outlined. On November 1st, 1940, publishing a significant letter by Bressey on the reconstruction, *The Times* headlines: *Re-planning of London. Now is the time: The Bressey Report*.² Two years later, *London Replanned* will be the title of the interim Report of the Royal Academy Planning Committee, chaired by Lutyens with Bressey as vice-chairman. In this context the attempt to coordinate the control of urban skyline and increasing traffic, not only on roads but also on rails, takes on an unprecedented role. According to Bressey – in his introduction to the R.A. Planning Committee interim Report, published for the exhibition of the Committee's members' drawings, from October 14th to November 28th, 1942 – the result of the bombing is clearly to be interpreted as the opportunity to rebuild the town centre.

The reconstruction is intended as the redesign of the town centre's focal points. The reference to the character of Wren's plan for the City after the Great Fire and the opposition to the functionalist concepts that Mars Group adapted in 1942 to London's reconstruction case – see the statements published by Lord Esher, chairman of the London Society and R.A. Planning Committee member³ – express the concern of realizing both a functional and aesthetical order in the British capital.

The redesign's conception is tied to a visual culture expressed by the R.A. Planning Committee's drawings. First of all, the Committee wants to produce schemes to raise awareness of the reconstruction problem. In May 1942, beyond the general executive plan, the architects Committee's members are requested to develop detailed plans and, above all, perspective drawings of the significant areas for the exhibition that was to be held the following autumn.⁴

¹ This paper presents some aspects of a research carried out between Summer 2007 and Autumn 2009 thanks to a research support grant of the Paul Mellon Centre (London). It summarizes some of the contents of a forthcoming essay to appear in the review *Planning Perspectives*.

² London Metropolitan Archives [LMA], COL/PLD/TP/01/03/019, File of newscuttings, 1935-1948.

³ Lord Esher, "Doubts on the MARS Plan for London", *The Architects' Journal*, 96 (July 1942), 24, quoted in Emmanuel Marmaras and Anthony Sutcliffe, "Planning for post-war London: the three independent plans, 1942-3". *Planning Perspectives*, 9 (1994), No. 4, 438.

⁴ Walter Lamb, "Royal Academy Planning Committee Exhibition of Plans", May 1942, RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection [RIBA LDAC], Giles Gilbert Scott Papers [SCGG] 276/3, cc. 259-259iii.

Since the beginning of 1942, nine detailed plans are available. They concern the workaround for improving architecture and traffic hubs – from St. Paul's to Piccadilly Circus, from Hyde Park Corner to Charing Cross, from Covent Garden to Oxford Circus, from the British Museum site to the area in front of the museums in South Kensington, up to the London Bridge redesign⁵ – which will become the strongholds of the plan presented in the interim Report and whose illustration is largely entrusted to perspective views.

The Committee does not aim to define an architectural language, still subject to controversial reactions,⁶ but it aims to illustrate an architectural approach to the urban composition. The integrative paragraph, proposed on September 21st, 1942, to the text of the interim Report that will accompany the exhibition, insists on extending the concept of 'design of buildings' to the quality of the road backdrops.

There is no need – one reads – for monotonous repetition over long lengths of street, but appreciable lengths of frontage should be treated as one unit and harmoniously designed as one composition. Variety can be obtained between the blocks of buildings rather than between the individual buildings forming the blocks, and a unity for the whole street be obtained by breadth of design, combined with careful consideration of heights and materials.⁷

It is not by chance that the R.A. Planning Committee will increasingly claim the dominant role of the architect rather than the engineer on town planning. This is evident from some statements of Giles Gilbert Scott, new Committee chairman after the death of Lutyens on January 3rd, 1944. In his words, corporatist instances join in the acknowledgment of expertise including in its own the urban design:

Architects – Scott writes May 23rd, 1944 in a letter to the editor of *Architectural Design & Construction* – alone are trained to plan, and practice planning throughout their professional lives, and they alone have the imaginative qualifications essential for good planning. It is significant that the ruin of our towns began when architects ceased to be employed on town planning and the work was entrusted to others; this characterised the Industrial Age and the disastrous results are now obvious to everyone.⁸

Meanwhile in response to criticism to the interim Report in 1942, aspects of the plan related to the traffic control, subordinated in this first version to the interest in the town centre design, become the core of a second Report, published for the summer exhibition of the Committee projects at the Royal Academy in 1944.

The rationalization of the overground rail network, its connection with the underground network and with a reconfigured road system and also the attention to the river as an urban structuring axis, underpin the redrafting of the R.A. Planning Committee Plan for the central areas. Essential point of this redrafted plan is the redesign of the Ring Road 'A' proposed in the London County Council Plan (1943) published by John H. Forshaw and Patrick Abercrombie, already a R.A. Planning Committee member.⁹ Subject of an exhibition at the Royal Academy from November 3rd to 28th, 1943 after its summer presentation at the County Hall, the London County Council Plan provides new topics to the R.A. Planning Committee members and their future

⁵ Ibid., c. 259iii.

⁶ About criticism of various sources, see "London à la Beaux-Arts". *Architectural Review*, 91 (1942), No. 551, xxxiii. On the other hand: Charles Reilly, "The London of the Future is Already Out of Date". *Evening Standard*, October 26th, 1942, quoted in Peter Richmond, *Marketing modernisms. The Architecture and influence of Charles Reilly*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001, 183.

⁷ "Interim Report of the R.A. Planning Committee. August, 1942. Proposed Insertion 'A'", RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/2, c. 113ii.

⁸ RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/1, c. 4.

⁹ John H. Forshaw and Patrick Abercrombie, *County of London Plan*, with a foreword by Lord Latham, S.I.: MacMillan, 1943. On August 1944, Abercrombie still appears as a R.A. Planning Committee member, but since March 1944 he does not attend Executive Committee meetings.

chairman Scott. It already appears in a first draft entitled *London Road Plan*, prepared by Scott a few weeks before the opening of the exhibition at the Royal Academy.¹⁰

The replanning of the City is however the way by which the R.A. Planning Committee constantly pursues the balance between functional improvement of the road network and urban design up to make the City, since autumn 1941, a model case for other areas of Central London.¹¹ Scott gives a lecture, on October 16th, on *The City and the River*, in the context of a cycle of lectures organized by the Planning Committee at the Royal Academy and opened, a week before, by Abercrombie's lecture: *Central Replanning of Our Cities*.¹² Overstepping the recommendations of the *Highway Development Survey*, Scott defines 'bigness, imagination and foresight' as essential qualities to face the redesign of a new 'Civic Centre' in the heart of the City as a symbol of the rebirth of the British Empire's capital after the Blitz. In this perspective, 'the surroundings of St. Paul's' are taken as a means to verify the groundwork for a fine reconstruction. The problem of the relationship between buildings and open spaces occupies a central position in the Scott's lecture. He affirms that 'the whole question of buildings heights cannot be considered as a question of light and air only'¹³ and that, beyond the functional aspect, the proportional relationship between height of the building frontages and width of the road, ignored in the recent past by buildings such as Faraday House, is also a matter of aesthetical order. In a more general way, necessity to safeguard a scale link between City's churches and the surrounding buildings, is a basic argument for Scott.

He is directly involved with Lutyens in project proposals for the City, as their correspondence about visits and plans made for 'St. Paul's Area lay-out' attests in 1942. After the autumn exhibition, the attention to design of the St. Paul's district is still growing in January 1943, when Scott appears newly involved with Lutyens, Curtis Green and W.F.C. Holden.¹⁴

These proposals are not separable from the changing relations established with the City of London Corporation. Since April 10th, 1941, the Mayor of London, George Wilkinson, is the recipient of a letter in which Lutyens puts in relationship the matter of the future of London with the plan that R.A. Planning Committee has begun to prepare.¹⁵ To the initial convergences, confirmed by meetings such as that Lutyens and Green have on December 17th, 1941 with the chairman of the Improvements and Town Planning Committee of the City Corporation, Claude W. Dennis,¹⁶ severe distancing statements will follow. The R.A. Planning Committee will come to question, at the end of the summer 1944, the City of London Plan published by the Improvements and Town Planning Committee in May 1944.¹⁷

On one side, since September 1944 the new chairman Scott expresses his opinion on this regard. The renewed opposition to the category of engineers which City of London Plan, developed under the guidance of the City engineer F.J. Forty, can exemplify significantly, is reconnected once more to the necessity to show a suitable sensibility for the urban design. 'The planning – Scott writes September 4th, 1944 – cannot be divorced from design; indeed, the plan dominates the aesthetic treatment and forms an integral part of it.'¹⁸ The successful redesign of the City is subordinated to funding put in, judged much too reduced in the City Corporation estimates. Scott sees in the limitation of the expropriations to the parts of ownership interested by the road widening, a lack of both boldness and understanding of mechanisms of expropriation involving the whole

¹⁰ The first version of this draft is dated October 5th, 1943. RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/3, cc. 225-225ii.

¹¹ Agenda of Executive Committee of R.A. Planning Committee to be held on October 22th, 1941, Letter from Austen Hall to Giles Gilbert Scott, October 14th 1941, RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/2, c. 97.

¹² "Royal Academy of Arts. Autumn Discourses on Town Planning. R.A. Planning Committee", October 1941, RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/2, c. 92ii.

¹³ G.G. Scott, "The City and the River", lecture paper, RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/1, c. 35xvi.

¹⁴ Letters from G.G. Scott to E. L. Lutyens and from Lutyens to Scott, April 17th and 21st, 1942; letter from Scott to W.F.C. Holden, January 12th, 1943, RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/3, cc. 217-218, 276/2, c. 183.

¹⁵ LMA, COL/MH/AD/03/011, Reconstruction of City: Correspondence.

¹⁶ Letter from the Town Clerk Alfred P. Roach to G.G. Scott, December 8th, 1941, RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/3, c. 245.

¹⁷ Corporation of City of London, *Reconstruction in the City of London*, London: B.T. Batsford, 1944.

¹⁸ G.G. Scott, "Some notes on the City of London Plan", September 4th, 1944, RIBA LDAC, SCGG 277/2, c. 39iii.

parcel:¹⁹ these mechanisms already had allowed Haussmann to redesign Paris and now take nevertheless new meaning in the context of London post-war reconstruction.

A critical analysis of the setup of the area between St. Paul's cathedral and Thames left side, one of the most meaningful proposals in the City of London Plan, allows Scott to describe what the City redesign should be, based on assumptions he states:

The proposed new approach to St. Paul's from the River offers magnificent opportunities if sufficient land were acquired to enable blocks of buildings being erected down each side of this approach. A grand series of offices, City Halls (replacing some of those destroyed) and other buildings, could be formed, which would create the finest area in the City and would replace an area of poor quality, largely blitzed, and be comparatively cheap to acquire.²⁰

To the same purpose, Scott challenges not only the design of the area around St. Paul's or the South area of Ludgate Hill, but also the design of roads junctions and roundabouts alongside the layout of the Loopway planned around the City.

On the other hand, the fact that the members of the Royal Fine Art Commission share the main comments of the R.A. Planning Committee members on the City of London Plan (gathered in a final document December 11th, 1944) is an aspect that measures the noteworthy position of the R.A. Planning Committee in the debate in progress on the City reconstruction. In a meeting of the two committees, October 16th, 1944, Abercrombie and Holford, town planners respectively providing the post-war plans for Greater London (1944-45) and for the City (1947-51),²¹ resume some essential topics of the City of London plan criticism by the R.A. Planning Committee. Establishing that this plan does not remodel the destroyed areas, Abercrombie confirms the centrality of the architects in the replanning and underlines the fact that 'the R.A. plan was in most respects superior to the City plan, particularly in the route of the Ring Road, and the detail planning of intersections.'²² As for Holford, his arguments support the necessity of a more definite action of the City Corporation about the policies of bombed areas' expropriation and the consequent replanning.²³

Critical partner of the London County Council and the City of London Corporation, the R.A. Planning Committee finally aims to the Government support. After the Lutyens contacts with the minister of the Public Works since March 1942²⁴ and after having considered in February 1943 a direct contact with the Prime Minister to counter the inaction of Local Authorities,²⁵ the R.A. Planning Committee sends, since the 1944 summer exhibition closing, its projects to the Ministry of War Transport, in order to solicit the attention of the Director War Transport, Cyril Hurcomb, secretary of Hore-Belisha at the time of the *Highway*

¹⁹ Ibid., c. 39ii.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Patrick Abercrombie, *Greater London Plan 1944... A report prepared on behalf of the Standing Conference on London Regional Planning*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945; William Holford and Charles Holden, *The City of London: a record of destruction and survival. The building development of the City... as incorporated in the final report of the consultants*. S.I.: Architectural Press, 1951.

²² "Meeting of the Royal Fine Art Commission and R.A. Planning Committee at the Royal Academy on October 16th, 1944", RIBA LDAC, SCGG 277/3, c. 251.

²³ Ibid., c. 251ii.

²⁴ National Archives [NA], HLG 71/757, "Royal Academy Planning Committee. Memorandum", March 1942, sent to Lord Portal by E. L. Lutyens, April 1st, 1942, quoted in Junichi Hasegawa, "Governments, consultants and experts bodies in the physical reconstruction of the City of London in the 1940s". *Planning Perspectives*, 14 (1999), No. 2, 140. See also E. Marmaras and A. Sutcliffe, "Planning for post-war London: the three independent plans, 1942-3", 440-3.

²⁵ Letter from Lutyens to Winston Churchill, February 26th, 1943, quoted in J. Hasegawa, "Governments, consultants and experts bodies in the physical reconstruction of the City of London in the 1940s", 124. This letter is drafted by Curtis Green. See letter from Green to Scott, February 25th, 1943, RIBA LDAC, SCGG 276/1, c. 83.

Development Survey.²⁶ On January 15th, 1945 Scott will meet the minister of Transport and in the following months his criticisms to the Local Authorities plans for the City, but also for Westminster, Pimlico and Southwark, become an advertising means benefiting the R.A. Planning Committee.

Although in July 1945 the City plan is entrusted to William Holford and Charles Holden,²⁷ the R.A. Planning Committee's ambition to see approved its plan submitted in the 1944 Report remains well founded. Contacts with the Ministry of Transport are still in progress at the end of the 1940s. In a letter on June 2nd, 1949, Alker Tripp, assistant commissioner of Police (New Scotland Yard), author of a book on *Town Planning and Road Traffic* (1942) and R.A. Planning Committee member, informs Scott about the pending decision of the Ministry of Transport, not opting yet neither for the 'Royal Academy Plan' nor for the 'Abercrombie (LCC) Plan', because the Government has already had to mobilize large financial resources in other fields of the national reconstruction.²⁸

All through the war and after the war, the R.A. Planning Committee does not stop therefore contributing to the debate on the replanning of Central London in the way of combining town planning and urban design. The 'Royal Academy Plan', also in its second version, will be an opportunity for discussion more than a feasible plan: a discussion that had a central role in the history of projects for London reconstruction.

²⁶ "Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee (Consisting of Architect Members) of the Royal Academy Planning Committee, held on Wednesday, 27th Sept., 1944, at. 2.30 p.m.", RIBA LDAC, SCGG 277/2, c. 50ii.

²⁷ The minister of Town and Country Planning, W.S. Morrison, requires the City Corporation to appoint planning consultants. Gordon E. Cherry and Leith Penny, *Holford. A Study in Architecture, Planning and Civic Design*. Oxford: Alexandrine Press, 1986, 136.

²⁸ RIBA LDAC, SCGG 277/3, c. 324.

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From Urban Village to Metropolitan Picturesque. Precincts, Townscape, and the “Cellular” Planning of World War II London

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At the time of the Second World War, British architects and planning officials attempted to envision the specifically ‘urban’ character of a postwar London, using a cellular model of urban division. This cellular planning occurred in two phases. First, Patrick Abercrombie and John Forshaw, in their influential County of London Plan of 1943, proposed dividing the London metropolis into a series of ‘organic’ communities and specialized ‘precincts,’ either built around existing medieval cores or new cores, similar in principle. The Abercrombie Forshaw plan, following the social imagery of an organic regionalism, assumed that London consisted in a hierarchy of nested functions and distinctive communities that could be rendered whole and transparent. In the second phase, a series of more specific urban design schemes sought to architecturally envision particular cells or precincts within the overall plan. In their plans for the precincts of St. Paul’s and Westminster, the editors of the *Architectural Review* overlaid medieval London with cosmopolitan, fragmentary urban scenes, with little reference to any idealized ‘community.’ While superficially employing the forms of the Abercrombie Forshaw plan, they simultaneously undercut the plan’s basis in an organic regionalism. This change was, in fact, symptomatic of a wider shift in international urban design, from an organic paradigm of collective urban coherence to a psychological paradigm of individualistic aesthetic pleasure in varied urban scenes.

The *County of London Plan* followed very closely the organic, regionalist principles that Abercrombie had inherited from Patrick Geddes and which was contemporaneously being promoted by the American writer and planning activist, Lewis Mumford. Simultaneously vague and overdetermined, the term organic had both sociological and art historical meanings that frequently overlapped. In art historical terms, organicism referenced an aesthetic totality, in which the plan of the city and all of its material components, down to individual buildings and ornament added up to a unified aesthetic experience. Sociological organicism most often represented the city as a unified civic polity. Lewis Mumford’s representation of the medieval town paralleled to an extraordinary degree the discourses of ‘neighborhood unit’ theory, an urban design model in which the city was to be divided into a series of ‘organic’ communities, each with its corresponding community center. First codified and popularized by the social reformer Clarence Perry in 1929, the neighborhood unit was to be the microcosm of civic life, an ideal village. The sum of neighborhood units, in turn, was supposed to unify the city as an organic totality.

Abercrombie and Forshaw had developed a series of images of London’s own medieval and 18th century past that would serve as guidelines for postwar rebuilding. Unlike their American counterparts, they did not view medieval urbanism merely as a remote model of an ideal, village-like community. Rather they also viewed it as a layer of London’s own history to be recovered in the present within a functionalist discourse of ‘use zones’ and ‘cellular planning.’ The *County of London Plan*, unlike the MARS plan of the previous year, sought to reassert the centers and boundaries of the older districts and townships from which the metropolis had emerged. As an urban design document, the plan attempted to combine a principle of communal organization with a principle of functional differentiation. The visual centerpiece of this document, serving as leitmotiv for the plan as a whole, was a diagram entitled ‘Social & Functional Analysis,’ soon nicknamed the ‘eggs-in-a-basket’ diagram. (Figure 1) The image divided the County of London into a number of amoeboid cells surrounding a red circle and blue oval at the center. The diagram claimed to reveal, behind the haze of chaotic appearances, the social essence of London as composite, discontinuous, and organized into a series of distinct ‘communities’ nestled around the central core. At the central core,

meanwhile, the diagram revealed a parallel series of 'precincts,' embedded within the ovals of 'City' and 'West End,' similarly discrete and discontinuous.

The strange marriage between modern, 'scientific' planning and the project of restoring medieval and Georgian London emerged symptomatically in the term, precinct. The emergence of the 'precinct' in urban design discourse, owed a great deal to H. Alker Tripp, a traffic engineer and assistant police commissioner of Scotland Yard, who, like Clarence Perry, linked the reorganization of traffic patterns to a broader urban reform, based on insulating small sections of the city from the larger city beyond. 'Precinct' could signify on a number of levels simultaneously. In traffic planning terms, it referred to a super-block, surrounded by arterial ring roads. In administrative terms, it referred to a jurisdiction with boundaries and proper name. In historical terms, it referred to the medieval, urban enclosures to which different occupational groups were assigned, as in the trade quarters or the monasteries. In architectural terms, it referred both to the medieval cloister and to the 18th century squares, notably of the Bloomsbury district. Discussions of pre-Victorian London in the 1940s tended to collapse all four meanings, imagining a rationally redesigned London in which the social functions of these older precincts were to be 'restored.'

Likewise, a 1946 article published in the *Architectural Review*, by Norman Brett-James, presented medieval and Elizabethan London as the historical precedents for the type of cellular planning represented by the Abercrombie Forshaw Plan. Entitled 'Precincts and Trade Quarters: A History of Use-Zones in the City of London,' it gave a geographic history of the cloisters and trade quarters that used to divide the city's inhabitants according to distinct types of use and class of user. Here, protection and enclosure were the necessary ingredients for maintaining the balance of urban life. The vitality and wealth of London, seemingly, had depended on the enclaves and preserves that defended, for example, monastic knowledge, the safety of foreign merchants, and the concentration of particular trades. Openness amounted to intrusion and permeability to destruction. Unlike Mumford's communitarian view of the medieval town as a civic and social unity, Brett-James' description of London's precincts acknowledged, and even celebrated, a city divided. This London had never been a 'town' in Mumford's sense, but always a complex mosaic of local and international forces, embodied in its various precincts.

The organic metaphor of the city, however, was more directly challenged in a series of articles published in 1941 and 1942 by J.M. Richards, an editor of *The Architectural Review*. In these articles, Richards attempted to develop a metropolitan theory of urban design that would counteract the dominant regionalist discourses of Mumford and Geddes. In an article entitled, 'Regionalism Re-examined,' Richards criticized the idea put forth by Mumford in *The Culture of Cities* that the metropolis could be broken up into a series of modern equivalents to medieval towns. A city like London, Richards wrote, cannot be understood as a local or regional phenomenon: 'No region, however large, nor even a whole country could sustain a city like London, which subsists on international trade, international finance and international processes of distribution.'¹ Thus, cosmopolitan culture had to be understood in terms of an international network of cities, such that those caught up in such a network had more in common with their peers in other metropolitan centers than with locals in the nearby countryside.² Nevertheless, Richards asserted that the urban spaces of a cosmopolitan culture should be cloistered: 'Its ideal shape is the sequence of squares and courts in which social life has always fallen.' Precincts, such as the Inns of Court, had long been professional enclaves for what might be considered a cosmopolitan class, and the centers of international finance and distribution might similarly recede into urban enclaves in order to reproduce their activities and facilitate their specialized communications.

While Richards repudiated the sociological assumptions of an organic regionalism, others at *The Architectural Review* began to introduce a theory of the urban picturesque that would replace organic hierarchies with palimpsestic juxtapositions. The special

¹ Richards, J.M., 'Regionalism Re-examined,' in *Architectural Review*, vol. 40, July 1941, p. 89.

² In the later articles, Richards divided the urban population, not into local groups, but according to the economic activities of production, consumption and distribution.

1945 issue of the *Architectural Review*, entitled 'A Programme for the City of London,' argued that the English tradition of the picturesque, not only conformed to the democratic, 'informal' character of the English people, but also corresponded to a true functionalism of design rather than to a mere appearance of functionalism, given by regularity and straight lines. The Haussmanizing scheme of the Royal Academy was clearly being rejected, but so too was a schematic modernism that simply imposed regularity for its own sake or else demanded an urban *tabula rasa*, as in the 1942 MARS plan. The nature of London, they claimed, was not neat and regular; its functions were divergent and contrasted. London was, in this sense, like a volcano:

Planning must be a creative act in sympathy with the nature of things acted upon – the aim: to work out the volcano's own purpose after its own pattern and no other.³

The term that was coined for this aesthetic ideology was Townscape, an ideology of complexity and difference over clarity and organic coherence.⁴ It would become, in fact, the visual medium through which Richards' metropolitanism was to be imagined. Not only did the picturesque have the advantage of dealing with the city as it was, a patchwork of different building styles and historical periods, it also allowed room for a multiplicity of aesthetic responses and distinct social groups. *Architectural Review* editor, Hugh de Cronin Hastings wrote that the picturesque 'can give satisfaction to all tastes.'⁵ First, the picturesque would allow for an individualistic pluralism of aesthetic perceptions, the very opposite of modernist 'organic' coherence. Second, it could also allow fragments of the metropolis to harmoniously coexist, without these fragments becoming either functionally or socially transparent. In other words, the metropolis could be read or appreciated on multiple levels. It was to be both subjectively and functionally pluralistic.

Between 1945 and 1947 the editors of the *Architectural Review* published a set of unsolicited designs for two of the most symbolically charged of the London precincts, the Precinct of St. Paul's at the center of London and for the Precinct of Westminster around the Houses of Parliament. In their proposal, the precinct of Westminster had become an artful ensemble of courtyards and plazas, providing secluded places for officials to have lunch and cinematic views for tourists to admire. The design for the Precinct of St. Paul's, by contrast, involved a more aesthetically radical assemblage of traditional monuments and contemporary architecture, in which light steel structures were juxtaposed with ancient masonry monuments. The scheme showed a complex sequence of open squares, level changes and narrow passages, with older buildings, particularly St. Paul's itself, being used as visual foils for modernist structures. Rather than merely being insulated from surrounding traffic, the St. Paul's precinct acquired the qualities of a palimpsest and labyrinth, in which several functions and urban layers co-existed. The perspective drawings by Hugh Casson showed individually isolated views into the complex architectural scenes, in which small groups of pedestrians are visible from behind or at a distance. (Figure 2)

Here spatial intimacy and enclosure seemed to bear no analogy with civic unity. Rather than squares and piazzas embracing scenes of face-to-face, social transparency, they evoked the opacity of the metropolis, divided into pathways and pockets of half-hidden functional complexity, full of the unknown directions and private conversations of its various occupants. The social logic of intimacy and enclosure had clearly moved far beyond the communitarianism of neighborhood unit theory or Abercrombie's organic theory of social cells. What seems to be left to the 'man in the street' is a series of abstract views in and around such spaces, whose complex functions would express themselves abstractly as incident, variety and colorful juxtaposition. The opacity of social and functional relations in an international metropolis of the scale and complexity of London

³ 'The English Planning Tradition and the City,' in *Architectural Review*, vol. 97, June 1945, p. 175.

⁴ This movement was not without controversy. For a history of the debates from a critic of the picturesque revival, see Banham, Reyner, 'Revenge of the Picturesque: English Architectural Polemics, 1945-1965,' in *Essays on Architectural Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, London, 1968.

⁵ Hastings, Hugh de Cronin, 'Exterior Furnishing, or Sharawadgi: the Art of Making Urban Landscape,' *Architectural Review*, v. 95, January 1944, p. 7.

would be softened and transmuted by a series of aesthetic pleasures and entertainments for the individual pedestrian to enjoy as a work of nature, the 'volcano' of London cultivated as spectacle. Such ideas would soon be extended and modified in the works of urban planners, such as Kevin Lynch and Christopher Tunnard as the modernist idea of the 'organic' would gradually be eclipsed.



Fig. 1: Patrick Abercrombie's "eggs-in-a-basket" diagram, from John Forshaw and Patrick Abercrombie, County of London Plan. London: MacMillan & Co., 1943, p.20.

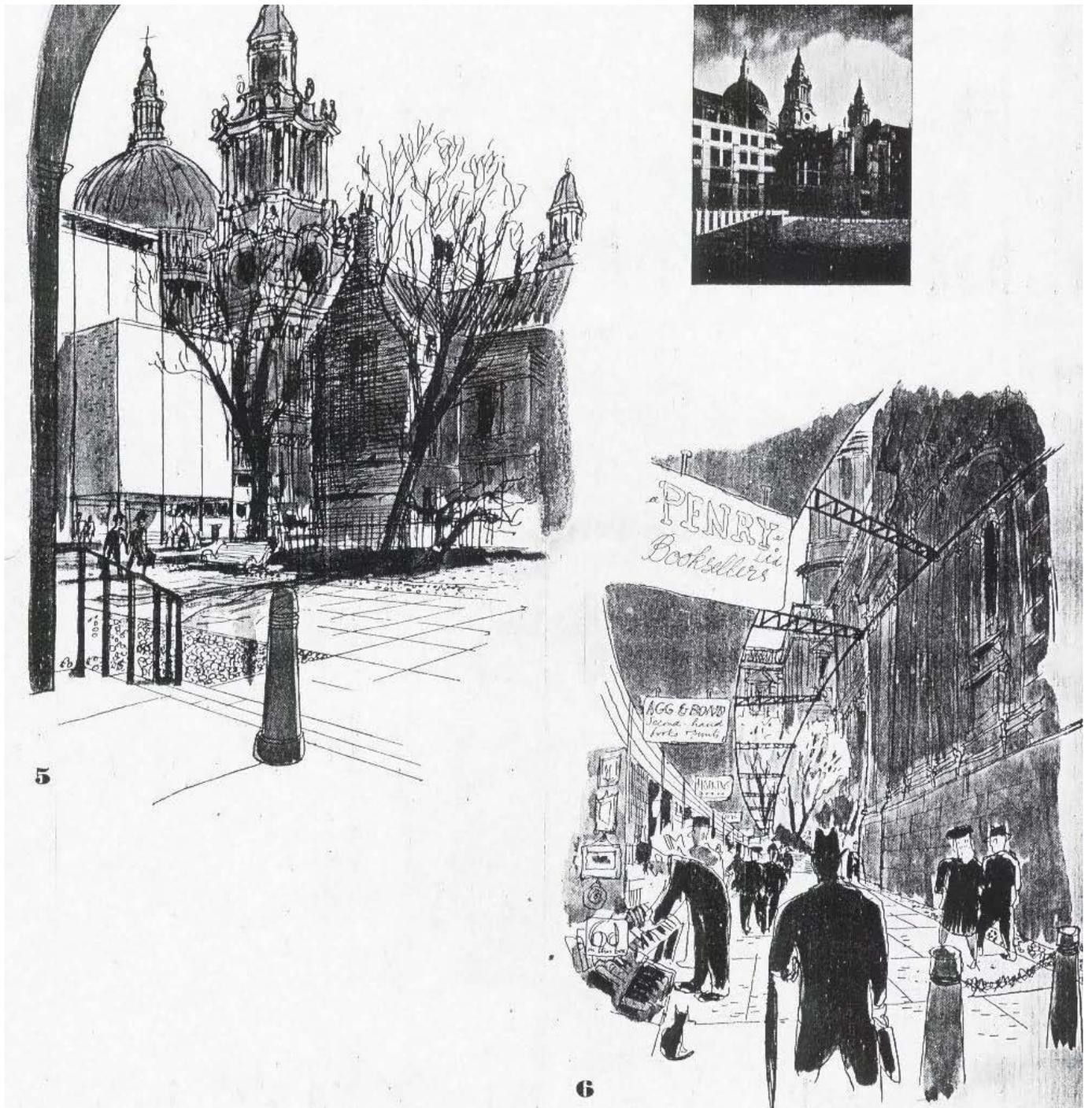


Fig. 2: "Precinct of St. Paul's," Hugh Casson drawings, from "A Test Case – The Precinct of St. Paul's" *The Architectural Review*. 97 (1945), p.190.

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Étienne de Groër: The Scales of Urban Intervention in the Lisbon Territory

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Abstract

The present paper focus on the analysis of the work of the Russian architect-urbanist Étienne de Groër in the territory of Lisbon, that took place in the mid 20th century.

This paper offers a review on the ongoing research and theory developed on the work produced by Étienne de Groër in Portugal. It includes literature on Portuguese and non-Portuguese scholars. The review comprises books, papers published in international and national journals, international conferences and PhD thesis.

From the analysis of the various projects for Lisbon, it is possible to identify different scales of intervention, which are all interconnected to each other. From de Groër work it is possible to identify the reading of the city from the perspective of a metropolis, as Lisbon. Yet, a strong planning unity is therefore transversal to all the different scales: from the urban block, to the city and to the territorial scale.

De Groër proposals for Lisbon, developed between 1938 and 1948, together with other municipal architects, such as Faria da Costa, do represent interesting historical examples of 20th century urban planning. De Groër proposal plan for the Renovation of Lisbon consolidated downtown, Baixa (1948), and the Master Urban Plan for Lisbon (1938-48), which includes the location of the Cristino da Silva Project for Praça do Areeiro (1941-1956), do reflect urban examples of adapted classical urban forms for contemporary needs, which aimed to create a new urban landscape for the modern society. Moreover, while Baixa example exhibits an urban renovation within an eighteenth century consolidated urban area, the second example refers to an urban extension of the existing city. Yet, in both examples the traditional urban block constitutes the main typological element for both renovation of the historic city and also the modernization of the city.

Keywords: urban space, urban design, public space, Étienne de Groër

1. Introduction

The present paper follows with a discussion around the urban planning approach as promoted by Étienne de Groër during his 1938-1948 stay in Portugal. Such approach was based on a way of thinking and planning the city that had strong links to authors such as Ebenezer Howard, and on de Groër's experience held at the *Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris*.

Finally, we aim to demonstrate the main principles and the theoretical models present in the different urban interventions, throughout the reading of a text handwritten by de Groër, unpublished until now. This text allows to contextualize Groër work and also the drawings and texts that accompanied his several plans. Therefore some final conclusions shall be presented and discussed.

2. The state of art

A group of Portuguese researchers that has focus their studies on the work of Groër includes, among others, Catarina Camarinhas, Margarida Souza Lôbo, Teresa Marat-Mendes and Vasco Brito. Equally relevant to the investigation of the Portuguese urban planning, during de Groër period of time, are the studies developed by Ana Tostões, Andreia Maria Bianchi Aires de Carvalho Galvão, Fernando Gonçalves, João Pedro Costa, José Manuel Fernandes, José-Augusto França, Margarida Acciaiuoli, Maria Helena Lisboa, Nuno Portas, Pedro Janarra, Rui Ramos, Vitor Matias Ferreira, among others.

Camarinhas and Brito analytical study of the Engineer Abrantes text entitled "*Elementos para o estudo do plano de urbanização da cidade de Lisboa*"¹ from 1938, provides us a scientific contribution that is expressed both in the advertisement of de Groër's work and on the exposure of the evolution of the Portuguese urban planning during 1930's until the master plan of 1948.

Souza Lôbo Ph.D work entitled "*Planos de urbanização: à época de Duarte Pacheco*"² from 1993, identifies a number of foreign urban planners working in Portugal during Duarte Pacheco period of time. According to Souza Lôbo, de Groër greatly influenced the Portuguese urbanism during the 1940's, by following Howard's urban theories³ (LÔBO, 1995).

Throughout her investigations on the work developed by the Portuguese architect and urbanist João Guilherme Faria da Costa, Marat-Mendes analysed the different urban plans for Lisbon, proposed by Faria da Costa, and that do also include in the Master Plan for Lisbon, prepared by the City Council of Lisbon, under the supervision of Étienne de Groër, between 1938 and 1948⁴.

In her detailed analysis of the Urban Plan for Restelo Marat-Mendes (MARAT-MENDES, 2005) offers an understanding of the natural existing features of the site; the global analysis of the urban plan through its contextualization within the city at different scales (from the territorial to the most local one); the identification of the Plan Principles or the 'Ground Rules' that have regulated the original urban plan; and finally a morphological analysis of the urban changes considering several perspectives such as the social, economical and physical ones. Other urban interventions developed by Faria da Costa and analysed by Marat-Mendes, are the Urban Plans for Areeiro (1938) and Alvalade (1945), and therefore revealing their morphological contribution for the built environment of Lisbon (MARAT-MENDES, 2007).

More recently, Marat-Mendes (MARAT-MENDES, 2009) has contributed with a more comprehensive approach to the work of Étienne de Groër, while offering a wider perspective of the different urban plans proposed by de Groër to the City of Lisbon and its environments. Nevertheless, once again it is revealed the importance of the different scales approach, as previously reflected in the work of Faria da Costa.

Also Costa (COSTA, 2002) has identified the relevance of the work of Faria da Costa on his analysis of the urban plan for Alvalade, while identifying its morphological elements and relating them to the traditional city and to the garden-city movement, as well as to the urban growth projects of Amsterdam and Siedlung in Berlin, and to the concept of neighbourhood unit.

¹ "*Elements for the study of Lisbon urbanization plan*".

² "*Urbanization Plans: the time of Duarte Pacheco*".

³ Howard advocated a system of planned cities built urban centres with limited size. Nevertheless, while analyzing the Urban Plans of Coimbra and Luanda, planned by de Groër, Souza Lôbo concluded that the French town planner is closer to the French concept of the Garden Suburb than to the theory of Garden City according to Howard. Souza Lobo attributes to de Groër the title of "the eclectic town planner", because while he was aware of the main ideas of the modern urbanism he was very selective on the required solutions LÔBO, Margarida Souza - *Planos de urbanização: a época de Duarte Pacheco*. Porto: FAUP - Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 1995.

⁴ The urban plans proposed by Faria da Costa and analysed by Marat-Mendes (2005) and that were included in the Master Plan for Lisbon (1938-1948), are the Urban Plans for Alvalade, Areeiro and Restelo.

3. The modern Lisbon

During the 'New State' regime, the Engineer Duarte Pacheco was appointed as the mayor of Lisbon City Council. Under his presidency, significant changes were achieved at the town planning policies domain, such as new legislation to ease land expropriation. Thus, facilitating the city expansion and rehabilitation, with great freedom and an opportunity on doing so in a planned manner. Also a financial relief to the Lisbon City Council was therefore achieved throughout such measure. Moreover, while the city council became responsible for the urbanizing task, the private owner acquired a greater passive role. (CML, 1952, DIAS, 1947).

It was also under the 'New State' regime that Portugal testified the contribution of several foreign planners working in different municipalities. Donat Alfred Agache, Giovanni Muzio and Étienne de Groër constitute three of those most emblematic contributions whom, between 1932 and the end of the forties, greatly marked and influenced the Portuguese urban planning.

Central to the present investigation is the work developed by de Groër⁵, its role in the modern movement, and the process of cultural influence on his theories, such as the thoughts on urban planning present in Groër projects.

De Groër has also written some significant work that contextualizes all his planning practice. Some of his relevant texts are the following ones: "De l'urbanisme en Russie" (DE GROER, Dec. 1921); "Gratte-ciel (Le) est-il nécessaire?" (DE GROER, Fev. 1935); "Lisbonne exemple d'urbanisation au XVIII siècle" (DE GROER, mars-avril 1936); "Introdução ao Urbanismo" (DE GROER, 1945-56) versus "Introduction à l'urbanisme" (DE GROER, [s.d.]); "Le Tracé d'un Plan d'Urbanisation" (DE GROER, 1945) and "Anteprojecto de urbanização de embelezamento e de extensão da cidade de Coimbra" (DE GROER, 1948). These were the texts that have supported the present paper and investigation.

4. Étienne de Groër references and his theoretical production

While investigating de Groër's work it is essential to consider both the flow of his ideas, his project collaborators, and also his course as an urban planner. In order to do so, it is essential to consider that the intellectual training do have a significant impact on the project activity as a form of direct cultural intervention. Although the region conditioned the action of some urban planners of the time and the local constrains where they were planning, these processes of ideas transfer were based on the diffusion, but also through appropriation⁶.

During his activity at the *Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris*, Groër had the opportunity to relate with Berlage, Burnham, Garnier, Griffin, Howard, Stübben and Unwin, among others, which were responsible for the teacher's achievement

⁵ Étienne de Groër was born in Varsovia, in 1882. He attended the High School in Nice, south of France, and graduated from the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg. He worked in France where he collaborated in eighteen plans for the development and extension of cities; (as an example we have Dunkerque plans, region of Creil and region of Courneuve). He worked with the French urban planner Donat Alfred Agache in several projects, and was a lecturer at the *Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris*, where he taught the principles of "garden city" and its application in England.

It was under the invitation of Agache that Groër started the study of urban development for the region of Lisbon, with the "*Estudo preliminar de urbanização da zona de Lisboa ao Estoril e a Cascais*" (*Preliminary study of urbanization of the area from Lisbon to Estoril and Cascais*), and the "*Plano de Urbanização da Costa do Sol*" (*Sun Coast Urban Plan*). Between 1938 and 1940 Groër served as an urban planner and technical advisor for the City Council of Lisbon. Besides the Master Plan of Urban Development for the city of Lisbon in 1948, he was also responsible for several other Urban Plans, including the Urban Plans for Abrantes, Almada, Beja, Braga, Coimbra, Évora, Sintra, and also for Luanda in Angola.

⁶ When we compare the work produced by the modernists with the work produced by their advisors, it is possible to determine that there is a personal mark in each work, and that there is not one single performance of pure mimicry. London and Ribeiro portrays very well this aspect in their writings. According to Ribeiro, in the Brazilian case "*Each borrowed element was initially mobilized within the logic of individual actors of each country. Therefore, it was not, because of the work in terms of "influences, copies or charges of the French reformers on their Brazilian counterparts. Each borrowed element changes meaning when it crosses the Atlantic, it enters as an argument and becomes an instrument in the national debate and confrontation.*" Cited by LONDON, Marcos Zanetti - *A circulação de idéias urbanísticas no meio profissional e acadêmico e a sua influência nas obras de Donat Alfred Agache e Attilio Corrêa Lima*. Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Faculdade de Arquitectura e Urbanismo, 2002.

and faculty members of the Institute. Indeed, de Groër experience at the *Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris* guided us to investigate the major thinkers of the Western urbanism, between 1850-1930, and to examine the *Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris* ⁷.

It was during this period of time, that de Groër benefited from such cultural urban approach, including the traditionalist city planning concepts, and later explored by de Groër in the mid-20th century.

As already stated, during Groër's stay in Portugal, he worked with the Urban Plan for "Costa do Sol" and with many other general urban plans. To support the present investigation of de Groër work, it was found an original version of the de Groër text at the *Direcção Geral do Ordenamento do Território e Desenvolvimento Urbano*⁸ (DGOTDU), in Lisbon. This text, written in French, indicates erasures and notes, probably made by the author or his wife Gabrielle de Groër (DE GROËR, [s.d.]). We believe that this text is the predecessor of another one published by the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização* (DE GROËR, 1945-56), in Portuguese language, because we compared both texts and concluded that this later one seems to be a translation of the first one⁹.

Through such text, de Groër offers an introduction to the urbanism, where he presents a brief history of the urbanism in the past and in the context of the reality of their time, focusing on the evolution of urbanism and its possibilities for the future; the need for legislation in the implementation of planning; the urban legislation as he thought it should be; the development of an urban plan of arrangement and extension - with the example of Coimbra, and in attachment the details of a regulation areas (a zoning regulation); a synthesis of a regulation on the supervision of the division of land into blocks and plots, and finally a summary of the main provisions of a construction regulation¹⁰.

The bibliography is the only element of the text that is not present in the Portuguese version, but it is extremely important because it focuses on the theoretical orientations of the planner. References like Raymond Unwin¹¹, Pierre Lavedan¹², Camillo Sitte¹³, C. B. Purdom and Ebenezer Howard make part of a bibliographic list included in the text *Introduction à l'urbanisme* written by de Groër. The work of Ed. Joyaut¹⁴ is scratched and presents a question mark "?" at its side.

It is curious the reference to Charles Benjamin Purdom¹⁵. This reference demonstrates an interdisciplinary study and indicates great interest of de Groër in such subjects.

⁷ The Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris (IUUP) derived from the École des Hautes Études Urbaines (EHEU) founded in 1919, shortly before the promulgation of the Cornudet law. The Cornudet law was promulgated six months before the opening of IUUP, and required that cities with more than ten thousand inhabitants should have a plan of remodeling extension and beautification. The EHEU must have been the first experience of urban education in France. History, Architecture, Hygienist, Administrative Law, Urban Art, Economics and Social Policy were some of the courses taught at EHEU, with well known masters, such as Marcel Poète, Léon Jaussely, Henri Prost, Jacques Gréber, Louis Bonnier, Gaston Jèze, Henri Sellier, Joseph-Barthélemy, Edouard Fuster, Desiré Pasquet, Paul Juilliat, Georges Bechmann and Willian Qualid. The work produced by these masters at the Institute and its library is therefore the great responsible for the culture of an era.

⁸ General Office of Planning and Urban Development.

⁹ The French version has no images, but indicates the handwritten notes in French, for the placement of these ones. The French text contains 92 pages including index and bibliography. This text is signed in page number 81 and it is rubricated in page number 92, by the de Groër.

¹⁰ This text would have been worked as an excellent manual for architects if printed in large editions in both languages (Portuguese-French), however the fact that it was only published in Portuguese in the "Bulletin of the General Office of Urban Services" (*Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização*) it became unknown to a large number of city researchers of this period.

¹¹ Book: "Town Planning in Practice".

¹² Book: "L'Histoire de l'Urbanisme".

¹³ Book: *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*.

¹⁴ Book: "Traité d'Urbanisme".

¹⁵ Book: "The Building of Satellite Towns" (*The Building of Satellite Towns: A Contribution to the Study of Town Development and Regional Planning*, J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1925). It is good to remember or to know that C. B. Purdom is also the author of the text "The Garden City" (*The Garden City: A Study of the Development of a Modern Town*, J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1913).

As already argued by Sousa Lôbo, de Groër was influenced by the Howard theories (LÔBO, 1995, p. 75), but applied them selectively. Although Howard is usually recognized for the planning of the gardens cities he considered the physical characteristics of the Garden City, secondary. For Howard, the most important was the social ideals, based on the collective ownership of the land, where rents were paid by tenants, allowing the proffer of public works and social benefits (MARCH, Alan, 2004, p. 411). This planning operating logic is reflected in de Groër text: "Pour créer une ville, la future municipalité doit, d'après Howard, acquérir tout le territoire qui sera nécessaire à jamais propriétaire. Elle ne devra pas vendre le terrain aux habitants, mais le leur louer à long terme (90 ans, par exemple). Ceci supprimera la spéculation foncière (spéculation sur l'achat et la revente des propriétés) qui est l'origine de tous les maux." (DE GROËR, [s.d.], p. 9)

5. The three scales of the urban intervention in Lisbon territory

We shall now focus this paper on an urban reality that took place in Portugal during the dictatorial regime of Salazar. In order to do that it will be described and analyzed different urban interventions as planned by the French-Russian architect-urbanist Étienne de Groër in the Territory of Lisbon.

These urban interventions should be read in three different scales of approach, namely:

1. The Urban Plan for Costa do Sol¹⁶, that includes nine Urban Plans for specific existing urban areas that are included in PUCS;
2. The Master Plan for the City of Lisbon¹⁷, that includes other Urban Plan for specific urban areas that are included in the PDUL;
3. The Plan for the Renovation of Lisbon consolidated downtown – (Baixa) and the layout for Praça do Areeiro¹⁸.

The Master Plan for the City of Lisbon

Ten years before the implementation of the Master Plan for Lisbon that took place in 1948, several drawings and texts were prepared in order to promote such plan. It is therefore necessary to contextualize this preparatory work that supported the implementation of the plan. Preliminary work entitled "Elements for the study of the Lisbon Urbanization Plan"¹⁹, published in 1938²⁰ and written by António Emílio Abrantes²¹, is suggested by de Groër to the Master Plan of Lisbon in 1948 as a preliminary analysis program (ABRANTES, 1938).

During the preparatory work for the 1948 master plan, it was settled the layout of the main routes of communication, the limits of land paying attention to new buildings, was fought the private initiative (not allowing the construction of new neighbourhoods that could compromise the future urban development), and was created a fund for construction in rural lands or lands with poorly constructed homes. The whole process of urban reform is based on: simplify the process of expropriation (Law nº 28797

¹⁶ Plano de Urbanização da Costa do Sol' (PUCS).

¹⁷ Plano Director de Urbanização de Lisboa' (PDUL).

¹⁸ The layout for Areeiro Plan, was developed in the Urban Plan for Areeiro by the Architect Faria da Costa. This was later included in the Master Plan for Lisbon, signed by Groër, but the Project of the square was later developed by Architect Cristiano da Silva.

¹⁹ Elementos para o estudo do plano de urbanização de Lisboa.

²⁰ The "The study of the Lisbon Urbanization plan" (Estudo do plano de urbanização de Lisboa) published in 1938 is today in the Archives of Arco do Cego (one of the municipal of Lisbon) but there are copies in other archives and public libraries, as in the GEO (Gabinete de Estudos Ollisiponenses). The original saved in AAC, show handwritten notes/corrections in French made by the De Groër. This work was structured by written documents along with 15 plans.

The writing is divided into 6 parts: historical analysis, a study of the existing population at the time, studies of movement within the city of Lisbon, seismological studies affecting the city of Lisbon, the study of schools (The Education), and the study of public services.

The Abrantes text highlighted the importance of Rossio (D. Pedro IV square) in Lisbon the urban mesh, when he says that "the D. Pedro IV square is a stressed passing point" and points out the traffic problems at the time that would be pretext for a new project.

Is also possible to understand this phenomenon searching the newspapers of the time (CUNHA, 1934) (The Rossio will be transformed, the project will be put out to contest immediately and the tombstone on Camões death will be transferred in 1934), where architects made their comments and proposals. So is possible to observe the concern about the disruption of Rossio in Abrantes text, it is also evident confusion of the downtown. Is all a result of population growth (explained in Abrantes text) and the lack of new planning.

²¹ Abrantes was a civil engineer, responsible for the Technical Department of the City Plan and author of more than 40 plans to Lisbon.

de 1 de July de 1938); renewal legislation of the temporary relocation (Law nº 28912 de 12 de August de 1938); and on the creation of the Section of Urban improvements (Law nº 29218 de 6 de December de 1938).

The master plan for Lisbon, of 1948, constitutes a plan that indicates a zoning plan, however with detailed plans for several areas, such as Restelo, Areeiro and Alvalade. Nevertheless, all the different areas included in such zoning plan, included a regulation list plan.

The Renovation Plan for Baixa

The ideas and the proposed legislation for Lisbon downtown (Baixa) firstly appeared in the text "*Introduction à l'urbanisme*" when de Groër created a law regulating the "*Central Commercial and Civic Zone*" of the cities. The master plan for development for the city of Lisbon in 1948 only develops and details de Groër's project intention in the text and its cartography.

Relatively to the "Zona Central Comercial e Cívica" and according to de Groër, it is important to notice from the first text that only partial demolitions and perforations were allowed inside the blocks. It was necessary to sanitize without modifying the character of the neighbourhood. Groër suggested the study one urban block and one apartment to identify what should be kept and what should be demolished.

The final text of the 1948 plan, details the regulation of the different zones of Lisbon central area ("Zona Central"). This "Zona Central" corresponds to the 1758 Baixa urban area. For such area, de Groër argues that "it is forbidden the construction or installation of factories, big storehouses and heavy truck parking areas." (Lisbon Master Plan, 1948).

The "Zona Central" is divided into three sectors (A, B and C) with different legislation. In sectors A and C no residential building were allowed (except for the doorman and guards). In sector B it was allowed residential buildings, as long as they were not exclusively for residential proposes. In all the three sectors there was an exception to this regulation to hotels and hostels. It is our understanding that, from this regulation, residential buildings were only allowed in the "Zona Central". Its main character was commerce and services.

According to de Groër proposal we recognise a great sensitivity towards the place of the interventions. In the case of the "Plano Director de Lisboa, Estudo Pormenorizado da Transformação da Baixa. Saneamento dos Quarteirões e Melhoramento da Circulação"²² the proposal does not choose an intervention like clean slate, but denotes a sensitivity on their part to the mesh and pre-existing buildings. He chooses a partial demolition of 29 blocks of the Lisbon downtown (Baixa), offering a new urban design of 15 urban blocks, larger than the existing ones.

De Groër proposal for Baixa is a key examples of twentieth century planning proposal, that while proposing a renovation of an eighteenth century consolidated urban area, does reflects a redefinition of an existing urban fabric and its inherent public space. Interestingly, in Baixa, de Groër benefits the public space area, when in comparison to the public space available area either at present or in the eighteenth century. From the total area of 359886 m² of Baixa, the area taken by public space was 17% in the original plan, 33% in present time and 36% according to Groer's proposal in 1948 (Marat-Mendes, Sampayo, Rodrigues, 2010).

Praça do Areeiro (1941-1956)

The analysis of the Praça do Areeiro (1941-1956) has to take into consideration three levels of intervention in the city. The big scale with the master plan of the city by de Groër, the neighbourhood scale, where the square is included and is equivalent to

²² "Master Plan of Lisbon, Detailed Study of downtown (Baixa) transformation. Sanitation of the Blocks and Improving of the Circulation".

the urban planning by Faria da Costa and finally the urban square scale where the square as delineated by Architect Cristino a Silva is included.

Cristino da Silva, following the guidelines of the 1948 master plan for Lisbon, projected the Areeiro Square. Several architects have drawn however the architecture of the Areeiro plan, although respecting a very similar style in the different buildings²³. The blocks surrounding Praça do Areeiro and Bairro de Alvalade have similar scales and present similar green areas layouts. Southeast to Praça do Areeiro the urban fabric is rather different. Here, the urban blocks are narrower and their layout is very different from those of Alvalade and Areeiro. This reflects that in this area the municipal council allowed the private sector to make the urbanization infrastructure.

Areeiro square testifies the determinant will of Duarte Pacheco, to build a symbol of power of the enormous urban modernization of the city of Lisbon. The composition of this square meant order, stability, authority and power. Praça do Areeiro acts as a monumental ending to Avenida Almirante Reis. This was the most important entry to city of Lisbon for those who arrived from the north. Cristino da Silva justified the proportions of the highest building (the north tower) with its unique architecture and by the near presence of the Alameda D. Afonso Henriques. At the time, this tower was a very tall building (58,5m) and its height was only conditioned by the proximity of the nearby airport

At Praça do Areeiro one can witness similar aspects to the XVII and XVIII century's buildings and urban design traditionalist concepts. The buildings have a noble floor with balconies, a ground floor with arcades and small windows. Thus, contributing to appear similar to the classical squares characteristics. The square is presented itself in a classical form, but reinterpreted as a landscape for a modern society, being functionally modern and adapted to new uses such as the public transport and the car.

The Lisbon 1948 master plan defined the area of the Avenida Almirante Reis as CH5. This corresponded to a zone with mixed uses and a maximum height of 6 storeys. This mixed zone was defined in the master plan as being a zone for residential buildings allowing commerce and small shops in the ground floor.

The master plan legislated the need of voids inside the urban blocks, defining that construction should only be done on the perimeter of the block, wherein avoiding the inner voids in order to allow the salubrity of the neighbourhood and of the city.

The urban block was the solution found to allow the rehabilitation of the exiting areas, as in the Groër plan for Baixa, but also on new urban interventions such as in the city extension towards north, as in Areeiro.

Although the 1948 master plan wasn't officially approved by the city council, the majority of Lisbon development followed its recommendations and norms until 1970's. After that date, and mainly after 1975, these recommendations were neglected. Several constructions doubled the number of allowed storeys, as established in 1948, causing disharmony in the reading of the Av. Almirante Reis. What was built before the seventies it is in conformity with the whole unity. The Praça do Areeiro is an example of that. On the other hand, nearby, anomalous products to the plan have emerged, exactly where the urban blocks have not been totally constructed.

²³ The area of Avenida de Paris and Praça Pasteur was drawn by Alberto Pessoa, Chorão Ramalho, José Bastos e Lucínio Cruz while the Avenida João XXI was drawn by José Segurado, Joaquim Ferreira, Filipe de Figueiredo and Sérgio Gomes.

6. Conclusions

The analysed examples of Baixa and Areeiro are based on classical urban forms that were re-interpreted according to the contemporary needs of society. Moreover, this paper also reveals that such urban models make use of reinterpretations of traditional urban approaches, as followed by de Groër. Moreover, those approaches proved to be adequate when reconverting existing urban consolidated classical examples of XVIII century or when applied in the extension of new urban areas.

We believe that from the analysis of the urban and architectural work of de Groër it is possible to better understand the process of exchange and inclusion of foreign concepts and proposals, given what history has generally emphasized.

It was possible to verify throughout this paper, that the urban block constituted the founded solution to allow the rehabilitation of the exiting areas, as in the Groër plan for Baixa, but also on new urban interventions such as in the city extension towards north, as in Areeiro. Thus, from the outline of the 20th century urban design developed in Lisbon, under de Groër influence, provides a very different reading from the familiar story of the modernist hero – Le Corbusier – and Athens Charter. At the same time that Groër's proposal for Lisbon reveals a modern city planning, while finding new solutions for the modern society it also reveals relevant and useful ideas for the task of planning more sustainable cities today. His solutions to guarantee better conditions of salubrity and mobility constitute important lessons that should be recuperated into the debate of successful models of modern urban design.

Finally, we should like to underline that the domain of the territory throughout different scales, as followed by Groër it is rare. This was possible in Lisbon, because of the dictatorship situation, although negative from the point of view of democracy, but extremely positive as state/ power that assured the relation of the various scales, which allowed a sense of unity within the whole territory, city and its different neighbourhoods, according to a main idea of urban planning as revealed in de Groër main texts.

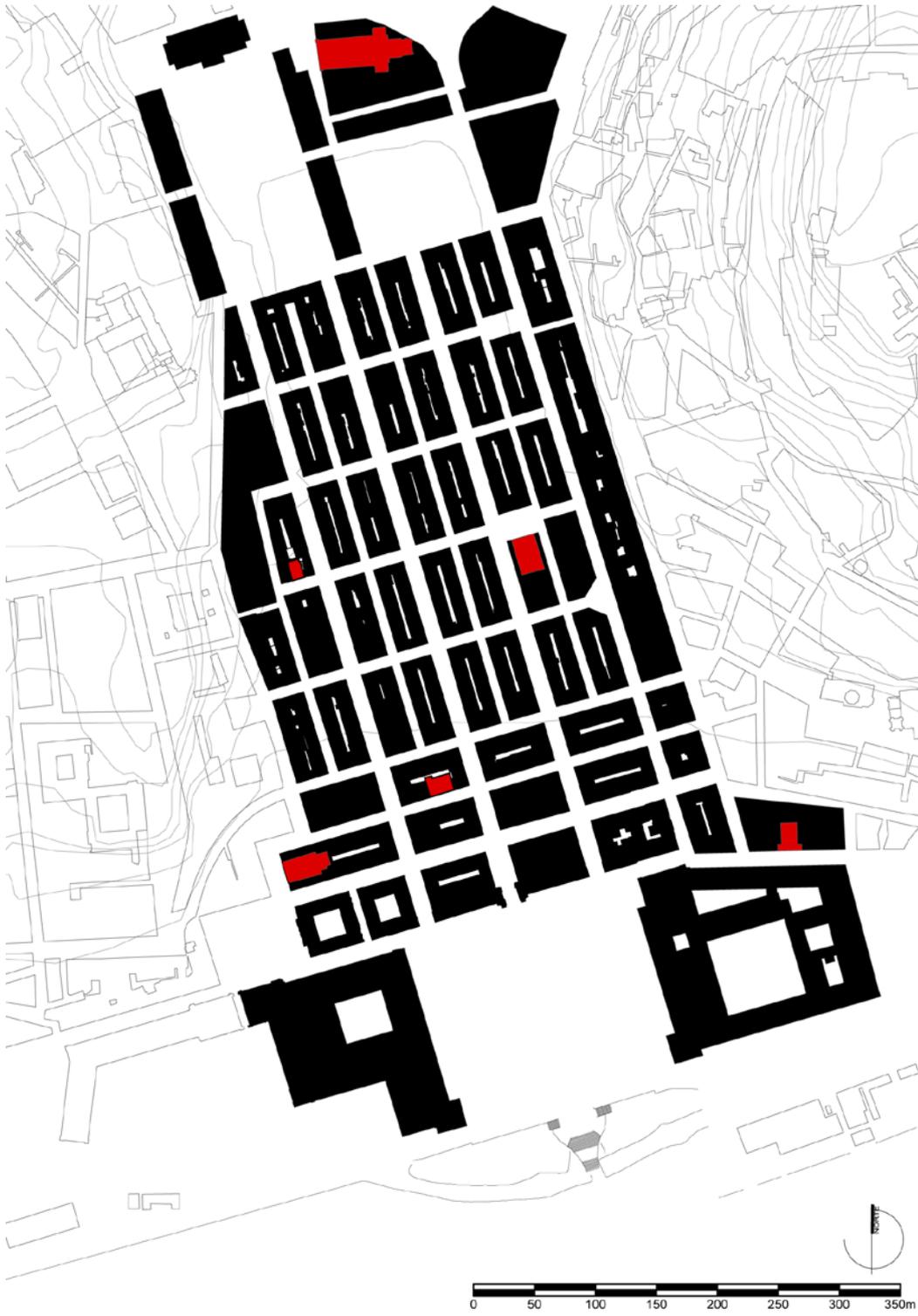


Fig. 1: Actual Plan for the downtown (Baixa).

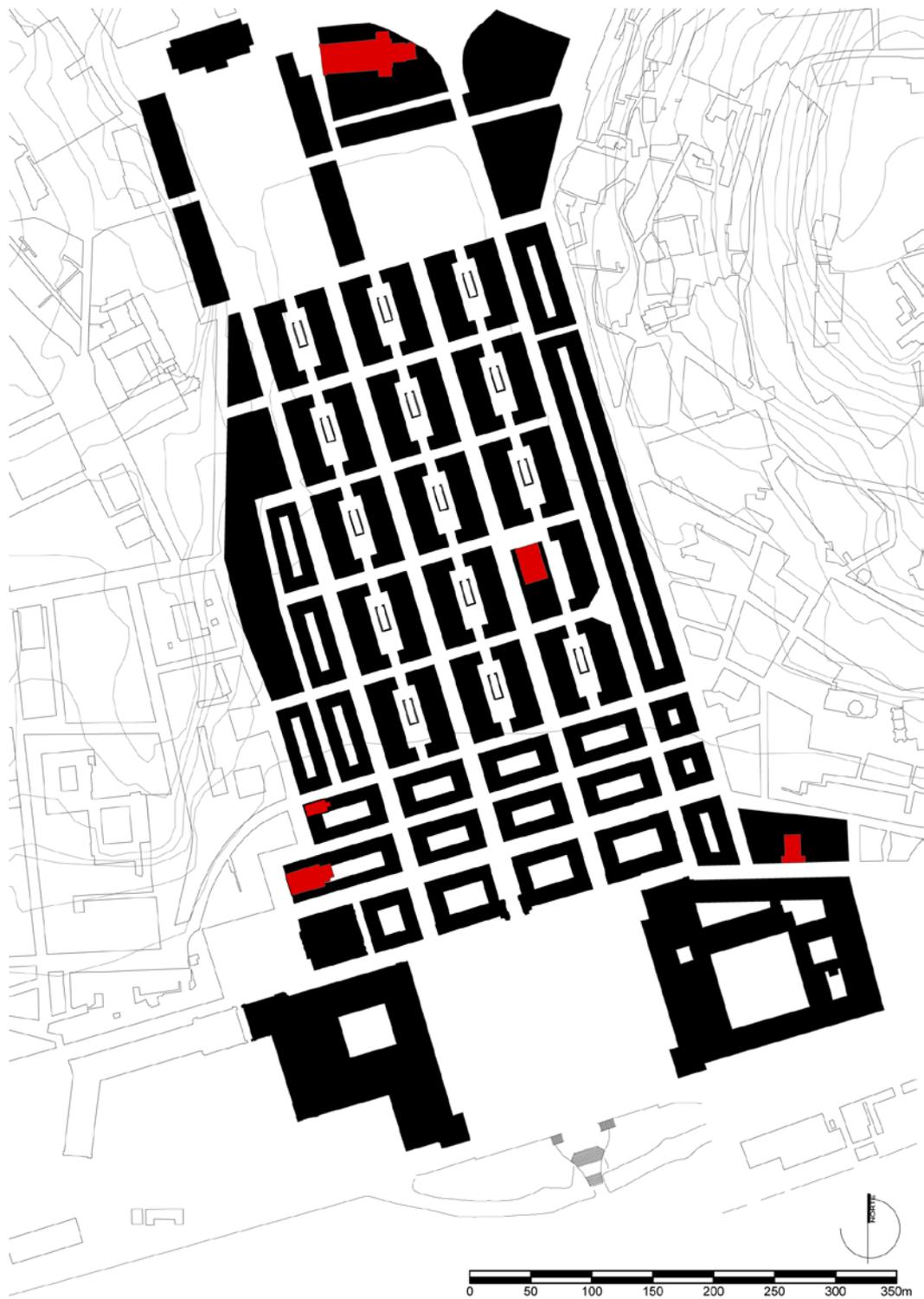


Fig. 2: Proposal Plan for downtown Baixa according to Étienne de Groër.

Hypothetical proposal according to the following source:

[Plano Director de Lisboa (detalhe)] [Material cartográfico]

AUTOR(ES): Étienne de Groër

ESCALA: -

PUBLICAÇÃO: 27.09.1948

DESCR. FÍSICA: esboços, dim.: 420 larg. x 325 alt. e 400 larg. x 500 alt., lápis de cor sobre papel colado em cartão

NOTAS: in TOSTÕES, A. & ROSSA, W. (2009) Lisboa 1758 : O plano da baixa hoje. IN CML (Ed.) ROSSA, Walter ed. Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Pelouro de Urbanismo e Reabilitação Urbana e o Pelouro de Cultura, Educação e Juventude, pp. 168-169.

COTA (do arquivo): -

ARQUIVO: CML/AML

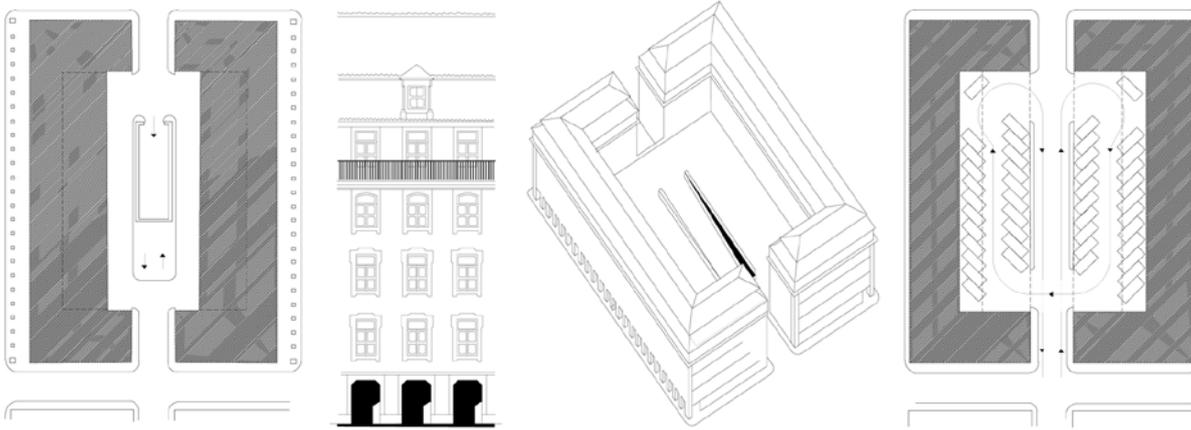


Fig. 3: Proposal details for the Master Plan of Lisbon according to Étienne de Groër.

Hypothetical proposal according to the following source:

[Étienne de Groër, Plano Director de Lisboa, Estudo Pormenorizado da Transformação da Baixa. Saneamento dos Quarteirões e Melhoramento da Circulação] [Material cartográfico]

AUTOR(ES): Étienne de Groër

ESCALA: -

PUBLICAÇÃO: 27.09.1948.

DESCR. FÍSICA: -

NOTAS: in TOSTÕES, A. & ROSSA, W. (2009) Lisboa 1758 : O plano da baixa hoje. IN CML (Ed.) ROSSA, Walter ed. Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Pelouro de Urbanismo e Reabilitação Urbana e o Pelouro de Cultura, Educação e Juventude.

COTA (do arquivo): -

ARQUIVO: Colecção Particular

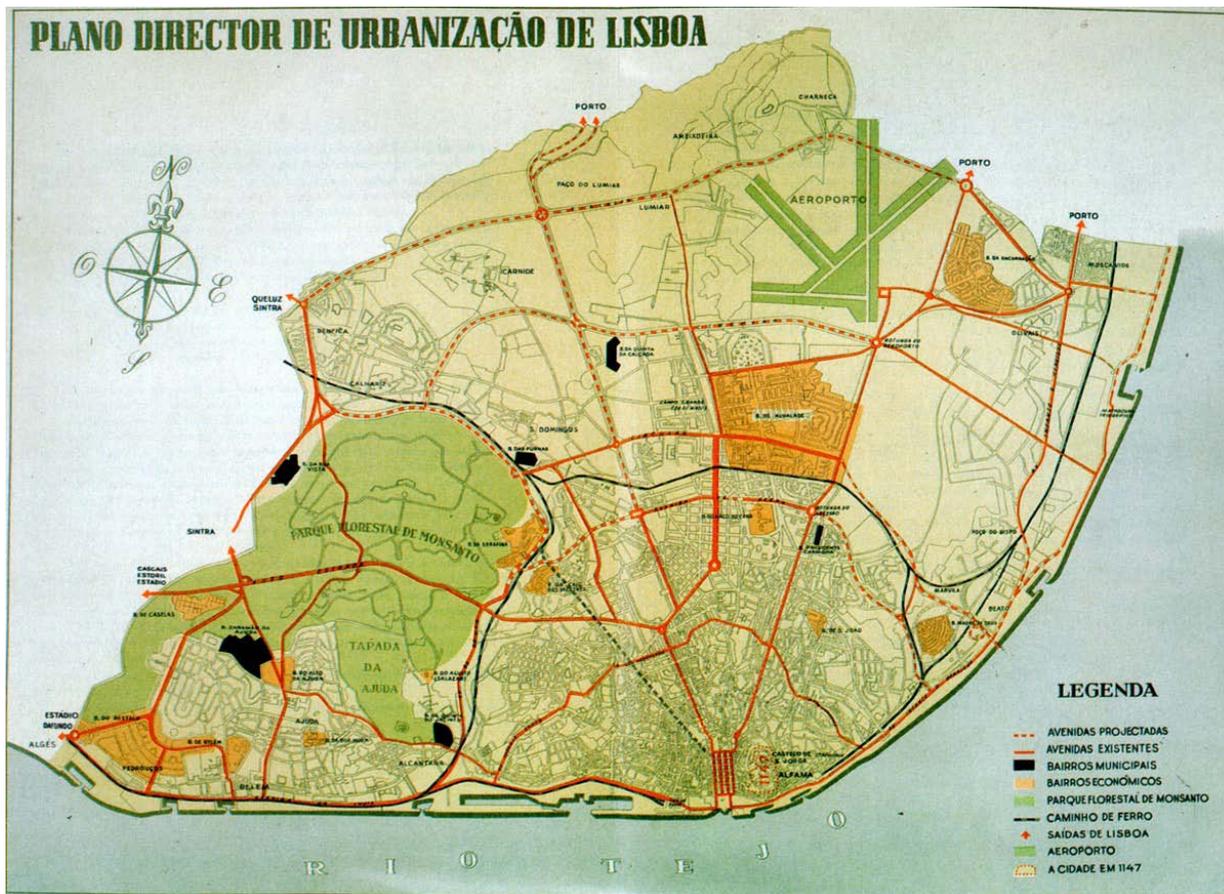


Fig.4: Master Plan of Lisbon in 1948.

[Plano Director de Urbanização de Lisboa (detalhes)] [Material cartográfico]

AUTOR(ES): Étienne de Groër.

ESCALA: -

PUBLICAÇÃO: 1947

DESCR. FÍSICA: 1 planta : color, 34 x 49 cm

NOTAS: -

COTA (do arquivo): DP 1272 CMLEO

ARQUIVO: GEO - Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses

Notes: Figures 1, 2 and 3 by the paper authors. Figure 4 courtesy of Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses.

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Following a Shadow: Materiality and Visualization in Philibert Delorme's 'Le premier Tome'

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This paper will address the tensions within Philibert Delorme's Le Premier Tome about what a modern architect should be. Based on a close reading of this treatise, it attempts to disentangle his oscillating arguments regarding the architect's need for either theoretical or practical geometry. I will propose that these two types of geometry suggest Delorme's urge to merge a medieval mindset with a more classically oriented learnedness. Finally, Delorme's recurring indications of a 'great mental labour' involved in both the writing of his treatise and the execution of his work on site suggest a third force - another space in which geometry was resolved, adding another dimension to his definition of an architect.

Philibert Delorme (1514-70), the first Frenchman to receive status as architect in our modern sense of the word¹, emphasized in his treatise *Le Premier Tome* that anyone who wanted to be called an architect had to have knowledge of letters and other disciplines such as geometry and arithmetics. Delorme's standpoint was well positioned within the much-established classical views that an architect had to master these disciplines in *theory* before being seen as capable of the design and execution of a building². This view is seen in the earlier European treatises, but especially in Vitruvius', which Delorme refers to regularly. Delorme's position on the definition of the professional architect therefore seems very clear, however on a closer reading of his treatise one discovers a tremendous lack of clarity about what skills and knowledge he believed an architect should have. Nevertheless, establishing a definition of the role of the architect appears to have been one of Delorme's primary aims; this is in fact already expressed already on the first page of his treatise through a frustration at the lack of boundaries between architects and master masons. He exclaims that the majority of those who alleged to be architects should instead be called master masons because they were more concerned with manual work than with the knowledge of letters and disciplines³.

Manual work was dismissed as being somewhat below the discipline of an architect who should first and foremost be proficient in the theories of each discipline. Consequently we find much evidence, especially in Books III and IV on stereotomy⁴, that he wanted architects to learn disciplines such as geometry. He repeatedly claimed that anyone engaged with the cutting of stone needed to master geometry in order to understand the *traits*⁵. This wish for training in geometry became a self-confessed obsession in *Le Premier Tome*⁶. In Book III, Chapter VI, he said for example that those who already know geometry would have much advantage in the practice of stonecutting⁷.

However, Delorme oscillates between making less convincing claims about geometry's advantage⁸ to more potent assertions that without a mastery of geometry, understanding the art of stonecutting would in actual fact be improbable⁹. This was clearly stated in Book III, Chapter XV where he said: '...it is unlikely that it [the trait] will be understood except by those who already

¹ BLUNT, Anthony - *Philibert de l'Orme*. London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1958, 2.

² ETLINGER, Leopold - "The Emergence of the Italian Architect during the Fifteenth Century." Spiro Kostof - *The Architect. Chapters in the History of the Profession*. London, University of California Press, 2000, 98.

³ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*. Paris: Federic Morel, 1567, f.1v.

⁴ Stereotomy is the drawing and cutting of stones to fit into complex architectural constructions.

⁵ A *trait* means the actual slicing, or the 'cut', of a stone as well as its orthogonal projection.

⁶ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.73. Sanabria also pointed this out in his PhD dissertation: "De l'Orme's concern for the dissemination of geometric knowledge is quite obsessive." SANABRIA, Sergio Luis - *The Evolution and Late Transformation of the Gothic Mensuration System. Doctoral Thesis*. Princeton University. 1984.

⁷ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.61v.

⁸ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.61v.

⁹ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.78v.

have Geometry under control¹⁰. Now, there is here a very different emphasis placed on the importance of geometry. Although his remark relates to a somewhat more complex stereotomic problem than earlier in the treatise, he does not deem it difficult enough to need any further clarification. He simply says that they should be understood by means of the traits previously described. On account of this he decides that a longer explanation is superfluous and consequently refers back to earlier ones for further solutions¹¹. If this trait had been significantly more difficult to solve than the earlier traits, in such a way that it was unlikely to be understood without mastering geometry, Delorme's change of emphasis would seem logical. As it was not, it shows without doubt that his point of view on the significance of geometry varies throughout Books III and IV.

Despite Delorme's oscillation in the emphasis of geometry, we saw above how he appeared to rank manual labour below the disciplines of geometry and arithmetics¹². However, as geometry is typically understood as measuring the earth or the mathematics of space, what seems imperative in order to further disentangle Delorme's true position is to elucidate what precisely he meant by 'measure'. He pronounced for example in the Prologue of Book III that: '...he [the architect] must conduct all his works (...) by measure'¹³. His repetitive claims about learning geometry can be viewed in two different ways. On the one hand, it appears that Delorme wrote *Le Premier Tome* with a theoretical geometry in mind, and as such 'measure' meant geometry reliant on postulates from which to follow prescribed procedures. On the other hand however, it appears that his lecturing remarks about theoretical geometry were not as deeply embedded in his own practice as it first appeared, he seemed in fact to believe as much in practical geometry as in the theoretical, although this is not as obvious in his treatise.

The first tension between the two geometries appears throughout the treatise in that there are no measures that have definite numbers; rather they are ratios of how parts relate to a whole¹⁴. There are only some very few places where an absolute idea of numbers presents itself¹⁵, such as in the word 'fathom'¹⁶. This word means quite literally the distance between the fingertips of a man with outstretched arms, suggesting firstly a very abstract idea of number, but since this measure had of course a real number attached to it¹⁷, it does therefore begin to suggest a dichotomy between the practical and theoretical geometries which this paper will address.

Further, in Book II of his treatise, we notice that he expressed concerns about the theories he had developed in *Le Premier Tome* and whether they would remain only as theories unless the architect's hands were put to work¹⁸. Throughout Delorme's treatise we see several such examples where he expressed unease over whether the architects would forget to put their theories into practice.

Another indication of the tensions between an architect and a stonecutter becomes evident when examining for whom Books III and IV¹⁹ were written. Delorme stated that these books were written principally for stonecutters and master masons²⁰ although he makes repeated efforts throughout the text to explain processes that stone masons and stonecutters would find very simple to do. This was, he said, because he had also written it for those 'curious' and 'gentle spirits' who wanted to know if the workers were doing their job properly²¹. In further reading about these gentle spirits one recognizes that these 'gentle spirits' indicated

¹⁰ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.78v (English translation in: SANABRIA, Sergio Luis - *The Evolution and Late Transformation of the Gothic Mensuration System*, 188).

¹¹ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.78v.

¹² DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.1v.

¹³ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.50v.

¹⁴ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.67v.

¹⁵ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.78v.

¹⁶ *Fathom* is translated from the French word *toise*.

¹⁷ 1 fathom equals 6 feet or 1,949 metres.

¹⁸ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.47v.

¹⁹ Books III and IV in his treatise were dedicated to stereotomy.

²⁰ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.58v.

²¹ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.68v-69r.

the 'gentleman architect' common during the Renaissance and were also Delorme's terms for those architects who were not trained in stonemasonry, and those who were 'not of the art' as he regularly maintained, but who nevertheless were seeking to establish an authority over the stonemasons²². The architect had to master geometry in practice, but he also wanted the stonemasons to understand theoretical geometry.

What becomes increasingly intriguing is Delorme's further declaration that if architects adhered too rigidly to geometry, architecture would only remain a shadow of itself. He said:

*Others on the contrary went no further than to letters and geometric proofs, without applying to the work, which meant that they only followed the shadow of this great body of architecture without achieving any real knowledge...*²³

This is further verified in Book II when he stated that in fact he did not want the architect or the master mason to understand geometry fully²⁴. As a result we see in Delorme's treatise two very different kinds of opinion, the ones where Delorme is mostly concerned with practice and the ones where he was mostly concerned with theory. Delorme's idea that architects being too close to geometry would only be following a shadow of what he believed architecture was is the strongest suggestion yet of what he truly considered a professional architect to be. Despite his oscillating arguments, he appeared to believe that a good architect was both a theoretician and a master practitioner; that the two must conjoin. Geometry must be applicable to practice, but practice must also be grounded in theory. However, it would seem from statements such as the one above that, instinctively, he is perhaps more in favour of the practical than the theoretical side. This is a further suggestion of his position as a disciple of the practical geometries reminiscent of the Middle Ages and not of the theoretical geometries of the Renaissance that he advocates throughout his treatise and thus confirms the personal conflict within Delorme that is vital to this discussion.

At first it appeared clear from his treatise that in order to become an architect one must master theory, but on the other hand he reveals what could only be described as a fear of the dominance of theoretical geometry, because it had the potential to leave architecture only as a shade of itself. It is here that Delorme reveals his background as the son of a master mason. One can assume that this gave him the foundations for an understanding of the practice of stonemasonry, which until Delorme's time had depended entirely on a practical geometry. Despite his repetitive claims about the learning of geometry he seemed unable to embrace theoretical geometry alone as sufficient to become a modern architect. This dichotomy is immensely significant not only for our knowledge of Delorme's emergence as one of the first modern architects but also for the profession as a whole during this time.

The closing argument that Delorme's 'architect' alternates between a practical and theoretical geometer appears in Book IV where he stated that there was a great amount of mental labour involved in his traits. He said for example about his most famous piece, the *trompe*²⁵ at the Chateau Anet:

*I found the trait and invented the device in that year fifteen thirty-six, with the help of geometry and a large work of the mind...*²⁶

²² I use here 'stonemasons' to include stonemasons as well as stonecutters.

²³ "Les autres tout au contraire se sont arretes aux lettres seules, et demonstrations geometriques, sans les appliquer a l'œuvre, qui a fait que seulement ils ont suivi l'ombre de ce beau corps d'architecture sans aucunement parvenir a la vraie connaissance..." DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*. Paris: Federic Morel, 1567, f.1v. Translated by the author.

²⁴ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.31v.

²⁵ A *trompe* has been described most regularly in the literature as a 'cantilevered trumpet squinch'.

²⁶ "J'en trouvai le trait et inventai l'artifice en ladite annee mille cinq cent trente six, par le moyen et aide de géométrie, et grand travail d'esprit..." DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.91r. Translated by the author.

We discover indeed in several places²⁷ throughout his treatise that he suggested the use of some form of mental labour in the creation of his drawings and the architectural constructions to which they referred. Early in the treatise he refers to the 'great mental labour'²⁸ involved in his demonstrations and explanations throughout the text; further on about the 'spiritual fatigue'²⁹ he suffered throughout the making of an object; and lastly to the 'large work of the mind'³⁰ involved in the creation of the trait as quoted above. Although there are ample explanations relating to the 'help of geometry' he offers very little in the written text that suggests what exactly the work of the mind consisted of. We can for the purpose of this short paper however, only begin to propose how this was embedded in his practice.

It has been argued³¹ that it is possible to make a stereotomically correct trait for a trompe without knowing what it would look like before it was actually built: that it was a result of geometric procedures that were followed blindly. However, Delorme's words above suggest that some form of transaction took place between the cutting of stone and *thinking*, but more importantly that this 'work of the mind' was far from blind, that it was an internal process which was just as significant to the process of stonecutting as both theoretical and practical geometry. Delorme suggests an ability both to visualize and to resolve the space-geometrical relationships in the mind. He desired that both the architect and the mason would be able to visualize these very complex space-geometrical relationships without any geometrical proofs³². To extend what Robin Evans³³ and others³⁴ have already indicated, I argue further that the problem-solving involved in the drawing and cutting of stone could take place in the architect's mind; and that beyond the theoretical and the practical geometries Delorme argued for, there was a geometry that could be resolved in the imagination.

To conclude, it appears to be a great sense of tension within Delorme's *Le Premier Tome* about what he thought a modern architect really was. This tension arose out of Delorme's blurred ideas of the architect's and stonecutter's need to learn both practical and theoretical geometries; as we have seen, this was perhaps due to his own practical background. On the one hand Delorme professed the knowledge of letters and theoretical geometry for all architects. However, we saw also his apprehension and it became clear that he feared the effects of theory. To become a professional architect, they also had to master geometry in practice and, to use Delorme's words again, avoid the shadows. Delorme's position regarding geometry as theory or as practice, and thus also his definition of the modern architect, remains ambiguous. Lastly, I argue that Delorme's many indications in his treatise that the 'work of the mind' was as important as the 'help of geometry' - that both the theoretical and practical geometries involved in his definition of the modern architect - was extended to also include the imagination as a space capable of resolving geometrical problems.

²⁷ See for example: f.A4v (he mentions it twice on this page), f.58v, f.61v, f.80r and f.91r as above.

²⁸ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.A4v.

²⁹ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.80r.

³⁰ DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.91v.

³¹ See for example: POTIÉ, Philippe - *Philibert de l'Orme. Figures de la Pensée Constructive*. Marseille: Parenthèses, 1998.

³² DELORME, Philibert - *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, f.58v.

³³ EVANS, Robin - *The Projective Cast, Architecture and Its Three Geometries*. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: The MIT Press, 2000, 189.

³⁴ See for example: MÜLLER, Werner - "The Authenticity of Guarini's Stereotomy in His "Architettura Civile". *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Vol. 27, No. 3, Oct. 1968, 202-208.

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Flaminio Boulangier, ‘sculptor lignorum et architectus gallus’: The Making of a Professional Architect in Early Modern Rome

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Titles and vocational distinctions were loosely applied in sixteenth-century Rome, depending on the job at hand. Often one will find an architect cited as a military engineer, master-mason, surveyor, or even as a carpenter or bricklayer. The French woodworker Flaminio Boulangier, who executed the wooden ceilings in S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Maria in Aracoeli, and the Palazzo dei Conservatori, three of the most prestigious Roman ceiling commissions of the sixteenth century, is listed variously as “architetto”, “mastro falegname”, “carpentario” and “intagliatore di legno.” Likewise, many Cinquecento builders who are recorded as carpenters or woodworkers were in fact architects, military engineers, sculptors, and even wood merchants. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, carpenters increasingly reveal themselves as woodcarvers (intagliatori di legno), sculptors (scultori in legno), and even architects (architetti). While there was indeed the trend toward greater specialization and division among the corporations in Rome in the Cinquecento, it was still commonplace, however, to find an architect, wood-sculptor, or engineer designated with the title of “falegname,” “muratore,” or “scultore.” In fact, the close association and collaboration between architects, sculptors, masons and carpenters continued well into the seventeenth century.

Much of the difficulty in coming to terms with the background of Renaissance and early Baroque architects stems from the fact that an institutionalized approach to the education and training of architects in Rome would not be introduced till the eighteenth century. Since there was no formal or standard mechanism for aspiring architects, many Renaissance and Baroque *architetti* emerged from the artisanal ranks of carpenters, masons, stucco workers, as well as those of sculptors and painters, all of whom, however, were closely associated with the building industries. Indeed, many successful Renaissance and Baroque headmaster masons and carpenters (capomastri muratori et falegnami) demonstrate ample knowledge of perspective and design, competing for artistic commissions alongside well known artists and architects, as is the case of the French woodworker Flaminio Boulangier,¹ who was active in Rome from 1551-83 and maintained workshops the Borgo and Campo Marzo districts (rioni).² Although arguably the “finest wood-sculptor of elaborately decorated ceilings” active in Rome during the second half of the sixteenth century,³ mastro Flaminio was not a member of the Università dei Muratori et dei Falegnami nor the Arciconfraternita di S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami nor was it apparently necessary. As Anthony Blunt has pointed out, the great majority of buildings which give Rome its vernacular style “are by architects whose identities cannot be established or whose artistic personalities are still not clearly definable.” Flaminio Boulangier is representative of this group of artisan-architects who remain little studied, but whose contributions are found throughout the most important and notable architectural commissions

¹ Other well-known examples include: Francesco Nicolini, the wood-engraver Isabella Parasole, and Giuseppe dei Bianchi. The woodworkers Ambrogio Bonazzini, Santi Bongiani, Battista Fregosino, Nicola Guarisco, Alessandro Nave, Giacomo de Pomis, Vittorio Roncone, Valerio Valle, and Giovanni Volpetta are further examples of master artisans who unified the roles of appraiser, designer, independent contractor, and architect. Moreover, documents indicate that artistic commissions were awarded to talented individuals of various backgrounds who could demonstrate their ability and experience. It is thus no surprise that qualified *mastri falegnami* are found working alongside artists and architects in positions of artistic responsibility during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period when builders were in great demand in the quickly developing metropolis of Rome.

² For the literature concerning Flaminio Boulangier, see: Coffin 2004, pp. 50-51 and 76-77; Anderson 2002a, pp. 109-118; A. Ilari, *Costantiniana arcibasilica in Laterano*, Rome: Tipolitografia Trullo, s.r.l., 2000, pp. 50-51; Anderson 1999a, pp. 91-92; S-W., “Flaminio Boulangier,” *SAUR*, vol. 13, 1996, pp. 326-327; Baglione-Hess-Röttgen, II, pp. 64-65 (nos. C 5⁴⁴ and C 6¹); Barroero, 145-146; Lanciani, vol. 3, 1990, p. 263; Carta and Russo, pp. 101, 103 and 225; Henneberg 1974, pp. 44-45 and 99; Masetti-Zannini 1974, p. XLVII, note 122; Henneberg 1970, pp. 157-171; Buchowiecki, I, pp. 64, 72; Idem, vol. II, pp. 411, 484 and 491; C. Pietrangeli, “Storia e architettura dell’Aracoeli,” *Capitolium*, vol. 40, 1965, pp. 187-195; Golzio and Zander, pp. 317-318; C. Pietrangeli, “La Sala degli Orazi e Curiazi,” *Capitolium*, vol. 37, 1962, pp. 194-202; Idem, “Il tabernacolo cinquecentesco dell’Aracoeli al Museo di Roma,” *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, vol. 8, 1961, pp. 26-33; Pecchiai, pp. 94, 125ff, 141, 151-154, 161-63 and 175; Paolucci, pp. 521-530; Ortolani, pp. 35 and 52; V. Pacifici, *Ippolito Secondo d’Este Cardinale di Ferrara*, Tivoli: Società di Storia e d’Arte in Villa D’Este, 1922 (ristampa Tipografia Ripoli, Tivoli, 1984), pp. 146, 180ff, 393 and 409; Caroselli, pp. 1-45; Lauer, pp. 312-316 and 602-608; Bertolotti 1886a, pp. 54, 62-64 and 222; Bertolotti 1880, p. 224; and De Fleury, pp. 264-268.

³ Lanciani, III, p. 263; and ASR, Camerale I, *Fabbriche*, busta 1524, “Istruzione,” fol. 3.

undertaken in Rome from 1400-1600. The following study of the French woodworker is intended to create interest in a new body of research concerning the collaboration of architects, artists, and artisans on monumental projects in order to better understand the kind of training and education that was involved in their professional development.

Boulangier arrived in Rome around 1550 under the patronage and employment of the D'Este household.⁴ He executed an ornamental wooden coffered ceiling above Pirro Ligorio's frieze in the Sala Grande (1551-52) of the Palazzo Orsini di Monte Giordano for cardinal Ippolito Secondo d'Este of Ferrara; in 1554 he carried out and installed eight imprese of the D'Este family for the "soffitto nuovo" at Monte Giordano.⁵ Master Flaminio is mentioned in regard to the cardinal's "general accounts of 1564" for having carved the decorative intarsia frame of Titian's *Adoration of the Magi*.⁶ Ippolito apparently commissioned the work from Titian when he visited the artist's studio in 1556. Initially, the *Adoration* was intended as a gift for the French king Henry II, a supposition that is corroborated by the frame's decoration. For the latter, Boulangier incorporated the crescents, bows and arrows of the king's mistress, Diane of Poitiers, as well as the pairs' monogram of intertwined initials 'D and H'.⁷ Titian sent the picture to Ippolito in Rome, as is recorded in a payment made to the courier on 7 October 1564.⁸ Flaminio gilt the frame "del quadro dei Re magi di Tiziano" in 1565; it was then hung in the newly constructed cappellina of the Palazzo di Monte Giordano, and is now housed in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana.⁹ Vasari refers to the cardinal's painting in connection with a second *Adoration of the Magi* executed by the Venetian artist:

Tiziano painted recently in a picture three braccia high and four braccia broad, Jesus Christ as an Infant in the lap of Our Lady and adored by the Magi, with a good number of figures of one braccia each, which is a very lovely work, as is also another picture that he himself copied from that one and gave to the old Cardinal of Ferrara.¹⁰

The French wood-engraver also worked for the Ferrarese ducal family in Tivoli, where he executed the elaborate wooden coffered ceiling in cardinal Ippolito II's private bedroom of the Villa d'Este in 1569.¹¹

In 1552 mastro Flaminio carved the ciborium of pope Julius III from the designs of Girolamo da Carpi for the high altar of S. Maria in Aracoeli.¹² A drawing of the ciborium by the Ferrarese artist housed in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence reveals a domed

⁴ A. Serafini, *Girolamo da Carpi, pittore e architetto ferrarese*, Rome: Tip. Unione Editrice, 1915, p. 387.

⁵ Cardinal Ippolito purchased the Palazzo Orsini di Monte Giordano in 1560. For a biography of the Cardinal of Ferrara, see: L. Byatt, "Ippolito d'Este," *DBI*, vol. 43, 1993, pp. 376-374 and Pacifici, p. 409. A note concerning partial payment to Boulangier for the building and decoration of the Sala Grande of the Monte Giordano Palace is located in: ASM, *Libro del maneggio di M. Raffael Segnato A.*, Rome, cart. 3, August 13, 1551 (document XII). See also: C. L. Frommel, "La Villa e i Giardini del Quirinale nel Cinquecento," *Bollettino d'Arte: Volume speciale*, 1999, pp. 15-62 (esp. 28-31).

⁶ See note 155.

⁷ F. Pedrocchio, *Titian*, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2000, p. 263, cat. no. 222; F. Valcanover, *Tiziano: I suoi Pennelli sempre partorirono espressioni di vita*, Florence: Edizioni il Fiorino, 1999, pp. 81, note 180; C. Hope, *Titian*, London: Jupiter Books, 1980, pp. 137 and 142, note 20; F. Valcanover, *L'opera completa di Tiziano Vecellio*, Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1978, p. 129; H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, 2 vols., New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1969, pp. 33 and 63-67, cat. no. 2; F. Valcanover, *All the Paintings of Titian*, New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., vol. 3, 1960, p. 44; and H. Tietze, *Titian: Paintings and Drawings*, Vienna: Phaidon Press, 1937, p. 333.

⁸ Pacifici, p. 393, states that "tra le spese del cardinale nel 1564, nel 'Conto generale' di quell'anno, a pagina 60 risultano pagate il 7 ottobre lire 3 a Rainaldo coriero per tante che lui ha pagate in Venetia a M. Thizziano pitore per la spesa fatta ad incassare una pittura in tela de' Re magi."

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 409-410.

¹⁰ Vasari-deVere, II, p. 794. Vasari must have seen a third copy of the *Magi* when he visited Titian's workshop in 1566, since the Escorial picture was sent to King Philip II of Spain in 1559, and the Milan *Adoration* had been delivered to Cardinal Ippolito in October 1564. After the death of Henry II in 1559, the Spanish ambassador Garcia Hernández convinced Titian to ship the *Adoration* to Philip II, who sent it to the Escorial in 1574. Pedrocchio (2000) and Hope (1980) contend that Titian executed a copy of the *Adoration*, which he only finished and sent to the Cardinal of Ferrara in 1564. Whethey (1969) dates the Ambrosiana *Adoration* to 1557, and claims that it is the first of four known copies executed by Titian: Milan, Escorial, Prado, and Cleveland. He postulates that Vasari most likely saw the Cleveland *Adoration* when he visited the Venetian artist's workshop in 1566.

¹¹ I. P. Barisi, *Guide to the Villa D'Este*, Rome: Editoriale Museum, 1992, pp. 19-20 and Pacifici, pp. 180-181.

¹² Carta and Russo, p. 225; C. Pietrangeli, "Il tabernacolo cinquecentesco dell'Aracoeli al Museo di Roma," *Bollettino dei musei comunali a Roma*, vol. 8, 1961, pp. 26-33; and A. Muñoz, "Monumenti d'arte della provincial romana. Studi e restauri," *Bollettino d'arte*, vol. 7, no. 7, 1913, pp. 258-260. For Boulangier's work on the Tabernacle of Julius III, see: ASR-cam, *Tesoreria Segreta*, 1552, cart. 33v (Document XIII); and ASR-cam, *Tesoreria Segreta*, 1553, cart. 17 (Document XIV).

two-story structure resting on a square base.¹³ The freestanding figures set on pedestals above the Ionic capitals in the manner of ancient *actroteria* in the Uffizi drawing, were replaced with ornamental spheres in the executed work. A second drawing of the ground plan of the Aracoeli Tabernacle – attributed by Serafini to Da Carpi – demonstrates a centralized plan with an octagonal dome inscribed within a square in the manner of Bramante's Tempietto.¹⁴ The principal sides of the *ciborio* contain podium staircases leading to a central portal supported by a triangular pediment; the painted medallions located at the corners of the stairs contain representations of the Four Cardinal Virtues. The socle zone below the flights of stairs includes *grotteschi* decoration and the *impresa* of Julius III – three mounds with little oak twigs – in small roundels. Eight Prophets and Sibyls located in the niches flanking the main portals were carved by Flaminio Boulangier; the registers of the base on the second floor carry images of the Doctors of the Church and the Four Evangelists. The upper story consists of triangular pediments supported by Corinthian columns alternating with rectangular framed mirrors topped by a tiled dome.

A celebrated sculptor of “soffitti a cassettoni,” Boulangier executed his own designs for the works he negotiated, which included high profile commissions for the ceilings of the major Roman basilicas and governmental buildings in the second half of the Cinquecento. On June 8, 1562, mastro Flaminio won the competition for the nave ceiling of S. Giovanni in Laterano after presenting his own drawings to deputies vicegerent Marc Antonio Maffei and Horatio Muti.¹⁵ He promised to carry out the work diligently and rapidly, and not to stray from his design. Boulangier entered into a partnership (*compagnia*) on June 9th with the Florentine woodworker Lodovico di Raffaele di Vico, who pledged to carry out “his half of the work” and to pay mastro Flaminio 130 scudi in recognition of the French master’s designs. Mastro Vico perished the following year when the scaffolding supporting the artisans collapsed. He was replaced in 1564 by the carpenter Ambrogio Bonazzino, and the Lateran nave ceiling was completed by 1566.¹⁶ Upon the elevation of Cardinal Antonio Ghislieri as Pope Pius V, masters Flaminio and Ambrogio dismantled the *impresa* of the *Popolo romano* and added the arms of the new pope to the central register over the main altar.¹⁷

The nave ceiling of the Lateran basilica designed and constructed by Flaminio Boulangier (1562-65) marks a point of departure in wooden ceiling decoration.¹⁸ Instead of constructing a regularized grid of gilt coffers in which the ornament is placed within individual *lacunae*, the French carpenter divided the Lateran ceiling into three broadly defined areas. Each section houses a large rectangular compartment containing a set of papal arms inscribed within an oval: the personal stemma of Pius V is set over the main altar, that of Pius IV is at the center, while Pius VI's arms face the east entrance.¹⁹ The large central registers of the three main sections are surrounded by four square perpendicular coffers forming a Greek cross, and four L-shaped compartments are placed at the corners. Specifically, the papal insignia now dominate the ceiling composition, and thus the commanding presence of the bishop of Rome is directly communicated to the faithful.

The coat of arms of Pius V towering above the main altar was inserted by masters Boulangier and Bonazzini at the election of the Ghislieri pope in 1566. Initially, the arms of the Roman Commune (SPQR) were represented over the central oval, but

¹³ Serafini, pp. 286-293 and 386-390, fig. 175. The Aracoeli tabernacle was painted and gilt by Pietro Venale da Imola and Antonio da Avignone in 1553. The documents pertaining to the decoration of the ciborium of Julius III were published by Serafini (pp. 386-387, note. 4).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 360, fig. 178.

¹⁵ Buchowiecki, I, pp. 64 and 72; Coffin 2004, pp. 50-51; Anderson 2002a, pp. 109-118; Barroero, pp. 145-146; Lanciani, III, p. 263; Masetti-Zannini 1974, p. XLVII, note 122; Golzio and Zander, pp. 317-318; Paolucci, pp. 521-530; Ortolani, pp. 35 and 52; Lauer, pp. 602-608; Bertolotti 1886a, pp. 62-64; and De Fleury, pp. 264-268.

¹⁶ ASR-cam, *Fabbriche*, busta 1524, “Instruzione,” fol. 3.

¹⁷ Two copies of the Lateran nave ceiling renovations carried out under Pope Pius V (1565-72) have survived: *Conto*, “Nota dell’opere fatte nella Fabrica de S. Giovanni Doppo il saldo dato in Camera Apostolica sotto il di 27 di Novembre 1566,” 12v and 14r; and ASR-cam, *Giustificazioni*, busta 7, “1570. Per il palco di S. Gio. Laterano saldo,” pp. 32 and 34-35.

¹⁸ Anderson 2002a, p. 110; Anderson 1999a, pp. 97-98; and Freiberg 1995, p. 15.

¹⁹ For a description of the Lateran ceiling, see: J. Zahlten, “Beobachtungen zur Mittelalter-Rezeption in der Ausstattung römischer Kirchen nach dem Tridentinum,” *Mittelalter-Rezeption: Ein Symposium*, Stuttgart, 1986, pp. 88-89 (hereafter: Zahlten); and A. Valentini and F. Gerardi, *La Patriarcale basilica Lateranense*, Rome, 1839, pp. 82-83 (hereafter: Valentini-Gerardi).

shortly after the death of Pius' predecessor, the late pope Pius IV (Medici), they were dismantled and taken down.²⁰ The outer compartments are composed of ecclesiastical symbols and ornaments demonstrating the "primacy" of the pope as the bishop of Rome, and the instruments of the Mass.²¹ The bishop's miter is positioned directly above the papal stemma and the pope's tiara bearing the inscription "Sacrosanctæ Lateranensis Ecclesiæ" is located towards the main altar. The remaining exterior compartments house thuribles or censers, incense holders, candlesticks, lustrals or purificatory vessels, crosses, pastorals, books, crosiers, vases and basins. The small, narrow lacuna located between the first third of the ceiling over the main altar and adjacent to the triumphal arch of Alexander VI contains the chalice of St. John the Apostle from the Book of Revelation, and is flanked by candlesticks.

The French wood-carver distinguished himself with the elaborately carved and decorated coffered ceiling in the cathedral of Rome, which brought him to the attention of a close friend of Michelangelo, the Roman nobleman Tommaso De' Cavaliere,²² who aided Boulangier in securing numerous commissions at the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In 1565 masters Flaminio Boulangier and Marco da Cremona appraised the wooden modello for Michelangelo's façade of the Conservators' Palace executed by mastro Domenico Falegname.²³ The architectural elements described in the inspection reports are visible in Etienne Dupérac and Bartolomeo Faletti's engravings of Michelangelo's designs of the Piazza del Campidoglio and the façade of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.²⁴ As deputy to the "fabrica del Campidoglio," De' Cavaliere negotiated Boulangier's contract to design and build the "soffitto ligneo" in the Sala dei Trionfi (1568).²⁵ In 1570, mastro Flaminio carved the speaker's podium (pulpito dell'Arringatore) in the Sala degli Orazi e Curazi (Sala Grande).²⁶ Messer De' Cavalieri concluded a second contract with Boulangier on 6 October 1573 to construct a wooden ceiling in the Sala della Capitani (1573-74) – also known as the "Salotto degli Imperatore" or "Seconda Sala" – for the rate of "vent'uno scudo la canna."²⁷ The agreement between the deputies of the Conservators' Palace and Boulangier stipulated that the former could make changes in the carpenter's design to their satisfaction as the project progressed.²⁸ In 1577, mastro Flaminio supplied purlins and girders for renovations to the roof of the Sala Grande.²⁹ On 31 July 1581 Boulangier signed a contract with the procuratore and priore of the Palazzo dei Conservatori to execute an elaborate coffered ceiling in the Sala degli Orazi e Curazi (1581-82).³⁰

²⁰ *Conto*, "Nota dell'opere fatte nella Fabrica de S. Giovanni," fol. 12v; Idem, "Istruzione," fol. 14r, and Idem, "Stima de Falegnami," fol. 17r.

²¹ S. de Blaauw, "The solitary celebration of the supreme pontiff. The Lateran basilica as the new temple in the medieval liturgy of Maundy Thursday," *Omnes Circumstances: Contributions towards a history of the role of the people in the liturgy presented to Herman Wegman*, Kampen, 1990, pp. 120-143 (hereafter: De Blaauw).

²² Henneberg 1970, p. 159 and Pecchiai, p. 151. In her essay, "La Basilica dal Cinquecento," p. 146, Barroero suggests that Tommaso de Cavaliere may have aided Boulangier in obtaining the Lateran nave ceiling commission. For a biography of the De Cavaliere, see: Perrig, pp. 678-680.

²³ See Document XVII; ASC-Boccapaduli, armario II, mazzo IV, no. 46, Libro di ricordi, fol. 51; and Pecchiai, p. 126.

²⁴ For an analysis of Michelangelo's project for the Capitoline Hill, see: L. Partridge, *The Art of Renaissance Rome 1400-1600*, New York, 1996, pp. 27-32; W. Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1500-1600*, New Haven and London, 1996, pp. 95-97; H. Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, New York, 1987, pp. 291-296; G. de Angelis d'Ossat and C. Pietrangeli, *Il Campidoglio di Michelangelo*, Milan, 1965, Pecchiai, pp. 5-20; and J. S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2 vols., London, 1964-66, I, 54ff; and II, 49ff; and C. L. Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, 3 vols., Tübingen, 1973.

²⁵ Also known as the 'Sala del Cantone.' Boulangier's contract to execute the ceiling in the Sala dei Trionfi was published by Pecchiai, p. 151 (Document XVIII); Henneberg 1974, p. 45; Baglione-Hess-Röttgen, II, p. 443 [C 55³²]; and Perrig, pp. 678-680. The agreement (polisa) between Flaminio and Cavaliere states that the drawings were created by the French carpenter – "gli disegni fatti da lui" – who agreed to carry out the ceiling for "20 scudi de la canna."

²⁶ ASC, credenza VI, vol. XXIII, 37, 40, 42, and 48; Idem, vol. XXIX, 72; Idem, vol. XXV, 8; Idem, credenza XXIV, vol. CXVI, 76; ASC-Boccapaduli, *Libro di ricordi*, fol. 60; and Pecchiai, p. 162, note 214.

²⁷ The ceiling was destroyed in 1884. For a discussion of the renovations carried out in the Sala dei Capitani, see: Pecchiai, 153-161. For Boulangier's ceiling contract, see: ASC-Boccapaduli, armario II, mazzo IV, no. 54a, *Libro di ricordi*, fol. 74; ASR-CNC, *Protocolli del Notaio Nicolò Piroti*, 1573-74, fol. 253v.

²⁸ Document XX.

²⁹ Signor Francesco Spannocchi, a Roman nobleman, supplied the timber for the roof of the Sala Grande: Pecchiai, p. 161.

³⁰ ASR-CNC, *Protocolli del Notaio Nicolò Piroti*, 1580-81, fol. 317v; Pecchiai, *Campidoglio*, pp. 162-163; and Document XXI.

The deputies specified that he was to carry out an image of *Roma Resurgens* in the octagonal compartment then containing the arms of the “Popolo romano.” Under the supervision of Giacomo Della Porta, mastro Flaminio constructed the monumental central portal, windows and balconies of the Sala Grande (1582-83) facing the piazza, which are reflected in Michele Alberti and Giacomo Rocchietti’s fresco of the *Triumph of Emilio Paolo over Perseus of Macedonia* (1585) in the Sala dei Trionfi.³¹

For the ornate nave ceiling of S. Maria in Aracoeli, Boulangier introduced a modular system based on the organization of standard and flexible units, which ultimately moves beyond the Lateran in its level of geometric complexity and overall compositional design.³² In late autumn 1571, the Roman Senate decided at a meeting of the Secret Council on November 21 to erect a coffered ceiling in honor of the papal commander Marcantonio Colonna for the victory of the Holy League over the Turkish Fleet at the Battle of Lepanto.³³ Funding for the “soffitto della navata centrale,” which was dedicated to the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary at Lepanto, was to be raised from a tax levied on the sale of meat and public donations.³⁴ The Aracoeli commission was awarded on August 26, 1572 to the French wood-sculptor and carpenter Flaminio Boulangier, who had recently carried out the ceilings in the Sala dei Trionfi (1568) of the Palazzo dei Conservatori and in S. Giovanni in Laterano (1566).³⁵ Boulangier divided the surface area of the polychrome ceiling into three longitudinal sections. The central band consists of three monumental cruciform registers linked by two octagonal compartments inscribed within a square and a narrow Greek cross, resulting in an elegant use of the geometrical space. The coats of arms of popes Pius V and Gregory XIII adorn the outer registers, while the central lacunar contains a sculpture of the Virgin Mary suspended in the clouds, with two linked allegorical representations of the Roman Commune supported by two putti. The coffers of the two outer rows display *spoglie*: war trophies and weaponry seized by the Holy League at Lepanto.³⁶ The four rectangular compartments surrounding the Virgin represent the naval fleets (rostra) of the main protagonists – the Papal States, Venice, Spain and Turkish Empire – the latter with its standard, the crescent moon, facing towards the ground in the sign of defeat.

The entire ceiling ensemble is linked through a system of Greek crosses connecting the main registers, octagonal compartments, and the outer coffers. The frames of the individual coffers contain painted scenes illustrating the heraldic devices of Gregory XIII (dragon), Marcantonio Colonna (siren, column), the Roman Senate (SPQR), and the Virgin’s crown.³⁷ The Roman antiquarian and linguist Fulvio Orsini recorded the naval victory at Lepanto, along with the vote of the Roman Senate in honor of Marcantonio Colonna, in a Latin inscription – “Declario inscriptionis Laquearii” – located above the triumphal arch.³⁸ The frieze running along the nave walls contains gilt figures of the Capitoline she-wolf, the Roman Senate, Mary’s crown, sirens, dragons, naval rostra, and dolphins carved in low relief against a blue background.³⁹ The French carpenter’s nave ceiling for S. Maria in Aracoeli was inspected on 9 November 1574 by a team of appraisers (*stimatori*) led by masters

³¹ M. E. Tittoni-Monti, *The Capitoline Museums*, Milan: Federico Garolla Editore s.r.l., 1984, pp. 66-67; and Pecchiai, p. 163. Additional works carried out by Boulangier for the fabrica of the Conservators’ Palace include two windows in the Sala dei Capitani (1568-69) appraised by Giacomo della Porta. In August 1573, Flaminio built a crate that was used to transport a fresco of the Madonna to the second floor entrance of the Palazzo dei Conservatori; the French engraver carved and decorated a walnut tabernacle for the Sala Grande gilt by Cola del fu Amico. Boulangier appraised a chair designed by Giacomo della Porta for the Tribune of the Senate (1575). A register of accounts from 23 December 1578 mentions that master Flaminio received 20 scudi for building the large window with two doors facing the Sala dei Capitani, and for having executed the ornamental frame of the Madonna located in the chapel adjacent to the Captains’ Hall.

³² Roca De Amicis 1984, p. 56.

³³ P. Anderson, “S. Maria in Aracoeli: Die Kassettendecke des Hauptschiffs und der Triumph des Marc Antonio Colonna,” *Rom – Meisterwerke der Baukunst*, Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2007, pp. 259-264 (hereafter: Anderson 2007); M. Brancia di Apricena, *Il complesso dell’Aracoeli sul Colle Capitolino (IX - XIX secolo)*, Rome, 2000, pp. 178-180; M. Carta and L. Russo, *Santa Maria in Aracoeli*, Rome, 1988, pp. 101-103; Zahlten, pp. 97-102; R. Malmstrom, “S. Maria in Aracoeli at Rome,” Ph.D. diss., New York University, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1973, pp. 96-98; A. Colasanti, *S. Maria in Aracoeli*, Rome, 1923, p. 9; and Caroselli, pp. 1-27.

³⁴ Documents XXII and XXIV. In a *motu proprio* of 10 July 1572, Pope Gregory XIII granted the Roman Senate the right of pre-emption on the tax of 2000 scudi di oro, in addition to ceding a sum of 300 scudi.

³⁵ Caroselli, pp. 16-17; and biography of Boulangier (Chapter IV).

³⁶ Anderson 2007, pp. 259-264.

³⁷ Zahlten, pp. 97-98.

³⁸ Caroselli, pp. 14-15; and Carta and Russo, p. 101.

³⁹ Anderson 2007, pp. 259-264.

Battista Fregosino and Jacopo da Borgo.⁴⁰ Painters Cesare Trapassi di Foligno and his assistant, Siciolante da Sermoneta gilded the sumptuous Araceoli nave ceiling during 1574-1575.⁴¹

In the interval between Boulangier's work on the nave and transept ceilings at S. Maria in Aracoeli, Tommaso De' Cavalieri, who as deputy for the decorative program of the Oratory of SS. Crocifisso di San Marcello would again play a crucial role in obtaining a high profile commission for the French woodworker.⁴² At a meeting of the General Congregation on 23 August 1573, De' Cavalieri presented master Flaminio's design for the "soffitto del oratorio," which was chosen by the congregazione. The minutes taken at the session reveal Boulangier as author of the decorative coffered wooden ceiling of the Archconfraternity of the Holy Cross:

(...) non havere disegno più bello che quello disegno facto da Mastro Flaminio quale è questo che M. Thomao del Cavagliero porta et mostra qui alla congregatione.⁴³

As "protector of the society," Cardinal Alessandro Farnese had donated money for the ceiling as early as 1567, but work would only begin on the "soffitto del oratorio" after 9 September 1573.⁴⁴ Although Boulangier completed the ceiling in 1574, the society apparently had difficulty raising funds, since payments to the carpenter continued till November 1576 – not to mention the fact the ceiling was only gilt by Antonio Satarelli and Bartolomeo Girolamo da Urbino in 1583.⁴⁵

On 6 February 1576 the Conservators at S. Maria in Aracoeli sent offers to three artisans – masters Ambrogio, Andrea, and Flaminio – inviting them to apply for the commission for a wooden frieze that would run just below the newly finished nave ceiling.⁴⁶ The Deputies accepted Boulangier's proposal "al prezzo di 7 scudi la canna" the following day; mastro Flaminio would take five months to complete the frieze.⁴⁷ The painter Nicola de Amicis di Genazzano agreed to "dorare, colorare e dipingere" the remaining areas of the frieze in June 1578.⁴⁸

After the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli had been richly embellished with the addition of the ornate nave ceiling, it became apparent to the deputies that the transept ceiling too needed decoration in order to give a sense of harmony to the overall interior structure. The deplorable state of the transept was discussed by the church conservators during council meetings on 11 September and 22 October 1577, at which it was decided to bring the matter to the attention of pope Gregory XIII.⁴⁹ Flaminio Boulangier was awarded the contract to execute the transept ceiling on 9 December 1578;⁵⁰ Nicola de Amicis di Genazzano was commissioned to decorate "il soffitto della navata traversa" for the price negotiated by master Flaminio.⁵¹ He would not

⁴⁰ Document XXVI.

⁴¹ Caroselli, pp. 17-18.

⁴² For Tommaso De Cavalieri's role in the decorative program at the Oratorio del Crocifisso, see: Henneberg 1970, p. 159, note 23; and Barroero, pp. 145-146. The other four deputies included: Paolo de Castro, Emilio Vitelleschi, Pompeo Gottifredi and Fabio Lando. On 8 March 1573, deputies Patrizio Patrizi and Fabrizio Galletti were included with the initial group of five.

⁴³ Henneberg 1974, p. 45.

⁴⁴ The contract between Boulangier and Deputies Tommaso de Cavalieri and Fabio de Patavio for the Oratory Ceiling was signed on 9 September 1573 (Document XXVII), and is published by Henneberg 1974, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁵ The contract to gild the ceiling of the Oratorio del Crocifisso is found in Henneberg 1974, p. 107 (ASR-TNC, Tarquinius Caballutus notaro, vol. 91, fols. 908rv-921r). Henneberg 1970, p. 100, published a selection payment records to Boulangier for the Oratory ceiling (Document XXVIII).

⁴⁶ Document XXIX.

⁴⁷ Document XXX; and Caroselli, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁸ Caroselli, p. 18.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24 and 41-43.

⁵⁰ Document XXXI.

⁵¹ Caroselli, pp. 25-27.

complete the work, however, since a pair of "pittori" referred to as Manuzzio and Vanuzzio completed the frieze in 1586. On 27 August 1579 Boulangier was contracted to carry out the frieze below the transept ceiling.⁵²

Boulangier was well-known for his cabinet making and furnishings, carving two walnut bedsteads with canopies supported by columns for the D'Este family residence in 1565.⁵³ In a letter to cardinal Alessandro Farnese on 26 July 1578, the humanist poet Fulvio Orsini mentions that the French ebanista carved an armoire designed by Orsini.⁵⁴ An inventory taken in 1588 reveals that the large wooden cabinet or *studiolo* built by mastro Flaminio housed Pirro Ligorio's collection of ancient coins and manuscripts that had been purchased by cardinal Ranuccio Farnese in 1567.⁵⁵ Boulangier appears in the chapter records at S. Maria in Trastevere in 1580-81, where he constructed an organ casing and parapet consisting of a decorative trellised balustrade, along with a pair of shutters that were built to filter the light entering into the church.⁵⁶ Finally, mastro Flaminio executed the organ case for the so-called "Organo Gregoriana," constructed by Mariano and Vincenzo da Sulmona in 1580-82. Built initially for the Cappella Gregoriana, it was transferred to the Cappella del SS. Sacramento after the construction of Maderno's nave in 1612. Battistelli attributes the design of the organ to Giacomo Della Porta, who oversaw its construction and the payments to the French carpenter.⁵⁷ Boulangier carried out the triumphal arch, with four Corinthian columns, putti, festoons, and the Boncompagni stemma, for 370 scudi.⁵⁸

The experience of the French workworker is significant and instructive for a number of reasons: First, it is striking that the most important and influential *architetto-falegname* working in mid-Cinquecento Rome was neither a member of the Carpenters and Masons' Guild nor Confraternity, as matriculation in the appropriate *corporazione* apparently was not necessary to achieve a successful career in the building industry. Second, the lack of standard training or education supports the notion that architects were self-taught. Third, careers could be made by seeking patronage and intervention from powerful Roman families as well as papal administration offices, such as the Apostolic Chamber or even the Pope himself. Fourth, while membership seems not to have been required in all cases, the guild and confraternity systems did, however, offer stable employment to artists, architects and artisans. Fourth, empirical evidence shows that architects came from such related artisanal groups as masons, carpenters, stone-cutters, stucco-workers, as well as sculptors and painters. Fifth, the scores of architects and artisans who made their way to Rome in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries demonstrated a tendency toward practical experience and training as opposed to an artistic and theoretical background.

⁵² Document XXXII.

⁵³ Coffin 1960, p. 41, note 2; J. von Henneberg 1974, p. 45; and Pacifici, pp. 409-410.

⁵⁴ F.-C. Uginet, *Le Palais Farnese*, 3 vols., Rome: L'Ecole, 1980, I.1, (hereafter: Uginet), pp. 238-39. Fulvio Orsini designed the armoire – built by Flaminio Boulangier – to house small sculpture, medals and cameos of the Farnese collection. He had the collection appraised, consulting experts such as the architect Giacomo della Porta. The French wood-carver had located and prepared the wood for the armoire, which he put aside upon approval of the project by cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Orsini served the Farnese family in various capacities as a librarian, secretary, expert and advisor in financial matters, in addition to supervising the works at the Palazzo Farnese and as a confidant to the cardinal.

⁵⁵ Coffin 2004, pp. 76-77. In a letter to bishop Antonio Agustin dated 17 January 1567, Fulvio Orsini wrote that cardinal Ranuccio Farnese had purchased Pirro Ligorio's collection of ancient coins for 1,600 scudi.

⁵⁶ ASVR-CSMT, *Libro dell'Entrata et Uscita della Fabrica di S. Maria in Trastevere dal 1576 sin'al 1592*, vol. 214, fols. 53v and 55 (Document XXV).

⁵⁷ G. Battistelli, *Organi e cantorie nelle chiese di Roma*, 1994, pp. 50-52.

⁵⁸ ASR-cam, *Tesoreria Segreta, 1582-1583*, vol. 1309, fol. 28r: "MDLXXXII Adi 2 7mbre... Scudi 120 di m[one]ta... a m[ast]ro Flaminio Francese falegname per suo resto et intero pagamento di scudi 370 che tanto importa il lavoro di legname fatto da lui per l'ornamento dell'organo della Cappella Greg[oria]na...;" E. Levy, "Navata settentrionale. Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento. Parete Ovest. L'organo gregoriano," in: Beltrami [et al], *Schede*, vol. 2, 2000, pp. 705-706; and Tiberia 1974, p. 118.

The Prince as Architect in Portugal (1530-1550): The Impact of ‘Specula Principis’ and Architectural Treatises on Modern Practices of Dilettantism

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The most striking Portuguese architectures that exhibit Renaissance features happen to have been patronised by the Crown or the Royal Family between the 1530s and 1550s. Surprisingly, they have no architect's name assigned to them. The riddle is stressed by the fact that master-masons, supervisors, draftsmen and even other kinds of artists appear to be quite well documented; at least in some cases. Yet, no documents unveil the author's name of the most erudite design projects of the period. However, they assure the drawings or sketches were circulating between the King (or his relatives), the supervisors of the building works, draftsmen and master-masons.¹

We are convinced the riddle of Portuguese unsigned buildings, quite odd considering their high quality level and disregarded in its utter significance, can be found beneath what documents openly show. In fact, considering that architectural treatises had been broadly circulating in court since the late fifteenth century onwards and that all the main studies about the issue were read in Portugal, the latest in 1541,² it must be considered that the learning of the secrets of classical architecture had become possible to achieve out of the building yard. But could this lead to the idea that the King, or his brothers, could be – or wanted to be – responsible for such architectural projects?

Even if bold, the question is not new.³ It must be noticed that King John III (1502-1557) and his brothers, mainly Louis (1506-1555) and Henry (1512-1580), have been greatly praised during their lifetimes as distinguished patrons of architectural works. Similarly, heterogeneous literary sources such as poems, eulogies, religious chronicles, historical accounts and others, confirm they had very good architectural judgment and, furthermore, explicitly declare they acted as architects at times.⁴ We are convinced there is no valuable reason to doubt these numerous testimonies that underline each other, even if praise to the ruler often pushed the best qualities of an individual beyond the limits of reason and truth in the past.⁵ Thus, in spite of attributing these projects to experts in the art of construction (like some other scholars have been doing so straightforwardly), we would like to discuss here the idea that the peculiar phenomenon of the source's silence can receive a more conspicuous explanation on the practice of Architecture by the king or the princes, and that such practice was, at that time, encouraged by some current

¹ See the numerous documents collected by VITERBO, Sousa - *Dicionário Histórico e Documental dos Arquitectos, Engenheiros e Construtores Portugueses*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1988.

² MOREIRA, Rafael – “*Arquitectura: Renascimento e classicismo*”. In PEREIRA, Paulo (dir.) - *História da Arte Portuguesa*. 1ª ed. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1995, 350-351.

³ Several authors have been considering the hypothesis that the king, and his brothers, could have acted as architects in particular occasions. See, for instance, about John III, Prince Louis and Prince Henry, respectively: RODRIGUES, Luís Alexandre - *De Miranda a Bragança: arquitectura religiosa de função paroquial na época moderna*. Bragança: Universidade do Porto, 2001, 92-111; MOREIRA - *História da Arte Portuguesa*, 351; CABRAL, Marta Maria - *Bom Jesus de Valverde: um estudo da igreja e do claustro do convento*. Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 1988, 73-74.

⁴ The Spanish professor Francisco de Monçon reveals the skills of John III in building design, in his book devoted to the education of the Prince, first published in 1545 (MONZÓN, Francisco - *Libro primero d'l espejo del príncipe christiano*. Lisboa: Luís Rodrigues, 1544, 52-52v). The poet Garcia de Resende presents King John III as a carefull patron of architecture (SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo (ed.) - *Crónica de dom João II e miscelânea*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1973). Another document, this one a curious tale discussed by Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro, pictures the same king as the architect of the beautiful fountain of the Cloister of Manga in Coimbra (RIBEIRO, Mário de Sampaio – “El-Rei D. João III e o Claustro da Manga do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra”. *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*.vol. XXIV, (1958), offprint). The monastic chronicle of Manuel Fialho would later record, in the seventeenth century, that Prince Henry designed the monastic churches of Bom Jesus de Valverde (c. 1541) and Santo António da Piedade (1576) by his own hand (FIALHO, Manuel Fialho (Pe.) - *Évora Ilustrada*, mss. séc. XVIII. B.P.E., Cód. CXXX/1-11). The humanist Damião de Góis, who lived several years in the Court, declared (before 1566) that Prince Henry had very good judgement in Architecture (GÓIS, Damião de - *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1926, 119 and 117. About Prince Louis and his care for military architecture, see: *Lembrança que o Conde de Alcáçova mandou ao Cardeal da vida do infante D. Luís*, mss. Évora, 1575. Arquivo de Tarouca, nº59, 110v-11).

⁵ The fact is that these literary testimonies adjust in perfection to what administrative documents frequently relate about the Portuguese Royal Family's commitment to the buildings they sponsored. This makes us seriously consider the hypothesis that they informally fill in the blank gap between what documents say and what they do not about the real author of some buildings.

literature. The hypothesis is supported by the humanistic changes that were being done to the modern educational programs during the sixteenth century, which were effected by architectural treatises to some degree.

1. One of the main reasons to consider the role of the architectural treatises in the instruction of the Prince can be justified by the strong influence of the *De re aedificatoria* (mss. c. 1542) by Leon Battista Alberti on several humanistic and pedagogic manuals written during the Renaissance.⁶ The convenience of some of their arguments is related to the subjects they treat in common. Despite being an architectural treatise with some sort of technical detail, the *De re aedificatoria* is also the most impressive political and moral work of its prolific author. In the prologue, Architecture is presented as a powerful instrument to the ruler.⁷ In fact, Alberti considers that the features of a building can translate the psychological character of a patron as individual, and also the kind of a ruler he is, by means of visual forms. Alberti claims a moral and ethic role for Architecture: he asserts that all architectural enterprises should be neatly fitting to publicly represent the role of a patron within the complex social tissue of a city or State.⁸ Moreover, inspired by Vitruvius, the author also considers that a good architectural enterprise enriches a city and gathers public applause thus rewarding the patron and his descendants with lasting fame. He believes that good architectural enterprises keep public order and stimulate social peace, which implies the idea that all the care that a Prince devotes to architectural matters is a public sign of wisdom.⁹

It is easy to relate these summarised topics to some others that also resonated with modern pedagogic programs during the Renaissance. Similar ideas about essential urban improvement of a city, and its equivalent support to the Arts, were also being conveyed by humanistic texts addressed to sovereigns.¹⁰ These texts had long lineages in medieval *specula principis* and were direct descendants of some literary sources dating from the Roman Imperial Age.¹¹ The Albertian ideas recall similar advice given to rulers during Antiquity.¹² Therefore, in a period when the Ancient authors were being thoroughly read, the Albertian, and modern idea that the good Prince should commit in the construction of public architectural structures became customary in some humanistic treatises having the education of the Renaissance Prince as its main theme.

The assembly of these ideas justifies, in our perspective, the modern necessity to educate the Prince in order to make him have good judgement in architectural matters.¹³ In fact, adhering all the aforementioned authors, it could be said that the Prince

⁶ To a summary appreciation about the influence of the *De re aedificatoria* on modern treatises about the education of the Prince, see SOARES, Nair de Nazaré Castro - *O Príncipe Ideal no século XVI e a obra de D. Jerónimo Osório*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1994, p. 109.

⁷ ALBERTI, Leon Battista - *L'Architettura (De Re Aedificatoria)*. Milano: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1966, 12.

⁸ ALBERTI - *L'Architettura (De Re Aedificatoria)*, 264, 332-336. Consequently, Architecture can also express the guidelines of a government by displaying the social status of a ruler: if a democratically elected governor, a king by rights or a tyrant. The Albertian passage about the architectural difference between the dwelling of a prince and the fortress of a tyrant is underlined with a political and moral dissertation about the diverse kind of rulers and their governments. To Alberti, each type of government has particular requirements of defence, control and domain, which has strong implications in the main features of a building. The author also shows the importance of the physiological effect that architectural form exerts on the beholder.

⁹ ALBERTI - *L'Architettura (De Re Aedificatoria)*, 12.

¹⁰ Several other pedagogic manuals written during Renaissance repeat similar ideas. These ideas can be perceived in the *De institutione reipublicae* (1494) by Francesco Patrizi of Siena (1413-1494), for instance, where the author presents an ideal city after Plato's example. Order and peace rule here among all citizens. Interestingly, Patrizi justifies the good ruling of the city by an exemplar architectural and urban planning, adding some designs for public and private buildings as a supplement to his ideas. The same issue would be fully developed by Patrizi in another work entitled *De regno et regis institutione* (1519), this one being a profound and well-structured treatise devoted to the education of the Prince. Moreover, as the Prince and the Courtier shared some aesthetic and representative requirements, the same ideas could also be found in a number of other works devoted to the instruction of both of them. In the *Instituzione di tutta la vita dell'uomo nato nobile ed in città libera* (1542) by Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1578), it is claimed that the modern noble young man should acquire some notions of Perspective and Architecture; besides learning the *Quadrivium*.

¹¹ Public service and urbanistic enhancement, for instance, were urged to Trajan by the Roman administrator Pliny the Younger (ca. 61-ca. 113); and a noteworthy praise dedicated to Augustus (63 BC-AD 14), pointing the double interest of his public works for the benefit of general citizens and the dignity of the Empire, could be found in the first *proemium* of the *De Architectura libri decem* by the Roman architect Vitruvius (1st century BC). Abundant references to these texts can be found scattered on Portuguese literature of the sixteenth century.

¹² The personal virtues of those rulers could be established during the Renaissance in the profile of the perfect Prince described by Xenofont, whose actions would relate them to the Platonic ideal city.

¹³ We also believe that it can explain the fact that the treatise of Alberti became widespread among the rulers of his own day, and even why it was still being read decades later by the ones who came after them.

should be educated in basic architectural rules and should also acquire discriminating taste. Therefore, if it causes no surprise to verify that the Albertian ideas became conveyed by modern *specula principis* in many ways and quite soon, it should also not be cause of astonishment the suspicion (that we now set for further discussion) that Architecture could have been informally inserted in the Prince's educational programs not much later. In Portugal, the pedagogic treatise *Libro primero d'l espejo del príncipe christiano* (1544) written by Francisco de Monçon about the education of the perfect Prince and addressed to King John III, allows such idea to have been put into practice at least two decades before.¹⁴

2. The idea that the Prince should be educated on Architecture implied a specific knowledge. This could be found mainly in the most influential architectural treatises of the epoch; namely the Vitruvius book *De Architectura* (A.D. I) and in the already mentioned treatise of Alberti, the first of their kind to be printed, in 1489 and 1486 respectively. Not surprisingly, the reading of these two treatises, whose conception was five hundred years set apart, took place at the same time during the Renaissance and was done quite often by the same reader. Both works approached Architecture in very complete ways; giving details about how to design and build private dwellings and public or sacred edifices, hydraulic or military structures, and even construct several kinds of machines. Yet, some basic knowledge to properly understand these arguments was absolutely needed. According to Alberti in particular, this knowledge could be supported by two main issues: the knowledge of Mathematics and the ability of Painting (or drawing),¹⁵ an idea that is not difficult to comprehend considering his definition of good architecture.

Before we proceed considering the effect that Alberti's treatise could have had in the Portuguese artistic context, we would like to add that its theoretical approach to architectural rules could have been directly linked to the image of the good Prince as outlined in the aforementioned pedagogic treatises written during the Renaissance. Alberti (as we have already said) supported that every architectural work, mainly a public edifice, should possess an unquestionable quality, which was quite useful to perpetuate its patron's name in the people's memory. To the ruler should be asked magnificence on building; to the private, liberality.¹⁶ Alberti asked both of them to prefer the virtue of an erudite modesty as a reflection of a refined aesthetic culture.¹⁷ Thus, he points out that the inner beauty of Architecture can be accomplished in the building by respecting some specific rules; most of them of a mathematical kind.¹⁸ Alberti calls it a *modo migliore* that can only be understood and achieved by learned spirits. He proceeds to explain that this *modo migliore* is the accomplishment of a long meditation on the subject, by the intense exploration of the balance of the volumes, making use of some mathematical calculation, and the use of drawing, as tools to perfect the building design. By a single proposition like this one, Alberti raises the architectural practice to the level of a noble pastime, embedded in social and politic purposes.¹⁹

Taking these ideas into account, it must also be kept in mind that some Renaissance pedagogic programs were paying more attention to the sciences of the medieval *Quadrivium* (Geometry, Astronomy, Arithmetic, and Music), tending to make it equivalent to the importance formerly given to the disciplines of the *Trivium* (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic) in medieval scholar programs. In Portugal, we could even dare to say that a shift had occurred in the advantage traditionally attributed to the latter

¹⁴ MONZÓN - *Libro primero d'l espejo del príncipe cristiano*, 52-52v.

¹⁵ ALBERTI - *L'Architettura (De Re Aedificatoria)*, 860.

¹⁶ About the classical *topos* of "magnificence" and "liberality" on public and private construction in medieval and modern *specula principis*, and also about its ancient and medieval textual sources, see GIORDANO, Luísa - "*Edificare per magnificenza. Testimonianze letterarie sulla teoria e da pratica della committenza di corte*". In CALZONA, Arturo; FIORE, Francesco Paolo; TENENTI, Alberto; VASOLI, Cesare - *Il Principe Architetto*. Mantova: Leo S. Olschki, 2002, 215-227.

¹⁷ ALBERTI - *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, 782-783.

¹⁸ ALBERTI - *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, 810-816.

¹⁹ ALBERTI - *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, 1-14, 96.

of these two large branches of human knowledge. Mathematics superseded the disciplines of the *Trivium* both in the intellectual investment in their exploration and in the Prince's education since the fifteenth century.²⁰

A leaning tendency towards the increasing importance of Mathematics in general, commonly felt all over Europe, also effected the way that Renaissance men addressed Art, including Architecture. By no means has the architectural treatise of Alberti been an exception, as is widely accepted. This fact can be related to the hypothetic architectural practice of the Portuguese princes. As Architecture started taking share in modern study programs as a worthy subject of study for the ruler like the mathematical discipline, also Painting, and often its "mathematical" branch called Perspective, started receiving similar attention.²¹ Surprisingly, both the architectural practice and the art of drawing can be related to the study of the Mathematics in Portuguese practices. Prince Sebastian (1554-1578), for example, heir to the throne and grandson of King John III, had lessons in Architecture concerning military fortresses with the great mathematician and Vitruvius' translator Pedro Nunes - who had also taught Mathematics to Sebastian's uncles Henry and Louis some decades before. The Portuguese painter and theoretician Francisco de Holanda would dedicate to Sebastian a short treatise entitled *On the Art of Drawing (Da Sciencia do Desenho, 1571)* insisting he learn that art; recalling how important it was for a ruler to be able to draw. This idea, however, could have been formulated some decades before. Francisco de Holanda's given examples about rulers who were skilled in that art dates back to Sebastian's ancestors, namely to King John III, who the author claims was very keen on drawing, as well as his brother Louis (also renowned for his mathematical knowledge). In Holanda's perspective, the use of drawing also suits the earlier idea, conveyed by both treatises and *specula principis*, that the ruler should become an expert in architectural matters to distinguish the good from the bad shape of a building, and therefore be able to publicly express himself, or his State, by dignified visual representations of power.²² Drawing acquires, then, a utilitarian sense as an instrument to the architect, along with Geometry and Algebra.

3. What about architectural practice? Could *specula principis* and architectural treatises have influenced the acts of a king?²³

Apparently, it has not been observed so far that a particular comparative reading of the architectural treatises of Vitruvio and Alberti, mainly on the definition of architect, could have lead to modern practices of dilettantism during Renaissance, not only in Portugal (as we focus here) but also all over Europe. The fact (that deserves a longer theoretical approach than we can give it here²⁴) could have been of maximum importance in a region like Portugal, geographically and culturally apart from the Italian centre where such an artistic revolution took place - and thus more dependent on the current artistic literature.

²⁰ The fact has been broadly explained by several specialists as due to the Discoveries movement and the subsequent economical growth of the Portuguese reign, which helped to consider the value of the number (or all the disciplines involving it) above all other scientific instrument of knowledge. Thus, since the fifteenth century that the Portuguese princes have been taught mostly the disciplines related to nautical sciences or commerce, mainly algebra, geometry, astronomy and cosmography. This tendency would last, and even be increased, through the following century (MATOS, Luis de - "O ensino na corte durante a dinastia de Avis". In - *O Humanismo Português, 1500-1600*. Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 1988, 499-592).

²¹ The most influential *Il Perfitto Corteggiano* (1528) by Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529), for instance, conveyed the importance of several arts to the courtier, highlighting the mastery of Music and Painting as skills of excellent effect in mundane social circles. Other authors after Castiglione gave a more utilitarian sense to his ideas about the practice of Painting, as we have already seen namely by the example of Francisco de Holanda.

²² HOLANDA, Francisco de - *Da Ciência do Desenho*. S.l.: Livros Horizonte, 1985, 37.

²³ It is widely accepted that the master-mason had been usually responsible for both shaping the layout of a building and running the construction work during Late-Gothic architectural practices. Then, no particular knowledge was required of that artist besides the training provided by an apprenticeship usually done in the building yard under the surveillance of the trade. Some master-masons, more skilled than the others in understanding the building as a whole of contributes from several artists, could run the construction and also come to do building designs in rough sketches that would be adjusted to improvised solutions while the construction was going on. In complete contrast, modern architectural projects like those patronised by the Portuguese Royal Family implied a wide education to master the complex geometrical and mathematical rules that the classical system of the Orders required. The ability to convey it by an accurate design was absolutely needed, regarding the fact that a project should predict every single aspect of the prospective building in advance of its construction. So, what happened in Portugal during the period when traditional practices were being converted to the modern way of designing architectural projects? Could it be that suddenly the master-mason mastered drawing as well as needed to accomplish very complex classical projects that superseded the results of the former late-Gothic practices? This late question has been receiving a positive answer from Portuguese scholars in general. Without denying it as a strong possibility, we suggest to look at the evidences from a different perspective.

²⁴ We fully develop the subject in another extensive study that will be presented shortly to the Faculty of Arts, University of Porto.

Such a comparative reading of the texts of Vitruvius and Alberti departs from the shared idea that the Architect should be educated in many liberal disciplines - being stressed by both authors that Mathematics is of great importance to the architectural practice. Declaring that the architect should master at least Mathematics and Painting (or drawing), Alberti outlines a complete study program that the applicant to architect should observe in order to become a good professional.²⁵ But these authors seem to diverge when considering who the architect should be, i.e. who could become sufficiently skilled to manage the two different parts in which Architecture is divided: theory, which includes building design, and practice.²⁶ If by the Vitruvian treatise it cannot be doubted that the architect should represent a skilled professional that undertakes both functions, on the contrary, Alberti does not explicitly say who the architect should be. Still, Vitruvius and Alberti agree on one point: all learned men are capable of understanding the theoretical part of Architecture, and thus are able to do building designs if they want to.²⁷

There is no newness in pointing out these statements, which obviously encouraged the Renaissance idea expressed in 1521 by a Vitruvius' commentator like Cesare Cesariano that the patron could act as an architect with regards to the theoretical part of the whole architectural practice.²⁸ To Alberti (we remember) Architecture was a suitable pastime for wealthy and learned men. He invites them to look for help, with this activity, from the expertise of men trained in the building yard, i.e. in the practice.²⁹ In addition, it must be noticed (what is missing in similar approaches) that Vitruvius considered that mathematicians even surpass architects in their understanding of the theoretical arguments of Architecture.³⁰ Astonishingly, it seems to have been this Vitruvian statement that led King John III to order the translation of the *De Architectura* into Portuguese from the mathematician Pedro Nunes in 1541 – a fact that has never been pointed out so far. Considering Vitruvius, the king could be considered a learned man, as he was skilled in the *Trivium* and had some basic knowledge of Mathematics and Astronomy.³¹ His younger brothers, namely Prince Louis and Prince Henry, were both keen on Mathematics to a great degree.³² With the aid of several competent professionals such as supervisors, master-masons or draftsmen, the king (or the princes) could make good use of his knowledge in Mathematics and of his skill to draw, expressing his own political designs in architectural terms. We could also assign to the Vitruvian formula a special stress on simple geometrical figures, shaped in complex geometrical schemes on the building's plans designed by the mid-sixteenth century, and patronised by Prince Louis and Prince Henry, as serious attempts to reach architectural perfection.³³

Even if only summarised here, it seems possible to admit that a comparative reading of Vitruvius and Alberti could have reinforced several current ideas expressed on *specula principis* about the ruler's attention to Architecture in Portugal during the sixteenth century. We also believe that, in some cultural contexts – and it would be interesting to study what could have happened in other European countries... –, their readers could tend to compare and fuse the concept of Architect (which slightly differed in these works), giving it a whole new meaning with a practical effect. So, it would not be surprising to expect that the

²⁵ The Roman Vitruvius (VITRÚVIO - *Tratado de Arquitectura*. Lisboa: I.S.T. Press, 2006, 30-35), and the modern Italian Leon Battista Alberti (ALBERTI – *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, 854-862), required many disciplines of the modern architect to completely understand his office. Architecture had been raised to the rank of the Liberal Arts during the Renaissance, in addition to the ones that were already making part of the medieval *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. However, Mathematics and Painting gained Alberti's favour during the Renaissance (ALBERTI – *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, 860).

²⁶ These two different parts of Architecture are *raciocinatio* (or theory) and *pratica* (or practice) to Vitruvius, or *disegno* (or conception) and *construction* (or building) to Alberti.

²⁷ VITRÚVIO - *Tratado de Arquitectura*. Lisboa: I.S.T. Press, 2006, 35; ALBERTI – *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, 20.

²⁸ CESARIANO, Cesare - *Vitruvio de Architectura translato commentato et affigurato da Cesare Cesariano*. Milano: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1981, Lv. I, III.

²⁹ ALBERTI - *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, 68.

³⁰ VITRÚVIO - *Tratado de Arquitectura*. Lisboa: I.S.T. Press, 2006, 36. Cesare Cesariano also stresses this idea (CESARIANO - *Vitruvio de Architectura translato commentato et affigurato da Cesare Cesariano*, Lv. I, XII).

³¹ MATOS - *O Humanismo Português*, 515.

³² CARVALHO, Joaquim de – "Nunes (Pedro)". In - *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*. Lisboa: Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Enciclopédia, 1935, 29-65; MATOS - *O Humanismo Português, 1500-1600*, 350.

³³ About the "mathematical" character of such architectures, see MOREIRA - *História da Arte Portuguesa*, 351.

Portuguese princes could have followed Alberti's treatise's recommendations to know how to become experts in the architectural theory themselves.³⁴

In light of this, the answer to the riddle which opened this debate seems no longer difficult. Everything suggests that the Prince was urged by many theoretical fronts to be learned in Architecture. He was also compelled to act not only as a *connoisseur*, but also as a real architect whenever needed or wanted. In a period when Architecture was being considered a branch of the *Quadrivium*, we must consider that patrons like the Portuguese princes had a proper background to understand the laws of classical Architecture or, at least, to fully recognize its cultural meaning. Moreover, as the interest of Art to the State was widely proclaimed by humanistic literature (as well as in architectural treatises), it seems possible that the Prince tended to act like the Albertian *architectus* as responsible for the theoretical part of Architecture, at least during a short period of deep cultural change.

³⁴ We will try to demonstrate, in another study that will shortly come to light, that all the points of the Albertian pedagogic program seemingly were followed by King John III himself.

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Learning Architecture: Early Modern Professional Apprenticeship in Portugal

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1 | professional apprenticeships

This paper explores how architecture was taught in the period when the profession was still being defined and when the title of “architect” was just starting to be applied to those who designed buildings. It took some time to organise this professionally-oriented training, and the process was not without its moments of indecision and contradiction. Learning architecture required a cluster of skills that included not only training in the “art of drawing”, but also lessons in geometry as well as “architecture proper”.

Although the training soon incorporated a theoretical part (understood as the study of architectural treatises, a necessary cultural requirement for disciplinary autonomy), this was not enough for professional accreditation. It was complemented by other forms of training, an aspect which has not always been properly taken into account. In the example studied here (the architectural training in the Portuguese royal circles between 1580 and 1640), there was an institutional framework that regulated access to the profession – as perhaps also occurred in many other contexts.

This was, then, organized learning, though there was no rigid curriculum and it was not always divulged in the clearest terms. Although the architecture lesson was valued as the legitimising component of the discipline, it would seem that successful training did not depend predominantly on any one aspect. In fact, different methods were used, as we can see in the complementary relationship that existed between the practical training or apprenticeship undertaken with the master and the emphasis upon mathematics as the basis of design (calculating and drawing). This diversity was largely reflected in the content of the architecture lesson itself, which had begun to move away from the idealized humanistic model. The way this transitional features were tied together, developing an architectural training network, will be our main argument.

2 | the first master, Filippo Terzi

This architectural training began operating in around 1594, under the auspices of the Italian Filippo Terzi (Bologna, 1520 – Lisbon, 1597). He had been contracted by the Portuguese monarch, King Sebastian (1554-1578),¹ and it is known that he accompanied him on his military expedition to North Africa as *sitiador* (military commander) or *engenheiro* (engineer).² During the Iberian dynastic union (1580-1640) that followed the death of the King, Terzi also exercised important functions for Phillip II in the domain of construction.³

In the charter referring to Terzi’s appointment, the post or office continued to be called “master of works”, although the person himself was sometimes referred to as *architect* and sometimes as *engineer*; indeed, these terms were beginning to become important for clarifying the professional category of appointees, accompanying the wording used in the respective charters.⁴ However, this did not mean that the roles were definitively distinguished in theory or in practice.

¹ The circumstances under which he came to Portugal, in around 1577, are not known (Moreira & Soromenho, 1999: 117 and 125).

² He was taken prisoner there and was ransomed in June 1579 (Viterbo, 1899-1922/1988, III: 94).

³ In 1590, he was appointed *Master of the King’s Works* and probably also exercised the function of *Master of Fortifications* (cf. Viterbo, 1899-1904/1988, III: 147; Moreira, 1992: 103 and 107).

⁴ Viterbo, 1899-1904/1988, III: 97; 100.

In fact, Terzi was involved with fortifications and hydraulic infrastructures – that is to say, he performed the work of an engineer. But he was also active as an architect, making sketches for various buildings. His name appears in connection with a manuscript bearing designs relating to the function of master in *Três lugares de aprender a Arquitectura* (“Three positions for the learning of Architecture”).

In short, at a crucial moment in the professional definition of the architect, these *three positions* reveal some interesting characteristics, precisely due to their lack of definition. Despite having marked the field of architecture, Terzi was not particularly original; he was the Italian architect, contracted as an engineer, who divulged classical theory and introduced (or consolidated) the notion of the sketch plan.⁵

3 | *three positions for the learning of architecture*

The first institutional training (which initially took the form of *three apprenticeship positions* (or *places*) *for the learning of architecture*) appeared belatedly and spasmodically in the form of an *architecture lesson*. From the somewhat sketchy sources available, it is clear that this was not an educational establishment in the common sense of the word. Rather, it involved the institutional creation of places for architecture apprentices, who were trained by the Master of the Royal Works.

The apprentices received an annual stipend from the Crown, which meant that the *position for the learning of architecture* was a kind of traineeship, in which the apprentices assisted or served “in the drawings that were made” (the most common expression at the time). Thus, the institutional context was emphasised, not insignificantly, as the *three positions* were inserted into the administrative and hierarchical structure of the pre-modern state, directly overseen by the ombudsman of the royal works.⁶ The “three positions” therefore paved the way for employment in the royal administration, where apprentices were trained to become “architecture officials” in the service of the king.

This – together with the limited number of places – resulted in the creation of a kind of “architecture school” (here used in the sense of a methodological tradition transmitted over time, with all the conservative implications implicit in such continuity). This was also a “school” in the sense that the places were rigidly passed on, revealing a somewhat endogamous tendency to give priority to members of the same family.

Learning to draw.

The second important feature concerns the practical training in the art (and the act) of drawing. On the one hand, basic training continued to centre upon the traditional method of knowledge transmission, namely learning by doing (that is, helping the master with his designs for the grand royal works). But the discipline was approaching a turning point, when drawing would be definitively consolidated as a form of planning, and architecture would be understood as the art of conceiving and drawing buildings,⁷ to which the actual building would be subordinated.

As the *three positions for learning architecture* were remunerated, access to them had to be tightly controlled, and candidates were expected to have already had some basic training.⁸ Initiation in the “art of architecture” would vary and there are records

⁵ Gomes, 1992: 26 and 2003/2007.

⁶ In all appointments, the last word was always reserved for the ombudsman of the royal works (Soromenho, 1997-1998: 197-209).

⁷ This innovation may have been related to the fact that the master was an Italian architect, who also introduced a theoretical component. To some extent, this gives him a role similar to that which Juan de Herrera performed in Castilian architectural culture (Moreira, 1982/1998: 382; Soromenho, 1995: 400).

⁸ It is sometimes recorded that the appointee “had many years of studying architecture”, or “was skilful at drawing”, etc. (Viterbo, 1899-1922/1988: III: 113).

of basic apprenticeships taking place in family workshops or with private masters.⁹ Thus, there was some overlap between the traditional craft and a new type of apprenticeship which was more intellectualised. However, at this crossroads, what was important was learning to draw, and this skill was acquired from an institutionalised relationship of subordination between master and apprentice. Moreover, this was an organized process, in the sense that it embodied a profession which, though not new, was undergoing renewal of its disciplinary bases.

The professional curricula of some of the people involved are interesting, as they reveal the ambivalent nature of this art. Some worked as civil architects and some as military engineers, while there were others who combined both functions. The remarkable number of engineers that emerged from this apprenticeship undermines the notion that the training was restricted to civil architecture.¹⁰ However, in the second half of the 17th century, the lesson was more explicitly reserved for civil architecture, although there were still some occasional overlaps.

Lessons of geometry and architecture.

The third and most salient detail concerning this structure was its teaching activity, which became a necessary condition for exercising the profession of architect within the administrative framework of the royal works. It is, however, this theoretical component which makes the *position for the learning of architecture* into a place of study, implying the occurrence of a lesson, whatever teaching method was used.

Both Terzi's *taccuino* and, principally, Mateus do Couto's treatise, demonstrate the contents of the *architecture lesson*. However, another lesson is always cited as a compulsory condition for admission and retention of the place. This was the lesson in geometry or mathematics, also known as the "head cosmographer's lesson".¹¹

This geometry lesson had an earlier origin. It had been a daily lesson given to nautical pilots which took place in the riverside warehouses (near the royal palace) from at least 1572. This illustrates how important navigational skills were to the Portuguese at that time – for reasons that were obviously related to the vastness of the imperial territory. Very elementary geometry was taught, such as the correct use of navigational equipment like nautical charts, the astrolabe, cross-staff and quadrant, compass and sun dial. How this cosmography lesson subsequently developed into a lesson on the rudiments of geometry, more or less oriented towards architectural practice, is not really known. All that remains is documental evidence of the insistence that apprentices attend the *cosmography lesson*. As regards the appropriacy of the curriculum of the architecture apprentices, this is a question that is best left open.

4 | Terzi's *taccuino* and the architecture lesson

One of the first signs that the training had acquired a theoretical component in the architecture lesson is the manuscript left by Terzi, a small *taccuino*¹² (literally a notebook filled with notes and sketches), which had perhaps been executed in Portugal. In it, written discourse is replaced by drawings, which could have been related to the first stage of this pedagogical activity.

⁹ For example, there is the case of Nicolau de Frias, who gave lessons in his own home (Moreira, 1982/1998:383). Nicolau de Frias (? – 1610) succeeded Terzi in 1598 as Master of the Royal Works, and consequently became the master of the *three positions for learning architecture*. Only Filipe Terzi, Nicolau de Frias and Mateus do Couto are explicitly mentioned in the documents as masters of the *three positions for learning architecture*.

¹⁰ Of around fifteen names that are known, four were military engineers, who had no important or famous civil works. The other cases are more interesting, as they are less linear, though it is not possible to enter into detail here (cf. Conceição, 2008: 396-401); from 1691, there are no records of any further appointments to the *three positions for the learning of architecture*, and the system seems to have been extinguished by the 18th century.

¹¹ This was originally referred to as "João Baptista Lavanha's lesson". Lavanha also wrote a treatise on naval architecture and was the best person to demonstrate the connection between geometry and Vitruvian concepts. His prestige as head cosmographer after Pedro Nunes is testified by the fact that Phillip II contracted him to teach in Madrid in the Herreran institution, *Academy of Mathematics and Architecture* (1582-1583); cf. Moreira, 1987.

¹² Its contents are listed as: *Studies into embadometry, stereometry and the architectural orders*. The first page bears the inscription *Filippo Terzi architetto e ingegnere militare in Portogallo 1578*, though this is probably not written in his own hand. It is a small codex, today preserved in the National Library of Portugal (cod. 1295), containing 16 folios, written in Italian; cf. Moreira & Soromenho, 1999: 116; Gomes 1998/2001: 206; 2003; Soromenho, 2001: 88.

Although most of the content is drawn, there is evidence that it has been organized pedagogically. At the beginning, there is material relating to elementary geometry, which is followed by the sequence of the architectural orders. In fact, more than just elementary geometry, the very first folios are devoted to the basic procedures used for measuring geometrical solids and figures. This therefore represents a synthesis of the minimum knowledge required for the exercise of architecture; indeed, greater concision could scarcely have been possible.

The space occupied by the organized sequence of the five architectural orders, the detailed explanations and the rigour of the modules and measurements, show that this was the main subject matter of the *taccuino* and perhaps of the architectural training course. There are no references of legends of origin, nor is any authority quoted, with the exception of Vignola.¹³ The few remaining folios detail the construction of the constituent elements of the different orders (with some variation admitted) in a sequence that is clearly oriented towards practical execution.¹⁴

5 | the architectural treatise: the lesson of Master Mateus do Couto

Mateus do Couto (act. 1616 – 1676), was a legitimate product of Portuguese architectural culture,¹⁵ responsible for one of the few surviving architectural treatises in Portuguese. The *Tractado de Architectura que leo o Mestre e Architecto Mattheus do Couto o velho no Anno de 1631* (“Architecture Treatise read by Master and Architect Mattheus do Couto the Elder in the Year of 1631”) is thus presented as something to be read, i.e. a “lecture”.¹⁶

Although this treatise is often mentioned in the restricted context of historiography of architectural theory and culture in Portugal, only Paulo Varela Gomes (1998/2001; 2003) has interpreted it in more depth, comparing the strong influence of Vignola in Terzi's *taccuino* to the “Albertianism” of Mateus do Couto's treatise. There is, of course, half a century separating them, as he points out.¹⁷

The treatise contains four books (the last of which is very truncated), though there are certainly two others missing, one on military architecture and another on geometry. There are also few illustrations announced, even though their number is not impressive. In fact, the main body of the codex contains only text, a feature that emphasises its Albertian lineage. However, in addition to its truncated nature, the limits of the internal structure of the treatise are revealed in the organization of the content, which is far removed from the conceptual complexity of *De re aedificatoria*.

¹³ *Regole degli cinque ordini d'architettura*, [1562]. From Vignola, the rigid structure is missing, as are the proportions between the columns and the composition of the arcade, though it is significant that certain variations have been introduced (cf. Gomes, 2003/2007).

¹⁴ Certain details accentuate the character of a personal notebook. It does not really have the structure of a treatise, but seems rather to be a collection of the minimal knowledge (or designs) necessary of the five architectural orders. This might be related to a tradition of manuals, which mix building precepts and rules for drawing the orders, and which were used continuously by engineers, masons, craftsmen, etc., until the mid 18th century, or even later. This reveals an architectural culture that was as yet rather diffuse and unspecialised (cf. Gomes, 1998/ 2001 and 2003/2007).

¹⁵ He was both architect and engineer, and perhaps the only case of an apprentice (appointed in 1616) who later became a master and scholar. He held the highest posts possible for a royal architect, but also worked in fortification (Viterbo, 1899-1922/1988, I: 546; Bonifácio, 1990: 77-80).

¹⁶ The extant codex is not complete and probably would have had twice as many pages, suggesting that it was an unfinished copy. It is not written in the author's hand, but was a copy made by Pedro Nunes Tinoco (? – 1641). It is preserved in the National Library of Portugal (cod. 946), and has 97 pages with apocryphal numbering (cf. Conceição, 2008: 401-403). It also includes a direct, though incomplete, translation of Book II of Serlio (*Tratado de Prospectiva*, pp. 85-97), the anachronistic character of which may not be attributable to Mateus do Couto.

¹⁷ Miguel Soromenho (1995: 399), following Rafael Moreira's studies, had also already cited the codex, describing it as a treatise dedicated exclusively to civil architecture “conceived belatedly along Albertian lines”.

The bases of the lesson.

In fact, the bases of the lesson seem to be presented right at the beginning, making this into a kind of compendium of the essential subjects that the architect needs to know. These are: the main principles of the art; a short appreciation of the qualities of the site and a more detailed description of the architectural orders, on the assumption that they are needed to “give shape” to the building. The criteria underlying it are therefore educational, rather than theoretical.

Mateus do Couto aimed to stress the ethical basis of the profession, involving both essentiality and responsibility, and he reveals an in-depth knowledge of Alberti’s treatise, which he quotes frequently.¹⁸ Despite all this, or perhaps because of it, it does not find it is not easy to distinguish between theory and practice, or rather, between reason and method, between *planning through reason* and *doing through practice*, between lineaments and matter, in the manner closest to Alberti’s expression. It should be pointed out that the concept of design in architecture is presented very explicitly: “Whoever designs with ease and clarity knows how to show what is conceived in the mind.” (p. 3).¹⁹

This is followed by an in-depth exploration of concepts that are effectively modern, though it is not only the definition of architecture but also the process of building and its product that are in question.²⁰ It thus brings together the concepts of *idea* and *execution*, and above all three concepts of Albertian inspiration, interpreted here by Mateus do Couto as form, distribution and materials.

It is in the sense of “form” or “figure” that he presents a summary of the orders of columns, with their rules and exceptions, here assumed very naturally and practically. Mateus do Couto also presents advice on concrete matters, clarifying doubts and legitimising options. For this, he resorts to precedents constructed by authorised architects (citing his own master, the Portuguese Baltazar Álvares, and Filipe Terzi’s solutions) or to the architect’s commonsense, supplemented by the necessary experience.

The set square and architectural design.

The way in which the lesson proceeds is important as it is organized in order of technicality. One of the most interesting topics is the importance given to the set square and the principle of the right angle, which should govern the design, implantation and construction of buildings.

The density of the concepts involved here is noteworthy, although it compromises the potential span of the treatise. Indeed, it tends sometimes to oscillate between matters of beauty and utility, in a kind of summary between theory and practice. To a large extent, this singularity may result from Mateus do Couto’s understanding of architecture, through a pragmatism based on traditional principles, tempered with a critical sense, which is especially evident in his considerations of technical and construction questions.

Thus, architectural conception design is only explained (illogically it would seem) in the last (complete) book, which deals, amongst other things, with the act of planning through drawing. Although architecture is dealt with in the previous pages, it is almost always as building or construction, not yet clearly explaining the act of drawing within the framework of a planning

¹⁸ Editions used: ed. D. Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell’architettura di M. Vitruvio tradutti et commentati da Monsignor Barbaro...*, Venetia, 1556; and (probably), ed. C. Bartoli, *L’architettura di Leonbattista Alberti tradotta in lingua fiorentina da Cosimo Bartoli...* Venetia, 1565.

¹⁹ In the original “Quer que tenha desenho para com facilidade, e clareza sayba mostrar o que concebe no entendimento.” (Couto, 1631: 3)

²⁰ In the chapter *Em que se declara que couza he edificar, e que couza seja Edificio* (“In which it is declared what thing is to be built and what thing is the Building”) (L^o 1, cap. 4). For good results, he naturally invokes the need for good architectural performance, citing some famous names from Italian architecture (Alberti, Rafael, Vignola, Palladio), and also a Frenchman (Philibert de l’Orme).

culture. This disorder is only apparent, however, because architectural design (i.e. technical design as the record of a plan) requires greater skill and training.

In the context of the *architecture lesson*, before the apprentice becomes an architect, before he is able to design architectural plans, before he is able to accurately represent the “understanding of the building”, he has to possess all the elementary knowledge about building. Hence, design was only broached at a more advanced stage of the architecture course.

This means that the lesson would have been supplemented by increasingly-demanding training in the art of drawing and by witnessing works on site. The text was destined to be read and explained, not in the theoretical environment of the court or academy, but in the context of a professional apprenticeship that was very restricted and where the apprentices' skills in drawing and construction could be constantly gauged.

To a large extent, this purpose explains the somewhat superficial treatment given to most of the subjects, inversely proportional to the abundance of bibliographic quotations.²¹ That is to say, this text has sacrificed disciplinary logic to pedagogical concerns, in order to ensure the efficient transmission of knowledge. The treatise was as erudite as it needed to be, and did not include architectural designs; however, it emphasised the joint importance of principles and experience, establishing the subjects to be taught in an institutional lesson for the training of architects in the service of the pre-modern monarchy. In other words, this learning process should bring together the practical training, the drawing skills and its accuracy, both essential requirements to become an architect; but, at the same time, it also required an elementary theoretical knowledge of the classical architectural principles.

²¹ For this reason, it is not difficult to identify his sources: almost all are referred to in some detail.

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Architecture and the Logic of Productivity. Four Public Housing Projects by Groupe Structures in Brussels (1950-1965)

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Despite our taste for geniuses and landmarks, the built environment of the post-war world is principally shaped by unidentified architectural offices that produce buildings rather than discourse. Groupe Structures is a typical example of such a firm.¹ The largest architectural firm in Belgium at the end of the 1960s, it realized an impressive array of public housing schemes, schools, offices, luxury hotels and holiday resorts. Groupe Structures was formed in 1949 by four graduates of the Institut Supérieur d'Urbanisme in Brussels, directed by the French conservative urban theoretician Gaston Bardet.² A typical exponent of the 'culturalist' tradition, Bardet rejected CIAM's functionalist and universalistic aspirations as in his eyes, it had transformed urbanism into an elitist and abstract 'planology'. In his view, the city's material and formal dimensions were subordinate to its fundamental role as a harmonious environment for human interaction. Rejecting urban concentration, Bardet pleaded for an equal distribution of people and industry over the territory by means of a chain of smaller communities in the countryside.

Groupe Structures integrated Bardet's ideas in a couple of early projects for the Société Nationale de la Petite Propriété Terrienne (PPT), such as the Nieuwenbos estate in Grand-Bigard, nearby Brussels (1953). [Fig. 1] Founded during the economic crisis of the 1930s, the PPT realized small settlements in the countryside as a means to modernize the countryside and absorb the overflow of unemployed labourers in the cities. Typically, Nieuwenbos consisted of semi-detached houses in a neo-traditional style on a large plot of land. In accordance with Bardet's theory of 'échelons communautaires', Nieuwenbos was conceived as a semi-autonomous village on the 'échelon domestique', featuring 6 different house types.³ The design process itself was inspired by Bardet's principle of 'organisation polyphonique', a permutational system of work organization where each team member alternately coordinated either the entire (design) process, either collaborated on a specific part of the job.⁴ A team member would for instance manage the 'échelon paroissial' in one part of the project while working on the 'échelon

¹ Groupe Structures was founded by Raymond Stenier (°1921), Louis Van Hove (°1920), Jacques Bosseret-Mali (1917-2003) and Jacques Vandermeeren (1920-2004). Except for the latter, all the partners were trained as an architect at the Sint-Lucas school of architecture in Schaarbeek (Brussels) before pursuing their formation at the Institut Supérieur d'Urbanisme. Although Groupe Structures' portfolio ranges from religious buildings to shopping centers, it is mostly associated with the 'Manhattan plan' for the North Quarter in Brussels (1969). Commissioned by the City of Brussels to transform the northern part of town into a modern business district, the planning proposal necessitated the massive expropriation of the original inhabitants. After a swift departure, the project stagnated due to the petroleum crisis in 1973, leaving behind a vast urban void. The 'Manhattan plan' thus became a nationwide symbol for the devastating effects of ruthless capitalism in the city. In this rhetoric, Groupe Structures came to embody the unscrupulous architect in the service of the financial and political establishment – an image that persists till today. After a prosperous career in the service of the political and financial establishment in Brussels, Groupe Structures suffered badly from the economic crisis in the 1970s. After the original partners' retirement in the early 1980s, the office was rebaptized 'Structures' but gradually lost its impetus. In 2005, some designers of the youngest generation decided to start afresh under the name 'GS3'. This paper results from the first systematic study of Groupe Structures' work, undertaken by the author. As no central archive has been kept by the original partners, most of the information has been found in the archives of the public administrations and housing companies involved, as well as in secondary sources such as contemporary architectural magazines. I am greatly indebted to Louis Van Hove, founding partner of Groupe Structures, and Jeanine Robyns, his lifelong secretary, for giving me insight in the history and the way of working at the office in its early days. I am also grateful to Christine Bosseret-Mali for sharing with me the personal archives left by her late father.

² Gaston Bardet (1907-1989) founded the Institut Supérieur d'Urbanisme Appliqué (ISUA) in Brussels in 1947, and taught there until 1974. A prolific theoretician, writer and lecturer, he had little chance to put his ideas into practice however. His most significant project is the garden city of Le Rheu in Brittany (France). His vision on urbanism is best exposed in BARDET, Gaston - *Le Nouvel Urbanisme*. Paris: Fréal, 1948. For an introduction to Bardet's work and ideas, see FREY, Jean Pierre - "Gaston Bardet, théoricien de l'urbanisme culturaliste". *Urbanisme*. 7 (2001) 32-36 and COHEN, Jean-Louis - "Le nouvel urbanisme de Gaston Bardet". *Le Visiteur*. 2 (1996) 134-145.

³ As Bardet explains in *Le Nouvel Urbanisme* (pp. 214-226), the concept of 'échelons communautaires' consisted of a hierarchical set of spatial and social categories, ranging from the 'échelon patriarcale' (10 to 15 families) over the 'échelon domestique' (50 to 150 households) to the 'échelon paroissiale' (500 tot 1500 families). One of Groupe Structures' partners states in his account of the project that the different house types in Nieuwenbos were designed together with the future occupants. See BOSERET-MALI, Jacques – "Groot-Bijgaarden. De NMKL bouwt aan de poorten van Brussel". *Huisvesting* 6 (1952) 475-480. So far, we were unable to verify this statement. The plans of the different housing types are kept in the archives of the commune of Dilbeek.

⁴ On this concept, see BARDET, Gaston - "L'organisation humaine est polyphonique". *Culture humaine*. 8 (1950) 339-348 and BARDET, Gaston - "La dernière chance: l'organisation polyphonique". *Connaitre*. 3 (1950) 5-9.

domestique' in another. In opposition to the monotony of many a modernist scheme, such a plurality of visions was supposed to engender a variety of spatial solutions within a single project.

In the PPT's magazine *Landeigendom*, Nieuwenbos was commented upon as follows:

Nieuwenbos offers the families from Brussels sound housing, an open air cure, a useful usage of leisure time, and a wholesome and abundant diet. An ill-accommodated family that moves into a PPT property improves its standing and human dignity.⁵

The anti-urban undertones in this comment reveal the polarized ideological debate about (public) housing in Belgium during the early 1950s. Whereas the socialist wing favoured state-controlled and collective housing in urban agglomerations, the ruling Christian-democrats encouraged private home ownership outside the major cities. Estates like Nieuwenbos were considered as an antidote to the alienating effects of the industrial city, as it was believed that its rural character would stimulate family values and enhance the moral strength of its inhabitants. As can be derived from the lay-out of the houses and their modern equipment however (e.g. hot running water in the bathroom), Nieuwenbos was designed for an urban rather than a rural population. Indeed, the first PPT settlement to be located so close to a major agglomeration, it had less to do with modernizing the countryside or absorbing the overflow of labourers than with offering a suburban alternative to the lower middle classes in the Belgian capital.

Soon however, the garden city paradigm for public housing came under pressure as the value of land around Brussels increased dramatically. The steeply increasing cost of labour was a major issue however, since most contractors still worked along traditional, labour-intensive methods.⁶ Consequently, the building industry appeared as an anachronism in an era of automation and scientific progress. As a remedy, the Belgian Service for the Increase of Productivity (BDOP) was created to propagate more efficient methods of production and distribution. One of its activities consisted in organizing trips to the USA to study its economical performance.⁷ In the summer of 1954, Groupe Structures took part in such a mission with a particular focus on the problems of mass housing.⁸ In its report, the delegation stated that the USA's success had perhaps less to do with technical superiority than with its stimulating entrepreneurial climate. Based on a close collaboration between architects, engineers and contractors, and characterized by a spirit of permanent innovation, the design and construction of buildings was guided by the rule of the three 'S': simplification, standardisation and specialisation. Especially the Hollin Hills housing estate in Alexandria (Virginia) by Charles Goodman seems to have made a lasting impression.⁹ In opposition to the Belgian idea of the house as a long term investment and status symbol, it offered a clear instance of the home as a product of mass consumption.

⁵ Comments on the verso of the cover of *Landeigendom* 1 (1957). Original quotation in Dutch:

"[Nieuwenbos] biedt aan de Brusselse gezinnen gezonde huisvesting, een openluchtkuur, nuttig gebruik van de vrije tijd, gezonde en overvloedige voeding. Elk slecht wonend gezin dat in een kleine landeigendom komt, verhoogt zijn standing en zijn menselijke waardigheid" A similar comment appeared in the periodical *La Maison*: "entre la vie en appartement dans une tour-building de quinze étages située en bordure de la ville et la vie dans une PPT de 8 ares, les 91 familles du premier quartier de Grand-Bigard n'ont eu aucune hésitation. La ville n'est pas faite pour l'enfant". Source: "350 PPT à Grand-Bigard et à Dilbeek". *La Maison*. 8 (1956) 241.

⁶ See on this matter "De NMKL en de evolutie van de bouwmethodes". *Landeigendom* 8 (1968) 302 and DEJONGH, Guy; VAN WINDEKENS, Peter - *Van Kleine Landeigendom tot Vlaamse Landmaatschappij*. Brussels: VLM, 2001.

⁷ On the notion of productivity in the Belgian context in general, and the Belgian Service for the Increase of Productivity in particular, see BERTRAMS, Kenneth - "Productivité économique et paix sociale au sein du plan Marshall. Les limites de l'influence américaine auprès des industriels et syndicats belges, 1948-1960". *Cahiers d'Histoire du Temps Présent*. 9 (2001) 191-235.

⁸ The mission left on 14/07/1954 for an 8-week tour of the USA, mainly through the North-East (Chicago, New York, Washington), where it studied different aspects of the construction industry: its role in the general economic climate, the mechanisms of its financing, the design methods, the methods of execution and site organization, the technical equipment (central heating, air conditioning, and sanitary installations), the corporate bodies and, finally, issues of American urbanism (especially the problem of suburban housing). The delegation also met with an extensive range of officials, design professionals (meetings were held for instance with partners of SOM's New York and Chicago office) and academics from MIT, Harvard and IIT. The findings of the mission were published as *Verslag van de zending Constructie van Gebouwen* [Report of the Mission 'Building Construction']. Brussels: Belgische Dienst Productiviteit, 1957.

⁹ On Hollin Hills, see "Bungalow, Hollin Hills, Virginia; Architects: Charles M. Goodman Associates". *House & Home*. 1 (1954) 140-143 and AMENDOLA GUTOWSKI, Gabriela - *Hollin Hills, The Future that is now the Past: Challenges of Preserving a Post-War Suburban Community*. Unpublished master thesis in Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania, 2007. Accessed through http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/78 on 20/04/2010.

Built with industrial building materials and prefabricated building parts, every aspect of the project was geared towards a maximum reduction of work on site and an optimal return on investment. Yet, despite their austere conception, the houses at Hollin Hills were distinctly modern and comfortable.

Soon after, Groupe Structures implemented the lesson from America in a bungalow prototype that featured a number of novelties such as prefabricated load-bearing window frames, pre-assembled wooden roof trusses, insulating concrete blocks for the exterior walls and plaster board partitions in the interior.¹⁰ [Fig. 2] Laid out on one floor and divided in a 'day zone' without partitions and a 'night zone' clustered around the bathroom, it came with a fully equipped kitchen, washing machine, central heating and built-in cupboards. Widely published as the embodiment of the shift from traditional craft to industrialized montage, the prototype provided the blueprint for the Ban Eik housing estate, Groupe Structures' most important public housing project.

Located in Wezembeek-Oppem, nearby Brussels, Ban Eik was a model project: relying on the latest innovations in building technology, it was to offer a wide variety of affordable homes and thus accommodate a harmonious 'social mix'. [Fig. 3] The houses were grouped in rows from 3 to 7 around intimate 'greens' and plugged onto a network of pedestrian routes; car access was only allowed on the backside via dead end streets. Just like in Hollin Hills, the estate featured a limited set of house types, all sharing the same window frames, roof trusses and exterior finishings. To avoid monotony, polychromy was used to liven up the façades, while the estate's landscaping gave the ensemble an informal touch. The idea of building a prototype of each house on site was also imported from America. It provided a hands-on training for the contractor and a full scale catalogue for the future occupants. To meet the requested occupation density, two 10-story apartment blocks were placed in the centre of the estate however, totalling 180 flats of 4 different types.¹¹ The construction of these two buildings was one of the first applications of on site prefabrication in Belgium, as all structural components were cast in situ and fully equipped before being put into place.

From the start, Ban Eik attracted much attention. Put on display at the Brussels World Fair in 1958, it was awarded with the First Prize of the National Housing Institute and extensively documented in its periodical *Wonen*.¹² Despite their high standards, the houses were 10% cheaper than average, a surplus that enabled the financing of communal services such as central heating, a primary school and a nursery. Judging from contemporary photographs, the ideal of a harmonious social environment also seems to have been met. As an experiment in standardized and prefabricated building, Ban Eik was less successful however. Since funding for the second phase could not be secured in time, much of the advantage of prefabrication was lost. Its true asset – economy through continuity and repetition – was only fully played out in the two apartment blocks. As it appeared that the uninterrupted use of the moulds would result in a 4% economy, it was decided to start the construction of the second one right away rather than in a later stage. Finally, it is questionable to what extent Ban Eik offered a sustainable solution for public housing on the border of a large agglomeration. In its sophisticated attempt to reconcile city and countryside, collectivity and individuality, and tradition and innovation, it in fact revealed how the dream of Arcadian living in the periphery had become untenable.

The presence of two apartment blocks in Ban Eik is emblematic for the breakthrough of the high-rise scheme in the public housing sector in Belgium. The Rempart des Moines estate in the centre of Brussels, designed by Groupe Structures in 1962, is

¹⁰ The prototype seems to have inspired by the 'Cadet' type, a prefabricated bungalow developed by Charles Goodman (the architect of Hollin Hills) for the National Homes Corporation. See the floor plan in *Verslag van de Zending*, 144. Groupe Structures' bungalow was published in *La Maison*, 8 (1956) 246-247; *La Maison* 4 (1957) 118-119; *Bouwen en Wonen* 5 (1957) 174-175 and *Landeigendom* 10 (1957) 375.

¹¹ Although presented as such in the contemporary press coverage, the 'mixed development' concept, combining low and high rise in one single scheme, was not really a novelty. Apart from well known examples such as Ackroydon and Roehampton in the UK, the concept had also been experimented with in Belgium, notably in the Oud Oefenplein estate in Mechelen (arch. Jos Chabot, 1950), and the Cassablanca estate in Leuven (arch. Léon Stynen, 1956).

¹² Ban Eik was presented as a model in the Pavilion of Public Housing and Health (images in *Wonen*, 12 (1958) 20). On Ban Eik, see *Architecture* 33 (1960); *La Maison* 8 (1960) 261-265; *Wonen* 3 (1960) 433-443; 442-447; *Wonen* 26-27 (1964) 2-41.

one of the clearest examples of this new paradigm.¹³ [Fig. 4] In the attempt to maximize the return on investment, the logic of productivity reached its peak here. The estate's master plan resulted for instance from an almost mathematical equation between the allowed occupation density, maximum building height and optimum exposure. The same goes for the 320 apartments: distributed over five identical 10-story blocks, the idea of a 'social mix' was reduced here to the most economical distribution of the four types of apartments around a single elevator cage. Despite the project's industrialized conception, the winning tender was submitted by a contractor who realized the project with conventional techniques.¹⁴ The Rempart des Moines project not only failed in terms of technical innovation however, it was also an urbanistic failure. As the site was almost fully occupied by the five apartment blocks, the central heating plant and the car park, only a few residual spaces were left for the inhabitants to appropriate. Typically for the technocratic spirit of the time, in response to the occupants' feelings of alienation and nostalgia, the public housing company proposed to name the apartment blocks after the streets that had been erased for their construction...¹⁵ With retrospect, it is safe to say that rather than stimulating its revitalization, the Rempart des Moines estate contributed to the further decline of its neighbourhood. Paradoxically, Groupe Structures' partners thus created a living environment that bore all the destructive characteristics of the kind of urbanism their mentor Gaston Bardet had fiercely tried to steer them away from hardly 15 years earlier.

Concluding remarks

In the after war period, public housing became a crucial instrument in the democratic distribution of wealth. However, as has been shown, this ambition could only be realized by subjecting it to the same logic of productivity as the other economical sectors. The fundamental question thus became: how can we build more, faster and cheaper? Determined by economical constraints rather than humanist aspirations, such a context demanded a pragmatic attitude towards architecture. Thus, rather than asking why a dwelling should be as cheap as possible, Groupe Structures tried to model the home to the laws of mass production. In doing so, it substituted the notion of architecture as the product of artistic creativity and individual expression for a well-planned, collaborative effort based on economical reasoning and industrial planning. Its capacity to act as a reliable and obliging partner would provide the clue to Groupe Structures' success in the 1960s, when it became the preferred designer for corporate clients, political institutions and religious authorities in Brussels.¹⁶

Nevertheless, as can be derived from the projects discussed above, the experimentations with standardization and prefabrication did not live up to their promises. As the Belgian government stimulated the building of individual homes rather than public housing, the latter only accounts for a small percentage of the housing stock of the post-war period. Consequently, the public housing sector was never capable of putting sufficient pressure on the construction industry to boost its performance level.¹⁷ On the contrary, the sector suffered badly from the increasing building cost, resulting in an inverse correlation between the ever growing need for low-cost dwellings and the quality of their design and construction. In this respect, Groupe Structures' public housing projects embody the tension between the Welfare State ideal of equal distribution of wealth and the seemingly unavoidable matter-of-factness of its material implementation.

¹³ The construction of the Rempart des Moines estate was the largest in a series of projects undertaken by the Foyer Bruxellois (the Brussels public housing company) in the framework of the 'lutte contre les taudis' ['battle against the slums'] in the first half of the 1960s. Other projects were realized at the rue des Potiers (90 flats, also designed by Groupe Structures), the rue Haute (designed by Charles Van Nueten) and the rue des Brigitines (150 flats, designed by Gaston Brunfaut). See on this aspect *3000 Foyers Bruxellois*. Brussels: La Fonderie, 1997, 49-56.

¹⁴ As communicated to the author by Louis Van Hove, founding partner of Groupe Structures, Brussels, 14/01/2010.

¹⁵ This anecdote is related in *3000 Foyers Bruxellois*, 51-52.

¹⁶ In the 1960s, Groupe Structures continued its research into prefabrication in the Berlaymont monastery and school complex in Waterloo, designed and realized in less than a year's time (1962). The group's most impressive achievement in this respect is the design and construction of the vast NATO headquarters in Evere (nearby Brussels) in barely nine months time (1966). Still in the 1960s, Groupe Structures also realized the Philips Building, the Monnaie Centre and the Sheraton Hotel – all in the centre of Brussels.

¹⁷ The research and discourse on prefabrication and standardisation in Belgium during the after war period is currently being investigated by Stephanie Vandevoorde as part of her doctoral research at the University of Ghent. I wish to thank her for gratefully sharing with me her findings on this topic.



Fig. 1: Groupe Structures, *Nieuwenbos public housing estate (1953-1955)*, contemporary photograph. Source: *Landeigendom 1 (1957)*.

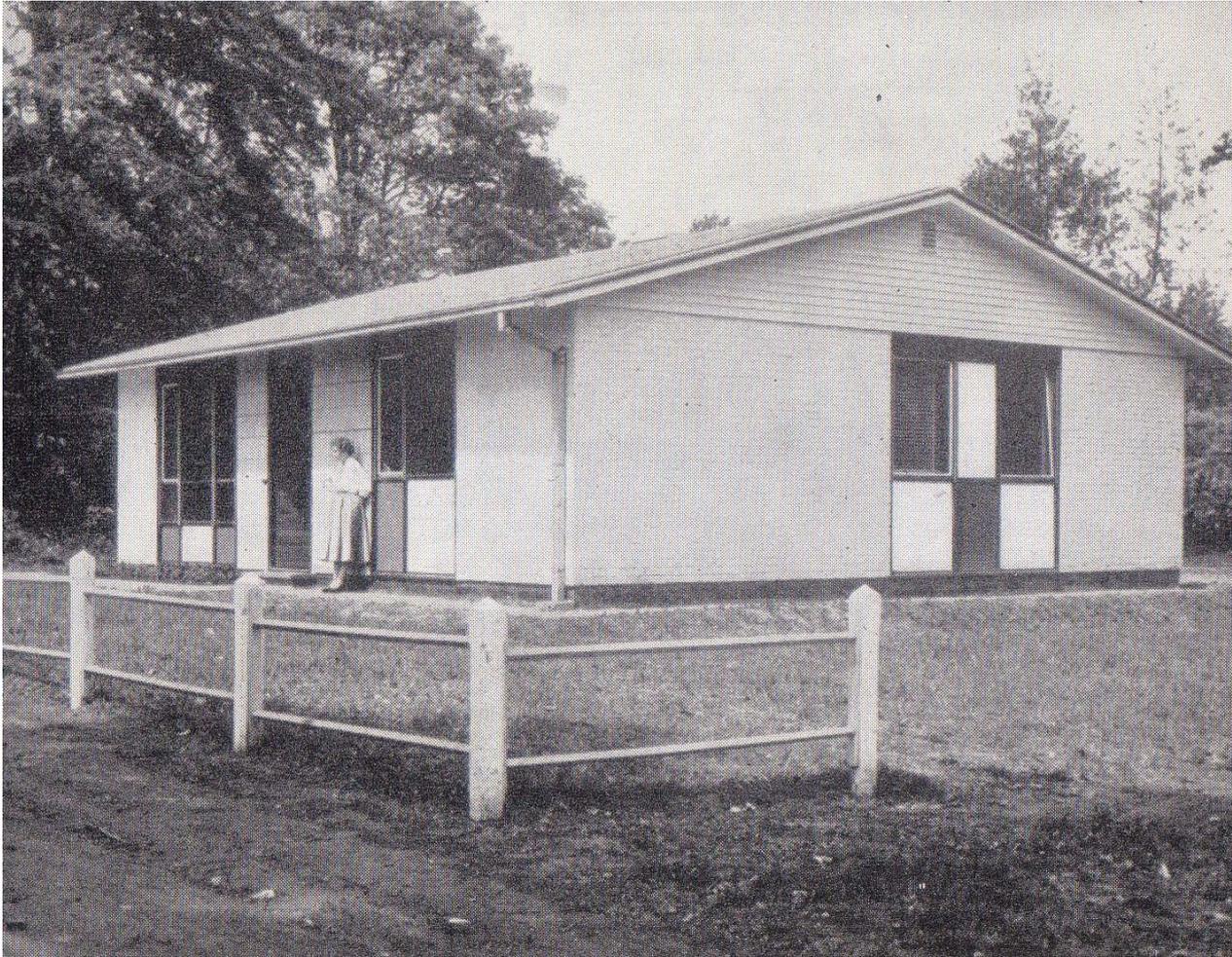


Fig. 2: Groupe Structures, *Bungalow prototype* (1957), contemporary photograph. Source: *Bouwen en Wonen* 4/5 (1957) 175.

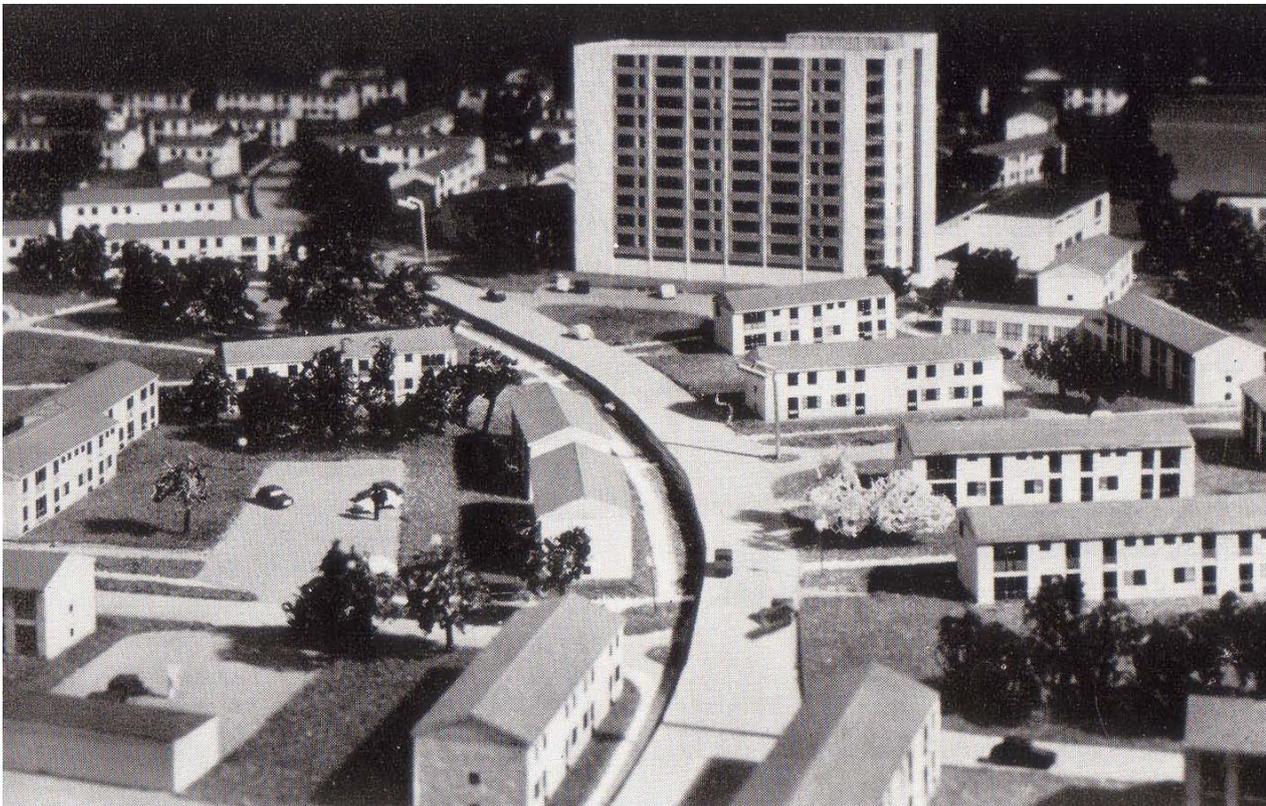


Fig. 3: Groupe Structures, *Ban Eik public housing estate* (1957-1960), model as shown at the 1958 World Fair. Source: *Architecture* 33 (1960) 443.

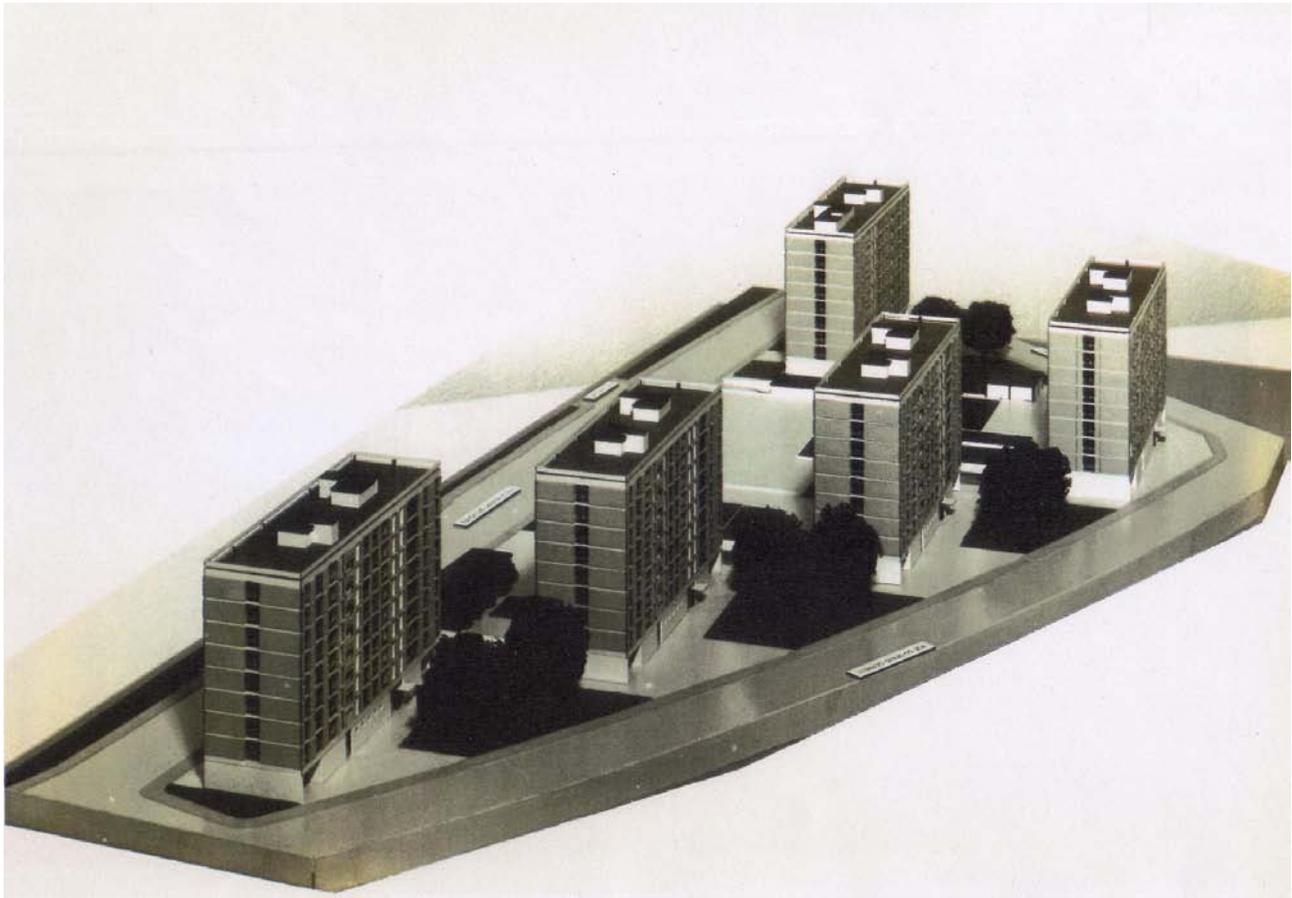


Fig. 4: Groupe Structures, *Rempart des Moines* public housing estate (1962-1965), model of scheme as realized. Source: Foyer Bruxellois Archives, Brussels. Used with permission.

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From the Reception of Team 10 in Portuguese Architecture to the SAAL Programme

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Introduction

This paper aims to establish a relation between the Portuguese context of appropriation of Team 10 architectural ideas and the SAAL Programme,¹ through a study of the role played by Nuno Portas (b.1934), one of the main responsables for the SAAL implementation.

In 1969, Portas wrote:

What we have today on the idea of city was put together by ten men in 2 or 3 congresses (this Team X), who extracted from their commonplace, alienated professional experience but also from their unbridled imagination, a few concepts which we are a long way from having exhausted or proven to be invalid.²

From this statement, we will try to understand how Team 10 was received by Portuguese architectural culture and the way in which Portas participated in this critical reception from 1959 to 1974.

The Portuguese presence at CIAM

Nuno Portas began work in 1956 in the studio of Nuno Teotónio Pereira (b.1922), where he had the opportunity to “combine the practice of planning with other areas of work, which were becoming increasingly open to the influence of other areas in the scientific, sociological or merely political domain.”³ Collective habitation was one of the main concerns of the studio, comprising a dynamic group which debated the matter at length in the magazine *Arquitectura*, which functioned as a powerful “*agit-prop* tool”.⁴ In this context, Portas followed the evolution of the ideological stances of the different strands, based on careful interpretation of theoretical reflections, playing therefore a central role in the critical revision of the modern movement in Portugal.

In 1961, in the magazine *Arquitectura*, Portas wrote that Fernando Távora (b.1923) “had the opportunity to follow, live, the crisis which occurred within the very heart of the modern movement (within the very pedagogy which shaped it), as, not being party to Team X’s opposition to ‘orthodox functionalism’ or the ‘Italian revision’, he was able to gain a better understanding of the profound causes which separated them.”⁵ Álvaro Siza (b.1933), who worked with Távora (1949-1955), confirmed this interpretation when he recalled that “from the final CIAM [Távora] follows the thinking of Coderch of the Catalan houses, and not that of Candilis of the new cities; of the rebel Van Eyck and the new Italians, and not of Bakema and triumphalist reconstruction.”⁶ So, Távora’s critical reception shows us that there are different degrees of permeability to the debate sparked by Team 10.

¹ SAAL – Ambulatory Support to Local Residents Programme, a housing policy launched in the post-revolutionary period (1974-1976).

² PORTAS, Nuno – “Arquitectura e Sociedade Portuguesa – Mensagem por Nuno Portas” (Dezembro 1969). In Nuno Teotónio Pereira Archive, Pasta 19, p.2.

³ BANDEIRINHA, José António – *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura do 25 de Abril de 1974*. (PhD Dissertation) Departamento de Arquitectura da Universidade de Coimbra, Dezembro 2001, p.65.

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⁵ PORTAS, Nuno – “Arquitecto Fernando Távora: 12 anos de actividade profissional”. *Arquitectura*. 71 (Julho 1961), p.16.

⁶ SIZA, Álvaro – “Fernando Távora”. *Catálogo da Exposição, Arquitectura, Pintura, Escultura, Desenho*. Porto: Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis. (1987), p.186.

As stated by Jorge Figueira (b.1965), “on the scale permitted by our circumstances and political restrictions, Távora was a privileged observer and interpreter of the process of crisis and renewal of the modern movement in the ‘50s”.⁷ Siza recalls that “as a member of CIAM, [Távora] had direct and personal information which he conveyed to the School, especially those who worked with him.”⁸ Távora’s presence at CIAM was of vital importance to the Porto School. According to Figueira, this circumstance “was decisive to a kind of cultural synchronisation, via Porto, between the European vanguard and the fragile ideological tradition of Portuguese architecture.”⁹

Against formulae, against formalism

In 1959, Portas adopts a basic stance – “to interrogate a brand new generation, not just in its ideas and intentions, but above all in its work”.¹⁰ Figueira argued that with this text “Portas was already indicating the path he would follow throughout the ‘60s and which would lead him away from the *Zevian* camp [...] towards methodological concerns which bring him closer to the field of social sciences.”¹¹

Indeed, a shift can be detected in Portas’ stance towards attaching greater value to method and process in detriment of form, when he states that “urbanistic and architectural modernity is no longer part of a given vocabulary, but it is possible and necessary to define it in relation to methodology, i.e. in the connection between the creative act and the processes whereby reality can be known.”¹²

Portas’ first book – *Architecture for Today*¹³ (1964) –, two years after joining National Laboratory for Civil Engineering, confirmed his relative distancing from issues relating to the expression of form, favouring instead the quest for a certain scientific objectivity. However, Portas cites a number of examples which “constitute a response to the ‘crisis’: the British group of the ‘brutalist’ movement, which identified with the ‘team X’ which catalysed the hesitancy of CIAM [...]”,¹⁴ along with the new Italian and Spanish generations, as well as Távora, Teotónio Pereira or Siza.

His second book – *The City as Architecture*¹⁵ (1969) – followed on from the line pursued in the previous book. As noted by Figueira, “with the shift from *criticism* to the *methodological issues* of the project, a change also occurred with regard to the object of study: from the building, as an artefact, to the city, as a territory.”¹⁶ However, Portas wrote critically of the Japanese metabolism and Archigram’s formalisms, stating that “we are not impressed by these airs of science fiction”.¹⁷

In 1970, in the preface to the Portuguese translation of Bruno Zevi’s *Storia dell’architettura moderna*, Portas identifies “two trends, with almost opposite objectives”.¹⁸ On one hand:

⁷ FIGUEIRA, Jorge – *A Periferia Perfeita - Pós-Modernidade na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80*. (PhD Dissertation) Departamento de Arquitectura da Universidade de Coimbra, Março 2009, p.20.

⁸ SIZA, Álvaro – “Entrevista realizada a Porto, l’abril de 1983, per Pepita Teixidor”. *Quaderns*. 159 (1983) [tradução: FIGUEIRA, Jorge – *Escola do Porto – Um Mapa Crítico*. Coimbra: Edições do Departamento de Arquitectura da Universidade de Coimbra, 2002, p.41].

⁹ FIGUEIRA – *Escola do Porto – Um Mapa Crítico*, p.40.

¹⁰ PORTAS, Nuno – “A responsabilidade de uma novíssima geração no Movimento Moderno em Portugal”. *Arquitectura*. 66 (November/December 1959), p.13.

¹¹ FIGUEIRA – *A Periferia Perfeita - Pós-Modernidade na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80*, p.22.

¹² PORTAS – “A responsabilidade de uma novíssima geração no Movimento Moderno em Portugal”, p.14.

¹³ PORTAS, Nuno – *A Arquitectura para Hoje*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2008 [1964].

¹⁴ PORTAS – *A Arquitectura para Hoje*, p.114.

¹⁵ PORTAS, Nuno – *A Cidade como Arquitectura*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2007 [1969], p.155.

¹⁶ FIGUEIRA – *A Periferia Perfeita - Pós-Modernidade na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80*, p.89.

¹⁷ PORTAS – *A Cidade como Arquitectura*, p.155.

¹⁸ PORTAS, Nuno – “Prefácio à Edição Portuguesa da História da Arquitectura Moderna” [1970]. In PORTAS, Nuno, *Arquitectura(s), História e Crítica, Ensino e Profissão*. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2005, p.63.

The more positive trend was receptive to the major urban problems, proposing the integration of architecture and urbanism into a single system, translated into new forms of habitat and reviving the opportunities for contact with environmental structures such as the street, gallery, square and courtyard found in historical and popular tradition (I refer above all to the work of 'team X' [...]).¹⁹

On the other hand:

The other, more serious and diffuse trend, was discovering the conceptual shallowness of that vulgarised vocabulary known as 'modern', [...] and, casting off suppressions at the whim of consumer society's craving for novelty, is lost in sterile quests for new layouts, volumetric systems but above all façades.²⁰

In 1970, in line with his growing "anti-formalist" sentiment, Portas appears to retain some confidence in the ideas arising from Team 10, in their "procedural" potential. Indeed, Portas' anti-formalist stance formed over the course of this period can be compared to one of the goals put forward at Team 10's first post-CIAM meeting in 1960: "The continuing struggle against [...] formulae, against formalism."²¹

From Olivais, via Chelas, to the SAAL

It was by recourse to the practice of planning that the studio of Teotónio Pereira was to test the problems of collective habitation. The opportunity arose with the Olivais project. Olivais represented two different conceptual trends: the North Olivais plan (1955/58), based on the Athens Charter model, and the South Olivais plan (1959/62), representing a new attitude concerned with "social integration of the inhabitants."²² According to Portas, "the main change involved a shift from the functionalist concept of 'neighbourhood' – still clearly visible in North Olivais – to a *cluster* model, combining the aggregative courtyard with the generative street, with buildings of medium height, to the detriment of higher, isolated buildings."²³

In the late '60s, Lisbon Town Hall launched the Chelas plan. This plan offered an urban structure organised according to continuous linear outlines interfacing with the built-up units, influenced according to Portas by the "rhizomatic structuring" developed by Team 10 (with obvious references to the British *New Towns* and the *Ville Nouvelle* of Toulouse-le-Mirail), while some clusters [...] take on the focal role of *buildings as streets*.²⁴

In 1969, the ENA – National Meeting of Architects was held in Lisbon, not attended by Portas, as reported by José António Bandeirinha (b.1958).²⁵ However, Portas sent an incisively critical message, in which he lists three examples whereby a "competent architect"²⁶ might contribute: with the creation of evolving habitats as an alternative to the conventional completed neighbourhoods; with the concept of directional centres, bringing together transport and services; and with the responsibility to distinguish the best ideas for the city and the best way in which to achieve them.

It is within this context that Portas refers the Team X concepts on the idea of city "which we are a long way from having exhausted or proven to be invalid."²⁷ Portas also proposes two possible ways forward: the first, that of expanding the debate

¹⁹ PORTAS – "Prefácio à Edição Portuguesa da História da Arquitectura Moderna", p.63.

²⁰ PORTAS – "Prefácio à Edição Portuguesa da História da Arquitectura Moderna", p.63.

²¹ RISSELADA, Max (ed.); HEUVEL, Dirk van den (ed.) – *TEAM 10 1953-81 In Search of a Utopia of the Present*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005, p.85

²² BANDEIRINHA – *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura do 25 de Abril de 1974*, p.101.

²³ PORTAS, Nuno; GRANDE, Nuno – "Entre a crise e a crítica da cidade moderna". In AAVV – *Lisboscópio*. Lisboa: Instituto das Artes – Ministério da Cultura, Corda Seca – Edições de Arte, 2006, p.73.

²⁴ PORTAS; GRANDE – "Entre a crise e a crítica da cidade moderna". In AAVV – *Lisboscópio*, p.74.

²⁵ BANDEIRINHA – *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura do 25 de Abril de 1974*, p.87.

²⁶ BANDEIRINHA – *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura do 25 de Abril de 1974*, p.87.

²⁷ PORTAS, Nuno – "Arquitectura e Sociedade Portuguesa – Mensagem por Nuno Portas", p.2.

surrounding architecture to include new horizons of intervention; the second, the “progressive and systematic occupation of positions within the major decision-making centres by competent individuals interested in participating in strategies and coordinating operative tactics.”²⁸

Five years later, Portas’ message to 1969 ENA was to have reverberations – with the revolution of 25 April 1974, Portas was appointed Secretary of State for Habitation and Urbanism of the First Provisional Government. At that moment, all of his experience accumulated over the previous two decades was of vital importance. Being a key figure in the Portuguese critical reception of the international debate on the transformation of habitat, Portas had therefore a unique opportunity to put into practice on the political plane the issue of collective habitation, the entitlement to the city of underprivileged urban populations, the evolutive and participative habitat and the importance of multidisciplinary teams.

As the impatience inherent to the revolution demanded quick results, the debate of the ‘60s naturally formed the basis for a new housing policy. So, on 31 July, SAAL is launched as “an alternative system for public promotion based on an autonomous organisation of social demand and on virtual capacity of self-management.”²⁹ Within a process of cooperation between the state and its citizens, the population directly managed the operations through dweller associations and cooperatives supported by technical teams nominated by the state formed by architects, engineers and social workers.

One characteristic of SAAL process is the adaptation of architecture to the social context – “a methodological characteristic which aims at freeing itself from preconceptions of formal creation, in such a way as to integrate social demand and the participation of the dwellers in the project.”³⁰ This SAAL’ stance which values the process in detriment of form reflects the Team 10 struggle *against formulae, against formalism*. However, according to Portas:

Although no common guidelines were given to the teams, the majority of the solutions are of low rise, high or medium density type with well-defined exterior spaces – reducible to the archetypes of street, square, or patio – and continuous or connected buildings instead of the usual isolated slabs and towers.³¹

Reading these lines, it is as if we were reading Portas’ 1970 preface about the work of Team X, thus revealing the operativeness of Team 10 ideas within the SAAL strategy.

The SAAL programme, during his short life, was faced with a difficult process of mediation between political factions and economic interests. As Paulo Varela Gomes (b.1952) wrote, “the circumstances in which SAAL appeared and operated were a phenomenon typical of revolutionary times.”³² So, on 26 March 1975, Portas was relieved of his post as Secretary of State, a fact which jeopardised the revolutionary housing policy strategy. On 27 October 1976, a government order transferring powers to the municipalities meant that SAAL was no longer feasible, and it was practically extinguished.

Conclusion

Nuno Portas, as well as Fernando Távora, can be regarded as crucial interpreters of the post-CIAM revision as a result of their critical engagement, their travels, contacts and pedagogical activities, both in academia and in offices. In this sense, they

²⁸ BANDEIRINHA – *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura do 25 de Abril de 1974*, p.89.

²⁹ PORTAS, Nuno – “The S.A.A.L. Program” [1984]. In AFONSO, João (ed.); MILHEIRO, Ana Vaz (ed.) – *Nuno Portas, Prémio Sir Patrick Abercrombie UIA 2005*. Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos, Caleidoscópio, 2005, p.104.

³⁰ PORTAS – “The S.A.A.L. Program” [1984], p.104.

³¹ PORTAS – “The S.A.A.L. Program” [1984], p.104.

³² GOMES, Paulo Varela – “Arquitectura, os últimos vinte e cinco anos”. In PEREIRA, Paulo Pereira (dir.) – *História da Arte Portuguesa, Volume III*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1995, p.542.

helped to decode the major issues of their time, interpreting them by means of a form of mediation which took into account the peculiarities of their context, their culture and their own personality.

So, when we proposed to assess the extent to which Team 10's ideas resonated in the Portuguese context, the aim was to open up a hypothesis for reflection on this reception in its various senses, as an *idea* built up over time understood in a wider sense. Therefore, it is significant to note how, throughout the '60s, reference to an *idea* of Team 10 remains at the forefront of Portas' discourse.

Indeed, being one of the main responsables for the SAAL implementation, we can argue that Portas brought about some of Team 10 concepts referred in his 1969 message to ENA – concerns more sensitive to socio-psychological needs of identity, neighbourhood and belonging, as well as questions about the structure of a community and the participatory process – notions which are related to a new architectural sensitivity in the quest to *reconcile basic values*,³³ as Aldo van Eyck (b.1918) would point it out.

³³ NEWMAN, Oscar (Jürgen Joedicke, ed.) – *CIAM'59 in Otterlo: Documents of Modern Architecture*. London: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961, p.27.

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Re-Defining the Ottoman Architectural Past to Suit the Modern Architectural Present

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Introduction

Dušan Grabrijan (1899–1952) and Juraj Neidhardt (1901–79) have been considered among the most important architectural practitioners and theorists of post–World War II Yugoslavia. Their ability to ‘penetrate deep into the substance of [Islamic] architectural and urban heritage’ has been seen as central to their ability to connect local architectural debates with the European modern agenda.¹ While the pair collaborated on numerous research and design projects, their book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity* (Arhitektura Bosne i Put u Suvremeno), published in 1957, is considered one of the seminal texts on modern Bosnian architecture.² The lasting impact of Neidhardt and Grabrijan’s work was reconfirmed in 2001 when, in the aftermath of the 1992–96 Bosnian war, the Academy of Science and Arts of Bosnia and Hercegovina celebrated the centenary of Neidhardt’s birth with an exhibition and conference.³ In this paper I acknowledge the widely recognised relevance of these architects’ work, but I demonstrate that the significance of their ideas is not solely based in architectural debates. It lies in the capacity of the two authors to build into an architectural treaty a response to the central political question that preoccupied post–World War II Bosnia – that is, the relevance of Bosnian Islamic heritage to the new socialist Yugoslav state.

Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity: a ‘synthetic integration of the old experiences and new socialist needs’

The very title of Grabrijan and Neidhardt’s book, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, served to link Bosnia, modernity and the progressive nature of their ideas. Confident that the unique qualities of Bosnian architecture contributed to the development of a new society, Neidhardt and Grabrijan considered the book a manifesto for a new era:

Today, we stand on the threshold of a new civilization. We live in a time marked by the transition of capitalism into socialism. At this stage we have to deal with specific difficulties. The transitional time needs a clear position.⁴

The book presents the specifics of Bosnian architectural fabric, cultural practices and historical changes as factors that had shaped the urban forms. This approach is illustrated by a drawing of a tree, a graphic metaphor for the theoretical and conceptual organisation of the book. The drawings shows the tree top, the most important part of a tree, as corresponding to the Ottoman division of Sarajevo – the business district of *čaršija* (Baščaršija) and residential quarter of *mahala*. It presents the city as a natural, organic and historical process that integrates a diverse range of biological, physical, material, social and emotional factors, providing the theoretical grounding for the book itself [Fig. 1].

The book thus connected and grounded the discussion of Bosnian modern architecture on the architectural and spatial principles identified with the historic fabric of Baščaršija. Historically, indeed, the origins of the city of Sarajevo were connected to the precinct of Baščaršija. Established in the 15th century, the area embodied the principles of Ottoman urban design. Most notable was the generic division between public and private domains, the road separating the activities of the *čaršija*, the trade

¹ ‘The Academy of Science and Arts of Bosnia and Hercegovina marking the centenary of the birth of the academic Juraj Neidhardt’, catalogue jointly produced by the Academy of Science and Arts of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the Architectural Faculty of Sarajevo University, Sarajevo, 2001, p. 34.

² Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*.

³ The Academy of Science and Arts of Bosnia and Hercegovina, exhibition catalogue.

⁴ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, pp. 14–15.

and business district, from the surrounding residential area, the *mahala*. The Baščaršija business section also accommodated the most important civic and religious buildings. They included the main mosque of Gazi Husref Beg's (1531), with the surrounding structures of the *šadrvan* (water fountain), *turbe* (tomb) and *medresa* (religious school), as well as the nearby markets, the Jewish synagogue (the original building from 1581) and the old Orthodox Church (1539–40).⁵

By the time Grabrijan and Neidhardt focused their attention on the old town, Baščaršija was no more than an historic precinct of Sarajevo. The European city built by the new colonial power of Austro–Hungary grew to the west of Baščaršija and civic life moved to new modern institutions. Needing to justify their aspirations to connect the old, dilapidated town with new, modern architecture, Grabrijan and Neidhardt wrote:

It is the last moment to do something about [the architecture of our recent past], to protect, study, and reveal its principles, which are ours, good and contemporary, and to translate them into contemporary life. Why? Because they [these principles] are human, because they reach for connection with nature, because they respect neighbours, are democratic, unpretentious and non-pathetic.⁶

They frequently stated that their interest in historic architecture was 'not to return to Ottoman times or the life of that time', but 'to build upon the achievements of the past'.⁷ Tradition, they argued, was to be used as a vehicle for developing new ideas. In this regard, their views on what constituted modern as well as traditional urban fabric touched a potent political issue – the relevance of Baščaršija's fabric to the new city and society.

Connecting architecture to political debates

Within Bosnia, the issue of Islamic cultural heritage was closely connected to the arrival of Ottoman colonial power in the 15th century and the introduction of Islam to the region. In the 19th century, Ottoman rule was replaced by the Austro–Hungarian Empire. Although the internal political transformations occurring with the arrival of the new colonial power privileged national over religious associations, Bosnia did not become a nation state or a land of Bosnians. Instead, due to the specifics of historical development that cannot be elaborated upon here, Bosnia remained a land inhabited by Bosnian Muslims, Serbs (Orthodox), Croats (Catholics) and Jews. Its mixed religious and national makeup set Bosnia apart from its neighbouring Serbia and Croatia, which had homogenous Serb and Croat populations respectively. Due to the peculiarities of Bosnia, 20th-century nationalist movements in Serbia and Croatia managed to tie Bosnian Orthodox and Catholic populations to Serb and Croat national identities, causing significant confusion over the national status of the Bosnian Muslims. Subsequently, Serbian nationalism portrayed the struggle against Ottoman foreign domination as a reflection of Serbian superiority over other national and religious groups, and associated the change of political structure with a victory of Christianity over Islam. While Croatian nationalism emerged from a different political framework, it too questioned the existence of a collective Bosnian political identity and the role of Muslims within it.

Reinterpreting politics through architecture

Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity problematised rather than confirmed the nation-state model as the way by which communities can be structured. Grabrijan and Neidhardt sought alternative factors to define the national bond: 'Only Europeans look for totality and classify an individual by the sum total of religion, nationality and extraction [heritage].'⁸ It was for

⁵ A. Bejtić, *Stara Sarajevska Čaršija-jučer, danas i sutra, Osnove I Smjernice za Regeneraciju* (Old Town of Sarajevo, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, a Development Proposal), Gradski Zavod za Zaštitu i Uredjenje Spomenika Kulture, Sarajevo, 1969, pp. 31-34.

⁶ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 13.

⁷ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 11.

⁸ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 23.

that reason, they claimed, that 'Europe had so many difficulties' with the Islamic world.⁹ Unable to comprehend a 'non-European' way of thinking about a nation, foreign rulers of Bosnia, they argued, misinterpreted the Muslims of Bosnia and perceived them always as 'somebody else'.¹⁰ The Austrians identified 'them with the Turks, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia found them to be Serbs, and Croatia to be Croats, etc.'¹¹ Presenting Bosnian identity within a long history of misconceptions and misunderstandings, Grabrijan and Neidhardt acknowledged the transient and changing nature of identity formation. They also challenged the government's inability to resolve the issue, and resist and overcome nationalist pressure.

They saw the post-World War II Yugoslav socialist government's ever-changing classification of the Muslim community as new grounds upon which the concept of a nation could be established. Attempting, through official organisation and administration, to provide political platforms for communities that would neutralise the impact of nationalist debates, the first census carried out by the new state, in 1948, presented Muslims with three options of self-identification: Muslim Serbs, Muslim Croats or 'Muslims, nationally undeclared'.¹² This showed the government's willingness to recognise Muslims as a separate community, but not with a separate national identity.¹³ The next census, in 1953, was much the same. But with official policy moving towards greater support for a spirit of 'Yugoslavism', the category 'Muslim' was removed from the census altogether; the new category of 'Yugoslav, nationally undeclared' was introduced.¹⁴ The 1961 census stopped short of recognising Muslims' full national rights, offering a category of 'ethnic Muslim', which was seen as more appealing than previous options. The long-standing debate was eventually resolved by the 1968 League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which recognised Muslim claims and offered the option of identifying as Bosnian Muslim in the sense of a nationality. But it would be the 1971 constitution before the change was officially instituted and the 'double' identity for Muslims introduced: Muslim with a 'capital M' indicating national affiliation, and muslim with a 'small m', indicating religious affiliation.¹⁵

Grabrijan and Neidhardt built upon new notions of identity. No longer defined by a national, ethnic or religious framework, identity could be assembled and constructed (within given limitations) in ways of one's own choosing. Neidhardt stated that the interpretative and personal nature of such a process helped him to discover his own identity; he claimed to be 'Croatian by birth and Bosnian by choice'.¹⁶ He encouraged his students to combine the various traditions of Bosnia into a new experience, promoting collective gatherings to celebrate various religious and cultural holidays. This rethinking of the nationalist paradigm provided for a more sympathetic and nuanced interpretation of the origins of Muslims as well as their place in the new Bosnian society. Once the collective identity of Bosnia was constructed, it was possible for Grabrijan and Neidhardt to search for their authentic arts and architecture.

This transformation of Bosnian Muslim alliances away from Islam as a transnational force and towards a locally grown Bosnian Islam was reflected in a drawing depicting an imaginary connection between Mecca and Sarajevo. The drawing showed the Mecca pilgrimage – a symbol of Muslim community gathering and shared values – at the edge of the composition, connected to Sarajevo via a sea [Fig 2]. This depiction weakened the connection between Sarajevo and the Islamic world, shifting the focus to the city itself. The inclusion of diverse daily experiences, such as praying, sitting, eating and walking, all highlighted Sarajevo's connection to the specific context rather than, as suggested by nationalists, a fanatical dedication to Islam. Vesting Bosnian Muslims with the sense of regional identity provided a direct link between the local community and the land it occupied.

⁹ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 23.

¹⁰ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 23.

¹¹ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 23.

¹² Malcolm, *Bosnia - A Short History*, p. 198.

¹³ Malcolm, *Bosnia - A Short History*, p. 198.

¹⁴ Malcolm, *Bosnia - A Short History*, p. 198.

¹⁵ The change was officially recognised in the 1971 constitution.

¹⁶ J. Kapetanović, 'Stvaralaštvo Arhitekta Juraja Neidhardta' (The architectural work of Juraj Neidhardt), PhD thesis, University of Sarajevo, 1988, p. 239.

Grabrijan and Neidhardt presented an analysis of the country's cultural and architectural heritage as a key to understanding the Bosnian people and culture. Using an archaeological framework, they presented a vertical examination of artefacts and objects found in Bosnia. To accommodate the long historical span, the structures were used as markers of select periods, or physical evidence of the developing and long-spanning culture. Their insistence on establishing a chain of reference to explain the historical development of Bosnian art not only undermined nationalist views, but also offered an acceptable conceptual place for the remnants of the Ottoman legacy. Arguing for the historical condition from which this architecture emerged, Grabrijan and Neidhardt acknowledged its origins:

By all means this architecture developed under the influences of the Orient, but its elements are not simply [trans]planted from there to here, but [they] grew out of our people and our soil. Bosnia was on the periphery of the Ottoman Empire ... Turkey is all in gold. [In contrast] Bosnia is simple.¹⁷

Changing the basic premise upon which artistic authenticity could be constructed allowed for a new interpretation. The book identified culture as a powerful agent in the reconfigurations of Ottoman architecture. Highlighting the communal and the collective qualities of this art, they wrote:

All roofs and doors of these houses are almost the same, we could call them homes for anyone, all of them are designed in human scale, have grown out of the land ... [the structures represent] architecture that is warm, natural and locally built.¹⁸

The balance between universal and local qualities of Bosnian Oriental expression finally demonstrated this architecture's unique contribution to the world of modernity. It was local, produced by all irrespective of their ethnic background, inclusive of all but of the Muslims in particular. Grabrijan and Neidhardt's emphasis on collective involvement recognised a connection between construction of the arts and society.

The new vision of society expressed in architecture

Grabrijan and Neidhardt's interpretation of Bosnian history and architecture gained significant public recognition. When in the 1950s Bosnia began to find a special place in the emerging 'Non Alliance' movement that Tito was developing, Muslim representatives played a significant role. In an organisation that included many Muslims from India and North Africa, Tito's delegation of local Muslims was a benefit. It was not considered relevant that these representatives at various forums were often Communist Party members who had largely abandoned their religion during the internal secularisation project. With the small 'm' Muslim sense of religious belonging marginalised, the big 'M' Muslim identity previously seen as an obstacle to genuine participation in developing a Bosnian nation was considered an asset.

Grabrijan and Neidhardt's views echoed a socialist agenda that envisioned Bosnia as a multicultural, secular, yet formally a uniformly national culture. Their new modern architecture, Neidhardt frequently stated, would become like 'French, Nordic [Scandinavian], Brazilian and American architecture', in that each 'contribute[s] to the world architecture'.¹⁹ Neidhardt's drawings, such as the one titled 'From old to new pyramid' [Fig. 3], presented Bosnian artistic achievements on equal standing to those of the rest of the world. The drawing represents the 'five millenniums' or human architectural achievements and developments, with Bosnia represented by Ali-Paša's Mosque [no. 12 in Fig. 3]. Sarajevo's mosque appears alongside the world's major historic monuments such as the pyramids (no. 1) and Parthenon (no. 2), and more contemporary achievements such as Sydney Opera House (no. 22).

¹⁷ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 12.

¹⁸ Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 13.

¹⁹ J. Neidhardt, 'Putevi nacionalne arhitekture' (Paths to national architecture), *Naši Dani*, November, 1954, p. 5.

By their own admission and by the perception of others, Grabrijan and Neidhardt were modern architects whose interest was not in creating national architecture but in contributing to the vocabulary of international modern architecture. At the same time that Grabrijan and Neidhardt were searching for historical continuity – for aspects of the past that could inform the modern world – they disregarded many significant elements of that heritage, or else reinterpreted them in such a way as to support dominant socialist discourse. For example, significantly secularised and stripped of their cultural complexities, the monuments and symbols that served the needs of communities were appropriated for the purposes of an ideological agenda. However, as I have argued in this paper, their work nevertheless presented a powerful vehicle for the search for selfhood in the Bosnian past, present and future. It represents a potent example of the power of cultural workers to reinterpret historical accounts and, through their narratives, visually and verbally represent a society in the image they see fit.

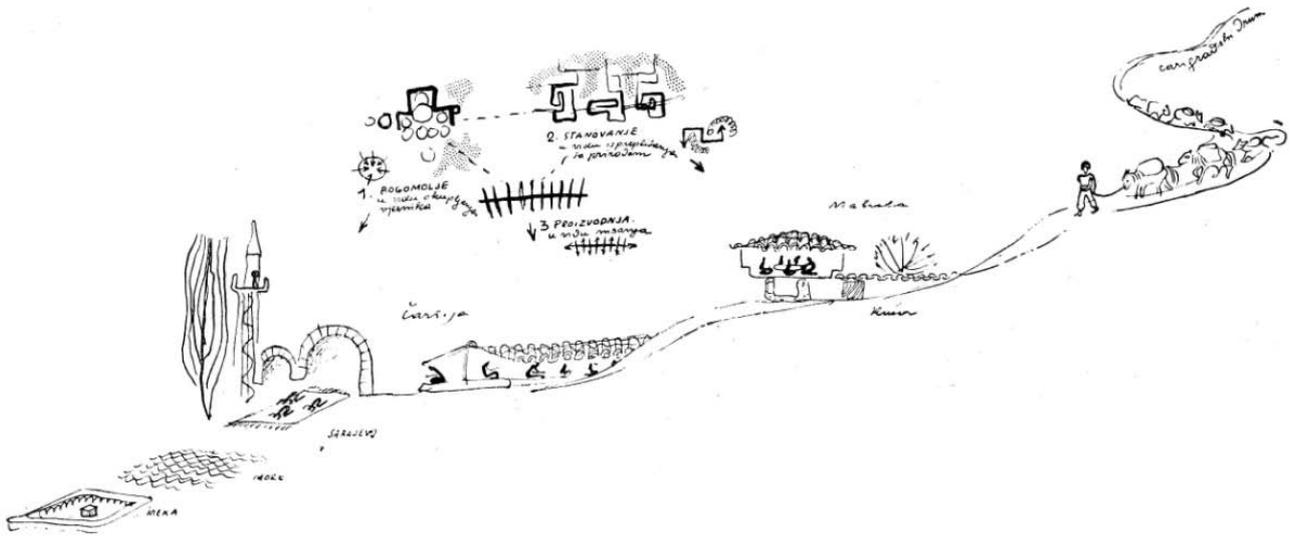


Fig. 2: Sketch showing the Mecca–Sarajevo link. Source: Grabrijan & Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Towards Modernity*, p. 60.

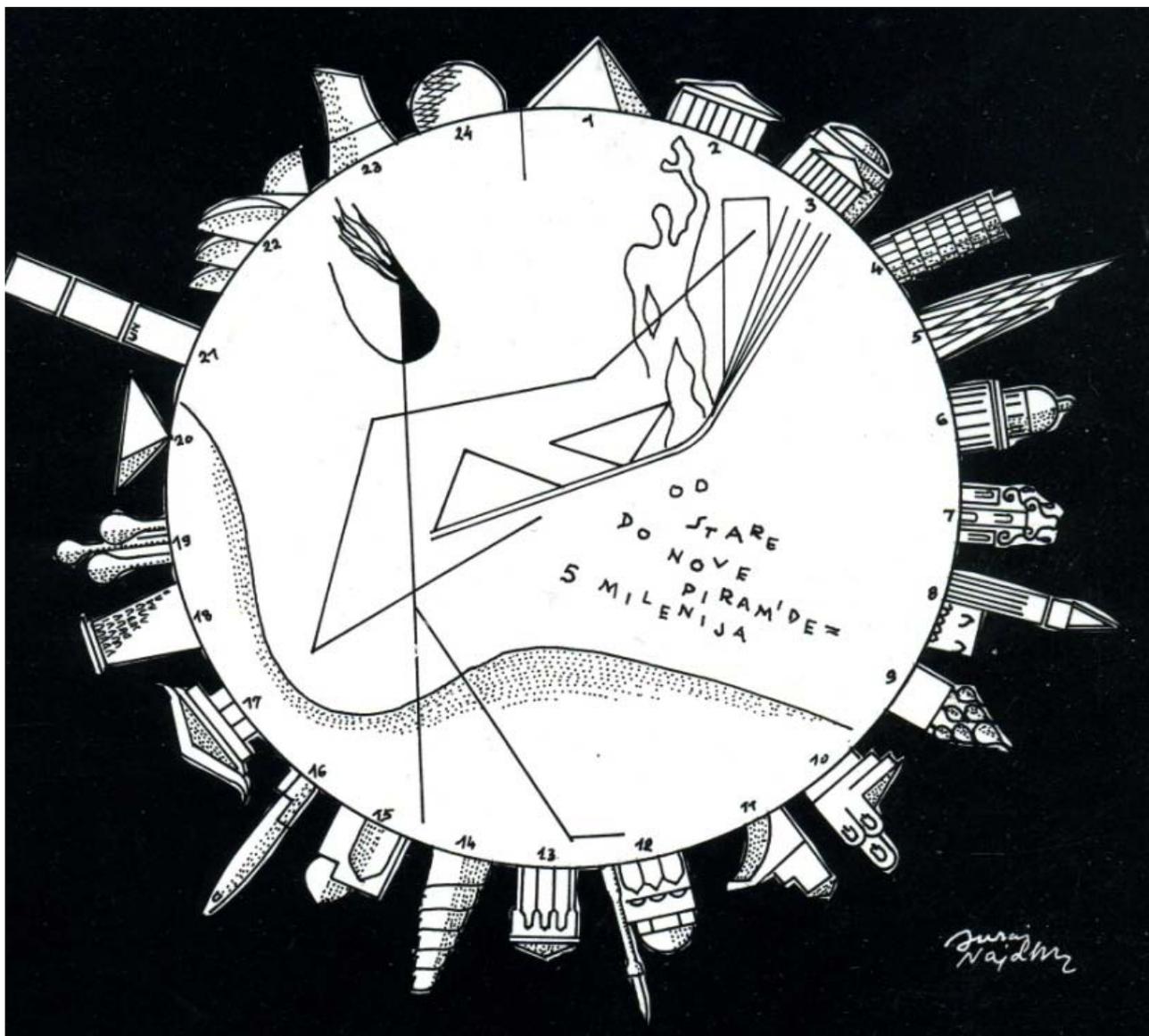


Fig. 3: Illustration titled 'From old to new pyramid 5 millenniums'. Source: Kapetanović, 'The architectural work of Juraj Neidhardt', p. 464.

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Italian Architects and Scholars in the Levant: The Case of Rhodes and the Dodecanese Islands under the Italian Fascist Rule

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Introduction

The colonial policies undertaken by Italians in the Dodecanese Islands, in the period 1912-1947, is still considered a marginal topic in the Italian historical studies and only in the recent twenty years these studies have started to be analyzed in many and different aspects.

The bibliography on the Dodecanese are abundant but often full of contradictions; in fact, considering the Italian literature written in the fascist period, it is easy to see how it was saturated with rhetorical language, made by the dictates of a policy of self-exaltation of successive Italian governments.¹ Moreover, the specific literature referring to the Dodecanese Islands is often limited to explain just the town of Rhodes, and the description of other places is mostly marginal.

Considering instead the Greek literature, a representation of Italian rule is compromised by assumptions on the role of patriotic history even in its traces like architecture. Dodecanese Islands under the Italian rule were only evoked by images of 'oppression' and 'Resistance'.

Today the position represented by many scholars has changed radically; they are far away from a nationalist approach, encouraged for many years by the nationalist Greeks, in which Italians were just dominators, but also far from the superficial myth on the Italians, often seen - in the Italian culture - as 'good colonizers' or as good people (*brava gente*).

Historic background

On May 4th 1912, the arrival of the Italian troops in Rhodes Island was the military consequence of a war between Italy and the Ottoman Empire in Libya. The islands of the Southern Aegean Sea were occupied by the Italian forces and named Dodecanese Islands to distinguish them from the Sporades Islands;² the occupation was indeed an operation to take under pressure the Ottoman army in the Libya front. Italians occupied in fact the islands as a temporary possession, in order to stop the flow of weapons and other war supplies from the Ottoman Empire towards the Cyrenaica region in Libya. In the perspective of a new colonizer, the Italians also saw the islands as a strategic foothold for their expansionistic policy, forecasting an enlargement of the Italian possessions along the Turkish coasts and in the inner lands of Anatolia.

In the following years the Ottoman Empire collapsed,³ and after the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, the twelve Islands of the Dodecanese (actually fourteen) became officially part of Italy, under the name of Italian Aegean Possession.

¹ The fascist propaganda in the Twenties celebrated the right to own the Aegean islands, in the name of a re-conquest of lands which in ancient times were under the 'Italian' influence, like it was for the Genoese, the Venetians or the Christian Knights of St. John.

² The group of these islands, very close to the Turkish coast, was still part of the Ottoman Empire, and claimed sometimes by the Greeks as part of their country. The Dodecanese Islands include Rhodes or Rodos (Rodi), Astypalea (Stampalia), Karpathos (Scarpanto), Kassos (Caso), Tilos (Piscopi), Nissiros (Nisiro), Kalymnos (Calinno), Leros (Lero), Patmos (Patmo), Chalki (Calchi), Lisso (Lissos), Symi (Simi), Kos (Coo) and Kastellorizo (Castelrosso). In parenthesis it has been referred the name given by the Italians during their colonization.

³ The new Turkish Republic led by Mustafa Kemal, emerged from the ashes of that empire, after a bloody war with Greece that was fought for the possession and the control of the lands belonged once to the Ottomans.

In the period from 1912 to 1923, several military governors followed one another in the civic and public administration of the islands, and after the rise of fascism in Italy (1922), it is possible to ascertain a different political approach. The former ambassador Mario Lago held the government of the Dodecanese Islands for thirteen years (1923-1936) with balance, humanity and great respect for the ethnic components of the local inhabitants. Things changed dramatically in the following years, when the authoritarian fascist regime wanted to give to the colonies a more Italian imprinting. From 1936 to 1940 the governorship was held by Cesare Maria De Vecchi, the Count of Val Cismon. He ruled the Dodecanese possessions with excessive hardness, with a pedantic respect for the ceremonial and the fascist ideology, showing very little respect for the costumes, traditions and rights of the Greek, Turkish and Jewish communities that even the Ottomans in the past always have respected. At the outbreak of World War II in 1939 a new governor replaced De Vecchi up to 1943, when the German Nazis took over the control of the Islands until the end of the war. After 1945 the islands were under the British military occupation for two years, before the complete restitution to Greece.

A special care was used for Rhodes, because of its strategic location and its touristic potential. In the town of Rhodes itself were concentrated all the government functions, the main productions and the commercial activities to qualify the city as one of the most important centers of the Eastern Mediterranean.⁴ It was created an infrastructure network through the tracking of new roads and the repairs of the existing ones, the construction of waterworks, pipelines and the new ports. In the major centers were drafted plans to develop the new areas and to protect and restored the monuments in the historical center; archaeological researches were also carried out careful. Moreover, in islands like Rhodes and Coos several new villages were built, following the Italian policy of agrarian colonization.⁵

As pointed out by Nicholas Doumanis in his research about the identity of the islands in relation with the Italian military occupation or in the impressive volume on the Italian architecture in the Dodecanese, written by Vassilis Kolonas,⁶ it is possible to see the real and positive effects of this 'Italian period'. According to their thoughts, the architecture and the urban design left by the Italians, in several cases still in use today, brought benefits not only to the occupants but also to the locals.

Architecture and modernity

In terms of architecture and urban development, Italy showed to the Western countries that it was a modern state, by bringing modernity into this area of the Mediterranean in the name of a not well-identified previous 'Italianness' of those lands. But the tourism seems to be another keyword to understand the intensive building period occurred in those years.⁷ If, at the beginning of the occupation the Dodecanese Islands were seen as a strategic base, after a decade they were instead developed as a summer resort to implement the tourism arriving from abroad, especially from Italy; in a book published in those years it is possible to read that:

⁴ Since the beginning of the Italian occupation, the Colonial Office of the Corp of State (*Ufficio Coloniale del Corpo di Stato Maggiore*) and later the Military Geographic Institute (*Istituto Geografico Militare*) carried on the surveying of the entire territory, continued and completed in the early Twenties.

⁵ In the rural centers of Rhodes were founded Peveragno Rhodium in 1929, Campochiaro in 1935-36, San Marco in 1936 and Savona in 1936-38, called from 1938 San Benedetto. In Coos Island arose instead new centers like Anguillara in 1936-38, called from 1939 Vittorio Egeo and Torre in Lambi in 1936.

⁶ The first attempt to study the Italian remaking of the islands, after the unification of the islands to the Greece and out of any reminiscences of the Italian fascist regime, was made only in 1984, by the Greek scholar Anthony Antoniadis. For further information see: DOUMANIS, Nicholas - *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean: Remembering Fascism's Empire*, New York: St. Martin Press, 1997. ANTONIADES, Anthony C. - "Italian Architecture in the Dodecanese: A Preliminary Assessment". *Journal of Architectural Education*. Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, Inc.. 38, 1 (Autumn, 1984) 18-25.

⁷ On the touristic development it seems important the following study: ALOI, Virginia - *Rodi: un posto al sole? L'identità territoriale dell'isola sotto i governatori civili di Mario Lago e Cesare De Vecchi (1923-1940)*. PhD Dissertation, Dipartimento di Studi storici geografici antropologici, Università degli Studi di RomaTre; Relator: Arca, M. and revised by La Salvia, S., 2008.

The Italians, who will visit Rhodes and the minor islands, they shouldn't ever forget that this Possession has mainly a moral and historic value. It's Italy itself that come back to the Orient, re opening with vigor a tradition that has never been forgot. Someway Rhodes should become – and somehow it is already a reality – the capital of the Italians in the Levant.⁸

The large urban and architectural initiatives, like the construction of roads and bridges, hotels, summer resorts, sport facilities, thermal and bath resorts were the results of a very ambitious project started by the governor Mario Lago. To realize his agenda, he brought the architect in Rhodes in 1924 as head of the Office for Architecture and City Planning. Within the official position Florestano Di Fausto designed the most important buildings of the island, mixing architectural elements from the Italian tradition, medieval references with modern features, the vernacular and the Islamic languages.⁹ In 1927 the architect Pietro Lombardi became head of the Office for Architecture of the Aegean, continuing the work of Florestano Di Fausto and developing new projects, like the thermal bath of Calitea [Fig. 1], begun in 1928 and completed by Armando Barnabiti, another architect that was influences by the Ottoman architecture, as it can easily see in his project for the bath establishment "La Ronda" [Fig. 2].

In 1936 Cesare De Vecchi replaced Mario Lago and the colonial policy in the islands was affected by the new governor's ideas. De Vecchi decided to remove from the buildings built by his predecessor, all the traces of the "oriental taste" to give to the architecture of Rhodes and other Aegean islands a strong and pure Roman and fascist imprint, closer to the new imperialistic view.¹⁰ The major works by architects like Armando Bernabiti or Rodolfo Petracco in which the rationalist language - an image of modern Italy - is more recognizable, can be found in centers like Lero or in Coo or in Portolago (Lakki Lero).¹¹

The interest for the Ottoman traces and the works of Hermes Balducci

In those years the studies about the Ottoman domination in those islands were very few, concerning more the picturesque and 'Orientalist' fascination than a scientific approach to protect the monuments left by them. In architecture, a considerable number of 'oriental style' buildings were built by Florestano Di Fausto, Pietro Lombardi and Armando Barnabiti, to maintain an exotic atmosphere in the islands, mainly for the pleasure of the tourists and to find a new architectural language close to the local environment.¹²

During the thirty years of Italian occupation of the Dodecanese islands, few studies were made on the Ottomans,¹³ and - in this sense - it is interesting to analyze the works of the engineer Hermes Balducci (1904-1938) [Fig. 3], who spent several years in those islands, playing an active role in the survey missions and in the archaeological excavations, to describe and understand

⁸ For the touristic promotion of the islands a guide was prepared by the TCI (Touring Club Italiano), with the preface written by the same governor Mario Lago. See: *Rodi e le minori isole italiane dell'Egeo, con 5 carte geografiche, 4 piante di città e 25 piante di edifici e stemmi*, Milano: Touring Club Italiano, 1930, 3.

⁹ Among his major works there are the Government Palace (1926-27), the Circle Italy (1925-27), the Barracks Regina (1924-26). In the Government Palace is reflected Di Fausto's predilection for historical and eclectic language, inspired by the Gothic Palazzo Ducale in Venice and by the middle-age architecture of the Knights of St. John.

¹⁰ The work of "purification" became emblematic in the dismantling of all the oriental decoration from the Hotel of the Roses built in Rhodes by Michele Platania and Florestano Di Fausto, between 1925 and 1927.

¹¹ Among the main modernist buildings built by them: the Town Hall and the Casa del Fascio (A. Bernabiti, 1935-38), the Cinema-Theater Roma (A. Bernabiti, 1936-38), the Hotel Roma (A. Bernabiti, 1935-37), the primary school and nursery (R. Petracco, 1934 --37), the residential and commercial areas (1935) and the dwellings for military officers (R. Petracco, A. Bernabiti, 1936-38).

¹² Italy was in fact a colonial power that did not have - up to that historical period - any knowledge of the Islamic world, unlike the Germans, the British or the French. It is not a hazard to claim that the interest in that field was more related to the position of Italy as a new colonizer, rather than to improve the studies on the 'other cultures'.

¹³ A study interested on the conquest of Rhodes made by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1522, based on some Ottoman literature sources found by Ettore Rossi in 1927 in the Hafiz Aga Library in Rhodes and another important research was made by Amedeo Maiuri on the vernacular architecture in Lindo, a village in the South East part of Rhodes Island, but his interest concerns overall the 'Greek house'. For further information see the texts by the two authors in the final bibliography.

the architecture of the past, the Byzantine and the medieval stages, including also the Ottoman heritage.¹⁴ For some years Hermes Balducci made surveys in Rhodes, in Coos and Samos to analyze and to document the traces of the previous cultures, bringing back to Italy drawings, sketches, measurements and notes on the conservation and restoration of the ancient monuments.¹⁵

At the same time he was the first Italian scholar to analyze and document in a systematic manner the traces of the architecture left by the Ottomans - totally ignored by other scholars - through measurements, sketches and pictures.¹⁶

From the preface of the book *'Architettura Turca a Rodi'*, written by G. Jacopi, it is possible to find some reasons for which the book was made. Surely the main preoccupation of the author was to complete studies in a field in which Italians arrived later, compared to the other foreigner countries interested in the Orient. Secondly, the Ottoman Empire left many traces in those islands and, if the Dodecanese landscape had still the shape given by the Ottomans, the Italian possessions should give an 'Italian touch', through the new architecture.

In that time the major interest for the scholars all over Europe was directed to the classical age, to catch only the 'classical roots' of the Western countries, the essence of architecture, the ancient Greek-Roman world and not to study the local art and architecture. The aesthetic appreciation of the Islamic art is almost always negative, not comparable with the great and universal values reached by the Western artists or architects in the past.

Hermes Balducci was also influenced by such ideology and his work suffers from many omissions.¹⁷ His conclusions on Ottoman architecture are not so satisfying for a correct historical approach, but the amount of information he collected represents a sort of memory of all the classical Ottoman architecture and it is still useful today, because many of the works described or surveyed have been missing for long time.

Conclusion

To sum up, it seems that studies related to the architecture of the Dodecanese Islands in the period of transition between the Ottoman Empire and the birth of nation-states can offer several suggestions to complete and integrate information related to this topic. If Italian and Greek scholars have dealt with the problematic inherent to the own 'national' architecture, as it can easily be interfered from the studies of Nicholas Doumanis, Vassilis Kolonas or Virginia Aloï, not the same can be said about the 'Turkish' side, in which there are still gaps that need to be filled. In a perspective of reconstruction of the Ottoman architectural panorama in those lands at that time, the work left by Hermes Balducci represents still a good step for the history of local architecture.

¹⁴ Hermes Balducci was born in Pavia, Italy, received a degree in civil engineering from the Polytechnic of Milan in 1928 and became in 1934 a professor of Ornament at the University of Pavia. Considering his short life, he made a good professional career, doing many works like the project (unfortunately not realized) for the Southern wing of Broletto Palace, the restoration of the Castle (1932), the Church of St. Lazarus and the Theater Frascini, the relief of the crypt of St. Eusebius and the project of the monument ossuary in the Cemetery of Pavia. He was also author of several publications about survey techniques and about the restoration of major monuments, like the monographic works on the Visconti Castle, the San Lazzaro and San Giacomo della Cerreta churches in Pavia.

¹⁵ Balducci was a member of the FERT - Archaeological and Historical Institute in Rhodes, under the direction of Giulio Jacopi and, like many other scholars or archaeologists of the time, he was trained in Italy for this purpose.

¹⁶ A consistent part of his works was collected and then published as a book titled *'Architettura Turca a Rodi'* (Turkish Architecture in Rhodes) in 1932. Moreover he published several articles on local Italian magazines on the Turkish house in Rhodes, like the *'Casa turca in Rodi'*, (A Turkish house in Rhodes) in which he describes the use and the space distribution inside the houses. For the publications by Hermes Balducci see the final bibliography.

¹⁷ The urban morphology of the city, the public buildings, the mosques and the prayer halls, the public baths and the fountains, the 'Turkish' house, the green, the gardens and the cemeteries are discussed in the chapters of his book.

The case study of Rhodes and the Dodecanese seems also unique because the Italian presence (and not only occupation) for almost thirty years in the East Mediterranean defined a new model of Mediterranean architecture, as it can be seen in some recent researches.¹⁸

The Dodecanese was as an experimental field for the new Italian colonial architecture, with all the different styles utilized, from Oriental and 'Moresque' to Rationalism and 'Novecento', but also an interesting field to develop archaeology, restoration and historical research. From one side it is possible to see how architects like Florestano Di Fausto or Pietro Lombardi deal with the local culture, and from another point of view it can be observe how other architects import the concept of 'Italianity', making a new 'Mediterranean' style in stone and reinforce concrete.

Hermes Balducci, with all his ideological and methodological limits, can be consider as an Italian pioneer in the study of Ottoman architecture and – if it were possible - more and deep studies on his figure and on his drawings and sketches need to be still done.

¹⁸ ROCCO, Giorgio – "Originalità dell'architettura italiana nel Dodecaneso". In Strappa, Giuseppe - Menghini, Anna Bruna - *Architettura moderna mediterranea - Atti del Convegno internazionale, Bari, 10 aprile 2002*, quad. ICAR/4, Bari: M. Adda ed., 2002, 10-18.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

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Scholarship and Colonialism: Jean Sauvaget and the Formation of the Architectural History of Syria in the Post-Ottoman Period

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"The Basilica of the Apostle Pierre where this sacred sword was found, Byzantine rotunda that contained a miraculous image of Our Lady... And you, the churches of Saint Jean-Chrysostome, of the Saints Come and Damien, of Mesme, of Simeon, what did you become? Have the conquerors Islamized you, or the mountain, dug by the rain flows, has buried you?"¹

These intensely 'romantic' remarks taken from the travel notes of Maurice Barrés who visited Syria in 1914 are far from being exceptional. The tendency to glorify the pre-Islamic past of Syria was common not only among French travelers who strolled through the country from the late eighteenth century onwards but also among French officials who served in Syria during the mandate period which lasted from 1920 to 1946. The people, events, and architectural or archaeological heritage of the Greco-Roman and Christian past of Syria are highlighted at the expense of the role played by different states and people of the post seventh century AD that is the Islamic period. Especially the Ottoman era and its architectural legacy suffers from the lack of concern in the travel accounts and official documents of the French; it is, in other words, either totally ignored or, at best, mentioned with a few words on its position as the symbol of the oppressive role of the Turks or on its 'inferior' characteristics. The discursive continuity between the travelers and the official French attitude during the mandate also penetrates the ways in which architectural history of Syria was conceived and written by French scholars who were immersed in the study of the Syrian built environment with the encouragement and financial support of the mandate authorities. Although it might sound quite obvious, I would like to make it clear at this point that by the term 'architectural history of Syria,' I do not refer to a comprehensive chronological survey but a series of studies focusing selectively on certain periods or monuments of the country.

In fact, selectiveness in historiography usually refers to a certain political atmosphere surrounding the scholars. In the case of the Turkish architectural historians of the early republican period, that is basically 1920s and 1930s, this political atmosphere involved the official ideology of the republic to portray the late Ottoman period as the ultimate 'other' in order to provide legitimacy to the new state. In this respect, the architectural historians accounted for the Ottoman history by dividing it into successive periods so that they could criticize the pluralism of the late Ottoman architecture, when the political power of the empire was at its lowest level, while praising the sixteenth century, when the political power of the empire was at its peak, as the purest and most refined expression of Turkish architecture.

The French scholars working on Syrian architectural history were also surrounded by a similar political setting whereby a newly established regime sought for legitimation by distancing itself from what it succeeded. The mandate administration desperately needed political legitimacy in the eyes of the Syrian people who were divided roughly as pro-Ottomans, pro-French, and those who were in favor of independence. The backbone of the official ideology was the idea that the French introduced, and is attached to develop, modernity and civilization in Syria. One of the major arguments to buttress this ideology was that the Ottoman period was defined by an oppressive rule, ignorance, and backwardness. It was also propagated by the French, in

¹ 'Basilique de l'apôtre Pierre, où fut trouvée cette sainte lance....rotunda byzantine, qui renfermiez une image miraculeuse de Notre-Dame; et vous, églises de saint Jean-Chrysostome, des saints Come et Damien, de sainte Mesme, de Sainte Siméon, qu'êtes-vous devenues? Les vainqueurs vous ont-ils islamisées, ou bien la montagne, ravinée par les pluies....vous a-t-elle ensevelies?', Barrés, Maurice, *Une enquête aux pays du Levant*, p. 35, Paris : Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1923.

this respect, that they were the inheritors of the Roman Empire which endowed Syria with many works of architecture and infrastructure thus bringing a high degree of civilization. As an integral part of this narrative, the age of Islam in Syria, especially the Ottoman period, is conceived as a continuous decline of the civilization brought by the Romans. In fact, the Ottoman Empire was presented as the ultimate symbol of backwardness, or, everything that the French promised to correct and develop. Such an ideological position emerged to respond and quell opposition against the mandate rule, which was in fact largely perceived as the rule of a Christian state over a predominantly Muslim geography. More important than that, this was simply a veiled form of colonial rule, a political hegemony established over the claims of independence pronounced by Syrian nationalists. Moreover, some groups, especially around Northern Syria, were in favor of unification with Turkey. The French were thus keen on propagating the developments in Syria in terms of infrastructure, hygiene or built environment by juxtaposing these with the conditions under the Ottoman rule. This can be observed not only in the official documents written by the mandate authorities but also in the overall representational scheme - i.e. the visual paraphernalia and the discourse that accompanied - employed by the French in the international occasions such as the 1931 Colonial Exposition held in Paris. In this exposition, for example, the visitors who entered the Syrian pavilion were welcomed by a remark in bold characters: 'France trains the states of the Levant on the way to progress.'² Moreover, one of the French officials in charge of the Syrian pavilion explicitly stated the desired continuity between the mandate and the earlier French involvement in the region: "We would insist on the role that the French played in the Levant throughout history, we would invoke the establishments they have created, the relations they have had with the natives in order to suggest that with the mandate France remains loyal to her civilizing tradition"³

The mandate administration perpetuated the idea of modernity brought by the French vis-à-vis the backwardness that informed the Ottoman period also through scholarly studies on the history of Syria particularly on the architectural and urban heritage of the country. In 1922, only two years after the inception of the mandate rule, an institute devoted to the study of Syrian archaeology, art, and architecture was founded in Damascus. It was named as L'Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman until it became L'Institut Français de Damas in 1930. The function of the institute not only consisted of studying the visual testimonies of the Syrian history but also cataloguing and preserving this heritage. In addition, the institute was actively involved in the implementation of the contemporary projects of architecture and urbanism in order to ensure that these implementations would not harm the existing built environment. Thus, the institute fulfilled a triple function which tied it to the mandate administration organically. The organic character of this relationship can clearly be observed in the words of Henri Gouraud, the first High Commissioner of the French mandate who actively supported the establishment of the institute. One of the major functions of the institute, according to Gouraud, was to provide the means of 'favorable propaganda' for the French. Preservation of the architectural heritage of the country would suggest the French respect for the Syrian culture, which would strengthen the claims of legitimacy. However, both the study and preservation of the built environment at large of the Syrian cities proved to be selective, deliberately omitting the Ottoman period and its monuments. Hardly if any study were devoted to the Ottoman heritage in Syria. The conservation activities, on the other hand, were limited to the monuments constructed before 1700 therefore eliminating more than half of the Ottoman period at one stroke.⁴

The most well-known member of the institute, I would argue, was Jean Sauvaget, who focused on Syrian cities, especially Aleppo, from his first arrival in Syria in 1924 to serve as the secretary of the institute until his death in 1950, at the age of forty-

² 'La France entraîne les états du levant sur la voie du progrès.' MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1572, Projet Pour l'Exposition Coloniale de Paris en 1931.

³ : '... on insistera sur le rôle que les Français ont joué au levant à travers l'histoire; on invoquera les établissements qu'ils y ont créés; les relations qu'ils ont eues avec les autochtones, afin de suggérer que, par le mandat, la France reste fidèle à sa tradition civilisatrice.' MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.81.

⁴ The American Journal of International Law, Vol.17, No.3, Supplement: Official Documents, p.181, (July, 1923), pp.177-181; MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Renseignement et Presse, Carton 1843, Damas, Rapport Trimestriel, 2me Trimestre, 1923, L'Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman.

nine. He was a prolific scholar who not only published extensively on Syrian architecture and archaeology but also worked actively on conservation and documentation projects not to mention his involvement in the assessment of the contemporary projects of architecture and urbanism in terms of their conformity to the existing built environment. Moreover, Sauvaget made substantial contributions to the periodical of the institute, *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* in its formative period. Sauvaget represents the archetype of the figure of the Orientalist who mastered Oriental languages before devoting himself to the study of the Middle Eastern societies. His education in *Ecole des Langues Orientales* provided him the knowledge of Arabic which he saw as a prerequisite for studying Syrian history. One of his students, Robert Mantran, remembers Sauvaget asking in an introductory class of Syrian history at Sorbonne where he taught later on: 'Do you know Arabic? No? Well, you have nothing to do here.'⁵ Sauvaget's interests were not however limited to the Arab period in Syria, that is the time between the seventh and sixteenth centuries, as he focused considerably on the Roman past of the country. He was particularly fascinated by the grid plan fashioned by the Romans as he pays specific attention to the remnants of the Roman grid plan in the contemporary urban fabric of the Syrian cities, especially Aleppo. In fact, Aleppo was the single most important city Sauvaget inquired in depth from the ancient times up to the nineteenth century. Published in 1941, his major study, *Alep, essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origins au milieu du XIXe siècle*⁶, was based on his doctoral dissertation; and it remained a canonical work until it was challenged by scholars such as André Raymond and Jean-Claude David by the 1980s, and Cigdem Kafescioglu, Heghnar Watenpaugh, and Steven Wolf during the last decade. Sauvaget's conception of Aleppo is based on the principle that the city is made up of layers of different historical periods and the contribution of each period can be uncovered by a careful study of the existing urban forms. His preoccupation with the Roman period showed Sauvaget that the traces of the Roman grid could still be observed in the ancient core of the city lying beneath the citadel despite the deformations it suffered under the Muslim rule. The degree to which the city conformed to the planned development of the Roman times is the basic criterion that shapes Sauvaget's assessments on the diverse epochs of the history of Aleppo. In this respect, the most negative account is that of the Ottoman period since it is by the sixteenth century that the regular street pattern of Aleppo went into a dramatic decline. For Sauvaget, the Ottoman rule in Aleppo signifies an overall decay in terms of architecture and urbanism as a whole. He argues that the mosque complexes of the sixteenth century endowed by the successive Ottoman governors along with the khans of the following century might give a certain sense of urban homogeneity but this is, according to Sauvaget, purely fallacious (*purement fallacieuse*)⁷. He claims that these complexes are nothing but a juxtaposition of disparate constructions that lack any conscious program of urban planning: '...in the evolution of the city, the Ottoman age did not introduce any novelty that modified the meaning in which the city manifested itself.'⁸

In terms of the genealogy of the discursive framework which places the Ottoman period in stark contrast with the Roman past and the French present, it would be useful to refer to the homage paid by Sauvaget to the pre-mandate travelers. In the introduction part of his book, Sauvaget acknowledges his debt to the European travelers to the city who left a considerable corpus on Aleppo in general and its architectural and urban make-up in particular. He gives an extensive list of travel books which he used for his account on the urban history of Aleppo especially during the Ottoman period. In this respect, it sounds quite legitimate to assume that certain notions of these travelers on the Ottoman cities in general and Aleppo in particular were inherited by Sauvaget in the absence or scarcity of scholarly studies on the city. One particular traveler in the list given by Sauvaget, namely Volney who visited Egypt and Syria during the 1780s, is particularly significant. Volney's *Voyage en Egypt et en Syrie*,⁹ which Sauvaget describes as 'a masterpiece in every respect',¹⁰ became a standard work immediately after its

⁵ 'Savez-vous l'arabe? No? Eh bien, vous n'avez rien à faire ici.' Mantran, Robert, "A propos d'Alep : Jean Sauvaget," p. 11. In, *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, N°62, 1991. *Alep et la Syrie du Nord*. pp. 11-13.

⁶ Sauvaget, Jean, *Alep, essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origins au milieu du XIXe siècle*, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1941.

⁷ Sauvaget, *Alep*, p. 214.

⁸ '...l'époque ottomane n'introduit dans l'évolution de la ville aucun fait nouveau qui modifie le sens dans lequel elle s'était engagée.' Sauvaget, *Alep*, p. 238.

⁹ Volney, *Voyage en Egypt et en Syrie*, Paris, The Hague 1959.

¹⁰ 'Un chef-d'œuvre à tous égards,' Sauvaget, *Alep*, p. XXVI.

publication on the eve of the French Revolution. His strict Enlightenment vision manifests itself in the form of a disdain of Oriental despotism and its every sort of reflections including architecture and urbanism. Volney's travels in the Egyptian and Syrian cities assured him of the inevitable decay of these cities under the despotic rule of the Turks: "The Turkish spirit rests on destroying the works of the past and the hope of the future, because there is no tomorrow in the barbarism of an ignorant despotism"¹¹ Sauvaget cites Volney in a number of times throughout the book, and there is a certain parallelism between their conceptions of the Islamic city. For Sauvaget, any improvement in the built environment of Aleppo by the sixteenth century should have been related to the presence of the European consulates and the extensive commercial relations between Europe and the Levant. Besides this, the city continuously fell into degeneration throughout the Ottoman period. The apparent grandeur of Aleppo should not deceive the visitor: 'The Ottoman Aleppo is nothing but an illusion: a sumptuous façade behind which there is nothing but ruins.'¹²

The role played by Sauvaget in the formation of the Orientalist scholarship in general and the concept of 'Islamic city' in particular has been pointed out by scholars, most notably by André Raymond. Although his expertise on the Syrian cities as well as his contribution to the scholarly literature is admired and recognized not only by his contemporaries but also, and even, by the recent critiques of his studies, his model is no longer considered as a correct understanding of the complex dynamics of the built environments in Syrian cities. What needs to be emphasized is the organic relationship between Sauvaget and the mandate administration on the one hand, and the impact of the earlier travelers and their conception of the Syrian cities on Sauvaget's scholarly model, on the other. In other words, his exclusion and disdain of the Ottoman period should be situated within the broader framework of the mandate politics along with the discursive continuities between the nineteenth century French travelers and Sauvaget's accounts of the Syrian cities.

¹¹'L' esprit turc est de ruiner les travaux du passé et l' espoir de l' avenir, parce que dans la barbarie d' un désotisme ignorant, il n' y a point de lendemain.' Volney, Voyage, p. 28.

¹² 'L'Alep des Ottomans n'est qu'un trompe-l'œil: une façade somptueuse derrière laquelle il n'y a que des ruines.' Sauvaget, Alep, .p. 239.

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The Repercussions of Popular TV on the Cultural Heritage of Real Cities: A Case Study from Turkey

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1. Introduction

Nowadays it has become a well-known fact that TV series and movies act as shop windows for destinations where they are filmed. To the best of my knowledge architects working in the field of history and preservation seem not to have addressed the possibility of inducing positive effects of this kind of tourism such as bringing larger numbers of people into towns, especially into those renowned by their historical and cultural characteristics, as a key to developing sustainable preservation schemes.

Building on the understanding that preservation necessitates a cultural consciousness of citizens and domestic tourists, this paper carries out a case study on the TV series *Asmalı Konak* (*Vine Clad Mansion*, 2002-2004), which inaugurated film-induced tourism in Turkey. Filmed in two locations in Cappadocia, the TV series revolves around the life of a rich family. Being one of the main land-owners of the town, the family lives first in Mustafapaşa in a big mansion. At the end of the 20th episode the mansion in Mustafapaşa is shown to be burnt due to a fire and the family moves into a bigger mansion in Ürgüp. Since this second location Ürgüp have always been a tourist destination, this paper focuses on the tourists' visits to Mustafapaşa, which once neglected by tours due to its location (It is only 6 km to Ürgüp, but it is not on the main road),¹ became a focal point in Cappadocia after being a home for *Asmalı Konak*. Furthermore, Mustafapaşa is the only town in Cappadocia to have a conservation plan.²

2. The Relationship between the Memory and the "Settlement Culture"

Preserving old buildings is compared to the preservation of the memories in the human mind,³ and consequently it is maintained that "only shared values will guarantee long duration of artefact [buildings]."⁴ Hence, preserving the memories in the human mind enables the establishment of shared values, thus a community. This inter-dependency between the built environment and memory should therefore be at the core of the researches in the field of architecture concerning the problems of preservation.

According to the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, it is memory linked with collective experiences that binds people together and it takes its roots from the physical references and previous instances. Differentiating between history and collective memory, the former as a rational organisation of specific phenomenon in the past and the latter as living with the previous instances, he demonstrates the significance of the collective spatiality in shaping the cultural and historical heritage. This paper takes its roots from the following argument: In order to preserve a historical or cultural heritage, both people living in the town and the domestic tourists should sense the city's memory, which is the succession of events. As put by Crimson, "this is the preferred psychological context for making sense of the city."⁵ Especially in the case of tourists, learning the historical and cultural

¹ AKMAN TATAR, Seda - "The preservation and Rehabilitation Project of "Yeni Mahalle" Mustafapaşa." Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 1985, 41. This thesis written in 1985 maintains the reasons causing this negligence.

² Ürgüp also has a conservation plan but it is not implemented.

³ ROSSI, Aldo - *The Architecture of the city*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982.

⁴ DI BATTISTA, Valerio - "Environment and architecture- a paradigm shift," in MINATI, Gianfranco, ABRAM Mario and PESSA, Eliano - *Processes of emergence of systems and systemic properties: Towards a general theory of emergence: Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference of the Italian Systems Society (AIRS)*. Singapore: World Scientific, 2008, 44.

⁵ CRIMSON, Mark - "Urban memory – an introduction," in CRIMSON, Mark (ed.) - *Urban Memory: History and amnesia in the modern city*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005, xiii.

importance of a town would not be adequate to appreciate the importance of its being preserved. It is only through the establishment of a specific or maybe a collective memory that will make sustainable conservation schemes possible.

This paper argues that it is possible to talk about the formation of a specific kind collective memory being created by the broadcasting of the TV series,⁶ and the visits by spectators to its locations. Besides what is termed as corporeal travel, the moving images on the silver screen foster imaginative travels and they, by consequence, enable the spectators to share events, experiences and personalities.⁷

To this end, subsequent to the examination of the series episodes through an architectural perspective, the study employed interviews with the citizens of Mustafapaşa and key personalities in the Mustafapaşa conservation plan prepared in 2004, the accounts of sociologists regarding the popularity of *Asmalı Konak*, and various documents pertaining to the topic, so as to understand the visits of film-induced tourism.

3. Watching and Visiting *Asmalı Konak*

What are the elements effective on the formation of this specific kind of memory?

3.1 The Stage of *Asmalı Konak*

In Baudrillard's terms, *Asmalı Konak* represents a "hyper-real" life.⁸ If we reflect on the elements generating this "hyper-real" life, we might include the following remarks: Just in-between a modern and a traditional, the represented lifestyle is borrowed from eastern Anatolian (i.e. the tribes or the figure of agha), but then reevaluated into a nonexistent though more favourable form, and relocated at the heart of Mustafapaşa, which is actually foreign to all these kinds of customs.⁹ Apparently, the family is a modern one in terms of their education, their dressing, their accent, but it is also a traditional one.¹⁰ The love story between the agha figure and his wife, which is one of the major reasons to attract many spectators, represents a surreal passion. That is why the representation and the reality become problematic, but still admired and consumed as a reality by spectators.

Throughout all the episodes, the mansion, gathering both the family of three generations and their servants, acts as the main stage. Built in 1873 as a summer residence of Yorgo Vasilis and his family it stands a main representative of its period. It consists of masonry and rock-hewn spaces, an open arch belted courtyard, ornamentations on the wooden ceiling, and the wall painting peculiar to this town only.¹¹ Following the population exchange of 1923, Fuat Öztürk, a teacher from Kütahya, bought this mansion in 1930. Öztürk family lived in this mansion until 1992 and was converted into a hotel named "Old Greek Hotel." It is still used as a hotel.¹²

3.2 The Real Stage, Mustafapaşa

Just a brief explanation of the real stage, Mustafapaşa, will be given here to demonstrate what this natural and cultural heritage ordinarily "lacks" in appeal to Turkish citizens, who were and to a certain extent are still attracted to this town by *Asmalı Konak*.

⁶ URRY, John - *Sociology beyond societies: Mobilities for the twenty first century*. New York: Routledge, 1999, 69.

⁷ Ibid., 69-70.

⁸ BAUDRILLARD, Jean - "Simulacra and Simulations," in POSTER, Mark (ed.) - *Baudrillard: Selected Writings*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1989, 171; this account has also been argued by Şahin *et al.*

⁹ ŞAHİN Birsən and others - "Bir popüler kültür ürünü olarak asmalı konak dizisinin yöre turizmine etkisi." *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyolojik Araştırmalar e-dergisi*, 2003, <http://www.sdergi.hacettepe.edu.tr/asmalimakale.htm>, (accessed July 4, 2008). Unless otherwise stated, translations are by the author.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² It is observed that even on the internet site of hotel its name is followed by the name of the TV series. Please see: <http://www.oldgreekhouse.com/>.

Cappadocia encompasses a vast region and what is usually called the “Nucleus Cappadocia” is located in central Anatolia including the cities of Nevşehir, Kayseri and Niğde:

Millions of years ago, geological movements within the earth’s crust created volcanic explosions in the mountains of Erciyes, Hasandağı and Melendiz. Following the cooling of the white-yellow ashes that filled the region, “tufa” layers were eroded through natural weathering processes, resulting in the conical formations best known today as the fairy chimneys.¹³

Some of its parts are listed in the UNESCO World Heritage Site (Göreme and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia). This natural heritage is seen to be used throughout all the episodes either as a backdrop or as a main actor. Thanks to its peculiar character, it is possible to attain rock-hewn spaces inside the small hills usually shown in *Asmalı Konak* during the construction of a hotel owned by the family. Cappadocia is known for splendid sunrises and sunsets, as well as for good spots to go on balloon trips and to go horse riding. The director of the TV series takes account of this by including panoramic views between the scenes. Through the panoramas it becomes possible to get know almost all the towns, the cultural and historical sites located in Cappadocia. Mustafapaşa as located in this region reflects all these characteristics in its urban panorama and in the design of its houses.

Owing to its having been a settlement for many civilizations such as the Hittites, Assyrians, Romans, Persians, Byzantines, Seljuks and Ottomans, Cappadocia is one of the main cultural heritages in Turkey. Furthermore, almost all of its towns and villages have witnessed the “compulsory exchange of populations between the Muslim Turkish community living in Greece and the Orthodox Greek community living in Turkey”¹⁴ following the Lausanne Treaty¹⁵ signed just after the War of Independence in 1923, which demarcates an important cultural phenomenon for both sides of the immigrants.¹⁶ Mustafapaşa is one of the towns that have witnessed this exchange and most of the civil building stocks were built by the Greek population.

Mustafapaşa is one of the few places in Cappadocia that preserved its Christian culture during the Ottoman period. Mustafapaşa, whose inhabitants largely consisted of Greeks, prospered through trade, becoming a regional centre for culture, commerce and education.¹⁷

The Greek population involved in trade through their visits to İstanbul were influenced by the latest developments. They brought these new trends into their homeland, such as bridges, public baths, pharmacies, hotels, schools for children and adults.¹⁸

4. The Tourism of *Asmalı Konak*

In the years 2002-2004, most of the tourists came to Mustafapaşa and Ürgüp either by coach tours. Just to give an idea of the tourist boom at its height:

- A gatekeeper just in the entrance of Mustafapaşa, regulating the entry of buses into town, it said that at least 150 buses used to come during the week-ends.¹⁹

¹³ *Common Cultural Heritage: Mustafapaşa (Sinassos), Cappadocia, Turkey*. Nevşehir: Municipality of Mustafapaşa, 2004. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Common Cultural Heritage: Mustafapaşa (Sinassos), Cappadocia, Turkey” shown at the St. Constantine-Elena Church.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ This is the first formal and compulsory population exchange in history.

¹⁶ There is still an ongoing project to re-establish the cultural relationship among the two civilizations, Turkish and Greek, named “Developing Local Awareness Concerning the Architectural Heritage Left from the Exchange of Populations in Turkey and Greece.”

¹⁷ *Common Cultural Heritage*.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ These are just a few titles from the news: “50.000 tourists in two months visiting the mansion of *Asmalı Konak*” (*Hürriyet*, April 29, 2002), “The doping of the TV series to Cappadocia” (*Hürriyet*, November 02, 2002).

- A large number of tourists waiting patiently to meet their dreams just on the road towards the mansion, where they had to pay to enter.
- Lots of people²⁰ selling souvenirs of *Asmalı Konak*, such as the Sümbül Hanım's scarf (The mother of the agha), Dicle's eye liner (One of the servants who has had an affair with the agha), Seymen and Bahar wines,²¹ small sculptures of fairy chimneys, and even the ashes of the first mansion on the streets.

The tourists were especially interested in the story and the authenticity of the town.²² In line with John Urry's account of the socially organized and systemized gaze in touristic activities, the scenes of *Asmalı Konak* are seen to be active during the visits into town.²³ The focal point during the visits is to catch the most admired scenes, such as the room of the agha and his wife, the kitchen - a place for warm relationships, the courtyard where the matrimonial ceremony is filmed... Although the rooms and the courtyard are gazed, but actually not lived, they are still equated with the characters of *Asmalı Konak*: "...some of them [tourists] were kissing the chair used by the artists, they were licking the door handle."²⁴ Instead of appreciating the architectural features, the tourists were stuck on the objects, spaces used by the characters: "Oh yes, this is the place where Özcan Deniz [the name of the artist playing the agha] beat his wife, this is the room where she cried."²⁵

Asmalı Konak's attracting thousands of people into Mustafapaşa might reflect the wrong idea, since it attracted people only to the mansion. Mustafapaşa was not inhabited by the ancient civilizations, but only by Seymen, Bahar, Sümbül Hanım (i.e. the major characters in the film). As the tourists did not intend to get to know Mustafapaşa, the town was still not lived, not sensed, and was hence unexplored. Its urban memory could not be perceived. The foregoing discussion shows that *Asmalı Konak* has formed a special collective memory detached from the peculiar heritage of Mustafapaşa for both its spectators and its visitors.

Owing to the situation summarized above, we need to refer to Pierre Nora's conceptions of *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire*.²⁶ As a historian Nora, while distinguishing between the memory and history, in line with Halbwachs, considers history as a practice of archive and documentation work, and memory as an active embodiment of the community that is subject to permanent evolution depending on the appropriation and manipulation of people. Nevertheless, according to his postmodern history, it is impossible to define anymore Halbwachs's 'collective memory,' since in his words "[there] are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory." Crinson summarizes Nora's ideas as follows:

One might find examples of *lieux de mémoire*, for example, in the kind of decontextualised monument that is identified with the modern city, either removed from its surroundings and positioned in some new synthetic context or having its surroundings removed from around it so that it achieves a previously unconsidered prominence.²⁷

My paper argues that instead of attaining the level of *milieux de mémoire*, the mansion of TV series became only a *lieux de mémoire*. Especially the mansion in Ürgüp has become a landmark standing for *Asmalı Konak*.²⁸ The mansion in Ürgüp has

²⁰ Most of them are the inhabitants of Mustafapaşa.

²¹ These wines take their name after the main characters of the TV series. Seymen-Bahar şarap adı oldu, *Hürriyet*, August 22, 2003.

²² The interviews made by the author and Şahin *et al.*

²³ URRY, John - *The tourist gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London; Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1990, 1.

²⁴ SOYDAN, Ersoy - "Bereketli Topraklar: Kapadokya'nın Sinasos'u: Mustafapaşa," *Birgün*, August 10, 2008.

²⁵ *Asmalı Konak* turizmi, *Hürriyet*, June 16, 2002.

²⁶ NORA, Pierre - "Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. Representations," no. 26 (Spring, 1989): 7-24, <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=07346018%28198921%290%3A26%3C7%3ABMAHLL%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N> (accessed February 26, 2010).

²⁷ CRIMSON, xiv.

²⁸ In Ürgüp, there are traffic posts showing *Asmalı Konak*. Most of the hotels, restaurants and shops are seen to have defined their places according to the mansion. Now there stands a statue just near the mansion on which all the persons's names who worked for filming *Asmalı Konak* are written.

been changed first into an *Asmalı Konak* museum following the first years of broadcast, but now still protecting the rooms of the TV series, it includes a restaurant, a bar and a shop. The *lieux de mémoire* is related to contemporary media which is considered being mainly ephemeral. Thus someday it would be lost to our minds. Though only six years have passed since the TV series was last broadcast when this study was done, film-induced tourism has already gone away from these towns. It was a sudden boom that lasted just about three years.

As *Asmalı Konak* could not generate the needed collective memory out of the sensitivity developed by the TV series, the preservation of the town should be guaranteed by the actual inhabitants and the authorities, as is actually the case with the implementation of the Mustafapaşa conservation plan for which the TV series were beneficial, but was not effective in attaining a sustainable solution. Though it is not possible to correlate the impact of film-induced tourism with the request for Mustafapaşa conservation plan, Aslı Özbay, one of the project owners of the plan, maintains that it may have played a role in the desire to implement the plan more accurately, as it made both the municipality and the inhabitants more aware of the qualities of their town as a tourist attraction. The series also contributed economically to both towns and thus to Cappadocia.

6. Conclusion

A general lesson might be learned by these events in Cappadocia since both Mustafapaşa and Ürgüp were ill-prepared for the sudden tourist invasion.²⁹ In order to foster and enhance sensitivities of both the inhabitants of the town and the film-induced tourists, an important step would be the preparation of special visiting plans for tourists by authorities, such as architects, the preservation committees or the municipalities. Instead of leaving the town to the tourist's gaze, this plan should consider several ways of getting the tourists to interact with the town. This plan could consider designing several special routes for walking or preparing brochures nourished with scenes from the TV series to attract people, so that they might wonder who were and are living in the town, or even maybe several public meetings. These interactions should not be strictly planned. The tourists should be allowed to discover the town by themselves. This plan ought to address the inhabitants as well, just in case they are not used to seeing outsiders in their hometown. These are just some suggestions. The idea is to find a way to undress the town from the collective memory focused only on the film story, and to reveal the real urban memory for the tourists, and thus prevent the formation of a *lieux de mémoire* and instead promote it as a *milieux de mémoire*.

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²⁹ For example there were not enough hotels for low-income people, so some of the inhabitants of Mustafapaşa during the peak season opened their houses for accommodation. The scarcity of toilets for tourists caused a major problem.

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Imagining a City of Violence and Decay: London Represented Through Popular Music 1977-1986

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In 1987 London no longer had a central government. In the year before, the Greater London Council (GLC) under left wing labour rule had been abolished by the Tory government. The GLC had seriously contested the government on the future of London and presented an alternative to the deregulated city presented by Margaret Thatcher's government. The large-scale redevelopments of Docklands were lead by a quango agency under government control.³⁰ London Transport had been put under state control in 1984 and privatized.³¹ If anything, it looked like the future of London where out of the hands of the Londoners. The Last decade had seen inner city riots of a scale superseding all major disturbances of the post-war years. The streets and the Underground had become spaces of fear with increasing violence and the run down housing estates and the economically weak boroughs fell further down into deprivation and crisis.³²

In the same year, 1987, The Smiths released their single *Panic* where the opening line "Panic in the streets of London" set the tune of growing fear and closing in on collapse and annihilation of British society. In the key line "Hang the blessed DJ/ Because the music that they constantly play says nothing to me about my life" Morrissey of the Smiths commented on contemporary society, where the DJ could be understood as an ill-disguised persona for Margaret Thatcher. In this interpretation, the music and the acts of politics and society are interchangeable, thus consequently musical comments has bearing on the contemporary city. The Smiths mediated mistrust for the government and the future of British cities, in the shape of a pop tune. These themes were underlined in the video accompanying *Panic* directed by Derek Jarman. The video in black and white, shaky camera movements and short film clips, shows a young man walking the streets of central London and the backyards of Docklands. Its fragmentised form underlines a city and society falling apart. In a short clip the graffiti spelling out "LDDC are bloody thieves" and "Local Land for Local People" are seen, commenting on the quango and the future of the East End and Docklands. In the following clips the film discerns rundown housing estates and abandoned and littered back yards. The music and the video depict a city and its dwellers experiencing the loss of control, a city that is declining and rebuilding at the same time. Both the music and the video can also be understood as a comment on the meaning of built space, where the architecture and the material settings are not just upstages of everyday life but forms the limits and possibilities of the contemporary city.

"Now I'm in the subway and I'm looking for the flat/ This one leads to this block, this one leads to that/ The wind howls through the empty blocks looking for a home/ I run through the empty stone because I'm all alone."

Lyrics should not be separated from music. The attack and fervour of The Clash's 1977 song *London's Burning* loses its meaning and power, when cited and read as a poem. It needs guitars and beat, its shear meaning hangs on Joe Strummers phrasing of the words and the chant aesthetics of punk – then eventually, it becomes a sound of the city. But it not just a sound of the city it is part of a specific network of stories and histories that interpreted in a specific time-space city, both material and imagined, forms the space of London in the late 1970s. If this specific space of story production is expanded into the late 1980s, things appear to have changed when listening to the Television personalities *Paradise estate* from 1985. London in Television Personalities narration is depicted through melancholy and loss framed by the echo and of-tune singing by the front man Dan

³⁰ Jane Foster, *Docklands. Cultures in Conflict, Worlds in Collision*, London 1999, pp 59-62.

³¹ Ruth Bashall & Gavin Smith, "Jam today: London Transport in Crisis" *The Crisis of London*, London 1992, pp 37.

³² It was at the same time one of the largest redevelopment periods but mainly concerning office spaces.

Tracy. Where anger and a will to change had been present in *London's burning*, *Paradise estate* presented a total resignation with no hope of change underlined in the descriptive lyrics. "We all live in little boxes/Boxes made from bricks/ Boxes for unmarried mothers/Elderly and sick/Graffiti on the walls/Tells it all. 'Gary loves July'/ National Front slogans/'Jesus is coming' and 'Kilroy was here'/ But paradise came one day too late/ On Paradise estate." Though their differences in hope or lack of hope The Clash and Television personalities described the same London, with the decaying public housing – where experiencing the architecture and urban setting was to have the disastrous collapse of Ronan point in 1967 inscribed in your memory and where "one in five dwellings [...] was unfit for human habitation" as the journalist and researcher Paul Harison described Hackney in 1983.³³ The Clash and Television personalities form a narrative to understand London during the period 1977-1987 of the everyday spaces where the run down housing estates, oscillate between spaces of violence and the numb and grey spaces of an existence impossible to alter.

The music is part of a narrative of the urban rhythm of London in the period that brings forth a partly different metropolis and gives it's urban and architectural history a deepened perspective. The rhythm should here be understood as what Henri Lefebvre has described as "Rhythms: the music of the city, a scene that listens to itself, an image in the present of a discontinuous sum."³⁴ The urban space is thus understood and imagined through the reoccurring practices of everyday life that forms *linear* rhythms and where in a specific period even violence on the underground or in the streets can be seen as a *cyclical* rhythm reoccurring with longer and intervals.³⁵ Eventually these rhythms form a pattern that gives the narrative of the city its meaning during the period.

The music could also be understood as a part of the major English cultural trope of nostalgia and melancholia with its cult of the ruin.³⁶ In this trope a sense of loss is always present and through nostalgia the interpretations both looks back and hopes for a future where, to quote one of the central musical actors of the 80s Morrissey of the Smiths, "There is another world/ there is a better world/ Well, there must be".³⁷ The lament of the Smiths *Asleep*, with the characteristic voice of Morrissey, the echoing windy sound and piano in minor key all adds to the nostalgia and uncertainty in hope of a better world. *Asleep* does not address London in specific, but comprehended together with Smiths song *London* they tell one of seemingly endless number of stories where English teenagers leave for the capital in hope of a future but with the uncanny hesitation of "And do you think you've made the right decision this time?" It is the story of urban Britain in the 1980s where the inner cities decline forms the settings both of leaving for London and living at the best as a squatter. In this narrative there is an important difference to the nostalgia and loss of a rural England.³⁸ The music holds no alternative to the urban. The song of the Smiths or Television Personalities focuses on the urban setting as the centre of nostalgia and melancholia whit no lament of a lost rural England with villages or green pastures indicating a society with complete unity. Instead the music mediates a loss of community and hope within the urban setting of England. Not like cinema, of the early 1980s with films like *Brideshead Revisited* or *Howards End* that focused on the country houses and the loss of an England with few or no urban connections. Instead it was television and the popular soap opera *EastEnders* that presented an experience of British working class nostalgia relevant to the narrative constructed in these tunes.³⁹ It was in the everyday life of the run down Victorian terraced houses around the fictional Albert square, that the paradise that came on day to late was to be found. *Eastenders* holds an idea of an ordinary life within the urban working class community with its visits to the pub and domestic everyday problems. But the community life in the series was of course an

³³ Paul Harison, *Inside the Inner City. Life under the Cutting Edge*, London 1983, p 183. On Londoners memory of Ronan point see Kerr, Joe, "Blowdown: The rise and fall of London's Tower Blocks", *London from Punk to Blair*, London 2003, p 189.

³⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday life*, London 2004 (1992), p 36.

³⁵ *Ibid* p 30-31.

³⁶ Ian Baucom, *Out of Place. Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity*, Princeton New Jersey 1999, p 175-176.

³⁷ The Smiths, *Asleep*, 19.

³⁸ Primarily in literature, but it should be noted that importance of the city in 20th century English literature had increased. It is discussed in Peter J. Kalliney, *Cities of Affluence and Anger. A Modern literary Geography of Modern Englishness*, London 2006.

³⁹ On *Eastenders* representation of class and current society in the 1980s : Kathryn Dodd & Philip Dodd, "From the East End to *Eastenders*. Representations of The Working Class 1890-1990", *Come on Down? Popular Media-culture in post-war Britain*, London 1992, pp.125-130.

ideal representation of the idea of urban working class that no longer, or maybe never had been. In other words it was nostalgia for an imagined place and life. To further underline the nostalgia it was set in the East End that was going through enormous transformations when the new Docklands were being planned and built. And in this process milieus like those of the Eastenders were those under threat.⁴⁰ The housing estates of the 60s had brought forth a longing for the classical working class district with its Victorian terraced houses. Seen in this perspective Brideshead castle could not offer an image of nostalgic identification with a lost England. Instead it was a numb representation without meaning to the narrative presented in the music by groups rooted in the punk and post-punk years. Generically Eastenders and the sums of The Clash and Television Personalities narratives imagines a local London clad in a melancholy nostalgia.

The impossibility of the idea of the English village as the base of spiritual belonging became especially obvious concerning the post-war Commonwealth immigrants, and especially the large populations African- Caribbean descents that had no, or very few, experiences of England outside the inner city areas. In the 1987 film *Playing away* this becomes apparent when a cricket team from Brixton as a part of a "Third World week " arrangement are invited to play a match against a local village team in Suffolk.⁴¹ The Images of the Brixtonians meeting at the pub still dressed in their London underground uniforms to plan the match, or the landmark Railway Bridge as a sign of home on returning forms an experience of meeting the "other" and the estrangement of "real England". The film thus effectively challenges the idea of an essentialist English identity of place and the idea of a singular narrative of Englishness. This fragmented urban England is underlined in the music that can be said to be a key feature of Brixton where the musical rhythm becomes what Lefebvre describes as "Music does not only sublimate the aesthetic and a rule of art: it has an ethical function. In its relation to the body, to time, to the work, it illustrates real (everyday) life."⁴² In the post-colonial space of Brixton music interacts in street life of the markets, re-enacts Brixton's global sense of place, and constructs the local narrative. The dub poet Linton Kwesi Johnson describes an urban experience of growing violence and racial hatred in London, building up to confrontation as in the lyrics of *Making history* "now tell mi someting mistah police spokesman/ tell mi someting/ how lang yu really tink, wi woulda tek yu batn lick/ yu jackboot kick/ yu dutty bag a tricks an yu racist pallyticks?" The dub music and the recitation in Jamaican Creole language together with the vivid street culture of Brixton emphasized a new understanding of both everyday life and the architecture that harboured it.⁴³ The dub music and reggae had become the sound of the streets of Brixton. ⁴⁴ Walking down the street market in Electric Avenue, the music crowded in on the visitors, transforming the Victorian street into a postcolonial space of prominence called "the spiritual home of Caribbeans in Britain".⁴⁵ But the tensions described were also present. Since the 70s and especially since the Brixton riots in April 1981 the streets of Brixton were either in a state of waiting on new incidents or shattered by open violence. It in this urban environment dub and reggae music contest and explains the identity of the local milieu.

Comprehended in this context the music interprets a declining London where the urban milieu and architecture interacts with the rhythms of everyday life. The urban setting also can be seen as a network of everyday life, material milieu, politics and imaginations of hope and nostalgia. Nostalgia should be understood as a state of mind, where the lamented loss is unclear but further sharpen the contours of neglect in London during the period. The interpretation of music is always personal and understood through a network of cultural understanding and I do not believe that music above all belongs to a specific place or

⁴⁰ See: Docklands... and LMA.

⁴¹ Charlotte Brunson, *London in Cinema. The Cinematic City Since 1945*, London 2007, pp. 72-73.

⁴² Ibid p. 66.

⁴³ See for instance the LP *Making History*, 1983, with songs concerning subjects of class, immigration and the Brixton riots.

⁴⁴ A description of Brixton from Early 1980s with the music in the street see: Susan Benson, *Ambiguous Ethnicity: Interracial Families in London*, London 1981, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁵ Cecily Jones "Brixton" *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*. Ed David Dabydeen, John Gilmore, and Cecily Jones. Oxford University Press, 2007. Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press 20 March 2010.

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t240.e61-s2>

that there can be no other narratives.⁴⁶ The music presented in this paper is at the same time often global and local, that holds meaning both in and outside London and it is not the story of London musicians.⁴⁷ There are other narratives as for instance of the sounds of suburbs of London, well documented by the Members, and many more.⁴⁸ I have chosen to focus on the inner city areas that predominantly hold the conflicts of London of the period of the paper. The music acts as part of a network of understanding and as the cultural reinforcement that holds the urban space, political history and everyday life together into a coherent history. During the period music actively engaged in the London's space as a critique and active resistance of the present state, as in the classical trip up the Thames by Sex Pistols in 1977 during the Queen silver jubilee, proclaiming that "There is no future in England's dreaming" to the Industrial group Test departments happenings staged in the derelict areas of Waterloo station in 1986.⁴⁹ The Test department happening was also part of the open conflict between Thatcher's government and the left labour rule of the GLC under Ken Livingstone that was drawn to its peak the same year by the government enforced abolition of the council. The "Jobs for a Change" festivals organised by the GLC or the Rock against Racism concerts were other forms of spatial manifestations where music was meant to actively engage in forming a new London.⁵⁰

Punk culture had inextricably become connected to commercial interest during the period and could be said to also interact or even be a part of the "museumization" of rock that formed new tourist landscapes of London during the period. In the touristscape of London Carnaby street had re-emerged as a cheap copy of its former "swinging London" identity on the map, and the King's Road had become a tourist sight where you could have your picture taken with an "authentic" punk rocker and buy manufactured bondage trousers.⁵¹ The King's Road had thus been rebranded and re-imagined from a cutting edge fashion centre into a musealized post sub cultural commercial space apposite commented by Television Personalities in *Part time punks* from 1978 where a walk down Kings road meant meeting the hoards of young that "[...] walk around together and try and look trendy/ I think it's a shame/That they all look the same." The loss of authenticity conjures up an urban nostalgia, and going back to Carnaby Street the Jam angrily observed how "The street is a mirror for our country/ Reflects the rise and fall of our nation/ The street that was a legend is a mockery/ A part of the British tradition gone down the drain". Accordingly they connected the loss of a believed authenticity with the nostalgia of decline that fitted well into narrative of London in despair. Consequently this reflected on how the urban milieu and architecture was experienced during the period.

Brixton

A history of Brixton could start in its modern Victorian origins or in the changes that it went through when it became a major centre of African-Caribbean immigrants in the 1950s. At the time the anthropologist Shelia Patterson described her feeling of a new Brixton as she was "immediately overcome with a sense of strangeness, almost shock" on what another anthropologist of her time had called the "Colour shock" of the street.⁵² Just as well the history can take its point of departure within the group of white working class living in the housing blocks on Loughborough Estate during the 1970s and 80s. To re-emerge the time space of Brixton during this papers period it is evident that place has not one coherent essentialist identity, instead it holds a complex mix of all these and more and it has economical, social and political trajectories that further blurs the idea of one

⁴⁶ For a theoretical discussion on place and music see for instance: Keith Negus, *Popular Music in Theory. An Introduction*, Oxford 1996, pp.180-184 and Murray Forman, *The Hood Comes First. Race, Space and Place in Rap and Hip-Hop*, Middletown CT 2002, pp. 1-13.

⁴⁷ A narrative of London and London musicians is well described in Paul Du Noyer, *In the City*, London 2009.

⁴⁸ The Members *Sounds of the Suburbs*, 1979; Siouxsie and the Banshees, *Suburban relapse*, 1979; Pet Shop Boys, *Suburbia*, 1986; Skids, *Sweet Suburbia*, 1979, to mention a few songs about the experience of suburbia.

⁴⁹ On Sex Pistols see; John Savage, *England's Dreaming*, New York 1992 (1991), pp. 359-367. On Test dept. See: Alexei Monroe, "Bread and (Rock) Circuses", *Imagined Londons*, London 2002, p 144.

⁵⁰ John Hoyland, "Reggae on the Rates: The 'Jobs for a Change' Festivals", *A Taste of Power. The Politics of Local Economics*, London 1987 pp. 370-397, On RAR see: Simon Firth & John Steel, "Rock against Racism and Red Wedge. From Music to Politics, from Politics to Music", *Rockin' the boat. Mass Music and Mass Movements*, Cambridge MA 1992 pp. 67-80.

⁵¹ Victor Burgin gives a poetic account of Kings Road in the 80s in Victor Burgin, *Other Cities*.

⁵² Shelia Patterson, *Dark Strangers. A Sociological study of the Absorption of Recent West Indian Migrant Group in Brixton, South London*, London 1963, p 3.

Brixton with closed borders defining its identity.⁵³ A descriptive rhythm in The Clash's *Guns of Brixton* from 1979 with its homage to Reggae and dub-music places the mix of the white punk with the reggae street culture of Brixton in focus. And the lyrics "When they kick out your front door/ How you gonna come? /With your hands on your head /or on the trigger of your gun?", describes an area with growing tensions eventually to erupt into street violence and giving Brixton a permanent stigmata of unrest and social conflict. Since the afro-Caribbean started to move in to Brixton in late 1950s they had stayed in place. They were less likely to move from London and less likely to move within London than other ethnic populations.⁵⁴ This effected how Brixton was conceived, it effected how it was lived – and eventually it effected how the built milieu was imagined.

But Brixton could also be imagined as part of a London long gone, without necessarily depicting the multicultural Brixton as the problem. In Robyn Hitchcock's *Trams of old London* released in 1984 London became a field of nostalgia, were Brixton was part in the evoking of London long gone. "Thru Electric Avenue, Brixton down in south west too/ In the blitz they never closed though they never closed/though they blew up half the roads." Electric Avenue was in the late 19th century one of the first markets of London that were electrically illuminated and its iron cast canopies and partly glassed walks, that through years of neglect finally was removed in the 1980s could be re-imagined as spaces of another London now gone. When Robyn Hitchcock sang what later was to be called "un plugged" it evoked a nostalgia that also could be seen both as a criticism of the current state of London and of the current state of London transport. Brixton in its Victorian state, trams and London Transport became all parts of an idea of a lost urban paradise.

London Transport – Going underground

In 1971 London Underground opened a new station in Brixton when the building of Victoria line was finished. Probably no place in London had so many residents employed by London Transport. They had been a major employer of afro-Caribbeans since the 1950s when London transport started actively recruiting in the West Indies, which went on into the 1970s.⁵⁵ The commonwealth immigrants held positions all over the transport sector, but especially the underground became an important workspace. The built structure of the underground was a spatialization of the daily lives of many immigrants and held a rhythm where they moved all over London, but still not belonging as Linton Kwesi Johnson has described in *Inglan is a bitch*. "W'en mi jus' come to Landan toun/ mi use to work pan di andahgroun/ but workin' pan di andahgroun/ y'u don't get fi know your way aroun'/ Inglan is a bitch /dere's no escapin' it". The feeling of not belonging in the wider context of London corresponded to the feeling of locality and home in Brixton and even in the underground. The most important superstructure of London thus equally connected Brixton with all London and as it at the same time was a part of the segregation and social stratification.

The built structure of the underground stretches in an imaginative network throughout the entire London. In train tunnels, service canals, stations and station buildings it is present in more places in London than any single building type or organisation. It connects London in a way only comparable with the street pattern .It is an iconic and symbolic structure indistinguishable from London. But the underground also corresponded to the feeling of decay and neglect that characterized both Brixton and London Transport in the 1980. The architecture of the underground had become a space of fear, violence and abandonment.

In 1970 control of London transport had been turned over from the government to GLC. In the following decade, it became a political battlefield fought between the GLC and the Thatcher government. The GLC subsidised tickets in a way never seen before and used the transport system as an instrument of propaganda against the Thatcher government. The government

⁵³ I draw here on the theoretical sketches drawn by Doreen Massey in "A global Sense of Place", *Marxism Today* 1991 vol. 9, pp. 31-57, also published in Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, London 1996, pp. 146-156.

⁵⁴ Malcolm Cross, "Race and Ethnicity". *The Crisis of London*.

⁵⁵ Dudley Baines, "Immigration and the Labor Market", *Work and Pay in 20th Century Britain*, Oxford 2007, p. 337.

answered by taking them to court and ruling out the cheap fares. Eventually in 1984 Margaret Thatcher's government took London transport back under state control and parts of it became privatised. This battle of control led to neglect and the breaking down of the corporate image. And It also meant an under founding of the underground that made the earlier proud spaces of transport into fields of neglect, angst and fear. Through the nervous voice of Paul Weller of the Jam the stressed state of the underground was perceived in *Down in the Tube Station at Midnight* "The glazed, dirty steps - repeat my own and reflect my thoughts/ Cold and uninviting, partially naked/Except for toffee wrappers and this morning's papers." The underground was depicted in a state of fear where its architecture and its condition underlined a society that was falling apart.

Just as Linton Kwesi Johnson had discerned the underground as a space where the status of the immigrants became perceivable, The Jam disclosed a critical space of the underground where the identity of fearful Londoners was constructed. In the enclosed and rundown spaces of the underground being different threatened your very being. The music formed a story in the moment, when the Jam frightened sang the now-experience of a subway station where "The distant echo -of faraway voices boarding faraway trains/ To take them home to the ones that they love and who love them forever," builds up to a brutal mugging. It happens in Nietzsche's concept of *augenblick*, when the past and the future meet a point of difference and change. In 1980 reoccurring reports in the papers told of the rising violence on the underground. The London underground workers called for short strikes and parts of the cities lines were closed after 10 pm.⁵⁶ What the Jam presented as a personal Augenblick of horror, "Whispers in the shadows - gruff blazing voices. Hating, waiting", was happening all too often. People passed through the gateway of the *augenblick* everyday, and as Nietzsche's idea it was reoccurring, a rhythm of violence in the underground. "The last thing that I saw/As I lay there on the floor/Was "Jesus Saves" painted by an atheist nutter/And a British Rail poster read "Have an Awayday - a cheap holiday -Do it today!" The wish to be somewhere else also corresponded with the nostalgia of another London, that maybe never had existed but a imagined London without decay and violence. To resume to the Smiths, it was not just panic in the streets of London, but panic on the underground, in the neighborhoods and on the housing estates. The architecture and urban space of London had in these stories been inscribed with a mourning of a lost urban England.

Understanding urban space in London is to understand how social and cultural spaces are interwoven with material space. Understanding the ten years as comprehended in the presented music leaves the ironic gesture and song *Who killed Bambi?* performed by Eddie Tenpole-Tudor in the film *The Great Rock n roll Swindle* ringing, "All the spikey punkers.

Believers in the ruins/ with one big shout/ They all cry out who killed Bambi?" Nostalgia is a sentiment of lost innocence, as also believes in another more authentic London is. At the same time the song highlights the ambivalence between the enticement in despair and misery and the political devotion in a will to change. To quote the author V. S. Naipaul, "Decay implied an ideal, a perfection in the past" and it was this lost urban London that made the music meaningful, not that it actually had existed but as an idea to mourn its absence in the present.⁵⁷ It is where the cultural and social space of London becomes one with its neglected material settings that the words *Who killed Bambi* becomes meaningful to understand the environment, the urban nostalgia and the ambivalence and not just another ironic gesture from the generation of punk.

⁵⁶ Douglace Bece, "Protect us call in train terror", *Daily Mirror* 21/3 1980, "Tunnel of hate All-out tube strike threat" *Daily Mirror* 21/3 1980, "Days Tube strike in protest at attacks", *The Times* 21/3 1980.

⁵⁷ V.S Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, London 1987 p.190.

Slumdog and the City: Bombay, the Global Cosmopolis

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Debates about the representation of poverty as a spectacle have dominated the reviews of the film *Slumdog Millionaire* and generated heated arguments about the representation of Mumbai as a slum-city. I propose that *Slumdog Millionaire* represents the contradictions that have recently defined the city of Mumbai/Bombay. The central question is this paper is: How does the film *Slumdog Millionaire* fictionalize Bombay and Mumbai? I will further investigate how these fictional representations of Bombay and Mumbai in *Slumdog Millionaire* contradict the scholarly perception of Mumbai.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BOMBAY

Bombay originated as a Portuguese settlement. The Portuguese named Bombay *A ilha da boa vida*. Subsequently, the city went through several name changes that included Mumbai, Mumbaim, Mombaim, Bombaim, Born Bahia and Bombay.¹ In the sixteenth century as the British gained control Bombay, it emerged as a fortified port city. Bombay became the commercial capital of the British raj in the nineteenth century as the hub of the textile manufacturing and a gateway to global trade. After independence Bombay continued to be the cosmopolitan commercial capital of India. The city of Bombay was renamed "Mumbai" in 1995 in an effort to decolonize, renationalize, deislamisize, and reterritorialize the city of Bombay into a Marathi-Hindu space, cleansed of Muslims and "outsiders."² Historians of Bombay define the history of Bombay in three phases. The first phase was the emergence of Bombay as a colonial port city (1757-1947), the second phase was the emergence of Bombay as the national financial capital and a manufacturing hub (1947-1990), and the recent third phase since the 1990s is the post-industrial phase in which Bombay was renamed Mumbai and became integrated into the global economy through the service sector, like call centers and IT services.³ The film *Slumdog Millionaire* represents the third phase of Bombay's urban history, that is the transition from Bombay to Mumbai.

CENTRAL QUESTION OF THIS PAPER

I define "Bombay" as the cosmopolitan city that has captured the imagination of Bollywood and what Arjun Appadurai calls the "cosmopolis of commerce."⁴ Scholars such as Arjun Appadurai argue that the appropriation of Bombay by right wing forces and its nationalization as Mumbai has compromised the cosmopolitanism of Bombay.⁵ In this paper, I argue that film *Slumdog Millionaire* reclaims Bombay from Mumbai and restores the cosmopolitan city that Bombay once was.

BOMBAY AND MUMBAI

Slumdog Millionaire is the life story of the Muslim protagonist Jamal who is a contestant on the TV show "Who wants to be Millionaire" in Mumbai. Jamal's life and the story of the transition from Bombay to Mumbai are narrated in the film through a series of questions on the quiz show.

¹ Sharada Dwivedi, Rahul Mehrotra, and Umaima Mulla-Feroze, *Bombay: The Cities Within* (Bombay: India Book House, 1995).

² Thomas Hansen, *Wages of Violence: Naming and Identity in Postcolonial Bombay* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

³ Sujata Patel, "Mumbai: The Mega-City of a Poor Country," in *The Making of Global City Regions: Johannesburg, Mumbai Bombay, São Paulo, and Shanghai*, ed. Klaus Segbers (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

⁴ Arjun Appadurai, "Spectral Housing and Urban Cleansing: Notes on Millennial Mumbai," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000).

⁵ *Ibid.*

The film *Slumdog Millionaire* begins with the Muslim protagonist Jamal's childhood in the slums in Bombay. Jamal and his brother Salim lose their mother and their slum home in a riot. This riot was one in a series of riots, which were meant to cleanse Bombay of its Muslim population, who are seen as outsiders. Evacuated from the slum, they leave the city of Bombay to go Agra and then come back to Bombay in search of Jamal's Hindu friend Latika. When Jamal and Salim return to Bombay, it was no longer "Bombay" but had changed to "Mumbai." Jamal's story is closely tied to urban history of the transition of Bombay into Mumbai. The transition of Bombay into Mumbai is marked by two significant changes: one, the rise of right wing Hindu forces and two, the transition of Bombay from a post-industrial city to a global service provider. *Slumdog Millionaire* constructs Bombay and Mumbai as distinct urban conditions that are represented through architecture.

CONSTRUCTING BOMBAY AND MUMBAI THROUGH ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

Slumdog Millionaire constructs classical Bombay as the global cosmopolis in which Jamal grows up as a child in a slum. The film constructs Mumbai as a city where communal right wing forces and the dynamism of the current phase of globalization exist in constant tension. The film defines differences between Bombay and Mumbai through three definitive attributes. One, in Bombay the boundaries between the rich and the extreme poor were fluid, while in Mumbai the rich live in gated enclaves where their lives never intersect with the poor. Two, the film defines the difference between Bombay and Mumbai through communal tensions. Bombay is represented as a city where Hindu-Muslim identities were insignificant, while Mumbai is represented as a city sharply divided along Hindu-Muslim fault lines. Three, the film uses architectural symbols to represent Bombay as the product of nineteenth century globalization and Mumbai as a result of 1990s phase of globalization in India. The film has used two iconic buildings to define Bombay and Mumbai. The Victoria Terminus, the gothic railway station designed by Frederick Stevens that became one of the most robust symbols of the British Raj, represents Bombay. Lake Castle, a residential building designed by the architect Hafeez Contractor, symbolizes Mumbai's integration into global economy and represents the Post-modern city of Mumbai.

CLASS STRUCTURES IN CLASSICAL BOMBAY AND MUMBAI

The cosmopolitan city of Bombay is the milieu in which Jamal's childhood is represented in the slum. The Bombay of Jamal's childhood is by no means an equitable city, but urban distribution of slums right next to the most privileged parts of the city and the intermixing of different classes was one of the distinct attributes of Bombay. In Bombay, the rich and poor coexisted and their lives intersected in ways that represents a certain tolerance of class differences.

In the show, Jamal is asked the question, "Who was the star of the 1973 hit *Zanjeer*?" The answer to that was Amitabh Bachchan, the biggest star of Bollywood cinema. The film depicts an episode from Jamal's childhood in the slum when Jamal gets to see Amitabh Bachchan in person and get his autograph. Jamal was squatting in a shanty pit toilet at the end of a dilapidated wooden pier. His brother Salim charged everyone a small fee for using the toilet. While Jamal is in the toilet, he heard that Amitabh Bachchan's helicopter had landed in the slum. Salim locked Jamal in the toilet and joined the crowds to see Amitabh Bachchan. Jamal was unable to get out. His only means of escape was to jump into the sewage pit, which he did. Covered in feces, Jamal pushed his way through the slum crowd to see his hero Amitabh Bachchan. He got Amitabh's autograph and the camera zooms out and then pans to show a shot of Bombay at sunset, where slums intermingle with middle class housing blocks. This is the cosmopolitan Bombay that is known as "classical Bombay," which is the land of opportunity for anyone with a creative ingenious idea.⁶ It's the Bombay in which the superstar Amitabh Bachchan visits his fans in the slum in a helicopter, which creates the possibility for Jamal to meet him in person.

⁶ Ibid.

When Jamal and Salim return to Bombay from Agra, it had turned into Mumbai. As Jamal grew into a young man, Mumbai had transitioned from a post-industrial city into a global service provider. The Mumbai of Jamal's youth was a city eviscerated of Jamal's slum. High-rise housing blocks, which were the result of collusion between the Mumbai mafia, real estate speculators, and builders had displaced Jamal's slum. In the late 1990s, the black and white economies of Mumbai were fueled by real estate and the service sector. Jamal had grown up to be a *chaiwallah* in a call center, while his brother Salim worked for mafia don Javed, who controlled real estate.

Unlike Bombay, in Mumbai, the lines of demarcation between the rich and the poor were intensified. The film depicts this through layers of boundaries and separation between Jamal and Latika, who in the second part of the film were not only separated by religious differences, black and white economies, but also class differences. While Jamal was a Muslim *chaiwallah* in a call center within the networks of the white global economy, Latika, as Javed's Hindu mistress lived a privileged life. Jamal finds Latika living with Javed in a gated bungalow, protected by security and massive boundary walls. It was impossible for him to get through the gate to meet Latika. The class differences between Latika and Jamal are represented by the architecture of the bungalow and many architectural barriers, such gates, security devices, guard posts, and grills. As Jamal tries to see Latika, he is framed through a massive iron gate, which is in complete contrast to a feces covered Jamal, who could get Amitabh Bachchan's autograph in a slum in Bombay.

TWO: THE DIVISION OF BOMBAY ALONG HINDU-MUSLIM FAULT LINES AND THE MUMBAIFICATION OF BOMBAY.

Muslims have inhabited South Asia since the 7th century. In the 1990s, with the rise of BJP-Shiv Sena and Hindu right wing ideology, Muslims have been viciously and strongly been framed as "outsiders" who should have gone to Pakistan at the time of the partition in 1947. The Babri Masjid, a Muslim mosque in sacred Hindu city of Ayodhya, was demolished on December 6, 1992 by Hindu right wing groups to reclaim the site of the mosque as a Hindu space. The demolition of the mosque triggered off riots in Bombay on December 7, 1992. It was rumored that the builders and real estate mafia were involved in the riots to claim slum land for development.⁷

An alliance of the regional Hindu organization Shiv Sena and Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP), the Hindu right wing party, came to power in 1995 in the state of Maharashtra of which Mumbai is the capital. The right wing ideology of this party is based on the premise that "outsiders" constituted by Muslims and immigrants have caused an exponential increase in Mumbai's population. As a result of this rise in population density of the city and high number of slums, the BJP-Shiv Sena alliance promised to cleanse the city of outsiders and slums. The two Muslim men Jamal and Salim were highly marginalized in this milieu.

The film represents this context of Mumbaification of Bombay through riot that was meant to eviscerate Bombay of Jamal's slum and Muslims. Jamal's mother was killed in that riot. In the aftermath of the riot, as Jamal and Salim were rendered homeless, Jamal met the Hindu girl Latika. Against all communal divisions, Jamal befriends Latika, with whom he would later fall in love. Jamal and Latika will be united at the end of the film against the communal fault lines that signified the Mumbaification of Bombay. The fact that Muslim Jamal and Hindu Latika get united at the end of the film at the train station Victoria Terminus, which is the ultimate symbol of Bombay, is the film's attempt to reclaim the utopia of Bombay from Mumbai. In the subsequent section, I will discuss the use of the train station Victoria Terminus.

⁷ Asghar Ali Engineer, "Bombay Riots: Second Phase," *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 12/13 (Mar. 20-27, 1993): 505-08.

THREE: USE OF THE ARCHITECTURE TO SIGNIFY BOMBAY AND MUMBAI

The film consciously uses architecture to signify Bombay and Mumbai. Victoria Terminus is employed to signify the cosmopolitan city of Bombay. The frequent shots of the statue of Frederick Stevens, the architect of Victoria Terminus, underscores Bombay's genealogy in the colonial networks of the British Empire and its cosmopolitan status. In contrast to Victoria Terminus, architect Hafeez Contractor's building Lake Castle, a Post-modern kitsch building symbolizes Mumbai in the era of liberalization.

Lake Castle signifies the phase of globalization that began in the 1990s, as India opened up its markets to the world and a phase of neo-liberal market reform led to India becoming a service provider in the global economy. The architectural community in India is critical of Hafeez Contractor's buildings. His architecture is seen as a commodity that caters to market forces and does not belong to the high canon of architectural taste. The high pundits of architecture in India regard Hafeez as a populist who is the developers' favorite architect.⁸ The call center, where Jamal worked as a *chaiwallah*; the apartment blocks that displaced Jamal's slum; the Hafeez Contractor Building; the TV show "Who Wants to Be Millionaire," are all sites that represent this new economy and the city of Mumbai.

When Jamal find Latika living with Javed in a gated bungalow, he is framed against the backdrop of the Hafeez building, which signifies the urban condition of Mumbai. Jamal has no access to the Hafeez building or Latika's bungalow. Jamal asked Latika to sneak out and meet him at the Victoria Terminus train station or popularly known as VT. The same right wing groups that changed the name of Bombay to Mumbai, changed VT to give it a Marathi Hindu nationalistic name called "Chhatrapati Shivaji Train Terminus." However, in popular parlance, the train station is still called VT and the characters in the film use the name VT. When Jamal waits for Latika at VT, he is often framed as sitting next to the statue of Frederick Stevens, the architect of VT. The train station is the quintessential symbol of cosmopolitan Bombay and its colonial origins as a British port city. It's represents an equitable public space to which all classes and all religious groups have equal access and that is why Jamal and Latika can meet at VT. The train station eventually is the site where they are united.

CONCLUSION

Scholars such as Arjun Appadurai argue that Bombay's cosmopolitanism has been compromised with the Mumbaification of Bombay. In contradiction to scholarly accounts of Bombay/Mumbai, *Slumdog Millionaire* reclaims the utopia of Bombay. The films ends with Latika escaping Javed's house, Jamal winning the top prize in the show *Who wants to be a Millionaire*, and they are eventually united at the VT train station. Jamal and Latika transcend class and religious differences that have fractured Bombay into Mumbai. In a song and dance number at end the film they meet at VT in Bombay, and not Mumbai.

⁸ Smriti Rajgharia, "Hafeez Contractor: A Phenomenon," *Architecture+Design* 20, no. 1 (2003): 30-35.

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Stepping into a Mirror: Temporary Visits to the Fictional City of Venice

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About Venice, a limitless amount of texts has been written, but no matter how dismissive or praiseful these stories or essays are – every author agrees on one thing: you cannot remain there. The necessity of the temporality of every visit to Venice has anchored itself in everyday life, in both high brow and in tourist culture. Of course, every tourist destination is temporary – but in Venice, there is more at stake. An extended stay does not lead to boredom or bankruptcy: it leads to madness and death. One *cannot* stay; no tourist or artist will consider moving there; the city has no international scene; tourist facilities for longer stays are rare; in Venice, one has to get away in time.

Modern literature has played an important role in the construction of this myth. The aura of Venice is most famously established by *Death in Venice*, the novel written by Thomas Mann in 1911. Gustav von Aschenbach, an aging writer suffering from writer's block, goes on a short vacation¹. In a hotel at the Lido, Aschenbach becomes smitten with the boy Tadzio. Obsessed and lonely, he follows him everywhere. Rumours about a plague start rising and everyone leaves Venice as soon as possible. Aschenbach stays, he deceives himself by dyeing his hair, but a few hours later, he dies on the beach.

All the clichés concerning Venice are present. The secret of Aschenbach is the secret of the city: his love for Tadzio is unnatural and superficial; it offers no real perspective; it seeks youth where there is only decay and history. Every visitor should remain a visitor, and regard Venice as a warning: it is not possible to be so 'improbable' as this city. Floating on water, beautiful and special in every corner, romantic at every instant, made for the pleasure of the eye – and all this with only old reasons to be so, or with solipsistic and money hungry motives.

Hundreds of novels have been written that take place in Venice, and that depict the city as 'uninhabitable'. Before Mann there was *The Aspern Papers* (1888) by James, or *Little Dorrit* (1857) by Dickens. Contemporary with Mann, Proust wrote about the longing for Venice in his *Recherche*. Since then, Venice has acted as a setting for stories by such diverse writers as Du Maurier, Sollers, Hemingway, Hartley, Marai, Weyergans, Jong, Simenon, Sebald, McEwan and Ishiguro – and all of them have depicted characters that are attracted to Venice but that stay too long, with fatal or at least important consequences.

In literary studies some books have been devoted to either the attention one single writer has given to Venice² or to the textual mechanisms for depicting a city in general³. One noteworthy study by the late Tony Tanner describes literary Venice-texts under the sign of 'desire', but ends up in an exalted and 'deleuzian' perspective. 'Desire is the force that engenders, maintains and extends the city of Venice,' writes Tanner, but, on the other hand he does realize that, 'Venice has a way of turning on her writerly admirers as no other city does.'⁴ Other scholarly research has positioned the Venice literature inside of the genre of the 'gothic novel', paying attention to the macabre and the fantastic aspects of the city.

To escape this deadlock of generalizing or particular view, it is necessary to turn to the historiography. The most important feature of the history of Venice is that the city and everything defining it has been *intentional*. Ever since the twelfth century (and the construction of the Arsenale as the infrastructure for the fleet of the independent Republic), this city seems to have been

¹ MANN, Thomas – *Death in Venice*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2005.

² For example COLLIER, Peter – *Proust and Venice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

³ For example ROSS, Michael L. – *Storied cities: literary imaginings of Florence, Venice and Rome*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1994.

⁴ TANNER, Tony – *Venice Desired*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992, pp.2-5.

made by one mastermind. The myth of Venice is therefore a rare thing; it is constructed by the inhabitants of one single town, in order to combat the forces of nature at a central position; to fight or impress the opponents; to attract customers, artists, noblemen or *maecenae*; to establish an equilibrium between the world religions; and finally to remain a 'hotspot' in a world ruled by tourism. Venice is the navel of the world, wrote Ruskin in his *Stones of Venice*⁵, and indeed this city has been exemplary in the way it has materialized every ideological battle or cultural circumvolution. It has absorbed everything that was important during the last 1000 years, and it has always known and made visible that it did so in a terrific way.

Historians have done thorough research on this subject. In his aptly titled book *The Ceremonial City*, Iain Fenlon writes about Venice at the end of the 16th century – a decisive period for the Republic, after the Council of Trent, and after the decimation of the population by the Turks. Fenlon describes how the elite carefully adjusted the rhetoric of Venice so that it remained effective⁶. On a sociological level, the book *Venice Triumphant* by Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan is of importance. She stresses the shared and material experience of the Venetian myth. Multiple instruments were used to produce unity and enhance the common dream of one community⁷.

In his book *Venice and the Renaissance* architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri bridged this particular historical project with the way we deal with the city at this very moment. Since the fall of the Republic in 1797, it has become one of the many cities in the world – but at the same time, although there are no actual reasons for this otherness, Venice remains different and improbable. 'Venice:' writes Tafuri, 'she can be seen as the place in which antitheses have been removed, in which dialectics has no function, in which there is no contradiction between tradition and innovation.'⁸

The end of dialectics is the end of progress and of reasoning: the history of Venice is a *given*, a set of theses without consequence, that are never contradicted or analyzed; Venice simply *remains*. Paradoxically, Tafuri argues, this status as the embodiment of 'dialectics at a standstill', turns Venice into a hypermodern city. Tafuri quotes Nietzsche: 'An image for the men of the future.' The difficulty of a teleological development is the characteristic of Venice, and it is the characteristic of modernity as well.

What I want to indicate, after this historiographical prologue, is that the project of modern literature has *recognized* Venice as its material double; every story that takes place in Venice shows literature stepping into a mirror. The characteristics of Venice that are at stake, and that have been constructed above, are the following. An affirmative and collective intentionality, whose reason for existence lies in the past, but whose results are still exquisitely visible; a presence that just *is*, that cannot be explained or justified (or only economically by tourism) or be used as a stepping stone in a next phase; a total beauty, shaped for the eye, as if it was a wonderful theme park – but it is not, as we are fully aware of the history and the 'reality' of it. Are these properties not the properties of literature? Presence but artificiality at the same time; historical and present time combined; an author that we can never know but to whom we owe everything; reality as an *effect* rather than as a given – and to summarize: reading as an activity that we can never justify, that is attractive but literally 'unbelievable', that confronts us with all aspects of human life, but that we need to abandon in time, in order to remain attached to human life itself. The reason why we need to leave Venice is the reason why we need to stop reading a novel and start living again.

The novel in which this dilemma is firstly embodied, hasn't been mentioned yet. The story takes place during the last years of the Republic of Venice, at the end of the 18th century, and it establishes the role Venice will play in modern literature. It is called

⁵ RUSKIN, John – *Stones of Venice*. Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2003, p.121.

⁶ FENLON, Iain – *The Ceremonial City. History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, p.331.

⁷ CROUZET-PAVAN, Elisabeth – *Venice Triumphant. The horizons of a myth*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002, pp.271-272.

⁸ TAFURI, Manfredo, *Venice and the Renaissance*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995, pp.x-xi.

Der Geisterseher or *The Ghost-Seer* and it was written by Friedrich Schiller between 1796 and 1798, although it remained unfinished⁹. A young prince lives modestly but temporarily in Venice with his companion Count O., the narrator. The prince is continuously confronted with supernatural and strange events. He can never explain what happens to him, although he feverishly tries. Especially the mythical role an Armenian man starts to play can never be understood. Right from the beginning, the prince realizes what is at stake: the temptations of ghosts and spirits, and the attraction of radical scepticism. No wonder then, when the Prince quotes Hamlet: 'There are more things in heaven and earth, than are dreamt of in your philosophy.' The problematic of *Der Geisterseher* is embodied by the Armenian, an unknown man who keeps popping up and keeps doing unexplainable things. 'But who is he, then?' asks the prince. 'Where does he come from? What truth is there in the identity he gives himself?' At which the Sicilian, who has met the Armenian stranger before, replies: 'There is no truth in any of his appearances. There are few classes, characters and nations, whose mask he has not already worn. Who is he, you ask? Where does he come from? Where is he going? Nobody knows. Among us he is known only under the name of *The Unfathomable*.'

The 'unfathomable' – in German: 'des Unergründlichen'. That which has no ground, no foundation or depth. What is indeed a better description for Venice, a city built on water, than 'the unfathomable', 'das Unergründlichen', a fictional city because beyond its many appearances there is no possible truth – although it imperturbably acts as if the opposite is true? It is necessary to oppose this term, 'das Unergründlichen', to 'das Unheimliche', the 'un-home-ly', as coined by Freud. Venice has often been called 'unheimlich', and indeed it can appear to be 'unhomely', frightening, familiar and foreign at the same time – but only after a prolonged and mostly happy and luxurious stay. Rather than 'unheimlich', Venice is 'unergründlich': taking measure of it, testing it, visiting it, is indeed a case of finding no home – but one exceptional and wonderful adventure instead. The prince of Schiller has to leave, because he cannot fill his life with thoughts on the intricacies and the mysteries of Venice. Life – and thus: things that are not so important, difficult or historical, reclaim their rights. The unfinished story of Schiller ends with the death of a woman the prince has fallen in love with, and with his conversion to Catholicism. The adventurousness of Venice prompts three possible reactions: leaving, dying, or converting to a significant universe, and thus filling up the empty core of the city.

Since Schiller, literature has driven the representations of Venice to extremes. Even the critique on Venice as the capital of capitalism and tourism, has been treated and processed. One can think of the essay by Mary McCarthy, *Venice Observed* (1961), or of the novel *The comfort of strangers* (1981) by Ian McEwan. In this novel, an English couple is on holiday. One evening, they get lost amongst the canals of the city and are befriended by a stranger named Robert and his wife. In typical McEwan-fashion, the story becomes cruel: Robert has had a sadistic upbringing, and he has kept his wife as a prisoner for more than ten years. In the end, he kills Colin in front of Mary's eyes. Here, Venice has become a dystopic place, filled with too many people, too hot or too rainy, with stale air and crumbling buildings. Again, the same characteristics are applicable to literature: reading McEwan is a peculiar pleasure, since the events narrated are as horrifying as the city in which they take place. The greater and truer pleasure – derived from Venice or from literature – comes from something else: being confronted with the auctorial construction of places and events, with a visible but unknowable history, and with a clear and coherent worldview – that is, however, too unfathomable to reveal its core.

Venice is, to conclude, one of the last places on earth that can combine the vastness and the casualness of the daily world, with the coherence, the history and the intentionality of art. We, modern people, can no longer accept that part of the real world

⁹ SCHILLER, Friedrich von, *The Ghost-seer*. Hesperus Press, 2003.

behaves in ways that we have reserved for art and literature. That is why modern literature has both attacked and adored this small piece of 'artistic reality' or 'real art'. When literature has fictionalized Venice, it has at the same time preserved the status of its own mirror image in reality. Nothing and nobody can survive without knowing that it is possible to step, however shortly, in reality or in fiction, into a mirror.

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Olhão, Modern Vernacular and Vernacular Modernism

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This essay discusses the relationship between architectural modernism and vernacular traditions, by looking at a small-scale process in a peripheral setting: the practice of designing and building in Olhão (Algarve, south Portugal) in the first half of the 20th century.¹

After describing how Olhão's *vernacular* built environment was seen as particularly *modern* and associated with avant-garde forms, in non-architectural fields, I will discuss the way the formal stereotype thus consolidated – an *unwritten model of the vernacular in modernism* – penetrated architecture; a process of constant negotiation between central and local concepts, in which the latter played an important part. Examples from pre-modernist and late-modernist architecture in Olhão show how vernacular practice gained the status of formal architecture, and how, after being filtered through scholarly culture and architecture, it gradually re-entered local building tradition, closing a circle.

A Muslim inheritance, traits of exoticism and centuries of cultural and geographical differentiation of Algarve from the rest of Portugal engaged the interest of travellers, geographers, ethnologists, art historians, writers, and poets, since the 19th century. Among other features, authors were consistently impressed by regional building tradition;² low-rise, entirely whitewashed houses with lattices in windows that 'allow seeing without being seen,' and composite terrace and mono-pitch tiled roofs with chimneys, 'elegant and graceful as minarets,'³ would become part of every reading.

A 'responsive aesthetical approach'⁴ to vernacular architecture dominated early descriptions that concentrated on the value of picturesque form, and played a relevant role in stabilizing Algarve's *built identity*. This was an abstract, generic image of vernacular that entered the "Casa Portuguesa" architectural debate⁵ and was widely translated both in national infrastructure programmes,⁶ and in nonspecific proposals.⁷

¹ My PhD thesis, in progress at University College London / The Bartlett School of Architecture under the supervision of Adrian Forty, is provisionally entitled "Modern architecture, building tradition and context in southern Portugal," and sponsored by Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Portugal.

² 'The cottages in this kingdom [Algarve] are generally much neater and cleaner than in other parts of Portugal, and the manner of building chimneys is quite peculiar and by no means untasteful.' MURRAY, John – *A handbook for travellers in Portugal. A complete guide for Lisbon, Cintra, Mafra, the British battle-fields, Alcobaca, Batalha, Oporto, &c.* London [etc.]: J. Murray [etc.], 1864, 62.

³ PINTO, Júlio Lourenço – *O Algarve. Notas Impressionistas*. Porto: Livraria Portuense, 1894, 18.

⁴ Cf. GLASSIE, Henry – "Aesthetic". In OLIVER, Paul (ed.) – *Encyclopedia of the Vernacular Architecture of the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

⁵ A debate on the idiosyncrasies of the Portuguese house and its regional derivatives originated in late 19th century ethnography, it became a consistent thread of Portuguese architectural theory and practice throughout the following century, and remains active to this day. On the way by which regionalisms are integrated with the politics of nationalist architecture in Portugal and the origins of the Casa Portuguesa issue, see LEAL, João – *Etnografias Portuguesas, 1870-1970 : Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2000. On the role of the central state in the process, see MARTINS, João Paulo – "Portuguesismo: Nacionalismos e Regionalismos na Acção da DGMN". In ALÇADA, Margarida and GRILO, Maria Inácia Teles (ed.) – *Caminhos do Património (1929-1999)*. Lisboa: Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais, 1999.

⁶ Such as the elementary school type designs by Raul Lino ("Tipo de escola primária para o Algarve," Junho de 1936).

⁷ Cottinelli Telmo's house-types for south Portugal, for instance, cf. TELMO, Cottinelli – "Casa (...) para o Sul do País". *A Arquitectura Portuguesa*. Lisboa. 6-9 (1933).

The town of Olhão, its roof terraces and towers [Fig. 1], exerted a positive fascination, shared by national and foreign scholars who discussed these features' origin: was it a Muslim remnant or a subsequent development, a regionalism of Algarve or specific to Olhão?⁸ Pictorial analogies established a mythical image of Olhão as the 'cubist town,'⁹ its forms, 'as projected from Picasso's canvas,' 'intertwine, overlap, cover each other (...), the laws of perspective and volume annulled by whiteness and mirage.'¹⁰

From the 1930s on, depictions of this urban landscape insisted on its plastic qualities and on the *modernism* of its features. 'There is something unseen and modernist about this place.'¹¹ The invisibility of the roof, the unadorned, pure whitewashed surfaces, crisp-edged elemental solids, strong chiaroscuro contrasts, were recognized as familiar and celebrated by modernist eyes. Similar reactions were recorded across the Mediterranean world,¹² and this very Mediterranean part of Atlantic Portugal was no exception.

Pre-mass-tourism English travellers, with their North European cultural mind-set, associated these "white cubes" with both North African settings and modernist architecture, in impressionistic descriptions: 'Olhão is exotic, beautiful, oddly modernist';¹³ it 'could give points to many a modern young architect priding himself on the functional use of materials';¹⁴ its streetscape was compared to that created by New York skyscrapers.¹⁵

Laymen and scholars, travellers and geographers collaborated in constructing a model for Olhão's built identity, and its elements – the ziggurat volume with limited openings; the flat roof (açoteia) surrounded by parapet (platibanda); the turret (pangaio) covering internal access to the terrace and topped by another observation platform (mirante); the external stair over a rampant round arch – proved instrumental for formal architectural proposals, henceforth.

This collaboration may be exemplified in the work of geographers Feio, Ferro and Ribeiro: their take on Olhão's vernacular house type was always based on the elaborations of local doctor and amateur historian Fernandes Lopes,¹⁶ showing how a construct of the centre (Lisbon) was in fact moulded by local influence. Ribeiro later approved modern architecture's appropriation of this vernacular heritage in Olhão, citing 'the new fishermen's housing scheme, built with very good taste in the traditional style (...). Once this style of building is fixed, for a functional reason, it is only understandable that its use would

⁸ A discussion originated in the writings of Vasconcelos (VASCONCELOS, José Leite de – *De Terra em Terra : Excursões Arqueológico-etnográficas Através de Portugal (Norte, Centro, e Sul)*. [Lisboa]: Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa, 1927) and developed in the Human Geography field by Giese (GIESE, Wilhelm – "Sobre a Origem das Velhas Casas Olhanenses". *Portucale* V, 28 (1932) 145-50; GIESE, Wilhelm – *O Problema da Açoteia Algarvia*. Coimbra: Instituto Alemão da Universidade de Coimbra, 1935), Santos (SANTOS, Mariana Machado – *Olhão : Uma Vila Típica do Litoral Algarvio : Separata da Biblos, vol. X*. Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1934), Girão (GIRÃO, Aristides de Amorim – "Ainda sobre as Açoteias Algarvias". *Biblos* XI (1935) 472-74) and Ribeiro (RIBEIRO, Orlando – *Geografia e Civilização : Temas Portugueses*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1979 (2nd ed.)).

⁹ Olhão was christened in 1923 as "Vila Cubista" by Dias Sancho, a local poet. SANCHO, José Dias, "Olhão Cubista". *Correio Olhanense*, 1 December 1923.

¹⁰ 'Dum prédio para o outro as açoteias e fachadas imbrincam-se, acavalam-se, sobrepõe-se, desarticulam-se, anuladas pela brancura e pela miragem as leis da perspectiva e do volume.' Aquilino Ribeiro in PROENÇA, Raul – *Guia de Portugal : Estremadura, Alentejo, Algarve*, vol. 2. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 1927, 248.

¹¹ FRANCO, Mário Lyster – *O Algarve [Exposição Portuguesa em Sevilha. Portugal]*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1929, 32.

¹² Recent scholarship on the modernist reception of the Mediterranean vernacular features important contributions. See LEJEUNE, Jean-François and SABATINO, Michelangelo – *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean : Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*. London, New York: Routledge, 2010; and SABATINO, Michelangelo – "Ghosts and Barbarians: The Vernacular in Italian Modern Architecture and Design". *Journal of Design History* 21, 4 (2008) 335-58.

¹³ MACAULAY, Rose – *Fabled Shore: From the Pyrenees to Portugal by Road*. London: H. Hamilton, 1949, 184-85.

¹⁴ GORDON, Jan and GORDON, Cora – *Portuguese Somersault*. London: Harrap, 1934, 212-13.

¹⁵ 'Four stories those houses may run to (...); but as you stare up at them from the lanes below they take on an aspect of terrifying sky-scrappers. (...) when I myself first saw Olhão I thought of Africa and then of New York and then of Africa again (...). There is no standard of comparison; I do not believe there is any city in the world that is like Olhão.' GIBBONS, John – *Playtime in Portugal : an Unconventional Guide to the Algarves*. London: Methuen & Co., 1936, 138-39.

¹⁶ Fernandes Lopes's theory on the pyramidal, vertical growth of the dwellings, which he considered a localism of the town, was consistently referred to. See LOPES, Francisco Fernandes – "Olhão, Terra de Mistério, de Mareantes e de Mirantes". *Correio Olhanense*, 18 March 1948.

spread to where it is not really necessary – and many houses in the modern, wide streets of Olhão show the same roofing solution.¹⁷

The “Bairro de Casas para Pescadores” [Fig. 2], which Ribeiro saw as an exemplar replication of a vernacular *style*, is not just any housing complex. It has entered Portuguese architectural culture as the work of first-generation modernist Carlos Ramos, ‘the first example of a modern reading on traditional architecture’ in Portugal,¹⁸ dated as far back as 1925. But it is neither Ramos’s design nor of such remote date. The design, together with that of a similar complex in nearby Fuseta, is by Peres Fernandes, architect for the Public Works ministry office DGSU;¹⁹ it is dated to 1945-1949; its initial version totals 948 dwellings; and it is only partly inspired by Ramos’s proposal for another council estate in Olhão, with 24 units, never built and so far undated.

Ramos may have built workers housing in Olhão: in 1925, a Lisbon magazine credited one “bairro operário” to him,²⁰ 15 dwellings built to minimum standards with communal exterior toilets and laundry whose intricate plan addresses the lack of natural light and ventilation persistent in labourers housing. But the “adjustment to regional needs” praised by the text was limited: segmental arches, quadruple-pitch roofs and voluminous chimneys evoke a generic South Portugal atmosphere, and are not features of Olhão’s townscape.

In this sense, Ramos’s other proposal – the “Bairro Municipal,” of which the few surviving drawings and model photographs have been wrongly dated and mistaken for the existing fishermen complex²¹ – seems closer to the town’s vernacular architecture, with its compact composition of terraced houses paced with arched stairs. But a more detailed look reveals the misapprehensions of this celebrated design: in the use of patio houses – never a vernacular practice in Algarve or Olhão –, of a communal backyard – traditionally private and an essential place of domestic life in Olhão – and, again, of the bulky Alentejo chimneys – not the tracery top Algarve chimney nor the local box-like, “balloon” chimney. A generic vernacular model was manipulated to serve a sophisticated modern architecture proposal; essentially a 1930s Carlos Ramos design, similar to others with which no vernacular association was ever made;²² a closed, self-standing *siedlung* that conveys an uncanny sense of confinement, as if designed for easy surveillance.

Possibly there were official, non-aesthetic concerns underlying commissions for social housing in Olhão: the need to control the thriving activity of smuggling that engaged seamen and canning industry workers, and in which so characteristic a townscape played an important role. In “Os Pescadores”, Raul Brandão described how ‘Never was a [smuggled] bolt of fabric seized on land. It would be passed from açoteia to açoteia – merely stretching your arms was enough – and would run (...) the entire town’.²³

¹⁷ ‘(...) no bairro novo dos pescadores, construído com muito gosto dentro do estilo tradicional (...). Fixado, por uma razão funcional, o estilo de construção, compreende-se que ele se alargue até onde já não é necessário – e muitas casas das ruas modernas e largas de Olhão continuam a ter o mesmo remate.’ RIBEIRO – *Geografia e Civilização: Temas Portugueses*, 68-71.

¹⁸ COUTINHO, Bárbara – “Carlos Ramos (1897-1969): Obra, Pensamento e Acção. A procura do compromisso entre o Modernismo e a Tradição”. Lisboa: UNL, 2001, 44.

¹⁹ Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização (office for urban improvement).

²⁰ “Arquitectura Regional”. *Europa* (June 1925), 15.

²¹ Bárbara Coutinho follows the mistake made originally in 1986 by Pedro Vieira de Almeida, who refers to the “bairro municipal” (undated) and the “bairro operário” published in 1925, as being one and the same. ALMEIDA, Pedro Vieira de – “Carlos Ramos - uma Estratégia de Intervenção”. In FUNDAÇÃO CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN (ed.) – *Carlos Ramos. Exposição retrospectiva da sua obra*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986. Ana Assis Pacheco reproduced the error in the text “Bairro Económico de Olhão”, illustrated by an image of Peres Fernandes’s built complex, in BECKER, Annette, TOSTÕES, Ana and WANG, Wilfried (org.) – *Arquitectura do século XX. Portugal*. Munique [etc.]: Prestel [etc.], [1998], 165. José Manuel Fernandes repeats this mistake and misplaces the complex in the village of Fuseta. FERNANDES, José Manuel – *Arquitectura no Algarve, dos Primórdios à Actualidade, uma Leitura de Síntese*. Faro: Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional do Algarve, 2005, 89.

²² Designs such as D. Filipa de Lencastre high school sports complex (1929) or Navarro de Paiva Institute (1931), both in Lisbon.

²³ ‘Nunca em terra se apreendeu uma peça de fazenda. Passava-se de çoteia para çoteia – para o quê bastava estender os braços – e corria, se fosse preciso, a vila toda (...).’ BRANDÃO, Raul – *Os Pescadores*. Lisboa: Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand, 1924 (2nd ed.), 277.

Building public housing would have been not merely a response to the needs of a growing workforce, following a flourishing fishing and canning industry, and of improved sanitary and living conditions, hardly provided by the vernacular urban fabric; it may have been seen by authorities as an opportunity to create organized and easily controlled settlements for an instable social sector,²⁴ and to finally counter the centuries-old practice of smuggling in the Algarve coast.

This did not necessarily mean eliminating the extant vernacular fabric. Designing the first urban master plan for Olhão (1944) to regulate the town's growth and renewal, João António de Aguiar had argued for the gradual elimination of the famed Olhão town centre, on the grounds of its utter inappropriateness to modern living standards. But the national Higher Council for Public Works imposed the contrary view, when he approved the plan in 1945: the 'rare local architecture features,' whose 'demolition would represent an irreparable loss,' should be carefully studied in a detailed partial plan, the results of which would 'certainly benefit' future residential projects, enabled to follow the 'fundamental characteristics of typical regional architecture.'²⁵ When concerns of public health and local building tradition clashed, the latter still had the upper hand.

As an example of such benefit from tradition, the Council referred to the Portuguese institute of fish preserves' "Bairro Económico" and its low-budget houses, the 'best recently built' in Olhão [Fig. 3]. They were designed in 1935 by architect Eugénio Correia at the Public Works ministry (DGEMN)²⁶; and may have been more influential in Olhão architecture than any of Carlos Ramos's proposals, built or unbuilt. In a garden suburb-inspired layout, meant for a varied and picturesque streetscape, the simple but strongly characterised 66 cottages were possibly influenced by foreign designs for workers' housing – Tony Garnier's proposals for *Une Cité industrielle* (1917) come to mind.²⁷ Correia used a precise set of features: elemental self-standing volumes with unadorned openings, the açoteia bordered by a stylised parapet reminiscent of the traditional decorated platibanda, and exterior stairs on rampant round arches that imitate their vernacular counterparts. The set was repeated, with 2-story variants, in Correia's 1945 "Cavalinha" low-budget scheme for 100 dwellings (DGEMN); and in the 1946 design for a "poor families" complex with 300 houses, by António Egea and Luís Guedes (DGSU).

In short: between 1935 and 1946, five social housing schemes were designed in Lisbon, by government agencies, for Olhão and Fuseta; by 1950 the 616 houses were finished and their presence in the suburban landscape was strong, becoming useful evidence of how the local building tradition should be used in the town's expansion. They echoed inside and outside architecture: parallel to Orlando Ribeiro's admiration for the fishermen's estate was geographer Wilhelm Giese's praise of the "Cavalinha" scheme, example of how 'the mixture of old and new, of what is dying and what is growing, in keeping with the traditional elements, is remarkable'²⁸ in Olhão; and architect Vasco Leone, when designing the final version for the town's post office in 1956, claimed inspiration in the new housing schemes and their interpretation of local architecture.²⁹

The design process for this building was interrupted for a decade, after a 1947 design by Adelino Gomes for the Public Works ministry, similar to post offices built throughout the country and related in no way to the town's features, was refused by Olhão municipality, whose mayor asked for the pitched roof to be replaced by an açoteia, in accordance with 'Olhão people's feeling'

²⁴ For a portrait of the canning industry's socio-political frame, see RODRIGUES, Joaquim Manuel Vieira – "A Indústria de Conservas de Peixe no Algarve (1865-1945)". Lisboa: UNL, 1997.

²⁵ "Conselho Superior de Obras Públicas. Processo N.º 1631 [Anteprojecto do plano de urbanização da Vila de Olhão da Restauração. Parecer. 24 de Julho de 1945]," 28-29.

²⁶ Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais (office for the built heritage and public facilities).

²⁷ Cf. "Quartier d'habitation, perspective. *Une Cité industrielle*, pl. 74". In GUIHEUX, A. et al. – *Tony Garnier, l'œuvre complète*. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1989, 13.

²⁸ GIESE, Wilhelm – *Conservação e Perda da Cultura Material e Tradicional no Sul de Portugal*. Porto: Junta Distrital do Porto, [1964], 8-11. Portuguese translation of "Bewahrung und Schwund der traditionellen Gegens tandskultur in Süden Portugals". *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 84 (1959) 294-301.

²⁹ "Edifício dos Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones de Olhão [Anteprojecto. Memória Descritiva. 30 de Junho de 1956]," 4.

towards the town's built character³⁰. And in 1948, as the State was to build two primary school buildings at the "poor families" estate using an "Algarve variant" of the type to which thousands of schools were built nationwide in the 1940s, the local authority required the regional model to be modified: 'I ask you not to allow the tiled roofs, and to replace them with açoteias. My request expresses the unanimous view of the people of Olhão supported by the local architectural manner.'³¹ As a result, at least 6 school buildings were erected or extended in a custom-made, Olhão version.

These are instances of the dealings that lay behind the construction of a new formal practice based on informal, vernacular building traditions; of how a modernist lens was used to filter such traditions and bring them into a dialog with modernity and with the needs for renewal that concerned local communities. More than seeing it, again, as a centrally-controlled folkloric regionalism refused by modernists, I see this construct of a vernacular as an essential part of the modernist project itself: the Olhão example suggests how the use of vernacular tradition was, in some instances, not only an item of the modernist agenda, as recently acknowledged³² – it was a constitutive, structural part of the modern practice, naturally embedded in it since the beginning.

A *natural* element of modern design, more than its opponent: as such, the modernist construct had its own history; it had particularly rich interfaces with the preceding and subsequent moments in time and with those *grey areas* where distinction between formal and informal building practice, between vernacular and bureaucratic initiatives, is less easy to draw.

Examples from pre-modernist times (a two-family house in Rua Nova do Levante, designed and built in 1916 [Fig. 4]) show how an understanding of, and sympathy for, the vernacular traits was already then in place and how elements of vernacular tradition, remote and recent, find their way into normative *modern* building practice, long before any formal analogy with modern architecture could be made. Objects from late modernism (a house in Pechão from 1961) represent the final step in a circle by which vernacular building practices were taken over by formal architecture, processed through the modernist filter and finally re-entered the vernacular world. These buildings epitomise *vernacular modernism*³³ in Algarve: once legitimised by a high cultural practice, the traces of a building tradition find themselves returned to quasi-informal objects spread throughout town and countryside, and become part of a common, popular dialect.

³⁰ "Construção do novo edifício dos CTT em Olhão [Ofício 479 da CMO a DCNECTT. 10 de Fevereiro de 1947]."

³¹ '(...) tenho a honra de solicitar os bons officios de V. Exa. no sentido de não serem permitidos os telhados, substituindo-os por açoteias. O meu pedido traduz a opinião unânime da população do Concelho fundamentado no traço arquitectónico local (...).' "Construção de um bairro de casas de habitação das classes pobres, em Olhão [Ofício 826 da CMO a DGSU. 15 de Março de 1948]."

³² The role of the vernacular in modernism is currently undergoing reappraisal: Hüppauf and Umbach suggest that 'in spite of its virtual absence from theories of the modern, the vernacular lived on as a strong subcurrent of modern praxis.' HÜPPAUF, Bernd-Rüdiger and UMBACH, Maiken – "Introduction: Vernacular Modernism". In HÜPPAUF, Bernd-Rüdiger and UMBACH, Maiken (ed.) – *Vernacular Modernism. Heimat, Globalization and the Built Environment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, 1.

³³ Scholars are increasingly interested in discussing how architectural trends crossed the border between formal and informal practice. My understanding of *vernacular modernism* is close to Fernando Lara's, when he explores the way Brazilian modernist 'elements of high architecture are appropriated by laypeople and rearticulated into the vernacular' in 1950s and 1960s self-designed middle-class houses. LARA, Fernando Luiz – "Modernism Made Vernacular. The Brazilian Case". *Journal of Architectural Education* 63, 1 (2009), 41-50.



Fig. 1: Estúdio Mário Novais (photographer), *[Olhão. View of the centre]*, undated, Coleção Estúdio Mário Novais. Biblioteca de Arte. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.



Fig. 2: Manuel Gonçalves (photographer), *Bairro Operário de Olhão*, undated, ANTT/DGARQ.

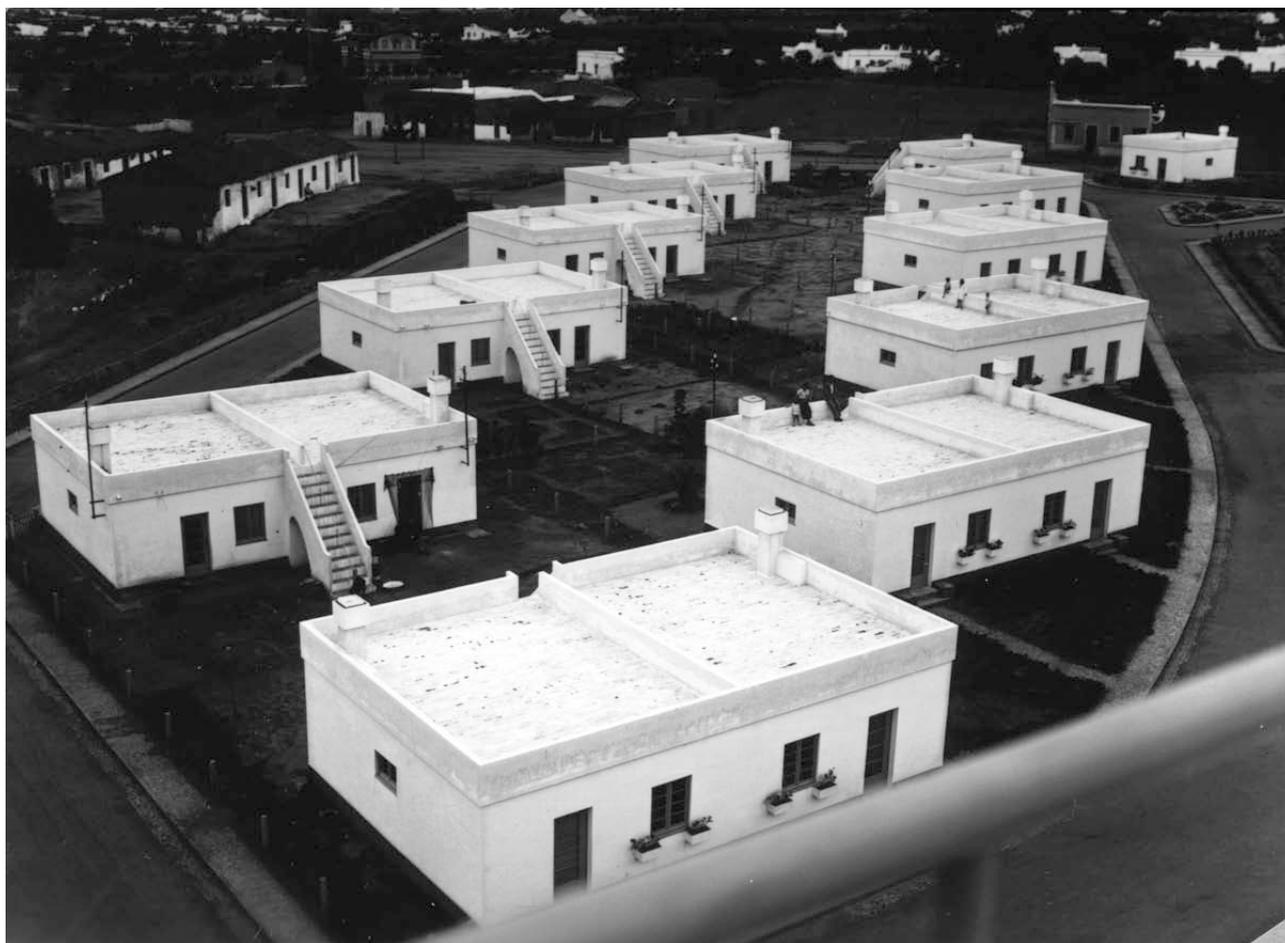


Fig. 3: A. Santos d'Almeida (photographer), Bairro de Pescadores 'Eng. Frederico [Ulrich],' undated, ANTT/DGARQ.

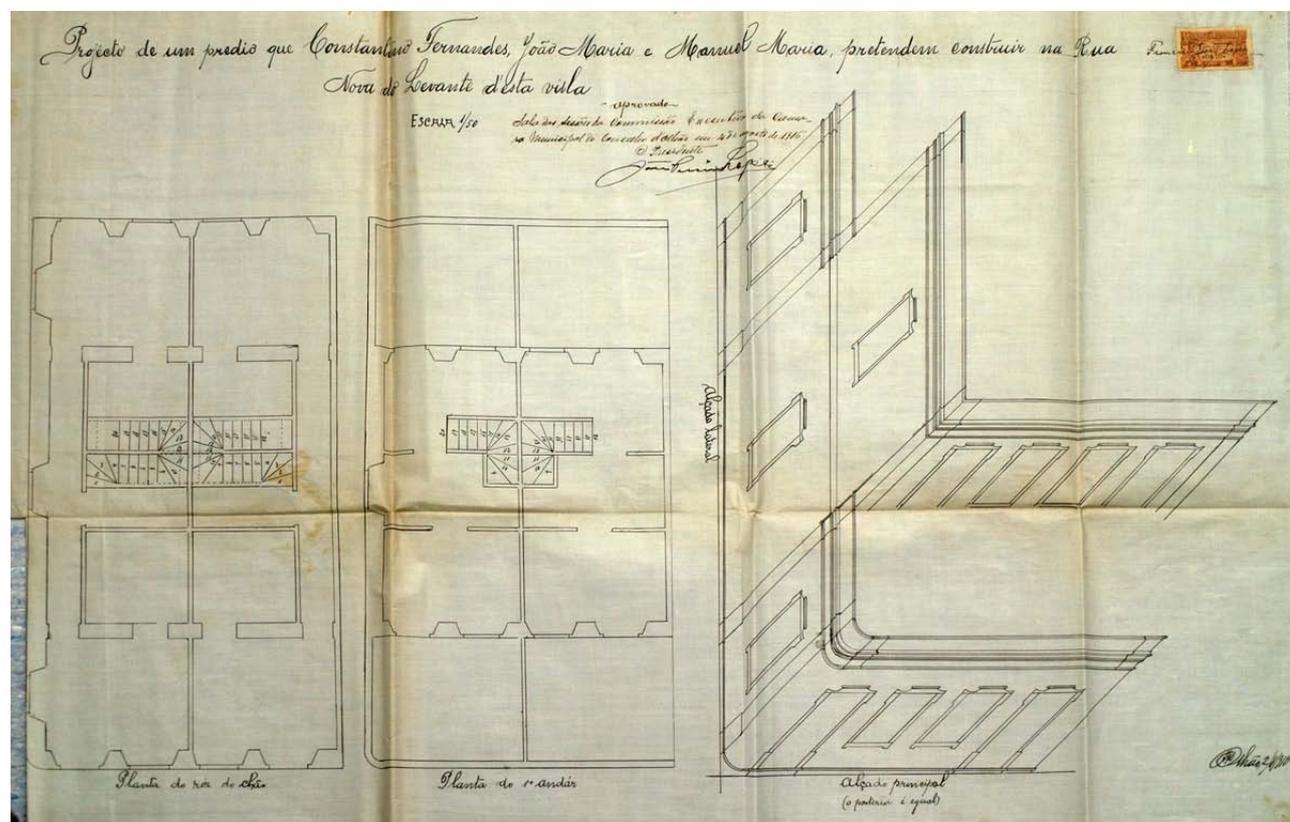


Fig. 4: Projecto de um prédio que Constantino Fernandes, João Maria e Manuel Maria, pretendem construir na Rua Nova do Levante desta Vila, 2 August 1916, CMO.

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The 'Fenomeno' of Renaissance Mural City Map Cycles. Considerations around an Italian Catalogue

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The topic I would like to speak concerns mural city map cycles which I identified as the subject for my PhD research when I began in 2005. My relater was Cesare de Seta at the University of Naples, Federico II. I finalised this work in 2008.

My studies had taken me to the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (Gallery of Maps) in the Vatican Palaces two or three times when I went to Ivrea, in the North West of Italy, to visit an uncle of mine, who was bishop there at the time.

To enter the Bishop's Palace you must walk through the Hall of Hearings (Sala delle Udienze) where renovation works had just begun. They were uncovering a Madonna standing over the city of Ivrea. Smaller areas had also been uncovered on the three other walls and it was already clear that landscapes had been painted to fill the room.

Indeed, it finally emerged that the entire diocese was depicted over all four walls, just as the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican illustrates the papal territories. So, despite chronological differences and importance of scale, it occurred to me there may be a link.

Until that time, there had only been one scientific contribution which explored an organic consideration of the phenomenon. Namely Juergen Schulz's essay *Maps as Metaphors. Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance* published in *Art and Cartography. Six Historical Essays* edited by David Woodward in 1987.

Dr. Schulz places 'pictorial cycles and graphic content' at the centre of his attention, and gives some of the most famous examples, such as the canvases of the Guardaroba Nuova at Palazzo Vecchio in Florence; the frescoes of the Terza Loggia; those in the Vatican's Galleria delle Carte Geografiche; and the Sala del Mappamondo at Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola.

His objective is to study their 'purpose or meaning', placing particular attention on identifying 'what patrons saw in them'.

Schulz recognizes a 'moralised' mark in the paintings and a political message linked to the power exercised over a specific territory.

He concludes:

the choice of subjects for illustration, the concept behind iconographic programs, even methods of narration or presentation of a certain theme were all subjected to a purification process which brought them back to an explicitly sacred feel, doctrinally orthodox and functionally didactic.

One merit of this essay is, without doubt, its achievement in isolating the typology 'frescoes or cycles with a geographical subject' and its analysis of this. An analysis which does not identify this typology as simply one among many decorative *types* possible at that time, but which seeks *other* meanings. In this way the writer maintains a link between the frescoes and medieval tradition and to the new Counter-reformist ideas, *rappel à l'ordre*, which followed *secularisation* or de-sacralisation of the Renaissance culture.

Whilst I was finalising my PhD thesis, a new volume of the *History of Cartography* was published, which contained a contribution by Italian scholar, Francesca Fiorani, entitled *Cycles of Painted Maps in the Renaissance*. It is a comprehensive synthesis of the theme, whose strength lies in the fact that it begins to distinguish various types of representation on the basis of the subject, from the world map to single cities. In the appendix the author includes a *Partial List* to which I could add a number of episodes concerning Italy; among the events which occur outside Italy, however, I found several unexpected and rather interesting reports.

Given these facts, it appears to me that a number of significant knots still need unravelling.

Firstly, I note that these cycles originate and reach the height of their development in Italy, or at least in the part of the world which is today recognised as such, but which during the Renaissance was heavily fractioned in potentates of varying size and nature.

Why does it all begin in Italy? What are the cultural, political and economical conditions which favour the spread and success of these initiatives?

From as far back as Roman times and later the Middle Ages, the geographical fabric of our country has always been densely urbanized. Not even the Barbarian invasions were able to fully destroy this dense network. Battles between papacy and empire favoured the beginning of an autonomous and politically self-sufficient communal regime, different, for example, from what was happening in German territories where bishops often held on tightly to their power. This led to the formation of a robust civic self-consciousness which used rituals of strong symbolic impact where the image of the city began to find its own spaces. In Italy, differently from elsewhere, the land owner (even during feudal regimes) would often live in town, which, combined with the countryside, formed an extremely dynamic economic and social system. The city was also a place of great institutional experimentation which brought social mobility and participatory spirit. All this was responsible for an open mentality: experimental, entrepreneurial and never passive: 'city air makes us free'.

Another interesting Italian first was the diffusion in medieval times of writing, over large sections of the population. This was linked to the dominating mercantile vocation of many urban centres and to single merchants who established their businesses in every corner of the known world.

Essentially: familiarity with notions of space, on the reduced scale of one's own urban community, but also on increasingly large scales; ability to count using any number of metric and monetary systems; capability to fix rules and thoughts to a stable and lasting support (we may think of the first 'storie urbane' -urban stories- which I believe are Italian): are all elements which influence the creation of a mentality typical of a city man.

Whilst formation of regional princedoms began, an infrequent political-administrative system outside Italy, these intellectual categories shifted to urban communities, which from the 1400s began to mutate their institutional physiognomy.

The historian, Braudel, underlines a fundamental point:

The Italian city, even when transformed into a princedom, remains a city, of special formation. Because they are cities and because they are already nations, they draw their strengths, their economic dynamism and their weaknesses, from this hybrid nature.

Against this backdrop, the Prince himself continually needed to emphasize the legitimacy of his power, and the territorial matrix of this, found an effective visual system in mural maps. On the other hand, Italy - particularly Florence - was also the place where, at the beginning of the 1400s a graphic system on a geometric basis is codified to restore three dimensional reality: perspective; while in Bologna, in 1487 the first edition of Ptolemy was published with illustrations; it would seem that in these lands the representation of space was born and had access to a privileged development.

I believe that, in regard to arguments put forward by the essay I mentioned earlier by Francesca Fiorani, further points should be added concerning the specific subject of cycles – the whole world or the individual city. Why did the patron choose to represent a world map or a city scene or the territory he governed? Or again, which symbolic functions could he seek by representing both types (for example the Farnese at Caprarola)?

I have noticed, in fact, that between the first testament of the phenomenon in the second half of the 1400s and its full expression approximately a century later, there is a change in choice of subject. Initially, city *summae* are more frequently portrayed, sometimes chosen to confirm and exalt good neighbourly relations or commercial and cultural exchanges whether real or auspicious. If, in this case, the intent might be described as 'encyclopaedic-relational', as the century progresses, the objective seems to become self-referential and the identity of the patron is no longer expounded through comparison and the relationship with others, but through the analysis and definition of that which is one's own property. In the case of Pope Gregory XIII, for example, this could coincide with the entire Italian peninsula or the entire world as it was known at that time, but more commonly it would identify with the city over which the bishop or nobleman ruled.

In the latter case, the motivation which governed preferences as to the type of representation remains to be clarified: whether planimetric or perspective, each being allusive to distinct intellectual approaches to spatial dimension. This implies further choices including, significantly, the position of the cycle or the painting within the residence and the strategies behind its purpose which result from this.

Observation of later works painted over these decorations is a useful hint to identifying the rooms in which they can most frequently be found; in addition to this, the choice of location recalls Roman practices, which places our phenomenon amidst the many expressions which illustrate the return to the ancient world of Renaissance culture.

My research has identified 4 possible locations in which geographical decorations have been found:

1. Whilst intended generically, Vitruvius speaks of covered walks as an ideal place for descriptions of the landscape; archaeological findings or literary sources report the presence of realistic images, one case is the *Porticus Vipsania* in Rome with the so called *Map of Agrippa*, a map of the world as it had been known until then.

It is unlikely to be coincidental, therefore, that in Renaissance times, finding urban portrayals in galleries, loggias or in cloistered courts and quadrangles was quite a common occurrence. I have already mentioned the most striking example: the Gallery of Geographical Maps, but we may also consider the examples found on the ground floor of the quadrangle of Palazzo Vecchio in Florence or that on the first floor of Palazzo Doria Spinola in Genova.

2. Other key locations are the halls used for official functions in buildings at the centre of both civil and religious power. Halls of Hearings, as is the case in Ivrea, or Halls of Council like the one in Venice or in the Florentine Hall of the Five Hundred, more than a didactic function, prove the role persuasion or intimidation that images of dominated spaces could assume.

3. There are also eating areas, dining halls and refectories. The Sala d'Ercole in Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola is emblematic: a real clue, where the walls of a loggia, which opens onto the landscape, now closed by windows, bear the dominions of the Farnese House, a place that the noble papal family would have used for official banquets.

4. Lastly, though fewer in number, are small offices and libraries. Places of culture par excellence, they preserve documentation of geographical knowledge, but in the shape of Atlases or papers. Support in paper form, but also the use of these tools have nothing in common, or rarely so, with the show of territorial dominion, the pursuit of legitimization or immortalization through this, and the identity delineation of a governor's physiognomy, all qualities which are evident in most cycles of a cartographic nature.

The cataloguing that has been carried out, therefore, helps us interpret the phenomenon of this particular variety of frescoes in numerous ways.

The theme is of obvious significance to those who study the history of geographical spaces; it allows examination of the state of urban places, an inevitable source for urban historians; from Burckhardt onwards this topic becomes a category of iconography studied by Art Historians and Iconographers.

There is, however, a further approach, in my opinion the most innovative and cross-disciplinary, which concerns the History of Spatial Intellect; but as for this, in Italy anyway, we have just begun to scratch the surface.

Garden Casini as Sites of Leisure in Early Modern Rome

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The gardens of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian villa properties were first and foremost sites of leisure for their wealthy patrons. In addition to the abundance of indigenous and exotic species of botanicals and collections of antiquities that filled most gardens, many contained a small casino, or garden house, that contributed to a life of *otium*, the ideal contemplative life in the country, achieved at these villas. Casini were typically small structures that were physically distinct from the main residence on the property and offered a more private and intimate setting than the larger and more prominent residence. Frequently they functioned as secluded *studioli* or studies, housed collection of objects, or were sites of banquets and other entertainment within the gardens. Examples can be found in Rome and the surrounding countryside: Cardinal Alessandro Farnese commissioned the Casino del Piacere for the gardens of the Villa Farnese at Caprarola; Pope Pius IV oversaw the completion of a casino in the Vatican Gardens; Cardinal Odoardo Farnese renovated a casino behind the Palazzo Farnese; Cardinal Scipione Borghese had four casini in his gardens at Monte Cavallo on the Quirinal Hill; and Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi adapted a number of pre-existing structures in his *vigna* Ludovisi that became the Casino dell'Aurora and the Casino Capponi. This paper examines the garden casino as a significant building type on villa properties, and considers how these structures, through their decorative programs and their role as venues for collections of art and other objects, played an integral part in the life of leisure pursued by their patrons. It also considers how the casino's location in the midst of gardens as well as the pastoral imagery that typically adorned its walls offered healthful benefits to the patron, both physically and mentally, and directly connected the building to its rustic surroundings.

Despite their often remote locations, casini were sites of significant artistic patronage that elevated them to a prominent status on a villa property, sometimes even taking precedence over and surpassing the patronage of the larger residence. Each casino had an extensive decorative program that reflected the personal interests or political motivations of the patron. In 1610 Scipione Borghese, cardinal nephew to Pope Paul V, began the purchase of his gardens at Monte Cavallo on the Quirinal Hill in Rome, which consisted of a small casino, the former residence of Patriarch Fabio Biondo. The following year, he commissioned Carlo Maderno, Flaminio Ponzio, and Ludovico Cardi, called Il Cigoli, to construct three additional garden casini on the newly acquired land, namely the Casino di Psiche, the Casino delle Muse, and the Casino dell'Aurora, the latter the most ornamented of the casini with its façade of ancient sculptural reliefs.¹ Scipione Borghese immediately commissioned the decoration of all of the structures, and together they created an iconographic program of mythological and pastoral imagery.

An inventory dating from 1616, directly following the sale of the property, describes the paintings in each building, their monetary values, and their artists, confirming the attribution and location of most of the works.² The visitor would enter the property either from the lower gardens, near the Casino di Psiche, or by the upper gardens through the portal in the north wall flanking the Casino dell'Aurora, and systematically progress through the casini, much as they would pass through a series of rooms in a villa. Although the Casino Biondo exhibited some minor decorations that remained from Biondo's ownership of the building, it flanked a loggia, where Paul Bril and Guido Reni created a fictive pergola with latticework filled with diverse specimens of plants, animals, and birds, and nine lunettes frescoed with landscapes. Cigoli, the Florentine artist who also played a role in the architectural planning of the casini, was responsible for frescoing the interior of the nearby Casino di Psiche

¹ For the building history of the Gardens at Monte Cavallo, see HIBBARD, Howard - "Scipione Borghese's Garden Palace on the Quirinal." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. 23 (1964) 163-92.

² Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Archivio Borghese 308, published in HIBBARD, "Scipione Borghese's Garden Palace on the Quirinal," 190-91. The paintings and gardens are also described in an additional document created at the time of the sale of the property. See ASV, Fondo Borghese, IV, vol. 280, fols. 171-172v., published in HIBBARD, "Scipione Borghese's Garden Palace on the Quirinal," 190-92.

in 1610 with scenes from the tale of Cupid and Psyche from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, while the façade was enhanced with figures of Apollo and Diana, painted by Reni. Visitors would then progress to the Casino delle Muse, where Agostino Tassi and Orazio Gentileschi were commissioned to create an illusionistic musical concert scene in its vault, along with the figures of Apollo and the nine Muses in the spandrels below, although the latter are likely workshop productions. The Casino dell'Aurora on the upper-most terrace completed the program; Reni's famous *Aurora*, with its chariot driven by Apollo, dominates the ceiling of the loggia, and on the two short side walls of the open room, Antonio Tempesta painted the *Triumph of Love* and the *Triumph of Fame*. Lunettes representing the four seasons were added by Paul Bril. Both Angela Negro and Marina Beer have convincingly suggested that the numerous depictions of Apollo in the multiple casini are references to the cardinal – Scipione Borghese as Apollo Musagete, protector of the arts.³ Under the persona of the sun god Apollo, Scipione and the Borghese papacy as a whole would oversee a new Golden Age of prosperity, an iconographic device employed by a number of papal predecessors, including Sixtus V only two decades earlier, and other rulers of European courts.

Scipione Borghese and visitors to his gardens at Monte Cavallo could therefore proceed through the multiple casini to view the decorative program of pastoral imagery and Borghese propaganda, but the small structures also served as sites of entertainment. Two different *avvisi* from the same day, July 20, 1613, record banqueting at the gardens, specifically stating that Virginio Orsini, the Duke of Bracciano, along with two barons, banqueted “with the greatest splendor and magnificence from Cardinal Borghese in his Garden at Monte Cavallo,” and that the Duke and the two French signori were entertained with “playing, and songs, and great demonstrations of love,”⁴ evidence of the musical festivities bestowed by the cardinal onto his guests. The casini were therefore prominent sites of recreational activity, suitable for dining and entertaining and for demonstrating Scipione's prolific artistic patronage. Significantly, the palace—the intended residence on the property—was the final building constructed on the site, beginning in spring, 1613, under the supervision of Giovanni Van Zanten. Hardly known for its architectural innovations, it lacked the decorative elegance of the Casino dell'Aurora and paled in comparison to the casini and gardens. It remained incomplete when Scipione sold the property in 1616,⁵ and the casini and their surrounding gardens were therefore finished before the work on the palace. The design, decoration, and completion of these small garden buildings clearly took precedence over that of the main palace.

Casini became an integral part of the tradition of collecting in Italian gardens. From the fifteenth century onward, the collection of objects had played a prominent role in Italian courts, with patrons like Isabella d'Este of Mantua commissioning *studioli* to house these prized objects. Collections of antiquities were also amassed in the gardens of prelates and other wealthy patrons such as the Medici, Borghese, and Ludovisi, often becoming part of the iconographic program of the gardens and contributing to what evolved into open-air museums. The casino was in many ways a compilation of these two spaces, a *studio* removed from the confines of the palace and placed in the natural environment of the garden. Largely as a result of the extensive collections it housed, the garden casino was clearly perceived as a therapeutic and healthful place that benefited both the body and the mind. In a recent study, Frances Gage proposed that the Italian painting collections of princely patrons “developed as spaces for combined physical and mental exercise.”⁶ Gage's theories are based in part on the writings of the Sieneese physician Giulio Mancini, specifically his *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (c. 1619-21), a treatise on painting geared toward the princely

³ BEER, Marina - “I sogni di Scipione: visione, allegoria, letteratura nel casino dell'Aurora di Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini a Roma.” In GUIDOTTI, Angela and Massimiliano ROSSI, ed. *Percorsi tra parole e immagini (1400-1600)*. Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 2000, 179-201; NEGRO, Angela - *Il giardino dipinto del Cardinal Borghese. Paolo Bril e Guido Reni nel Palazzo Rospigliosi Pallavicini a Roma*. Rome: Nuova Argos, 1996, III.

⁴ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini Latini, No. 6349, fol. 83.

⁵ HIBBARD, “Scipione Borghese's Garden Palace on the Quirinal,” 173; ANTINORI, Aloisio - *Scipione Borghese e l'architettura*. Rome: Archivio Guido IZZI, 1995, 353; PEDROCCHI, Anna Maria - “Il Palazzo del Giardino.” In DI CASTRO, Daniela, Anna Maria PEDROCCHI, and Patricia WADDY, ed. - *Il Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi e la galleria Pallavicini*. Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1999, 27. For a detailed discussion of the palace and its renovations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see WADDY, Patricia - “L'architettura del Palazzo a Monte Cavallo nel Seicento e nel Settecento.” In DI CASTRO, Daniela, Anna Maria PEDROCCHI, and Patricia WADDY, ed. - *Il Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi e la galleria Pallavicini*. Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1999, 203-63.

⁶ See GAGE, Frances - “Exercise for Mind and Body: Giulio Mancini, Collecting, and the Beholding of Landscape Painting in the Seventeenth Century.” *Renaissance Quarterly*. 61 (2008) 1168.

collector that considers the location and subject matter of paintings and their effect on the body and soul, as well as Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), a treatise that stresses "the curative value of picture galleries."⁷ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, good health was seen as both honorable and noble, as emphasized by Mancini, and physical exercise, particularly walking, was a means of maintaining this wellness. Picture galleries were considered beneficial due to the physical effort put forth in order to visit them and walk through them, and they were to be located in an area with good light and air in order to avoid illness. Gage emphasizes that collections were typically located in the healthiest part of a princely residence, facing the garden or courtyard and not the polluted outer street or piazza.⁸

Although Gage does not discuss garden casini, her findings and the writings of both Mancini and Burton support the notion that patrons of villas would have considered a casino an ideal location for a collection, particularly a collection of paintings. Extensive collections of painting and sculpture were found at the Casino della Morte, where Cardinal Odoardo Farnese commissioned Annibale Carracci and his workshop to fill the multiple *camerini* with mythological and allegorical imagery, as well as Cardinal Ludovisi's Casino dell'Aurora. The location of these structures was ideal; both provided views overlooking the gardens and countryside—the Casino della Morte even faced out toward the river Tiber and the Villa Farnesina on the opposing riverbank—and could promote the healthful benefits that a picture gallery had to offer. Furthermore, a visit to a casino required physical exercise. The separation of the small building from the main residence forced patrons to walk through or adjacent to the gardens in order to access the casino, enabling the patron to view the garden's multitude of natural specimens, and contributing to a healthy and noble lifestyle.

The decorative program that adorned the walls of many garden casini incorporated landscape paintings. The works were either frescoed on the structure's walls, or displayed within the casino as part of the patron's collections, evident at the Casino della Morte. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, landscape paintings within a collection were considered to be particularly "healthful." They were thought to carry a therapeutic nature that assisted those with melancholic and choleric temperaments.⁹ In *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, published in 1586, Giovanni Battista Armenini recommends paintings of landscapes, as well as festoons and grotesques, for the decoration of gardens and country houses, but states that "above all, there should be nothing that gives rise to melancholy or boredom."¹⁰ Thus the inclusion of landscape paintings in an art collection promoted the good health achieved through physical and mental exercise.¹¹ The pastoral imagery within a casino further integrated the structure into its natural surroundings, and contributed to the well-being patrons sought at their villas.

Despite the lack of scholarship to date, the garden casino clearly qualifies as an independent, although diverse, building type that is an important component of villa studies and particularly of analyses of villa typology. Its structural independence, the high degree of patronage that it received, and its multiple recreational functions confirm this. In many respects, the casino was an extension of the villa itself, typically filled with collections of valuable objects and works of art, yet its location within the gardens and the physical and mental benefits that it brought immediately placed the casino in its own distinct category. The garden casino offered the quiet and solitude of a *studiolo*, the natural specimens and sculpture of the surrounding gardens, and the exercise and good health associated with walking to and viewing the objects within the casino. For the patron, it was a testament to his own cultural and artistic interests that brought not only self-fulfillment and well-being, but an esteemed reputation in the elite circles of Rome.

⁷ GAGE, "Exercise for Mind and Body," 1167-71.

⁸ Burton stresses the benefits of exercise from visiting a picture gallery, and Mancini emphasizes the significance of its location. See Gage, "Exercise for Mind and Body," 1171-86.

⁹ Gage, "Exercise for Mind and Body," 1168, 1188.

¹⁰ ARMENINI, Giovanni Battista - *Giovanni Battista Armenini. On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*. Edited and translated from the Italian. Introductory study, critical and historical notes and bibliography by Edward J. Olszewski. New York: Burt Franklin and Co., Inc., 1977, Book 3, Chapter XIII, 265-69.

¹¹ Gage's full discussion of the nobility of landscapes and the benefits of viewing this genre of painting is found in GAGE, "Exercise for Mind and Body," 1188-1202.

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Roman Hydraulic Concrete and the Construction of Sebastos, the Herodian Harbour of Caesarea Maritima

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The development of structural concrete must rank as one of the most innovative achievements of the Late Republic and Roman Empire. The use of this material radically changed architecture in the Roman world and its influence is still felt to-day.

Architects and builders of the Roman Republic had discovered that by using what they called *harena fossicia* (pit sand), a pyroclastic material, that when mixed with lime and water produced a mortar that was considerably stronger and more durable than one made with ordinary silica sand.

This new cast concrete building technology began to be used in Italy from the late 3rd century BC, at first quite slowly and then with rapidly increasing momentum. By the 1st century AD the majority of large buildings were being constructed with pozzolanic concrete. It was used in foundations, within the structural cores to walls, piers and in domes and vaulted roofs.

One of the most spectacular concrete buildings to have survived from antiquity is the Pantheon in Rome, completed sometime around 126 AD. The most intriguing application of Roman concrete, however, was not its use in great buildings but in its use in the sea, for building harbours and other maritime structures. Some time in the Republican period, perhaps in the 3rd but certainly by the 2nd century BC Roman engineers discovered how to create a hydraulic mortar.

They found that a mortar made with volcanic deposits from around the Bay of Pozzuoli (ancient *Puteoli*) and mixed with lime and water would set under the sea and even attain a greater strength than a mix cured in air.

It is most likely that maritime concrete technology was first developed in the area around Pozzuoli and most probably by accident, however, none of the earliest examples have survived. The Roman port of Cosa (*Portus Cosanus*) was situated about 140 km north of Rome. It had a relatively small harbour with a row of concrete *pilae* (free standing blocks) that ran out from the shoreline towards the outer edge of a rubble breakwater. Dated by the principal excavator Anna McCann to the late 2nd century BC or to the middle of the 1st century BC it is one of the earliest maritime concrete structures to have survived. Following recent analysis of the concrete and C14 dating of embedded organic fragments, it is now thought that the concrete additions to the harbour were built slightly later, sometime between 57 BC and 33 AD.

A principal proponent to the development and use of this new technology was Marcus Agrippa. When in 37 BC he built the military harbour of *Portus Iulius* near *Puteoli*, at the north end of what is now the Bay of Pozzuoli, he used concrete to form the long jetties that protected and defined the channel leading into the harbour. A similar design was used in the construction of the entrance to the harbour at Baiae, *Portus Baianus*. From its outset the harbour of *Portus Iulius* suffered from problems brought on by silting, and shortly after its completion Agrippa moved the fleet to Misenum to a newly expanded harbour that also had concrete breakwaters protecting its entrance.

However, these structures pale into insignificance when compared to the bold and extraordinary endeavour that was the harbour of Caesarea on the Mediterranean coast of modern Israel. Caesarea, commonly referred to as Caesarea Maritima, was the world's first large scale artificial harbour [Fig. 1]. Caesarea's importance is in its apparent transition in the development and use of hydraulic maritime concrete and its uniqueness in its scale of construction and in the logistics of its material supply.

Commissioned by King Herod of Judea, the harbour was constructed in approximately one decade, between 23 and 15 BC. The scale and complexity of this project, along with the rapidity of its execution are remarkable even when judged by modern standards. It ranks as one of the most impressive engineering accomplishments of the Augustan era. The moles that enclosed the harbour (an area of approximately 10 hectares) were built out into the open sea on a sand seabed on a very exposed coastline that is battered by waves and swept by strong currents. Herod's political need for a major harbour within his realm outweighed the practical difficulties that its construction entailed. It is more than likely that he called on his friend Agrippa to supply him with Roman engineering expertise. The harbour was built with a variety of technologies and structural hydraulic concrete was a key element in its construction.

The main southern mole acted as a protective arm against the prevailing winds, waves and current also supported a row of vaulted warehouses that lined the quays. Its substructure was almost entirely made with hydraulic concrete in a band 24m wide, between 2 to 4m thick and over 350m in length. The concrete was cast in a series of forms that were set next to each other to produce a continuous run of concrete. It appears that at least three different types of formwork were used to cast the concrete under water.

One type was a box formed with vertical planks that had been pounded into the sea-floor and supported by exterior or interior horizontal cross beams and piles [Fig. 2]. Once the wooden formwork was in place and secure, concrete was placed within the flooded enclosure to set and cure. This design was used in relatively shallow water, less than 3m deep and on-top of a prepared base. The technique matches a description given by Vitruvius and is of a type that is found in a number of sites around the Mediterranean.

The second type consisted of a prefabricated, double-walled form that was 11 x 15 m on plan and over 2m tall [Fig. 3]. Although open bottomed, the double side walls acted as a flotation collar that enabled this design to be towed out from the shoreline where they had been constructed to the end of the northern breakwater, where they were sunk by infilling the void between the walls with concrete. Once the caisson was securely set onto the seafloor the central flooded interior was also filled with concrete.

The third type of form was a variant of the second. It too was prefabricated, but featured a single wall thickness and a floor [Fig.4]. These caissons were 14 x 7 m on plan and 4m tall and built with mortise and tenon edge fixed planking and strengthened with internal frames and braces. They were floated out to their designated site at the end of the main southern breakwater and settled onto the seabed by gradually filling them with concrete. All the raw material (pozzolana, lime and rubble aggregate) and the work force had to be ferried out to the site on barges. Working some 400 m offshore, the construction team had to mix the lime and pozzolana together by hand and dump it into the caissons along with the aggregate. Each caisson required 261 m³ of pozzolana, 137 m³ of solid kurkar (a local stone) that was reduced to rubble and 131 m³ of slaked lime. It would have taken about 1176 man days to mix and place this amount of concrete by hand. Given that the working space on the barges or platforms that surrounded the formwork would have been at a premium, one could imagine that there would not have been enough space for any more than 100 workers at a time to be continuously mixing mortar, and possibly as few as 50. This space limitation would suggest that it would have taken between 12 and 24 days to fill each caisson assuming calm conditions. However, this coast is notorious for rough seas and the periods when these operations would have been feasible were limited to between March and May and September and November, and significantly constrained the project. It is feasible that there were several teams working at the same time on different forms in the same location and simultaneously at different sites along the breakwater as well. The state of preservation of the wooden caissons and the concrete has provided a wealth of information about this technology. Similar caissons have been found at Alexandria, although slightly different in dimension, 8 x 15 m as

opposed to 7 x 14 m at Caesarea, that were built in the same manner with mortise and tenon edge fixed planking to the bottom and sides.

It has now been well established that all the pozzolana used in the construction of Caesarea was imported from Puteoli. Approximately 35,000 m³ of concrete was used in the construction of the southern mole, made with 24,000 m³ of pozzolana and 12,000 m³ of lime and 12,000 m³ of aggregate. It would have required 100 to 150 large ships to have transported this quantity of pozzolana from the region around the Bay of Naples to Caesarea, a voyage of circa 2000 km. These might have been some of the large grain transports returning to Alexandria in ballast after unloading their cargo of Egyptian grain at Puteoli, which served as the port of entry for much of the grain destined for Rome.

Claudius's outer harbour of Rome at Portus, completed before AD 64, was even more ambitious to the construction of Caesarea, and benefited from being significantly closer to the source of the raw material *pulvis Puteolanus*. By comparison, it was enormous with its concrete moles enclosing an area of over 50 hectares. Trajan added a smaller hexagonal basin, also constructed with hydraulic concrete, adjoining the Claudian installation.

In addition to the Trajanic installations at Portus, other harbours were built to meet the growing needs of Rome. In the first century Nero had constructed a harbour complex at Anzio (ancient Antium), while Trajan constructed two other harbours north and south of Portus at Terracina and Civitavecchia (ancient Centumcellae), all of which used concrete in their construction. The well preserved remains of the concrete harbour moles at Anzio run out from the shore and now in part lie underwater partially buried in the sandy seabed. Whereas, the ancient harbour of Terracina is now covered by the expanded modern harbour, while ancient Centumcellae is lost under the docks of Civitavecchia.

Roman villa developments around the Bay of Pozzuoli and Naples and along the coasts of Toscana, Lazio and Campania took advantage of the plastic nature of this new fashionable material and constructed elaborate fishponds in the sea in front of their properties. Examples can be found in the sea at Santa Liberata on the Argentario in Toscana, at Punta della Vipera, Grottace, Santa Severa, Palo, Astura and Formia on the coast of Lazio, and at Baia and Pozzuoli in Campania.

The explosion of interest in this new technology, first in Italy and then throughout the Empire, did not invalidate the older, more traditional methods of building structures in the sea. Wooden quays, rubble breakwaters and rock cuttings continued to be used where they were more practical. Maritime concrete technology simply expanded the repertoire of construction options for harbour and other marine infrastructure builders.

The use of hydraulic concrete around the Mediterranean, however, may have been linked to maritime trade routes. Pozzolana was probably shipped as a secondary cargo or disposable ballast. In the early Julio-Claudian period, at the time when hydraulic concrete began to be used extensively, the trade routes to northern European harbours changed from the Atlantic sea routes to cross country via river and roads. The cost involved in manhandling the volcanic ash as it was transferred between sea-going vessels, river craft, and onto wagons to take it even further afield beyond the Mediterranean basin would have made its export outside the region economically unattractive.

Roman maritime concrete construction reached its peak sometime before the middle of the first quarter of the 2nd century AD. The harbour at Pompeiopolis (in Turkey) completed prior to 145 AD was constructed with ashlar encased hydraulic concrete moles over 20 m wide and each arm being more than 500 m long enclosing an area of approximately 8 hectares. It was the last time that concrete was used on a large scale to build an artificial harbour for nearly 2000 years.

Perhaps declining maritime trade in the late second and third centuries AD led to a reduction in demand for new harbour facilities and the need for grand engineering projects. This is not to say there were no new harbours built after this period as there clearly were. Lepcis Magna, built sometime at the beginning of the third century AD, used concrete in its construction although only as a backing to one of the wharfs. Gradually the technical expertise necessary for large scale marine engineering projects died away as demand for them declined, although the knowledge of it remained thanks to Vitruvius. Vitruvius's *De Architectura* has been the principal source of information on Roman maritime concrete construction throughout the post-classical centuries down to very recent times. It was not until the 16th century that interest in this intriguing technology was revived.

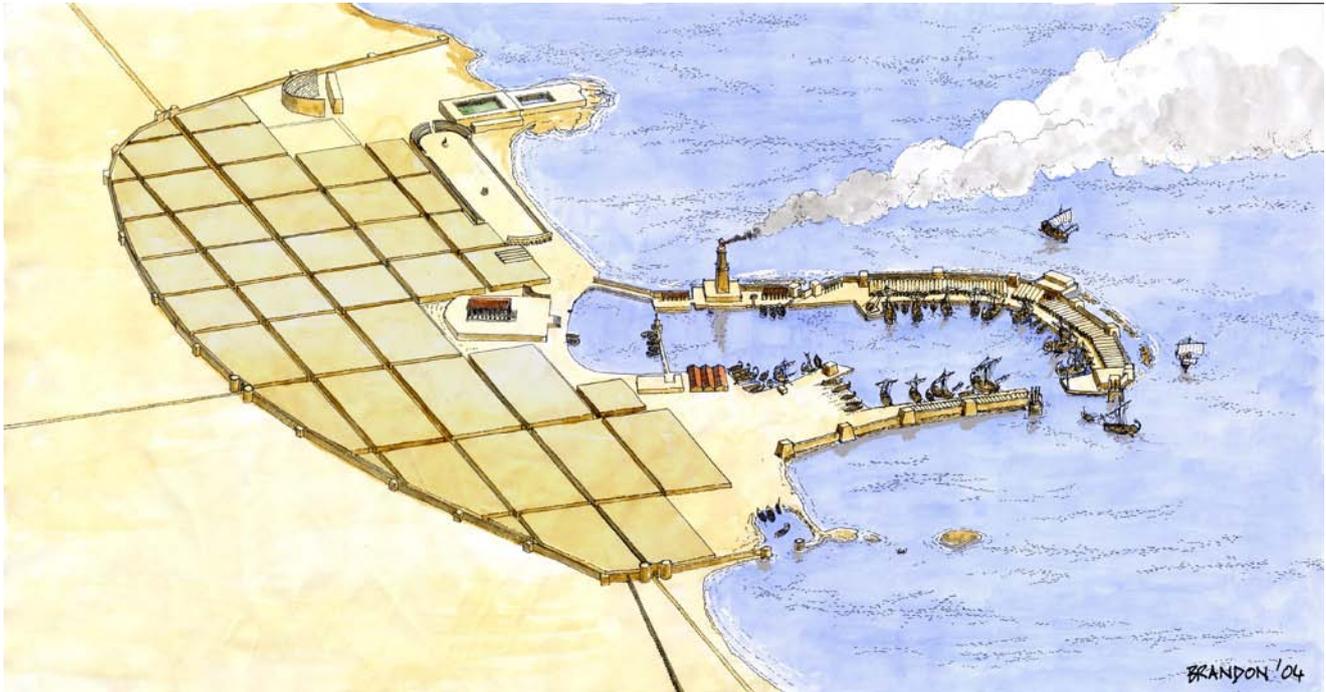


Fig. 1: Reconstruction of Herod's city and harbour at Caesarea Maritima – C. Brandon.

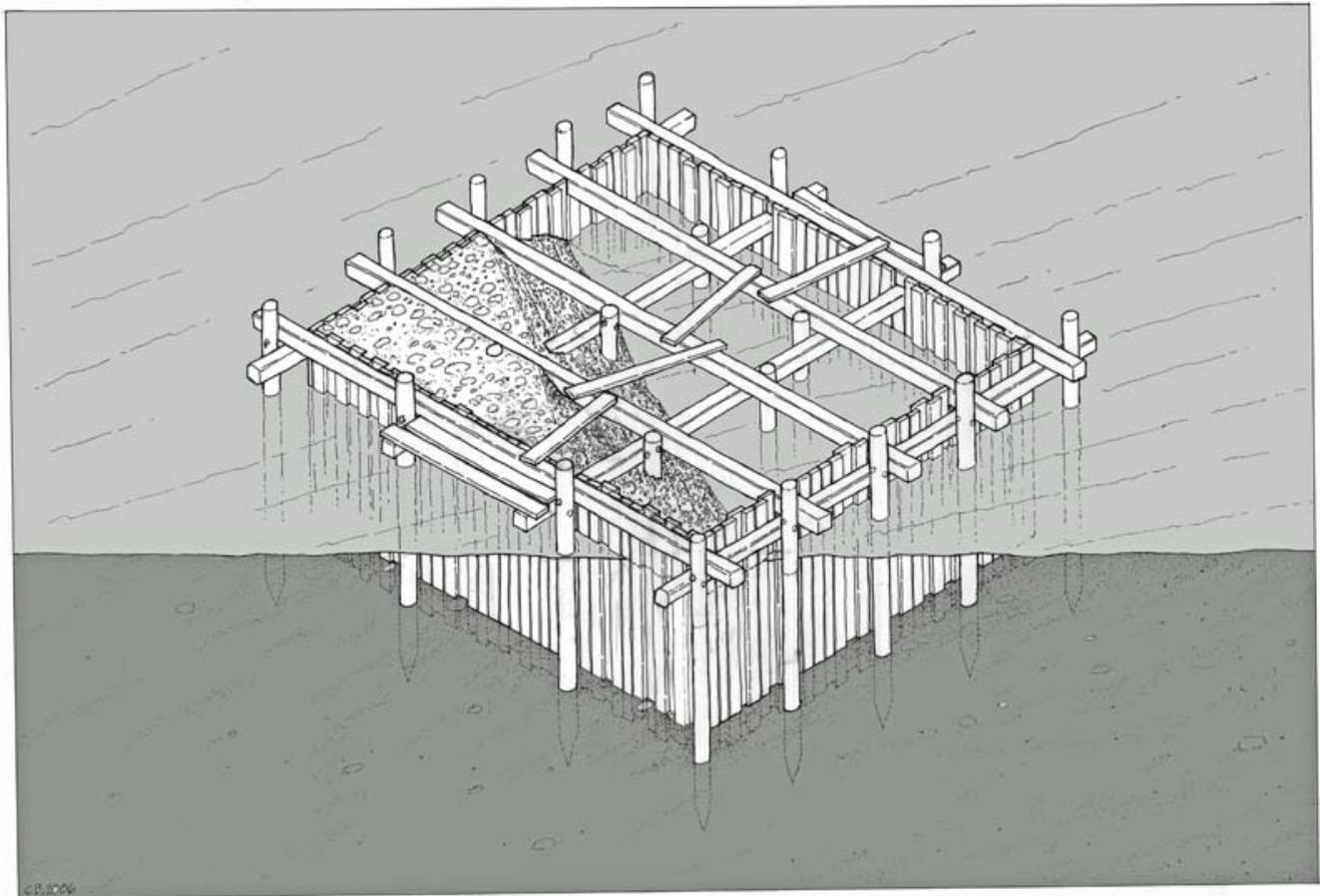


Fig. 2: Reconstruction of Vitruvius type formwork- C. Brandon.

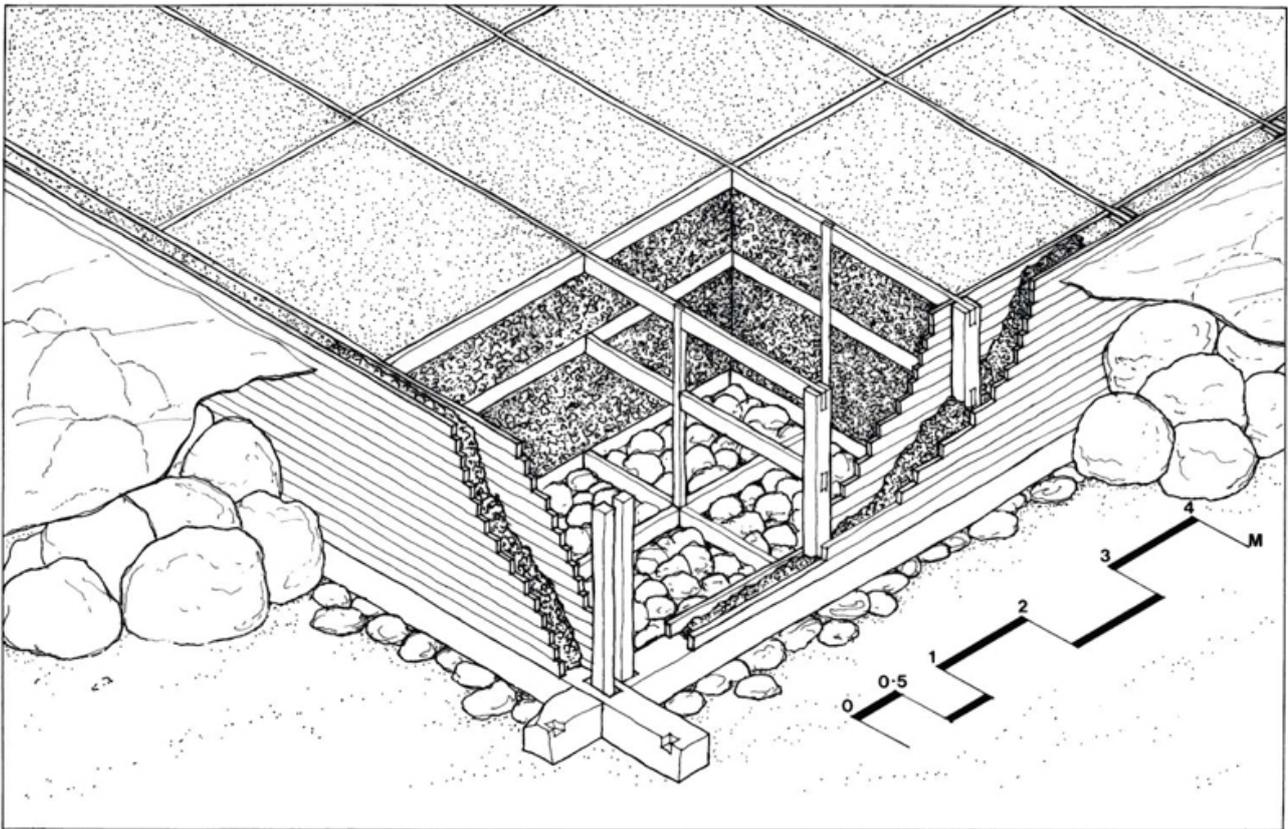


Fig. 3: Reconstruction of Area G formwork – C. Brandon after S. Talaat.

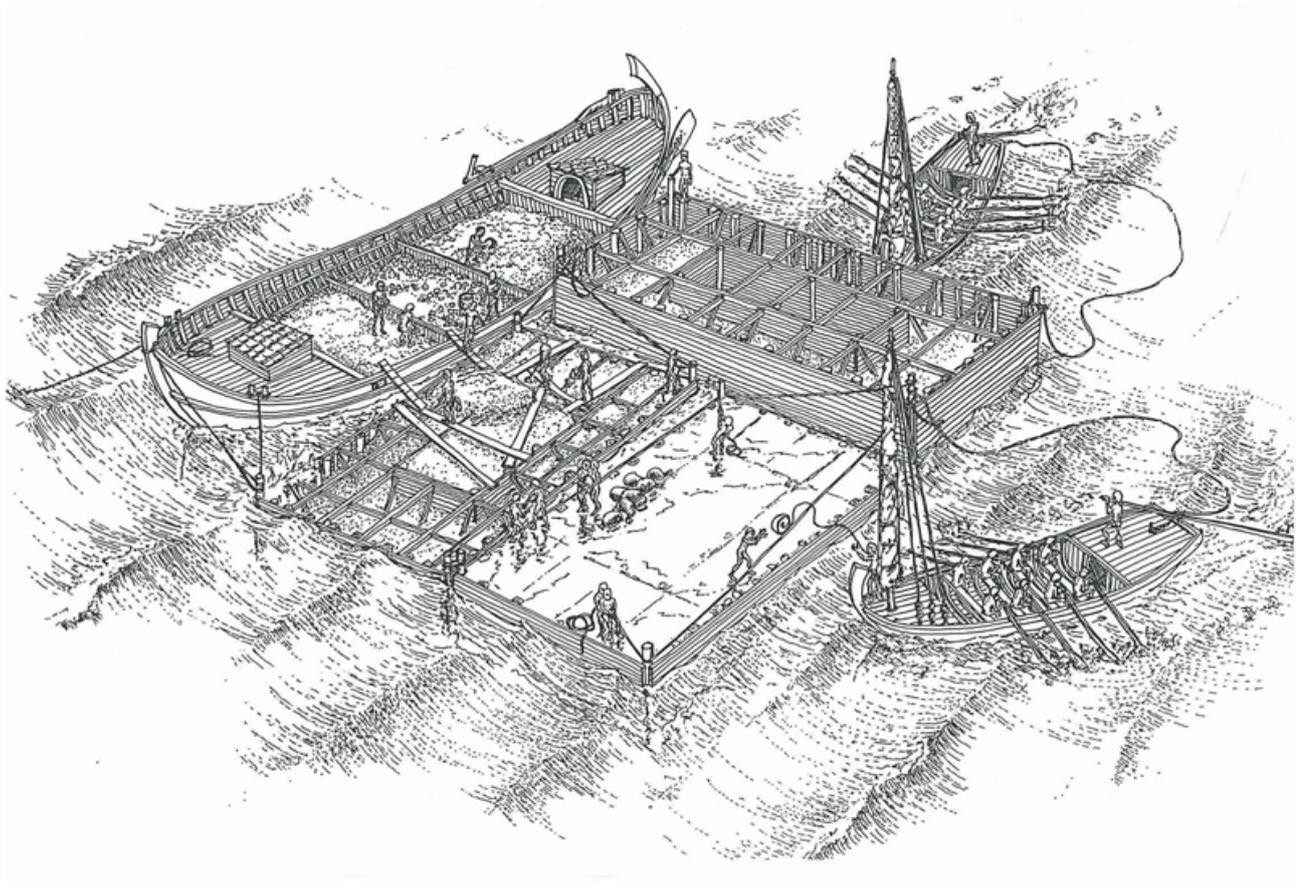


Fig. 4: Reconstruction of Area K formwork – C. Brandon.

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Some European Architectural Themes, from India to Africa

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Demystifying preconceived ideas, the influence of Indo-Portuguese architecture does not occur in Mozambique's Islamic and Hindu north (Ibo, Island of Mozambique) alone, but also in the southern and central areas of this country, in the coastline and inland (Quelimane, Tete, Lourenço Marques), and also in the Angolan areas of Luanda, Cuanza and Benguela.

This influence is therefore not confinable to the so-called "Indian world" (or "Portuguese India", as defined by the Portuguese political and military domination from early 16th to mid 17th centuries, between Eastern Africa, India and Malacca/Insulindia) but rather articulates itself, naturally, through the cultural processes deriving from the Portuguese originated transoceanic navigation systems and thalassocratic trade between northern and southern Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the seas of China/Japan. Ships, their crews and goods periodically and continuously connected Angola and Mozambique to India and remaining areas of influence.

Besides this geographical and spatial range, one should also consider the prolongation of these influences in time, as they seem to last throughout the 19th century.

In short, the said themes can be sorted into three groups, one relating to religious architecture, another to domestic architecture and a third one on civil and manor constructions.

A – religious architecture:

The period of Italian Renaissance influenced classicism, which progressively expanded through Portuguese colonization to towns on the Sub-Saharan region, between the 16th and 18th centuries, was soon, here as well as in other areas of influence (Atlantic islands, Brazil, Macao), blended by the need to create a type of sacred construction simplified and accessible to non-expert builders – which historiography would later recognize as the "Plain Style Architecture", already by mid 20th century (see George Kubler).

We can mention some of the most distinguishing examples of this "light" and "simple" taste, namely those in articulation with the sub-regions of Eastern Africa (mostly in the present territory of Mozambique), where a strong influence from the Indo-Portuguese architecture and local Swahili tradition were notable and generated a deep formal, and spatial originality. But architectonic themes revealing this likely influence and tradition also occurred in two Angolan towns – Luanda and Benguela – the former developed since the second half of the 16th century and the latter since the beginning of the 17th century.

1 – **covered side galleries** in churches, with a corresponding expression on the facades; some examples: church of Our Lady of Nazaré in Luanda (Angola); Mother church of Benguela (Angola) and Parish church of Quelimane (Mozambique).

In the Bay of Luanda, by the old beach, the graceful **chapel of Our Lady of Nazaré**, dated 1664 (National Monument in 1922), has a very original formal solution, with its central body of simple design, with a triangular gable (corresponding to the roof's two planes), surrounded by two side projecting galleries, covered (by the temple's roof extension to each side), over ground floor arcades. These galleries and arcades have an expression on the facade, framing it with a round arch and a window on each side.

This solution, which can be also found on the **church of Our Lady of Pópulo in Benguela** (but in a single side of the building) can be related to the oriental architectural solutions (in the tropical context, which also address the needs of ventilation and airing): as a matter of fact, these side galleries are also found in Indo-Portuguese religious architecture in southern India, in the Cochin region, in the so-called "church-temple" type (Fernandes, "Urbanismo...", 1999: 291). Such is the case of the **Church of St. Sebastian of Palluruthy in Cochin**, India (Carita, 2008: 255-257). And, although with a different decorative expression, the scale of Nazaré's chapel is similar to church of Mossuril's in Mozambique, below-mentioned (Our Lady of Rosário, now named Remédios, which also has a ground floor range of round arches although these are overlaid to the facade).

The said Church of Our Lady of Pópulo in Benguela, built in 1748, facing the ocean, has a central body with a porticoed front, topped by a curved baroquizing gable and sided by two towers – with the single nave floor plan laterally opening over to the said gallery.

A third latter example might be **church of Our Lady of Livramento in Quelimane** (a town approximately in the centre of Mozambique's coastline), built from 1776 to 1786 by Governor António Manoel de Melo e Castro. It had old Indo-Portuguese woodcarving retables and 18th century polychrome wooden figures, possibly being the most important built heritage of the Portuguese secular presence in the long Zambezi valley. With two domed towers in the front and a central curved and ornate gable, its facade faces the sea – and laterally it includes ground floor covered galleries in the style of the Indo-Portuguese churches of India, in Kerala (Cochin, etc.).

2 – the **narthexes applied to the facades** and their formal and spatial relations – can be found in the northern coastal area of Mozambique, with analogue cases to those of the Indo-Portuguese churches; some examples: Church of Misericórdia in the Island of Mozambique, church of Our Lady of Rosário in Mossuril, with similarities with Indo-Portuguese churches in India, (in Cochin, in the surroundings of Bassein, and in Goa and Diu) – in the African and Indian cases, the **type of decoration applied to the fronts** (Misericórdia of the Island of Mozambique and Mossuril church) is also analogue.

In the context of Eastern Africa, in the Island of Mozambique, the **church of Misericórdia**, originally dating from the 16th century and redone after 1607, with a portal of renaissance expression and a facade topped by a curved gable with generous embossed decoration of Indo-Portuguese taste, dated 1700 – which had a characteristic porch, or narthex, with round arches over the facade, erected in 1509 but demolished in the 20th century. See, in India, the **church of St. Francis of Diu** (costal island in Gujarat), with a similar round arched narthex; and, in the Island of Mozambique, the ancient **Chapel of Our Lady of the Baluarte** in the Fortress of Saint Sebastian, built in 16th century Manueline style, with an analogue body applied to the facade. A mention is due to the **church of Ribandar**, in the surroundings of Panjim (Goa), and to the church of **Brancavará in Diu**, having a narthex with a range of round arches, both with a more classicizing trait.

In the coast facing the Island, within a similar typology, a mention is due to the **Church of Cabaceira Grande in Mossuril**, invoking Our Lady of Remédios, which suffered heavy repairs in 1854 (and was classified in 1943), and has an expression of rare beauty – on the one side for its atrium, or covered narthex, square-shaped, which precedes the nave, with thick round arches; on the other side for its "false" facade (projected, with two bell towers, and erected over the frontal section of the porch) – which defines a large veranda over the narthex roof, protected by two side handrails, and is profusely decorated with imaginative reliefs of Indo-Portuguese inspiration.

There are examples of great similarity with the former in the Indo-Portuguese architecture in India, namely in the villages in the surroundings of Bassein (Mumbai): the **church of Our Lady of Remédios**, dated 1577-1737 (rebuilt in 1839), with the same

two bell towers and the narthex applied to the front; and the **church of Manikpur**, with the two towers of uneven dimension, and the same triple round arched narthex.

In Luanda, one can mention the small church of **Our Lady of the Cape**, in the Island of Luanda, built near a 1726 fort, with the triangular gable ornate with curved elements, also found on churches in the old Portuguese area of Mumbai, in India.

3 – the **Indo-Portuguese inspired facades**, similar to the Indian, such as the Jesuit church of Luanda, identical to São Paulo de Diu's, or the Misericórdia of Luanda, which reminds of the Jesuit church of Bassein.

Luanda's old uptown includes two examples of sacred architecture pertaining to this interpretative line:

- **the old Jesuit College's church of Jesus**, dated 1605-07, the ensemble completed in 1636, where the Archiepiscopal Palace was installed in the 19th century, whose building remained until the 20th century before being redone in neoclassical taste (the church was classified as National Monument in 1949); the church, which was compared by some to the Jesuit construction in Funchal in the 18th century, whose nave would have been inspired in Jesuit Evora's internal typology, shows still today an impressive facade (although it lost expression in the restoration made by Humberto Reis in 1953), extremely similar to the contemporary building of the **church of Saint Paul of Diu**, dated 1601, also Jesuit; in fact, both are tripartite (with spans separated by semi-detached columns), and organized in two levels, with a third central body, topped by a gable and sided by wings. Only the Diu building is more delicate and profusely decorated. This similarity, together with other themes presented, points out to significant cultural exchanges between Portuguese India and Angola throughout the Modern Age;

- **the church of Misericórdia Hospital**, not as interesting, whose temple dated 1670 but burnt down in 1894. The facade, with a semi-triangular gable, reminds that of **Bassein's Jesuit church**, in India.

4 – constructive themes related to the so-called "earth architecture", common to the churches of Cuanza and Goa – such is the case of the **buttresses or "giants"** applied to the facades or sidewalls, and the use of earth (adobe, mud wall) to build them.

In the region surrounding Luanda, one should also mention the small 17th century churches built along the Cuanza river, such as **Our Lady of Muxima** and **Our Lady of Vitória in Massangano** (National Monuments in 1923), both having a spire covered side tower, and three spans in the facade, which is topped by a triangular gable; their thick and expressive side buttresses, which give them an ancient tone, certainly attest the kind of earth materials used to build them – they are identical to the buttresses seen in some Goa churches, which were built using the local soft stone laterite.

A Summary

The several exemplifications presented (in Mozambique and Angola) allow us to relate some aspects of these regions' classicizing religious architecture, from the 16th-18th centuries period, to those of other overseas areas, namely in Portuguese India, an aspect which can in turn be articulated with the period's sea circulation and transport themes, and with the results, in influences and cultural exchanges in the respective urban habitats.

B – domestic architecture:

In this context, a special interest is due to analyzing the residential architecture of Luanda and Island of Mozambique in Modern Age – on the one side, by the testimonials and studies performed throughout the 20th century, and on the other by the importance which several (although few) buildings of the kind, ruined or recovered, still have today.

The houses of Luanda – a true “beehive” of traditional houses, mostly downtown, with their multiple roofs, still visible in 19th century engravings and photographs dated 1940-50 – were mentioned by Ilídio do Amaral (who presented floor plans of small vernacular houses), but especially by Fernando Batalha.

5 – the **covered galleries or verandas along the facades** of ground floor houses, from Ibo to Tete (northern Mozambique); and also the buildings of compact volumetry with terrace roofs.

Ibo and Island of Mozambique’s traditional houses present the typology of a long covered veranda, stretching over the whole width of the front (or a wide porch, if preferred), lying on arches or pillars, and opening over the facade (with terrace shaped horizontal roofing over the whole house). Both aspects derive from Indian influence, filtered by the Indo-Portuguese, in this part of Africa, in conjunction with the context of Swahili and Islamic cultures.

Quirino da Fonseca pointed out this deeply original aspect of the Euro-Indian colonization of Mozambique, nearly extinct nowadays, which must have encompassed the whole area of influence of **Island of Mozambique and Ibo Island, until Cabo Delgado and Tete regions** (possibly also due to the “Prazos” farming territories, since the 17th century) – and possibly inspired some of the architecture of late 19th century buildings, already metallic or wooden, in Lourenço Marques as well (e.g. the covered galleries and curved steps of the **old Hotel Club**, dated 1898 (present local French Cultural Center); and the **“Hindu” house with a balcony between two towers, in Av. Manuel de Arriaga**, which follows Goa’s type of Hindu houses): *“Usually, the main facade had a portico type porch semi-detached, of heavy appearance, made of masonry columns whose edges were carefully beveled, forming large Indian type verandas.(...) This terrace building process was spread in India by the Moors, and travelled to Mozambique through the countless Banyan masons and master builders who came from there”* (Fonseca, “Monumenta” 4, 1968: 47; images: 48-a – 48-b).

The persistence of the typology of a covered gallery or veranda over the front of the houses must have been transmitted to 19th century buildings, either by the consistent use of stone pillars, either by the use of supporting iron pillars, instead of the initial thick masonry pillars – see the **houses in Porto Amélia / Pemba**, or the **old Customs / Post Office building in Ibo Island** (northern Mozambique).

In the Island of Mozambique one can also mention several urban houses identically built with thick walls and narrow and small spans; houses which form ensembles, but which are two-storey – like the “stream”, possibly originating in the 17th century, along the **street connecting Palace Square to Campo de São Gabriel**, whose back opens to northern shore; or like the **buildings inside the old Saint Sebastian fortress**. These are buildings of great beauty, with terrace roofs to collect rainwater. Some have been recovered but most of them are ruined.

The 18th century **urban houses with square floor plan and simple forms, with terrace roofs**, shaped in cubic volumes, common in the “Island” (Loureiro, “Island...”: 39a), must have had a late and remote influence on the modest construction much farther to the south – like the one of the first Laurentinian houses; the example, unique nowadays, of the so-called **“Yellow House” in Lourenço Marques**, now Maputo (in the central square facing the town’s genetic fortress) is an evidence of that.

6 – **spans and their frames** – the “most beautiful balcony” in Dondo (town in the Cuanza region, Angola) and its relation with the formally dense decorativism of the 18th century houses in Portuguese India (e.g. Indo-Portuguese houses in the area of the Jesuit church square in Margao, Goa).

Concerning the decorative and formal aspects, as a theme to be developed, one has to point out the universe of small urban two-storey houses, with balconies on the top floor (like the possibly late 18th century example in Dondo [a town in Cuanza,

which developed during the 19th century], with the “most beautiful balcony”, or the “*the most beautiful baroque window in Angola*” (in Batalha, “*Em Defesa do...*”, 1963: 11; and Batalha, “*Povoações Históricas...*”, 2008: 69).

This is a span with balcony in Dondo, which has a curved span lintel, in the upper storey of one of those houses – and whose balcony, with a wrought iron decorative handrail, defines a prominent curve, supported by a moulded platform, with the same curve, and laying on a console with a developed classicizing treatment – evoking the cornices of the Margao houses, also very dense, with a classicizing albeit baroquized design, that is, exaggerated, in its formal system, through accumulation and densification of elements. A similar baroquizing development of the bases of the **balconies in the noble storey can be found in the said houses in Margao, India.**

7 – the **covered verandas** over the front, with ground floor arches, in manor houses’ facades or patios – which is the case of the covered gallery of the “Old Palace” in Benguela, and its relation with the Indo-Portuguese houses.

The so-called “**Old Palace**” in Benguela is a building in Praia Street, in the coastal strip of that Angolan city, initially built in adobe in the 18th century and successively changed, rebuilt and restored (in 1929), and classified in 1950. Nowadays a unique example in the city, it is defined by its compact volume, within the average sized residential buildings, and its biggest interest, besides its characteristic multiple roofs (addressed below), lays on its back, where, in the noble storey, a large open gallery, supported by thick pillars, over ground floor round arcades, opens to a double stairway of beautiful visual effect. A theme and an expression, which evoke once again the Indian verandas and galleries, whose exemplifications (although more modest) are also found in the Island of Mozambique and in Ibo, in houses from the same period (Batalha, “*Palácio Velho...*”, 1964) – as previously analyzed. Also in Luanda, the **manor building from the 18th century (today the Museum of Anthropology), in the old Avelino Dias Street (downtown)**, has a two-storey range of round arches in its posterior patio.

A summary

Although the exchanges and cultural influences within the so-called “Indian World” (here in the Indo-Portuguese perspective) are known, gathering and articulating in architecture and arts the constructions of Goa or Diu with those of the Island of Mozambique or Ibo, the interactions of this Indian core, regarding vernacular architecture, from northern Mozambique with the rest of the country’s territory (Zambezi, Tete, Quelimane, and also the southern region), and even more with the decorative and typological expressions of the domestic space in Angola (Cuanza-Dondo, Benguela) are less studied.

C – A common constructive and formal theme in **civil and manor architecture**:

8 – **multiple hipped roofs (in Portuguese “scissor” roofs, “de tesoura”)**, in the installations of cloister-convent type, like the body of the Misericórdia of Luanda, which reminds of Goa convents (São João de Deus Convent in Old Goa); and identical **multiple “scissor” roofs** in several manor houses in Luanda (various examples, acc. Batalha, 1950) and Benguela (“Old Palace”, acc. Batalha, 1964).

The **multiple hipped roofs** theme (usually with very steep planes – around 45 degrees – on top of the same building, parallel among them, each one corresponding to a house compartment, defined by strong walls, erected over each four walls, as a quadrangle) is certainly one of the most interesting aspects in civic and residential constructions from this period, in several urban spaces of the Portuguese Expansion.

And the case of Luanda, here referring to its old Misericórdia, is one of the most notable. Orlando Ribeiro had already pointed out this issue as he presented an image of constructions in Luanda, with their characteristic roofs, in his book "Geografia e Civilização" (Geography and Civilization).

The old Misericórdia of Luanda Hospital, dated 1612-16 (deeply changed later), rebuilt as an hospital in 1771 and then as the headquarters of the Military Court, still had in mid 20th century (Batalha, "*A Arquitectura Tradicional...*", 1950: image 6) its vast two-storey assisting body annexed to the church, covered by four large parallel hipped roofs – a striking resemblance with other buildings from the same period, like the old Episcopal Palace in Faro, Algarve (recently recovered). The expression of both, similar in scale and expression, with their long continuous cornices, differs only in the design of the lintels of the upper storey's spans, straight in the example from Algarve and curved in the Angolan. Here too, the monasterial body of the **São João de Deus Convent in Old Goa** should be evoked as it has the exact same large hipped ("scissor") roofs (which suffered deep changes in the 20th century, [Dias: 257, with present image; Ferracuti, 1991: 99, with image from 1899-90]) aligned with the church's front – like in the Misericórdia of Luanda. Still, a note on how, generally, the multiple hipped roofs of Goa seem to be even steeper than those of the African examples.

The "multiple hipped roof" theme, which Ribeiro ascribes to the diffusion of oriental tiled roof models through the Portuguese Expansion (from Goa, for example), persists still today in many residential constructions in Portuguese cities, emanating from the Modern Age, from manor to vernacular buildings (Tavira, Lagos, Faro, Lisboa), and remits, once again, Angola to the Indian cultural influences, via the transatlantic trade circuits, at least in the case of Luanda and Benguela. It has been studied in this context from several perspectives (Fernandes, "*Arquitectura no Algarve...*", 2005: 73; Fernandes, "*Encyclopedia...*", 1997, vole III: 2010).

Manor architecture in Luanda.

A series of houses, very interesting from the urban point of view, which were numerous in downtown Luanda until half a century ago, consistently had the said characteristic "hipped roofs / multiple roofs", which were sorted by Batalha following a "Stylistic Evolution" (Batalha, "*A Arquitectura Tradicional...*", 1950: 9-11), from the 17th to the 19th century: with a "sober and somewhat austere look", in the 17th century; with a "more graceful trait", "elegance of lines and refinement of shapes", in the first half of the 18th century; with "a return to sobriety" in the second half of the same century; and "again festooning", "with baroque motifs", from the end of the century until the first quarter of the 19th century.

These are the typical (four) stylistic stages which can be found in several locations of Portuguese influence, from Europe to Azores, from Brazil to India.

Batalha exemplifies the first stage with buildings located in "Restauradores Avenue in Angola and Salvador Correia Street" (Batalha, "*A Arquitectura Tradicional...*", 1950: 9). Several two-storey houses (of great beauty for their simplicity and balance of shapes) seem to be included in this group, which have balcony spans with straight lintel in the noble storey, ranked in series, and covered with multiple hipped roofs like the "**two-storey house in D. Fernando square**" (ditto, image 5); and like the "**House of the Lencastres**" (with circular windows on the ground floor) and the "**Palácio dos Fantasmas**" (Ghost Palace), both on Restauradores avenue (Batalha, 1963: 12).

The second stage, more exuberant, during the Joanine period, has, according to Batalha, examples in Avelino Dias Street (downtown) and uptown; the most notable example being the present **Museum of Archaeology** (recovered/changed by Diamang in the 1960s), with very ornamental beveled lintel spans, a turret surpassing the main façade, and the volumes forming an internal patio – with the usual multiple hipped roofs.

The second half of the 18th century, which corresponded to the new Pombaline period's sobriety, became most evident in the large public buildings mentioned above (Government Palace, Customs), with the transition stage from the 18th to the 19th century being more fertile in examples: again according to Batalha, a dated building in Bungo, the **Palace of D. Ana Joaquina**, buildings in Sousa Coutinho and Mercadores streets (Batalha, *"A Arquitectura Tradicional..."*, 1950: 10).

The **building in Sousa Coutinho Street** has the noble storey's spans with straight lintels and entablature, besides the turret of erudite trait, topped by a triangular gable (ditto, image 8); examples with curved lintel spans might be posterior (ditto, image 9), with the said Palace standing out, stately, with thirteen balcony spans and a large three span central turret – in a vast joint volume, covered by five independent hipped roofs (recently demolished and redone in "pastiche") (ditto, image 13).

Also worth mentioning is the **two-storey house in Infante D. Henrique square**, which resumes the simple expression and has circular windows, but using the theme of curved lintels (Batalha, 1966: image 15) – and the one in Direita Street within the same expressive line (ditto, image 18).

These Luanda houses constitute, for their high individual architectonic character, and in their urban ensemble, a sort of "great lost patrimonial theme" – as they were nearly all demolished, as far as we know – as a result of the unstoppable urban renewal processes in the city, developed since the 1960s-70s, and with an intense surge at present times.

It is important to systematically mention it in here, thus allowing to relate this – in this specific case, **in the area of downtown Luanda, in what concerns the roofing systems with large steep hipped roofs implanted in sequence**, sometimes complex (integrating or involving patios and yards), over the same house – with either the tradition of urban houses in Algarve (Portugal), in Tavira, Faro and Lagos, and the tradition of the large houses from Goa and Portuguese India in general (e.g. "**Judge House**" in Margao, and the **Episcopal Palace in Old Goa**, see Carita, 1994 and 2008).

Third Summary

Besides the aspects addressed in the prior summary, it is yet to be recognized the whole possible **interoceanic cultural transfer, from the Indo-Portuguese cultural core (in India and Eastern Africa), in relation to Western Africa**, namely in what concerns Luanda, the Cuanza river region and Benguela, throughout the 16th to 18th century. Civil and domestic architecture themes analyzed from this perspective may undoubtedly confirm and clarify such interactions.

Recapturing the Network

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People *develop* ideas and practices in architecture and urban planning, moving people *disseminate* these ideas and practices, places and people *modify* these ideas and practices.

The colonial undertaking implies mobility as a premise - of people, goods, ideas and practises. Augmented mobility is at the root of the phenomenon, but instead of a simple physical dislocation, it involves a fundamental asymmetry in power. This asymmetry is shared by a vast number of people of the same origin and or race usually over yet a much vaster number of people who are superficially perceived as equivalent, almost generic, inhabitants. While in America Europeans both found numerous tribes characterized by their nomadism and transported forcefully thousands of 'pieces' from the other side of the Atlantic, in the case of Africa the indigenous people were perceived as fixed, permanent, part of the land. The ones who travelled and could choose places to stay were the colonizers. Although many others, such as Asiatics and the African themselves, were dislodged, immigrated, moved spontaneously in search of work or escape, movement was part of the inequality.

Movement was a prerogative, a privilege, a possibility of the Europeans. Europeans arrived in groups and as individuals and were capable of retaining their capacity of free movement. In the last decades of the 19th century and in the first five, six or seven decades of the 20th, politically determined effective occupation of Africa led thousands of Europeans to board ships and airplanes to begin a new life in these immense and seemingly empty lands. An unprecedented surge of urbanization commenced. Lay-persons, builders, architects, urban planners were instrumental in the installation of infrastructures, buildings, cities. These are now an important part of the territorial armature of the African countries and constitute a shared heritage with the ex-colonizers.

Research on colonial architecture and urban planning in Africa initiated in the 70's and has proceeded in diverse settings at different rates and levels of intensity. Some European colonial powers lost their colonies in the last years of the 50's - the first sub-Saharan territory to become independent being Ghana, in 1957 - but others at that time still hold vast colonies. Portugal had an immense area under its jurisdiction and command, and was developing these territories as it had never done before. Modern architecture was not a subject of analysis, it was being built. If it is true that architecture and urban and regional planning of all ex-European powers have been subject to some form of survey and analysis, it is also full of hiatus, disconnections and various forms of blindness as regards period, region or typology.

In Portuguese former territories, research on colonial architecture and urban planning has to face major drawbacks: distance and availability of sources. Furthermore, in these ex-colonies, in which a civil war has occurred recently, it has to deal with the very novelty of the venture. Physical distance, difficult sources and newness: these factors come together to create a condition of permanent incompleteness. While data is absent or is fractional, at the same time the drive to investigate is present and aspires to create partial synthesis. The oldest colonial Empires, like Portugal, have additionally a level of geographical distribution that encompass numerous and very diverse physical and cultural settings. Finally, the building of data is growing at a rapid pace and does so by clusters.

To meet and overcome these obstacles, new approaches and methodological tools are necessary. What is needed is a common ground to build upon, in which imperfect, incomplete, heterogeneously dense information can be attached, in a provisional and ever changing way. A main line of approach is the mobility of agents. These are the people who were active in the dissemination and redevelopment of the modern architecture and modern planning throughout colonial territories.

A promising method of following individuals and groups in their travels, or living periods, or whole lives in the colonies, is to use social network analysis, first developed by the discipline of sociology. The patterns of dissemination and linkage between architects in a vast geographical area are then made possible to be registered and examined; as are their professional organizations, institutional bodies and informal associations.

This is being undertaken on the subject of the presence of architects in the territories subject to Portuguese rule outside Europe, now ex-colonies, in the 20th century. The technique allows for frequent and continual insertion of new data whilst making possible a visualization and even measurement of the patterns under analysis. This investigation has started to detect some otherwise unexpected roles played by individuals in the economy of work relations and opportunities.

The method of social network analysis, not to be confused with the present-day phenomenon of social networks, works with mathematically representations of points in space. According to Everton (2004:i), network analysts have long used network diagrams to visualize the networks they are analyzing, but the relations between the points reflected no specific mathematical properties, were arranged arbitrarily and the distances between them were meaningless; however, how social network data are spatially arranged in graphs influences how viewers perceive a social network's structural characteristics. Thus, in order to be able to infer something about the actual sociometric properties of a network, researchers have developed a number of techniques that mathematically represent the points in space. The vocabulary comprises the usual expressions in graph theory of nodes and edges, but also includes arc, degree, density and actor. An actor can be people, subgroups, organizations, collectivities, communities, nation-states, etc. Differently from traditional analysis which explain behavior in function of social class and profession, Quiroga *et al* (2005:19-20) observe that social network analysis incorporates relationships and not only the attributes of the elements; hence, social network analysis' particularity is that it is located in the highlighting on the relationships between the elements under scrutiny, between its relational properties, and not exclusively in the monadic, individual characteristics of each element.

While these techniques were first used in Health, Psychology, Corporation Management and Electronic Communications (Clark, 2006:4), they have been used in an increasingly number of disciplinary fields and topics, such as History, Rural Development, Airport Management, etc. The interest this approach has for our field and subject-matter has been preliminarily explored by Ramos and Matos (2009).

An inaugural paper, which activated this search, was presented in 2005 by Mario Krüger on 20th century architects in mainland Portugal making use of analysis by graph theory.

The method is complementary to the individual agency approach, as neither in an isolated way gives a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena of diffusion of architectural and planning ideas, processes and practices, or the incorporation of local traditions or influences. The comprehensive use of the method might lead research into lines of sociological understanding of preferential routes, institutional or government policies and people's lifestyles and aspirations. Alternatively, it is also complementary to less 'people-centered' or agency modes, such as the typological, institutional, and even the more traditional and valid form-centered 'art history' approach. Its setbacks are its methodological and technical weight and complexity.

Social network analysis allows the gathering and examination of data from transnational and transcontinental backgrounds and hopefully facilitates the establishment of a new research agenda for the near future. When teaching and research are carried out within a transnational framework, this approach facilitates the transition of data and knowledge.

The possibility of it being combined with a database of projects, built work, photographic and audiographic records, biographies and political and societal data opens a new perspective for collaborative work.

A challenge associated with this approach might be the copyright issue involving many of the primary sources, of the heterogeneous secondary sources as well as of the knowledge production. While 'a high level of copyright protection is crucial for intellectual creation' (European Community, 2008), a balance has to be found between the copyright protection for authors and the aim of a wider dissemination of knowledge. This dissemination is consistent with social equity as a global principle and with the objective of 'more inclusive and cohesive societies', in line with the aspirations of the EC's present day Social Agenda.

Especially, copyright protection concerns the numerous authors of the 'orphan works' - those which are still in copyright but whose owners cannot be identified or located. If this is true in research in colonial architecture and planning, it is particularly challenging when the subject-matter is the built environment, where anonymity has not been lifted as regards i.e. individual buildings, planning output, photographs; where anonymity might persist for unforeseen periods of time. With the rapidly changing technological, social and cultural environment, the use made of photographs, films, even personal recollections by end-users might be unpredictably either business or research-driven or both.

Another aspect to consider is the different treatment of the same action of reproduction in different areas of the world, as for instance in different Member States of the EC, leading to legal uncertainty as to practises such as were permitted until very recently – i.e., reusing images from previous books, of formerly edited media.

A further problem might be exactly this same permeability of transmission of data through transnational and transcontinental contexts, in view of original information just released from archives in an organised way being totally open to scrutiny from researchers or interested parties all over the world before they have been just looked upon and studied from a national point of view, or at a community level: an issue that all digital media transports in its wake. In historical fields, this issue has a slightly further impact, as it impinges in concerns of national identity and national policies. The law of inequality in resources and development converting into inequality of knowledge (and vice-versa) is continually re-enacted. Between former colonial empires, inequalities persist, but our concern should be on the more fundamental inequality between the two poles of the colonial enterprise – the colonizer and the colonized - between continents, between North and South.

The sharing of information, skills and knowledge is at the heart of the transformation of this post-colonial world into something in which 'colonial' has become an improbability, in which power relations are scrutinized and subject to disapproval and watchfulness.

In summary, social network analysis allows the gathering and examination of data from transnational and transcontinental backgrounds and hopefully facilitates the establishment of a new research agenda for the near future.

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Reading Colonial Planning in African Cities from a Comparative Perspective

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1. A twofold comparative perspective on African cities

Although some collective works on the urban history of African cities, often published proceedings of conferences, constitute an important supplement to the monographic studies on colonial cities by architectural historians, the comparative aspect between the different contributions of these collective works has rarely been elaborated. Nevertheless many authors note the role of comparative research along interdisciplinary lines.¹ In this paper, we would like to demonstrate the importance of a comparative perspective in the field of African urban history as it allows a more textured reading of the colonial city in Africa, one that goes beyond the 'dual city' model which is often put forward, but is far too simplistic and generalizing as a framework to analyze the African city.²

In order to understand the complexity of the colonial city in Africa, we suggest a comparative study on two levels, corresponding with two important phenomena in the planning process of African cities. The first one can be described as the transfer of planning models from the *métropole* to the colony. The study of the diffusion of European planning concepts and theories to new geographical terrains stresses the role of the nation-state and because of this often focuses more on the intentions and aspirations of colonial planning than on the colonial city itself. The transfer of planning methods, i.e. export or import depending on the viewpoint the author takes (colonizer-colonized)³, has already been scrutinized from a comparative perspective by a number of authors, but mostly the comparative approach remained limited to comparisons between French and British colonial powers.⁴ On the other hand, the implementation of planning models in the colonial city or the local planning practice, its physical outcome and the local actors involved, has been touched upon by some authors, but rarely from a comparative perspective. Yet, the comparative study of the implementations, appropriations and transformations of the various planning models on a local scale, often linked to processes of resistance and contestation, can reveal the intricate web of local actors, foreign as well as African, that actually made the colonial city in Africa, as well as their particularity with regard to context and history.

Both levels of examination require different scales of research and different frames of analysis, but are particularly valuable by their opposition and confrontation. This confrontation of planning models and urban fabrics of African cities primarily shows how little impact architects and urban planners, no matter their origin, had on what was ultimately built in the African city and how little this impact on the ground matched colonial plans and intentions.⁵ This observation indicates the importance of the twofold comparative perspective on African cities. By drawing on my own research on the discrepancies between colonial planning and implementations in African cities from a comparative perspective and published material, I will illustrate the importance of comparative analyses as well as highlight some methodological issues.

¹ C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, 'Introduction: African urban spaces: history and culture', in: Salm, Steven; Falola, Toyin (eds.), *African urban spaces in historical perspective*, Rochester-Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 2005, p. xix; Njoh, Ambe J., *Planning Power, Town planning and social control in colonial Africa*, London/ New York: UCL Press, 2007, p.10.

² Regarding the colonial city, an important bibliography has been written by Hélène Vacher, though it does not contain many references on African cities. H. Vacher (red.), *Villes coloniales aux XIXe-XXe siècles. D'un sujet d'action à un objet d'histoire (Algérie, Maroc, Libye et Iran): Essais et guide bibliographique* (Paris 2005). On the history of African cities, see: C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, 'De la ville en Afrique noire', *Annales HSS*, 5, 2006, pp. 1087-1119.

³ Nasr, Joe; Volait, Mercedes (eds.), *Urbanism. Imported or exported? Native aspirations and foreign plans*, Great Britain: Wiley- Academy, 2005.

⁴ For the most recent examples of this, see Liora Bigon, *A History of Urban Planning in Two West African Colonial Capitals: Residential Segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar (1850-1930)*, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, New York, 2009; Njoh, Ambe J., *Planning Power*, o.c..

⁵ Fuller, Mia, *Moderns Abroad, Architecture, cities and Italian imperialism*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2007, p. 5.

2. Colonial planning and ideology in comparative perspective

The first level of comparative research, which focuses on the transfer of planning models to the colony, shows how metropolitan modes of planning were applied, often selectively and with a great deal of editing, to the colonial terrain.⁶ Therefore, this group takes the nation-state as a primary category of analysis. When studied in comparative perspective, however, the transfer of planning models becomes a framework for spatial analysis that extends beyond the single nation-state perspective.

The comparison between the various planning concepts used by different nation-states makes it possible to discern analogous periods in the planning history of African colonial cities in the twentieth century, irrespective of the *métropole*-colony axis, which are characterized by the emergence of similar concerns, new professional groups and the application of the same planning concepts. As a consequence, the differences in colonial policy between the nation-states did not lead necessarily to the application of other planning models because most colonial architects and planners fished in the same pool, as modern urban planning and architecture developed within a network of European architects and institutions and transcended the nation-state perspective. Generally spoken, the interwar period was marked by fear for epidemics and obsession with hygiene and as a consequence the urban planning, which at that time was not known under this term and can be better described as a series of ad hoc reactions on urgent urban problems, was highly determined by doctors and sanitary officers. Although the construction of a *cordon sanitaire* or neutral zone between Africans and Europeans was officially meant to avoid the transmission of malaria, it actually facilitated racial segregation. In the period after WWII, however, urban problems were the monopoly of architects and urban planners, who made extended development plans which were believed to enhance the welfare of Africans, but very often strengthened racial segregation.⁷ Where modernistic zoning principles in Europe were intended to separate urban functions, they separated races in Africa.

Although most authors stress the particularity of the single case study, this periodization shows that there exist more parallels than differences in urban planning strategies between the various nation-states and very often differences in policy, as indirect and direct rule, applied by the British and French role models, and the variations on it by smaller colonial powers as the Belgians and Portuguese, are overplayed.⁸ Independent from the colonial policies of association or assimilation and the versions in-between, the goals of the colonial powers were very identical: exploiting the colony and maintaining the power relations. This becomes most evident when researching the way certain planning models were used to strengthen urban segregation between Africans and Europeans.⁹ To fulfill these goals, virtually any stylistic trend or planning model could be used, as was shown by some authors, like Gwendolyn Wright and Mia Fuller.¹⁰ Moreover, in the African context, one and the same planning model could fulfill very opposite agenda's: for instance, the garden city model was both used to house the white upper-class comfortably in the colonial city as well as to keep the African migrant out of it.¹¹ Since the colonial city was both the place where the colonial power was represented, as well as the place where the colonial encounter occurred, the key question in the field of colonial planning was: How to coexist, without intermixing in the colonial city, which is *de facto* heterogeneous? As a result, it is probably more correct to speak about an '*exportation d'un logique urbain externe, allogène*', instead of just an urban planning model *strictu sensu*.¹²

⁶ Anthony King, 'Writing Transnational Planning Histories', in: J Nasr, Joe; Volait, Mercedes (eds.), *Urbanism. Imported or exported? Native aspirations and foreign plans*, Great Britain: Wiley- Academy, 2005, p.11.

⁷ Periodization: own research. See also: Home, Robert, *Of Planting and Planning, The making of British colonial cities*, Oxford: Alexandrine Press, 1997.

⁸ Own research and: Njoh, Ambe J., *Planning Power*, o.c., p. 9.

⁹ Goerg, O. 'De la ségrégation coloniale à la tentation sécessioniste: 'urbanisme sécuritaire'', in: L. Fourchard en I. O. Albert (red.), *Sécurité, crime et ségrégation dans les villes d'Afrique de l'Ouest du XIXe siècle à nos jours*, Parijs, 2003, pp. 245-261.

¹⁰ Wright, Gwendolyn, *The politics of design in French colonial urbanism*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991; Fuller, Mia, *Moderns Abroad*, o.c.

¹¹ C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, 'Residential segregation in African cities', in: Salm, Steven; Falola, Toyin (eds.), *African urban spaces in historical perspective*, Rochester-Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 2005, p.345.

¹² Dulucq, Sophie, 'Les ambiguïtés du discours et des pratiques urbaines' in: Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine; Goerg, Odile, *La ville européenne outre mers: un modèle conquérant? (XV-XX siècles)*, Paris/Strasbourg: L'Harmattan/Université des Science Humaines de Strasbourg, 1996.

The comparative study of the transfer of planning models and policies to colonial cities primarily says something about the colonial imaginings and aspirations of the different nation-states themselves, as the colonial project was always one of national self construction. The study of the various planning models becomes very interesting if the underlying ambitions are compared by dialogue to the objectives of other European powers, instead of being just a direct comparison of planning models one to another. On this level, we can distinguish large variations (paternalist, developmentalist, communist, fascist aspirations, ...), even if we consider the planning proposals of one colonizing power, as was shown by Mia Fuller in her study of Italian planning policies in different regions and periods.¹³ Moreover, many colonies were seen by colonial planners as laboratories or *champs d'expérience* to test urban planning strategies in their purest, and therefore most legible, form. Nezar Alsayyad argues in this context: '*Colonial cities are important to understand, ..., not because they are so different, but because the politics of decisions in them are more transparent*'.¹⁴ Because these planning models were supposed to be implemented in the *métropole* itself, it could also be worthwhile to study the return effects on the *métropole* from a comparative perspective.

3. Local implementations and actors in comparative perspective

Although many colonial imaginings were falsely claimed to be realized, it is unmistakable true that there exist a high discrepancy between colonial planning theory and colonial planning practice in the African city. Only recently, since the late 1990s, some architectural historians started to use the comparative approach to study the local implementation of colonial planning and the mechanisms at stake during this process in the African city.¹⁵ Here, researchers investigate the transformations and process of appropriation that planning proposals for African cities undergo once the local colonial institutions, mainly staffed with European personnel and some Asian and African clerks, start to implement them on the ground. In addition to this, more attention is given to the spatial implications of moments of African contestation and resistance, and to the alterations of the implemented projects through the daily consumption of spaces by African inhabitants. These local adjustments are not exceptional compared to, for instance, western cities, yet, the comparative research of the historical- and geographical-specific implementations in the African city could be extremely illuminating, because it will tell something about the local, African, facets of the story, which are, up to now, completely ignored.¹⁶

As already mentioned earlier on, we can distinguish two levels of appropriation and transformation of the planning proposals in the African city: the institutional and the informal, daily practices. On the institutional level, comparative research highlights to which extent colonial ideals about the African city conflicted with local practices of public work departments.¹⁷ In many cases the divergent and contradictory visions of the central and the local colonial government resulted in a rupture between official planning ideology and local planning practice and in a local adjustment of the plans which were mostly made in the *métropole* or on a central level.

In addition to this, it is striking to see from a comparative perspective the large number of ill-prepared administrations, poorly coordinated institutions and local bureaucracy at the local planning services. Frequently, at the local planning institutions, everyone's attention was fixed on the unintended consequences of planning, the unforeseen complexities during the implementation and unexpected difficulties of projects. We can argue that the implementation of urban planning was regularly more guided by pragmatic considerations and immediate remedies than long term urban planning and that local interests,

¹³ Wright, Gwendolyn, *The politics of design in French colonial urbanism*, o.c.; Fuller, Mia, *Moderns Abroad*, o.c..

¹⁴ Alsayyad, Nezar, *Forms of dominance. On the architecture and urbanism of the colonial enterprise*, London: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1992, p.6.

¹⁵ Own research, see also: L. Fourchard en I. O. Albert (red.), *Sécurité, crime et ségrégation dans les villes d'Afrique de l'Ouest du XIXe siècle à nos jours*, Parijs, 2003; O.Goerg, *Pouvoir colonial, municipalités et espaces urbains, Conakry-Freetown, des années 1880 à 1914*, Parijs, 1997; Myers G. A., *Verandahs of power*, o.c..

¹⁶ Nasr, Joe; Volait, Mercedes (eds.), *Urbanism. Imported or exported?* o.c..

¹⁷ Own research, see also: Scriver, Peter, 'Between colonial and Modern. Reception, Resistance and Reproduction in the Design of Government Housing for the New India', in: Scriver (red.), *The scaffolding of empire*, Proceedings 4th Camea Symposium, University of Adelaide, 2007, pp. 43-58.

pragmatic considerations and a quest for immediate remedies seemed to prevail within the milieu of the local government than racial ideology and politics formulated by the central government. As a consequence, planning interventions were frequently marked by very local, sometimes accidentally found, solutions on very context-specific problems. Own archival research and micro-studies on the implementation of existing urban projects, illustrates that in many cases, local planning institutions got completely lost in quite basic urban problems and instead of turning to the metropolitan planning services for advice, looked across the borders for practical solutions. For instance, for the implementation of the neutral zone in Kinshasa as well as in Dar es Salaam, local architects applied to South African architects and sanitary officers for help and instructions.¹⁸ More comparative research may unveil to which extent local planning practices, even within one colony, stem from other routes of knowledge and communication than those shaped by the métropole-colony axis alone, like the Indian influences on colonial Zanzibar.¹⁹

While the participation of local actors in the urban planning process was indeed rare during the colonial era, local actors have to a certain degree been able to direct its implementation and appropriate urban places. Up to now, this role of local actors in the production of space of colonial cities in Africa has often been neglected and certainly from a comparative perspective, although some exceptions exist.²⁰ A possible reason for this could be the many difficulties researchers face while trying to show the agency of actors, as these processes are very difficult to retrace directly from institutional sources such as archival documents, annual reports or official correspondences. Yet, a detailed mapping of the various trajectories through time and space of important locations in colonial cities, such as markets or neutral zones can reveal that, even though the racial segregation was strict and compulsory, especially in the last years of colonization, it was possible for the population to escape from it to some degree, for instance, by neglecting or circumventing restrictions on the mobility of Africans. By confronting planning models that were designed for the marketplace and its surrounding district by colonial planners with a variety of sources, such as archival documents, photographs, journals and literature, I demonstrated that both in Kinshasa and Dar es Salaam the spatial segregation of the neutral zone was challenged by the passage of Africans to the public market. Moreover, parts of the neutral zone were gradually being appropriated by Africans for residential as well as commercial purposes and as a consequence, the neutral zone never functioned as it was imagined by the central government and planned by architects and urban planners. In the Kinshasa case, after the local planning offices moved the public market to the neutral zone for practical reasons, the segregationist urban planning in this area was even reversed and the neutral zone changed locally from a separating device within the urban structure into an area of exchange and encounter.

As in many other colonial cities, these processes of appropriation of the neutral zone were to a large degree enabled by the agency of intermediary groups, such as Portuguese, Greek or Indian tradesmen.²¹ The reason for this is that these 'middle figures' were able to maneuver between regulations for Africans and Europeans because of their position as 'both insider and outsider' in the colonial city.²² Moreover, in many cases, because of economic interests and practical concerns, the local colonial government displayed an ambivalent and undecided attitude towards these intermediary population groups and even mobilized them as a buffer between the African and European community. This agency of intermediary population groups underlines the importance and specificity of trans-national migrations for the colonial city in Africa, while confirming the intrinsic

¹⁸ In particular to the South African sanitary officer Simpson. About Simpson, see: Home, Robert, *Of Planting and Planning, The making of British colonial cities*, Oxford: Alexandrine Press, 1997, p.49 and p. 58. See also: Dulucq, Sophie, 'Les ambiguïtés du discours et des pratiques urbaines' in: Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine; Goerg, Odile, *La ville européenne outre mers: un modèle conquérant? (XV-XX siècles)*, Paris/Strasbourg: L'Harmattan/Université des Science Humaines de Strasbourg, 1996.

¹⁹ Myers G. A., *Verandahs of power. Colonialism and space in urban Africa*, Syracuse, 2003.

²⁰ Exceptions: Goerg, O. (dir.), *Fêtes urbaines en Afrique. Espaces, identités et pouvoirs*, Paris, 1999; Gondola, D., *Villes miroirs. Migrations et identités urbains à Kinshasa et Brazzaville 1930-1970*, Paris, 1997; Fourchard, L.; Albert, I. O. (reds.), *Sécurité, crime et ségrégation dans les villes d'Afrique de l'Ouest du XIXe siècle à nos jours*, Paris, 2003.

²¹ Own research, see also: Burton, Andrew, *The urban experience in East Africa*, British Institute in Eastern Africa, Nairobi, 2002.

²² Myers G. A. Myers, *Verandahs of power. Colonialism and space in urban Africa*, Syracuse, 2003.

cosmopolitan character of the colonial society in Africa. In this respect, the local can be seen as a '*series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity and the relativity of contexts*' and be distinguished from the '*neighborhood*' as '*existing social form in which locality, as a dimension of value, is variably realized*'.²³ For this reason, it is important, when studying colonial cities in Africa from a comparative perspective, to break free from the local/foreign dichotomy and personalize the local as much as possible in order to avoid oversimplifications or confusions between the context-specific and the general.

²³ Anthony King refers to Arjun Appadurai (1996), 'The production of locality', in: *Modernity at large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996, p. 178. King, Anthony, 'Writing Transnational Planning Histories', in: Nasr, Joe; Volait, Mercedes (eds.), *Urbanism. Imported or exported? Native aspirations and foreign plans*, Great Britain: Wiley- Academy, 2005, p. 10.

Global Histories for Global Architectures: Missionary Anglicanism and the Study of the British Colonial World, 1840-1914

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Having studied the history of British imperial and colonial architecture for over a decade now, it has occurred to me that the nomenclature used and methodologies available to the architectural historian in relation to the intersection between the vast trajectories of architecture, politics, and geography are seriously problematic. The severity of this problem is perhaps not so acute with respect to the study of architecture in any one particular place or region; but if one wishes to analyse the transmission of architectural ideas, forms, and practices on a global scale (not just from 'centre' to 'periphery' but around the empire) then a coherent and meaningful methodology is most definitely lacking. A new way of understanding 'empire' vis-à-vis architecture is now required.

It is not necessary to elaborate here the ways in which post-structuralist theory has influenced the study of colonial and imperial architecture. As is well known, this has come specifically in the form of Edward Said's best-selling *Orientalism* (1978), and in general through the proliferation of post-colonial theory. The advent of these theories in the broader fields of historical and literary studies has in turn been heavily criticised, leading to a division among scholars as to their applicability (even credibility).¹ Moreover, the tendency within area studies and 'national history' to partition and 'exceptionalise' colonial culture(s), thus extricating them from their wider trans-national contexts, has also proved controversial.² These dual modes of inquiry have led to a double dichotomy in the study of empire: that between 'metropole' and 'colony,' and 'coloniser' and 'colonised.' These dichotomies have of course shaped and largely determined the character of academic research into the history of colonial and imperial architecture since the 1980s.³

My own view is that the application of these theories to the study of colonial and imperial architecture has not been entirely unhelpful—after all, it has revived the subject in various ways. However, the complaint is that the application of these theories has become a new kind of orthodoxy which now threatens to limit if not debar alternative approaches/perspectives on the subject as these theories become entrenched. In other words, after just having revived itself, the study of imperial and colonial architecture is in serious danger of returning, ironically enough, to a state of intellectual inertia.

¹ For example, in the field of history, see R. O'Hanlon and D. Washbrook, 'Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 34:1 (1992), pp. 141-67. In art history, see J. M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester, 1995). In the fields of literary and cultural studies, see E. O'Conner, 'Preface for a Post-Postcolonial Criticism,' *Victorian Studies* 45.2 (2003), pp. 217-46, and A. Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London, 1994). For discussions about the contested terrain between 'history' and 'theory' see D. Kennedy, 'Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 24:3 (1996), pp. 345-63, and B. Moore-Gilbert, 'Postcolonial Cultural Studies and Imperial Historiography,' *Interventions* vol. 1:3 (1999), pp. 397-411.

² This is especially the case in the historiographical traditions of post-colonial nation-states such as the USA. See J. E. Chaplin, 'Expansion and Exceptionalism in Early American History,' *The Journal of American History*, vol. 89:4 (2003), pp. 1431-55; A. Games, 'Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities,' *American Historical Review*, vol. 111:3 (2006), pp. 741-57; J. P. Greene, 'Colonial History and National History: Reflections on a Continuing Problem,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, vol. 64:2 (2007), pp. 235-50.

³ Among the earliest examples to demonstrate the influence of these theories are T. R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and the British Raj* (London, 1989), and the essays in N. AlSayyad (ed.), *Forms of Dominance: on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot, 1992).

There is now a sense within the wider scholarly community (i.e., outside architecture) that these theories have reached the limits of their expository power. Historians of empire, for example, have moved beyond the postcolonial critique—if they ever engaged with it—into the realms of regional ('Atlantic' and 'Pacific') and World/Global history.⁴ It is my contention that historians of architecture have a lot to learn from historians of empire in this respect, especially those engaged in aspects of what is loosely termed 'new imperial history.' Architectural historians have failed either to recognize or appreciate the novel and fertile terrain that these larger perspectives offer in terms of methodological development and renewal.

The nature of this problem occurred to me lately in my thinking about the complexity inherent in the transmission of architectural ideas to different parts of the world, especially during the mid-to-late nineteenth century under the auspices of the global Anglican episcopate (est.1841).

The rise of the colonial episcopate was first and foremost a cultural phenomenon of which architecture—that is to say, 'buildings'—was but one manifestation. Nevertheless, these buildings, or churches to be more precise, erected all over the world, were artefacts (in the anthropological sense) that both embodied and represented the aims and objectives of that particular cultural enterprise: the missionary project of the Church of England.⁵

Thus, in considering this phenomenon in its global capacity, I was necessarily faced with a methodological problem that was at once British *and* global, domestic *and* imperial, and that there was no neat or easy way of distinguishing between the two. This problem was exacerbated by the complex and, as yet, unresolved relationship between the historiography of 'British' architecture, on the one hand, and that of 'British colonial' architecture, on the other. Typically, these two subjects have been treated separately, both geographically and historically. But are they actually separate subjects? Or, can they be seen as seamless or even indivisible in certain respects?

This forced me to ask what it actually meant to speak of 'British' and/or 'British colonial' architecture. Did the term 'British' in reference to architecture merely pertain to an account of those buildings and monuments that were seen to exist within the political boundaries of what is today referred to as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland? Or, did it include those buildings that were designed and erected by British soldiers, merchants, architects, government administrators, and settlers throughout Britain's former colonial empire?⁶

There may be no easy or absolute answer to this question. However, it is clear to me that the majority of the Anglican churches I have investigated in recent years, in many different parts of the world, cannot simply be labelled 'colonial.'

My proposal for re-conceptualising the nature and extents of Anglican ecclesiology has been influenced and informed by at least three major considerations: 1) contemporary context; 2) recent developments in British imperial and domestic historiography; and 3) past attempts at coming to terms with the cultural geography of art/architecture.

⁴ D. Armitage, 'Three Concepts of Atlantic History' in D. Armitage and M. J. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Houndmills, 2002), pp. 11-27; N. Canny, 'Atlantic History and Global History' in J. P. Greene and P. D. Morgan (eds.), *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 317-36. Among the most comprehensive studies to embrace this approach is John Elliott's *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven, 2006). For an overview of the rise and development of World/Global history, see P. O'Brien, 'Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History,' *Journal of Global History* vol. 1 (2006), pp. 3-39.

⁵ This global perspective on the expansion of Christianity has also begun to shape the study of Roman Catholicism. For example, see Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge, 2008).

⁶ This might also apply to buildings designed by 'English' or 'British' architects in sovereign territories beyond British political control, such as embassy buildings. For example, see Mark Crinson's description of W. J. Smith's British Embassy building in Istanbul (1842-54) in Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London, 1996), pp. 126-30.

The first of these considerations concerns the rather straightforward observation that many of the architects and clergymen (and their sponsors) associated with the Anglican missionary cause worldwide were closely related, either through family ties, social and political connections, educational background, or professional networks.⁷ Nearly all were interested to some degree or other in architecture and the role it played in the growth and consolidation of Anglican discipline and spirituality (consequences of Tractarianism).⁸ As my research progressed, it became clear that the organization and maintenance of these connections revealed Britain and its empire to be a continuous field of Anglican activity and agency.⁹

This leads me onto my second consideration: where does one look for examples of framing architecture on a global scale? One very important precedent—to my mind, at least—is George Kubler and Martin Soria's *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500 to 1800* (1959). This is a colossal and visionary work that charted the development of architecture, painting, and sculpture (no less) in Spain, Portugal, and their colonial empires in the Caribbean and Central and South America.¹⁰ Such scholarship should not be mistaken for 'grand narrative'—rather, it is concerned with the geography of art and its inherent complexity.¹¹ The fundamental premise of Kubler and Soria's study is worth serious reconsideration in my opinion, for it was a work of scholarship that saw (as a matter of course) the development of 'Spanish' and 'Portuguese' art and architecture as not merely an Iberian phenomenon but one that encompassed the entire known world.¹²

With this in mind, I began to wonder whether it was proper or, indeed, useful to distinguish between 'British' and 'British colonial' architecture, bearing in mind that I was dealing with a social and political mindset that was very different to our own: that of the mid-nineteenth century, which saw the empire as largely co-extensive with Britain itself.

This leads me onto the third and final consideration that has influenced the thesis I am developing: 'New British History' and its derivatives in 'Atlantic History,' and more latterly 'World History.'

In recent years there has been much discussion in imperial and colonial history circles about 'national' versus 'trans-national,' 'British' versus 'colonial/post-colonial' histories. I have found much of this discussion useful in helping frame my subject.¹³ However, the origins of this discussion date back to a series of ground-breaking articles published between 1974 and 1982 by the New Zealand historian J. G. A. Pocock, in which he sought to redefine what was meant by the term 'British history.' His initial observations led to the conclusion that there was nothing that could properly be described as 'British history,' and that what generally passed for the history of Britain, or the British Isles, was in fact the history of England.¹⁴

In his opening salvo, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject,' published in the *New Zealand Journal of History* in 1974, Pocock noted of this problem that 'when one considers what "Britain" means—that it is the name of a realm inhabited by two,

⁷ For example: Howard Le Couteur, 'Using the "Old Boys" Network: Bishop Tufnell's Search for Men and Money,' paper delivered at the Australian Historical Association conference, Hobart (1998); Austin Cooper, 'Forgotten Australian Anglican: Edward Coleridge,' *Pacifica*, vol. 3 (1990), pp. 257-67.

⁸ Many colonial clergymen were members and patrons of the two influential university architectural societies (Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Architectural Society).

⁹ The 'home' missionary movement that took place, say, in Devon and Cornwall, or in London's east end was part of the same overarching endeavour. In fact many of the clergymen who first started off in the home missionary field would later progress to the foreign field.

¹⁰ G. Kubler and M. Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500 to 1800* (Harmondsworth, 1959). The authors' original vision was even grater, for they hoped that their study would 'treat the art and architecture of the Iberian Empires from the Renaissance to the Napoleonic Wars,' including not only the America's but also 'Asia, Oceania, Africa, and the rest of Europe' (p. xxv).

¹¹ For an analysis of Kubler's approach to the geography of art, see: T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004), pp. 219-38.

¹² It is clear from looking at Kubler and Soria's study that they conceived of this network as constituting a complete body—a kind of web of artistic production that stretched across land and sea—connecting the empire as a whole. A more recent study that takes a similarly inclusive approach is Maria Georgopoulou's, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, 2001).

¹³ For example: A. Burton, 'Rules of Thumb: British History and "Imperial Culture" in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Britain,' *Women's History Review* vol. 3:4 (1994), pp. 483-501; David Armitage, 'Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?,' *American Historical Review*, vol. 104:2 (1999), pp. 427-45; Stuart Ward, 'Transcending the Nation: A Global Imperial History?' in A. Burton (ed.), *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation* (Durham, 2003), pp. 44-56.

¹⁴ J. G. A. Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions of British History,' *Studies in Public Policy*, no. 31 (University of Strathclyde, 1979), p. 7.

and more than two, nations, whose history has been expansive to the extent of planting settlements and founding derivative cultures beyond the Four Seas—it is evident that the history of this complex expression has never been seriously attempted.¹⁵ In short, Pocock's principal contention was that 'British history,' in its most plural and comprehensive sense, was an 'unknown' subject.

Clearly, from where Pocock was standing, 'British history' was not only something different from the history of England but also something far more expansive, both geographically and historiographically. This included not only English political and cultural expansion and domination within the British Isles—what Pocock refers to as the Anglo-Norman transformation of the Atlantic Archipelago—but also expansion beyond this into North America, India, Australasia, and Africa. This was essentially Pocock's challenge to the modern historian: that one can 'conceive of "British history" no longer as being an archipelagic or even an Atlantic-American phenomenon, but as having occurred on a planetary scale.'¹⁶

At first Pocock's thesis proved controversial.¹⁷ He was asking historians that had hitherto taken a very insular and Euro-centric view of English history to fundamentally re-evaluate their position, and to consider both the intra- *and* extra-archipelagic events that shaped the modern nation state as being part of the same historical record.¹⁸ Although it might be argued that Pocock's historiographical agenda was accompanied by a degree of post-imperial anxiety, his conclusions were such that they could only have been reached by a scholar looking from the outside in, especially from the margins of Britain's former colonial empire. His 'plea,' as it were, certainly reminds one of J. R. Seeley's observation of a hundred years earlier, that empire was 'the great fact of modern English history.' Pocock's was the first trenchant articulation since Seeley's time of the now largely accepted thesis that neither the domestic nor the imperial histories of Britain can be fully appreciated in isolation.¹⁹

Pocock's ideas have since found resonance in much scholarship on British domestic and imperial history, and the 'enlarged' perspective that his work represents has flourished more generally.²⁰ Scholars such as Linda Colley, John Mackenzie, Catherine Hall, C. A. Bayly, David Armitage, Duncan Bell, and Antoinette Burton, to name but a few, have sought to highlight and bring to the fore the intimately entwined and therefore largely inseparable conditions of British domestic and imperial history.²¹

¹⁵ J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject,' *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 8:1 (1974), p. 5.

¹⁶ J. G. A. Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject,' *American Historical Review*, vol. 87:2 (1982), p. 319. Here Pocock also observes that: "British history," both cultural and political, is discovered to have exceeded even the archipelagic and Atlantic dimension and to have established itself in a number of areas in the southern hemisphere. The history of these settler nations ... makes a claim to be considered part of "British history" and to enlarge the meaning of that term.' For the same argument in a related context, see J. G. A. Pocock, 'The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary,' *American Historical Review*, vol. 104:2 (1999), pp. 490-500.

¹⁷ See the comments on Pocock's initial thesis by A. J. P. Taylor, Gordon Donaldson, and Michael Hechter, as well as his own reply, in the *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 47:4 (1975), pp. 601-21.

¹⁸ On this point Pocock notes that: 'Some fifteen years ago, there appeared among English scholars and publicists a strong tendency to assert that England—or Britain if they happened to use the word—had always formed part of Europe and the history of Europe; and this was plainly a myth—like all myths containing much incidental truth—designed to accompany the entry of the United Kingdom into the European Economic Community. The decision to seek this entry was as we know founded upon the proposition that Britain's independent role as an imperial power was now irretrievably lost. The accompanying myth—the insistence on the inherently European character of British history—conveyed the message that the history of that imperial role either had never happened, or had never counted and could now be forgotten.' See: Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions,' p. 2.

¹⁹ J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (London, 1883), p. 12. For further reflections on Pocock's thesis, see J. G. A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge, 2005). Although, as David Armitage has recently suggested, Seeley and Pocock were approaching the same problem from different perspectives, and at radically different moments in history, the conclusions they reached were essentially the same: that it is vital to integrate the history of the state and the empire if the history of Britain is to be properly understood. D. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 20-1.

²⁰ See note 3 in J. G. A. Pocock, 'The Field Enlarged: An Introduction' in Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands*, p. 48. This especially applies to histories of Britain such as 'Three Kingdoms' and 'Four Nations.' For example, see: H. Kearney, *The British Idles: A History of Four Nations*, Second Edition (Cambridge, 2006 [first published 1989]).

²¹ On this point Hall has recently confessed that 'in order to understand the specificity of the [British] national formation, we have to look outside it,' while Bayly has argued that 'all local, national, or regional histories must, in important ways, ... be global histories. It is no longer really possible to write "European" or "American" history in a narrow sense.' See C. Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 9; and C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914* (Oxford, 2004), p. 2. See also Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven, 2000), pp. xiii-xv.

As architecture is one of the most immediate and conspicuous forms of cultural production, it occurred to me that this approach and the insights it offered had much to recommend to the study of architecture broadly conceived, and might just as easily apply to 'British architecture' as it does to 'British history.'²²

Unfortunately, the discipline of architectural history has been much slower in taking up this challenge. Very few scholars of architecture have either been willing or able to place regional and national histories in a genuine dialogue with the spread and development of architectural forms worldwide, particularly with respect to European imperialism.²³ Although much work has been done on the various ways in which British architecture has been influenced by ideas from abroad, this is not the same as proposing or insisting upon a historiographically integrated approach. Extensive bodies of literature have been built up around the study of British domestic and colonial architectures respectively, but there has been no serious attempt as yet to make a methodological connection between the two. However, as I have tried to argue here, there is no reason why the histories of British domestic and colonial architecture should be treated separately; or, why the subject cannot be seen as a 'unitary field of analysis,' to borrow a phrase from Bernard Cohn, especially when it comes to the extension of an institution such as the Church of England.²⁴ To return finally to the insight of Pocock: if colonial history is British history in the sense that nearly all its determinants are the product of British expansion, then cannot the same be said for colonial architecture?

²² In fact, as Bayly has noted, a global perspective on modern history must also include the numerous forms of cultural practice and production, including architecture. See: Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, pp. 1, 384-5.

²³ One notable exception to this is A. D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London, 1984).

²⁴ Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, 1996), p. 4.

Towards a Nineteenth-Century History of Australia and New Zealand from a Post-nationalisation and Post-colonial Perspective?

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We wish to position the nineteenth-century architectural and urban planning history of Australia and New Zealand as a historical field that exposes the limitations both of a centre-periphery model of historical transmission, assuming a once-direct and subordinate relationship with Great Britain, and a post-colonial model privileging the place of first peoples as the 'other' to the British meta-narrative.

Present-day Australia was settled as a series of colonies, which until 1901 and the Federation of Australia constituted a number of autonomous territories. The constellation began with the former penal colonies of Tasmania (1803, a colony from 1825) and New South Wales (1788), alongside (briefly) Norfolk Island (1789)—followed by the settlement of Western Australia (1834), South Australia (1836) and Victoria (1851). Queensland was separated from New South Wales (NSW) in 1858, and the Northern Territory (from South Australia), like the Australian Capital Territory (from NSW), were divisions of the twentieth century. These are the present-day states of the nation formed in 1901. Formerly, if briefly, governed by New South Wales, New Zealand was occupied by Europeans and Britons from the end of the eighteenth century and was formally established as a British colony in 1840 under the Treaty of Waitangi. Like Australia, it became a self-governing dominion in 1907, at which point it no longer held status as a British colony. And so we have two twentieth-century nations, Australia and New Zealand, comprised of a series of nineteenth-century colonies, all responsible to London: in order of foundation, New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia, New Zealand, Victoria, and Queensland.

We encounter these colonies historically as a constellation of nineteenth-century territories given a corporate identity by the British Empire, while maintaining rhetorical and cultural points of distinction on a number of bases: geographical, historical (penal versus settler colonies, for example), economic, first peoples race-relations (between the Crown and Australian Aboriginals on one hand, and New Zealand Maori on the other), and so forth. Despite a series of notable attempts to sketch out early histories of both Australia and New Zealand, the more substantial historical assessment of the architecture and planning of the two countries has taken place later in the twentieth century: Australia from the 1960s, New Zealand from the 1970s.

Those histories tend to follow established historical practices of delineating New Zealand from Australia along national lines rather than along the colonial lines that shaped the more localised development of the region's architecture until the end of the nineteenth century. New Zealand architectural historiography largely fails to consider the Australian colonies, and Australian histories of architecture do not account for New Zealand buildings—all this despite the heavy mobility of individuals within this set of colonies and between Australasia, Britain and colonies in other parts of the globe. It is rare, though, to find acknowledgment of the Australian projects of an architect working predominantly in New Zealand to figure in New Zealand historical accounts, and vice versa. Even those post-colonial histories concerned with the relationship between colonial inhabitants and institutions and first peoples have pursued this nationalist framework in favour of a (now) state-focussed historiography. There is some clear logic to considering the British-settler-Aboriginal interaction over building in Australia and the British-settler-Maori relationship in New Zealand as separable, but there is no comparative study, for example, of British relationships to these two circumstantially-proximate instances of race-relations insofar as it implicates architecture or the

formation of cities. We would propose, however, that when considered at a scale larger than that of the state, a post-colonial history undermines what we might, as shorthand, call the reality of nineteenth-century architecture, its attendant geographies, institutions and relations both between colonies (including extra-Australasian British lands) and with London. Rather than pursue a post-colonial historiography, we wish to propose that it may prove useful to cross this agenda with a post-national perspective that would seek to dissolve—for the sake of historical fidelity—the strong national division established at the start of the twentieth century.

We can briefly illustrate this claim with two representative examples. One concerns the limitations of a national division for this nineteenth-century history; the other treats limitations of a post-colonial perspective.

The first example concerns the reciprocated tendency, not universal, not to figure the New Zealand work of Australian architects in Australian historiography and vice versa—for New Zealand histories of architecture, of which there are fewer, to overlook the Australian work of New Zealand architects. Of course, in the nineteenth century many architects were British born, confounding the issue further. One of these, the Englishman John Verge (1782-1861), was a prolific architect in Sydney from his arrival in 1831 until his retirement, designing works that have assumed national importance in the history of Australian architecture. Among the works attributed to him, though constructed beyond his supervision, is the House for the British Resident in New Zealand, now commonly called the 'Treaty House' in reflection of the role of that property in securing the treaty between the British Crown and Maori that led to the establishment of New Zealand as a colony. Revised from Verge's plans by Ambrose Hallen (NSW Colonial Architect 1832-1835), the Treaty House bears remarkable similarities to John Macarthur's house at Elizabeth Farm, NSW (1793-1794), built three decades prior to Verge's arrival and not to be confused with Verge's later Elizabeth Bay House in Potts Point, but nevertheless a building that was certainly known to Verge. It is a founding building in the colonial history of Australian architecture of which we can identify an echo in Waitangi. There is something to be made of this exchange of architectural foundations across the Tasman Sea, but something else, and more, to be made of the dozens of other examples that could be more fully elaborated in a regional history of architecture and urban planning concerning the nineteenth-century experience of Australia and New Zealand. Treating colonial constellations along strong (later) nationalist lines does a disservice to the complexities of the history at stake. It permits architectural and urban historians to overlook rich veins of mobility—a permission reinforced by the postcolonial perspective on the relation of the coloniser to the colonised that has acted to confirm the strength of the national boundaries set in place in the twentieth century.

A second example reinforces the limitations of a strictly national paradigm complicated by post-colonial biases. The Brisbane Exhibition Building of 1891 by the British born and trained architect GHM Addison (1857/8-1922) demonstrates the stylistic eclecticism and hybridity common to much of Australia's and New Zealand's nineteenth-century architecture. As others have argued, Addison's hall defies easy classification and has variously been described as an exotic hybrid: Byzantine, Indo-Saracenic, Gothic, Romanesque, flamboyant Victorian eclectic and (more locally) Federation Romanesque. The evident fusion of several styles is explained on two counts. The first is as a climatically-inflected regionalism particular to sub-tropical Queensland attending to the (former colony's) climate, topography and botany, and as such giving rise to a local vernacular. Addison's original proposal for a Gothic arcade encircling the exhibition hall, doubling as a shaded verandah, has given some weight to this claim. The second explanation places the building as an expression of imperialism. Walker and King (2008) have recently demonstrated that Addison's sources were not local and included such examples as TE Collcutt's Imperial Institute (London, 1889), also built for the display of commodities and the promotion of colonial trade. They link Addison's work to the imperial experience and to a colonial discourse of difference.

We would like to argue in favour of a third reading, which replaces the vernacular and colonial/imperial frames with the cosmopolitan. While Queensland's settler society was predominately British, it was also notable for its 'heterogenous' ethnic character, as Evans observed:

An immigration agent at Ipswich would need to be conversant with German, Chinese, Indian, Spanish and Gaelic in order to conduct his affairs. One writer observed a Mexican overseer and German doctor there attempting to communicate with each other in Latin (68).

And on an occasion to mark the 1862 arrival of the new Governor, Lord Bowen:

At a Rockhampton banquet [Bowen] was toasted in turn by a French republican whose sang the Marseillaise, a former German military officer who performed a revolutionary song and an expatriate Greek noble from Corfu, 'who poured forth Count Salamon's beautiful *Hymn to Liberty* (89).

While the individual histories of the Greek, German, French, and Danish contributions to nineteenth-century Queensland architectural culture would be fascinating, this approach—a post-colonial redress to the overlooked 'other'—does little to attend to the inherent complexity of the interaction of ethnic groups in the colony. The significance of the *cultural heterogeneity* of this situation becomes apparent when this cultural mix is collectively considered as representative of an emerging cosmopolitan ethic inflecting nineteenth century architecture.

The cosmopolitan ideal is a well-documented component of the Victorian discourse of cultivation. Oscar Wilde argued (also in 1891) that the active cultivation of intellectual criticism would enable the average citizen to rise above the limitations imposed by racial prejudice and would be the starting point for the 'cosmopolitanism of the future'. This same agenda underpinned the late writings of Alexander von Humboldt and his conviction that a comparative analysis of natural objects from southern and northern precincts of the globe, an eclectic juxtaposition of the exotic with the local, could contribute to the aesthetic and intellectual enlightenment of the common man, and as such, circumvent more traditional modes of learning. Humboldt helps us understand the cosmopolitanism (rather than the imperialism) of nineteenth-century architectural eclecticism. William Lethaby's early writings, for instance, can be viewed as catalogues of 'exotic' architectural form and content made accessible to the English architect with the intent of encouraging their usage within an English context. Noting that the 'habit of historians of architecture' was to 'lay stress on the differences of the several styles and schools of successive ages', Lethaby identified the opposite as his intent, to demonstrate that 'behind every style of architecture there is an earlier style, in which the germ of every form is to be found.' Juxtaposition reveals what is racially common or universal.

What would a cosmopolitan paradigm offer to analysis of the stylistic eclecticism of Addison's Exhibition Building, where European, British and Middle Eastern styles meet in a single building, set in a garden boasting an equally-eclectic botanical collection of exotic and indigenous flora? The significance of this question lies in the subtle methodological shift from the current focus on difference (as meta-narrative) within post-colonial writings on architecture and culture, in Australia, New Zealand and beyond, to one where the motivation is comparative. A postcolonial historiography of the architecture and planning of Australia and New Zealand has made significant advances to our knowledge of its history. A cosmopolitan architectural historiography, like a regionalist historiography, would simply carve out a new space to tell another kind of history that would more clearly figure the architectural history of this geography into the European and global history of architecture.

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Museums of Architecture in Nineteenth-century France

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The question of architecture museums in France between the seventeen and eighteen hundreds was analysed in detail by Werner Szambien in the valuable publication *Le Musée d'architecture*. Our objective is to investigate more precisely the educational role assigned to these collections of casts and models. This does not mean, as we shall see, dealing only with the *École des Beaux-Arts* (School of Fine Arts) but also the schools for engineers and finally the universities.

During the course of seventeen hundreds the models became objects of interest to tourists and considered on a par with Piranesi's engravings, therefore they were no longer conceived solely as helpful instruments in architectural design. At the same time, however, the architects emphasised increasingly the qualities of three-dimensional reproduction that would make it possible to attain a simpler representation offering a more immediate understanding. This is what Legrand writes in the introduction to his essay published in 1806 on the Cassas collection, when he states that models are preferable not only to drawings consisting of plans, sections and views, but also to projections, since models make it possible to 'compare all the forms and burn them into the memory indelibly'.¹ The *Académie des Beaux-Arts* obviously had already had a collection of buildings reproduced as scale models for some time but at the end of the seventeen hundreds what we see is great enthusiasm for the *maquette*. The extensive collection of models of machinery kept in the *Conservatoire des Art set Métiers* right from its founding in 1794 constitutes only one of the many attempts to use models for prevalently pedagogic purposes.

The École des Beaux-Arts (The School of fine Arts)

In addition to the historic collection kept by the *Académie*, the students of the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* could also use the original casts and fragments that professor Dufourny had sent from Italy between 1801 and 1803. The collection was further expanded thanks to the bequest of Rondelet's models, then with the acquisition in 1813 by the school of the numerous *maquettes* of ancient buildings of Cassas and by the donation by Bruyère of twenty-one contemporary models.² Bringing together models and casts was of primary importance in this era for pedagogy since it made it possible to give young people a collective view of objects, alongside the particularly precise reproductions of individual architectural elements. The ultimate purpose was to nurture the "taste" of the young generations by showing them the most representative examples of architecture.

The collection however, as pointed out by its keeper Peisse at the Ministry of the Interior in 1836, was basically the 'result of chance events'³ and clearly favoured antiquity. At this point the question arises as to the pertinence of the introduction of a considerable number of modern productions, but times have changed and the idea now is not to fear that the representations of modern buildings might 'endanger the purity of taste', but on the contrary that 'the exclusion of modern art would be a ridiculous and unreasonable act of superstition'.⁴ A complete homogeneous collection could provide, as the administrator of the collection believed, greater stimulus for thought precisely because it would be possible to compare works that are not only geographically distant from each other but also chronologically remote. If the collection of the *École des Beaux-Arts* was created at the beginning of the eighteen hundreds for essentially didactic purposes – even if the dimensions of the models were often so small as to undermine the pedagogic intent –, towards the middle of the century the objectives tended to become purely historic in

¹ Legrand, Jacques-Guillaume - *Collection des chefs-d'œuvre de l'architecture des différents peuples exécutés en modèles sous la direction de L.F. Cassas*. Paris: Imprimerie de Leblanc, 1806, p. 13.

² For all the donations and purchases of the first half of the eighteen hundreds see Szambien, Werner - *Le Musée d'architecture*. Paris: Picard, 1988.

³ Archives nationales, AJ 52, 445, " Rapport de Peisse au Ministre de l'Intérieur: Projet du musée des Études à l'École des Beaux-Arts ", march 1836, p. 6.

⁴ Archives nationales, AJ 52, 445, " Rapport de Peisse... ", p. 11.

nature: 'the thought of this new *museum of models* – wrote Peisse- is therefore mostly historic'.⁵ But if these were the intentions, the reality was to be something quite different. The collection continued to grow in size [fig. 1] without any predetermined direction and to a large extent by donations such as the one made in 1862 by the daughter of the businessman Auguste Bellu consisting of a huge number of structural models of the most important buildings of the period.⁶ This donation of great interest was to enrich the *Salle de la charpente*⁷ (formerly "Hall of construction"). This leaning toward an interest in construction was not the result of a programmatic choice but still merely the result of chance events. The same is true at the end of the century for the 'architects museum', located near the library and described by Lemaistre as a space in which 'the tower of Pisa and the Colosseum stand alongside the Parthenon',⁸ which remained a place in which methodological rigour was still completely absent from museum planning [fig. 2].

The schools for engineers

From the end of the 18th century the models and casts represented a pedagogic instrument of considerable importance for engineers too. In 1795 a commission consisting of the architect Louis-Pierre Baltard (from 1794 in charge of the teaching of architecture), Lesage (inspector of the *École des Ponts et Chaussées*) and Lomet (future curator of the gallery of models at the *École Polytechnique*) began a selection from the collection of the *Académie d'Architecture* of a series of drawings and models that were to form the new collection of the *École des Travaux Publics*.⁹ Among the objects that seemed useful for the training of the young engineer, there are not only models of stairs and roofs but also a gothic church, the plan of a contemporary building (the church of St-Sauveur by Chalgrin), a part of the *Comédie Française*, some Corinthian columns and an arabesque bas-relief. The school also decided to purchase 'ten plaster models representing various monuments of ancient and modern architecture'.¹⁰ We may well wonder if it was the same J.-P. Fouquet, the producer of the Cassas models, who created these works. Fouquet in fact states that he cooperated with the *École Polytechnique* for which he was to produce a number of 'architectural models for instruction of the pupils'.¹¹ The inventory drafted in 1816 of the collection of models takes into account the heterogeneous nature of the objects collected which range from classical orders to the auditorium of the Odéon Theatre, the temple of Paestum, the column of the Barrière du Trone by Ledoux, bearing witness to a concept without blinkers of architecture and its history, where the role of the museum is not intended to provide examples to adopt or imitate. It should be remembered however that this collection of models (and drawings) was conceived at the time of Baltard and which his successor Durand (in charge of the architecture course from 1797) preferred to assemble, as rightly confirmed by Szambien, a collection of carved models, made famous by his famous *Recueil*.¹² The three-dimensional value of the clay model goes far beyond the basically graphic, geometric and typological compositional system taught by Durand. And so if 'the galleryis still used in 1816 –writes Szambien- ...less importance is given to it than in 1795'¹³ and for this reason the models of the *École Polytechnique* were definitively transferred in 1826 to the *École des Beaux-Arts* where the construction of the new *Palais des Études* was in progress with the *galerie d'architecture* by Debret, decreeing the end of the collection as something for use by the student engineers.¹⁴

⁵ Archives nationales, AJ 52, 445, " Rapport de Peisse... ", p. 8.

⁶ Archives nationales, AJ 52, 448, " Dons Mme Daunay ".

⁷ Müntz, Eugène - *Guide de l'École nationale des beaux-arts*. Paris: Quantin, 1889, p. 159.

⁸ Lemaistre, Alexis - *L'École des Beaux-Arts dessinée et racontée par un élève*. Paris : Firmin-Didot, 1889, pp. 187-188.

⁹ Archives nationales, F 17 1265 (10): " Modèles pris à l'Académie d'Architecture pour figurer dans les collections de l'École polytechnique ", year III. See also Szambien, Werner, *Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand 1760-1834. De l'imitation à la norme*. Paris: Picard, 1984.

¹⁰ Fourcy, Ambroise - *Histoire de l'école polytechnique*. Paris: l'auteur, 1828, p. 18.

¹¹AN. F 13, 630 : " Demande d'emploi de Fouquet en 1808 ".

¹² Durand, Jean-Nicolas-Louis - *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre anciens et modernes remarquables par leur beauté*. Paris: impr. de Gillé fils, an VIII-an IX.

¹³ Szambien, Werner - *Le Musée.. op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 103, footnote 25.

A story which in some ways is similar to that of the collection of the *Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées*. Already before the French revolution the engineer Perronet had had a gallery built containing a 'valuable collection of relief models of bridges, dams and other works or art; machines related to all kinds of construction..., pieces of braces and roofs'.¹⁵ These objects, which come from the *Académie d'Architecture* became an extensive collection that Thiéry described to us in a rather detailed way in 1787 in his guide to Paris.¹⁶ The gallery of models then consisted largely of models of bridges and various machines, beside which there were also some architectural elements such as a spiral staircase or the roof of the church of S. Philippe du Roule but also some genuine models of classical architecture such as the temple of Paestum and the cork model of the Sibilla Tiburtina in Tivoli. As Antoine Picon rightly points out, the professor of architecture Mandar (in charge of the course from 1800 to 1820) differed in didactic methodology from Durand by going into depth on constructional aspects. One may well ask therefore if Mandar for example had used the collection of models since his objective was really the 'intimate knowledge of the works'.¹⁷ A Mandar, who also advised his students to use perspective since it offered, in his opinion 'the possibility of understanding architectural compositions exactly and much better than with geometric views (orthogonal)',¹⁸ could probably have appreciated the intrinsic qualities of the architectural model.

If in the schools for architects and engineers the *maquettes* however lost their didactic value during the course of the eighteenth hundreds – even though at the *École Centrale des Art set Manufactures* an architecture workshop was created in 1896 and allusions are made to freehand sketches starting with 'models in nature'¹⁹ – they seem however to have enjoyed a new splendour toward the end of the century with the formation of courses on archaeology and history of art in the French universities.

The Universities

The collections of models and casts are not in fact found to be a prerogative of the schools for future designers. The newly formed courses on the history of art seemed to acquire these pedagogic instruments very rapidly.²⁰ François Benoît, in charge of the course of "Archaeology and history of art" from 1899 at the University of Lille, stated that it is necessary 'to believe more in the monuments than the texts'.²¹ In addition to the history of art course the University of Lille, with the help also of state and municipal funds, also opened an "Institute of history of ancient and modern art" which in 1901 brought together various sections including a workshop, an exhibition hall and a museum of casts. The workshop, according to Benoit himself, was organised as a kind of museum:

'I was able... to exhibit next to or on the walls, statues, busts, bas-reliefs of decorative sculpture, originals or casts of ceramics.... ivory, etc, large photographs of monuments, pictures, engravings, etc. in total almost two hundred pieces' All these documents were chosen and placed in order to present the chronological succession of the main styles in a symmetrical way from left to right starting from the entrance [...] For every object there was a descriptive plate which indicated in a systematic way and in sequence the period, country, subject, artist, place of origin and location where kept. The demonstration was

¹⁵ Archives nationales : F 17 1238,1, document 36 : " Rapport sur les collections de l'Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées ", s.d. (year II).

¹⁶ Thiéry, Luc-Vincent - *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris, ou Description raisonnée de cette ville, de sa banlieue et de tout ce qu'elles contiennent de remarquable*. Paris, Hardouin et Gattey, 1787; see vol. 1, pp. 597-589.

¹⁷ Picon, Antoine - *L'invention de l'ingénieur moderne. L'École des Ponts et Chaussées 1747-1851*. Paris: Presses de l'École nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, 1992, p. 541.

¹⁸ Quoted by Picon, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

¹⁹ Guillet, Léon - *Cent ans de la vie de l'École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures, 1829-1929*. Paris : Brunoff, 1929, p. 143.

²⁰ See Talenti, Simona - *Histoire de l'architecture en France. Emergence d'une discipline (1863-1914)*. Paris : Picard, 2000, especially chapter "Musée réel, imaginaire ou idéal", pp. 102-108.

²¹ Benoît, François - "L'Institut d'art de l'Université de Lille". *Revue de synthèse historique*. 82 (1914) pp. 9-12 ; quotation p. 11.

completed by a series of maps of "artistic geography" which localise, for the more important styles, the great monuments, the main centres of activity and the area of expansion'.²²

Maxime Collignon, professor at the University of Paris, emphasised that it was important also for the Sorbonne to equip itself in a similar way since at the end of the century the students had only an 'archaeology hall' available where there was a 'limited collection of small casts and a modest series of original monuments'²³ and that the drawings and photographs were no longer sufficient to represent all the aspects of architecture. Collignon recalls in this regard that the German universities in particular had already decided for some time to use this didactic instrument and that some provincial French universities such as Lyon, Bordeaux, Lille and Montpellier had followed the good example set. Conceived as a complement necessary for the theoretical part of the courses, the museums of casts, according to Max Collignon, would have had to offer a methodological and chronological repertoire of the most representative monuments and remained continuously ready to receive new objects and the results of new discoveries. A simple visit to such a place should have been enough by itself to constitute an invaluable lesson and offer rapidly a clear idea of the history of art. The criticism made by Collignon of the collection in the École des Beaux-Arts concentrated precisely on the absence of a methodology of classification and the gaps in the educational museum. That collection of casts and models, in his opinion, would have addressed only an already learned and informed public rather than a public of young students. The purpose instead of a museum conceived in a more methodical and scientific manner is to teach how to observe, how to compare and finally arrive at generalisations.

If the art historians started to consider photography then as an inadequate instrument, preferring casts since these give a better idea of reality, it is true however that some doubts would arise also in regard to this type of collection. In an article published in 1899 on 'L'enseignement de l'histoire de l'art', the art historian Léon Rosenthal stated that only an 'ideal museum' can have pedagogic utility and at the same time be useful for research. An ideal museum which would have to occupy a part of the individual memory of the art historians and consist of that information that only travel can make it possible to accumulate. Different information, sometimes obtained by chance, but mainly collected through a certain 'sensitivity' and a 'special memory', in a kind of 'empathy'²⁴ with the emotions of the artist that created those works. An ideal museum conceived therefore, not so much as an ideological reference model thanks to the particular selection of monuments but as the result of contact with the works, the memory of which would occur thanks to a rapport of emotive sharing. Such a hypothesis would presuppose the existence not of a concrete physical collection of architectural models but of as many 'ideal museums' as there are historians.

²² Benoît, François - *L'enseignement de l'histoire de l'art et l'Institut d'histoire de l'art de l'Université de Lille*. Paris: Librairie de l'art ancien et moderne, 1901, p. 17-18.

²³ Collignon, Max - "L'archéologie à l'Université de Paris". *Revue internationale de l'enseignement*. 37 (1899), pp. 193-198 ; quotation p. 196.

²⁴ Rosenthal, Léon - "L'enseignement de l'histoire de l'art". *Revue internationale de l'enseignement publiée par la Société de l'enseignement supérieur*. (15.10.1899) pp. 299-306, quotation p. 306.

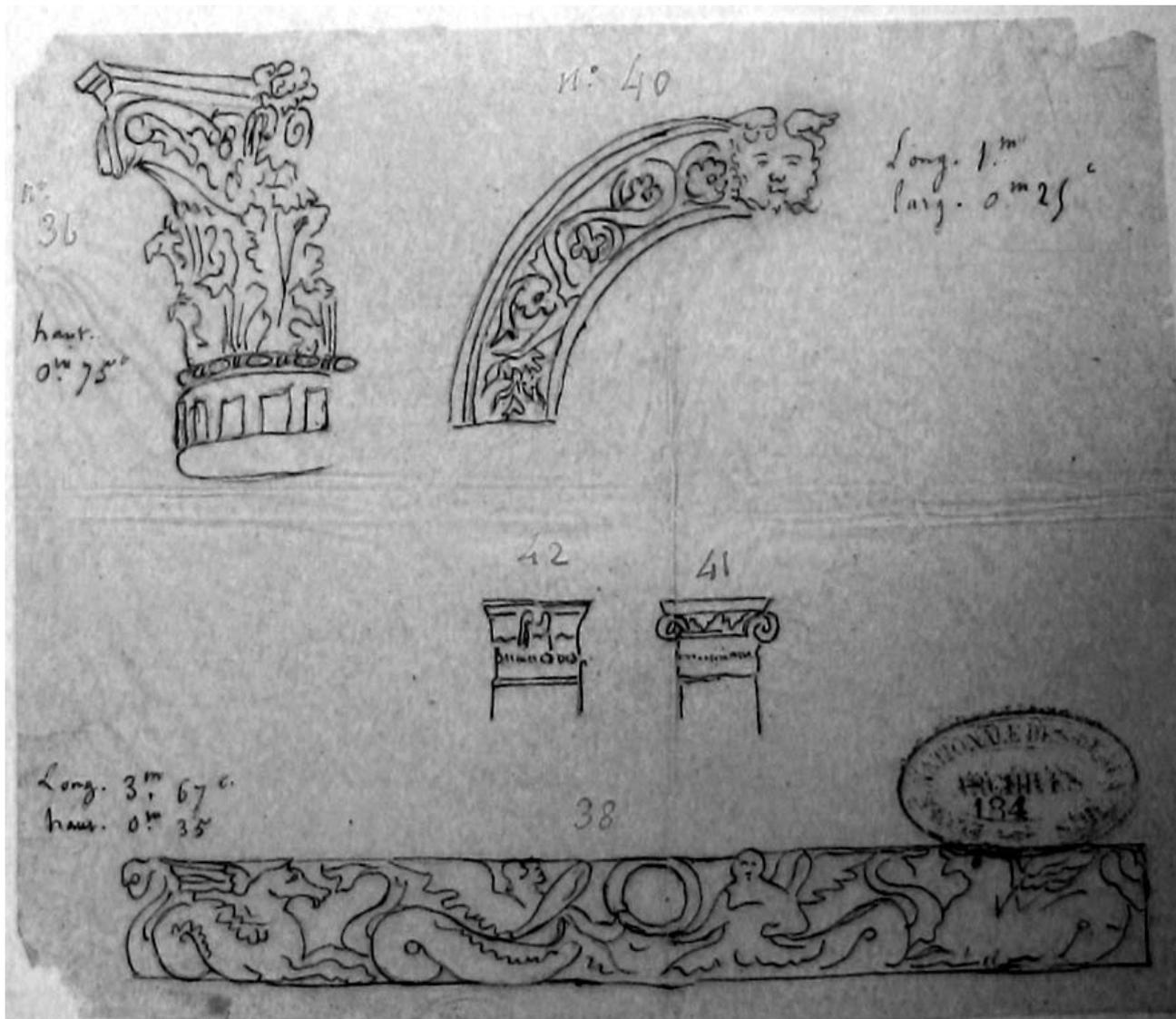
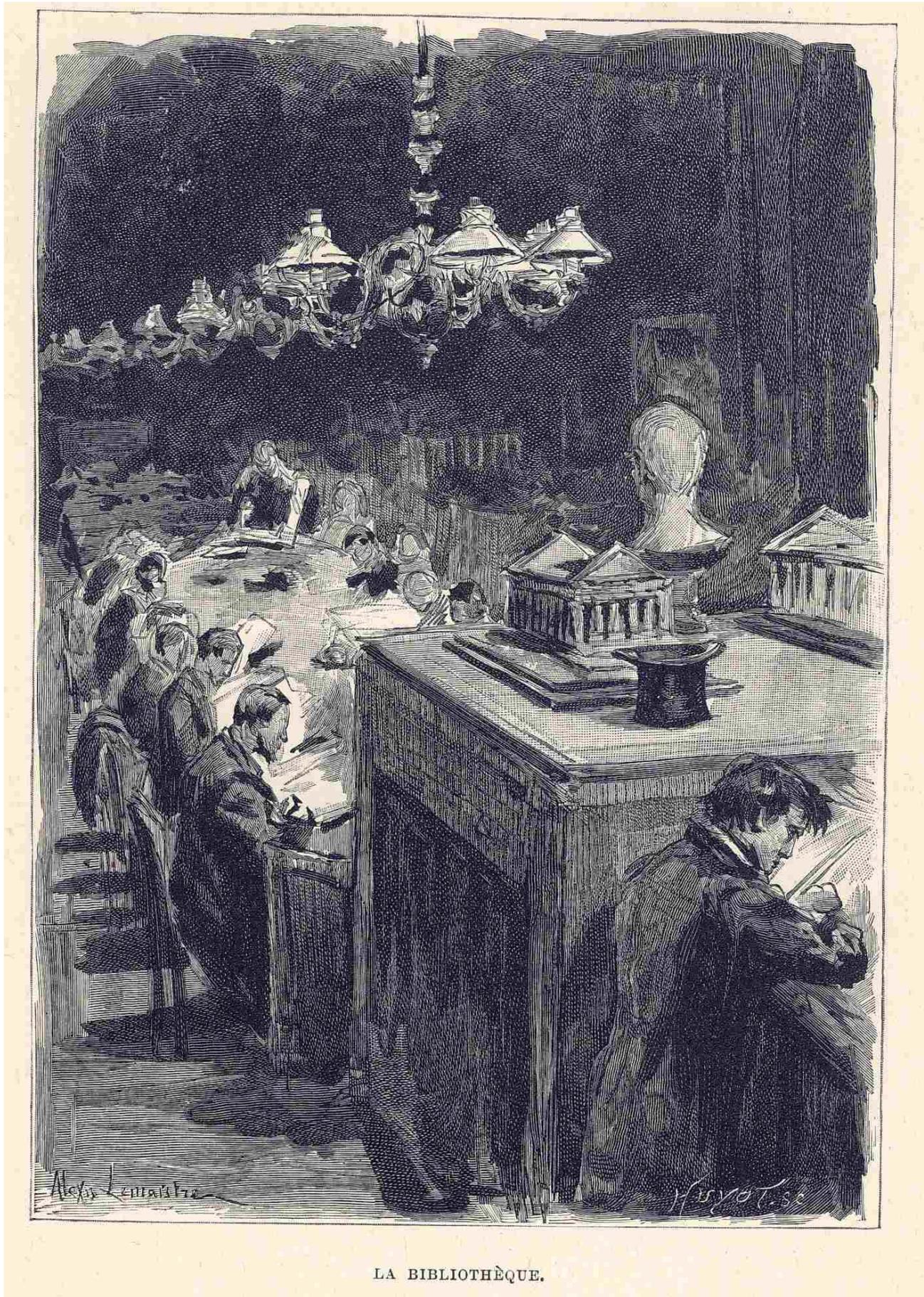


Fig. 1: Drawings of some fragments of the "Salle romaine" (Archives nationales, AJ 52 829, "Musée des études: inventaire descriptif. Fin XIXe siècle").



LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE.

Fig. 2: The Library of the École des Beaux-Arts at the end of the nineteenth century (from Lemaistre, Alexis - *L'École des Beaux-Arts dessinée et racontée par un élève*. Paris : Firmin-Didot, 1889, p. 393).

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Public Buildings in Village Architecture (Maison du Peuple, Dom, Etc.)

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Croatia is a rewarding example for the portrayal of architectural trends as these observed Europe's important social changes over the past two centuries. The architecture, as an important sphere of social endeavour, actively and closely followed and reflected the string of events: from the awakening of the national feelings in the 19th century to the creation of independent countries in central and eastern Europe by the end of the 20th. Today's challenge is how to deal with the architectural heritage in a continuously changing context, including physical, economic and functional factors, as well as socio-cultural and political ones. With this in mind this text aims to present a particular type of village architecture – the public buildings, so called *les maison de peuple*, the cultural and community centres, in Slavic languages often referred to as – *dom* (i.e. home). Conceptually, the starting point of all these buildings is the large hall for performances and social events. The initiatives for their construction came from local authorities, influential cultural and music societies at the time of awakening of the national identity in mid 19th century. At first they were built in the cities, then in smaller communities. In the period between 1870 and 1950, over 60 buildings of this type and function had been constructed, mostly in the continental, northern part of Croatia. But the intention of this paper is not to limit the theme with the localised horizon, but to look into the origins of ideological demands and aesthetic inventions of this widespread architectural phenomenon.¹

The process of cultural and historical unification of Croatian territory lasted from the decline of Venetian influence in the Adriatic in 1797 until the fall of the Hapsburg Monarchy in 1918. From 1868 to 1918 today's Croatia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. One of the results of the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 was the birth of the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise in 1868 through which Hungary obtained access to the Adriatic Sea and Croatia gains control over its own administration and internal affairs, education, judiciary and the use of Croatian as the official language. This gave considerable impetus to the strengthening of the Croatian national identity and self-rule. Zagreb, as the national capital, had an intensive cultural and artistic scene. Two contemporaries had a crucial role in making the Croatian culture distinct within the context of the multinational state: bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer whose motto was "through enlightenment towards freedom" and Izidor Krsnjavi who was one of the most significant protagonist of the era. As the Minister of Culture since 1891, Krsnjavi influenced the establishment of the key educational, cultural and artistic institutions and the construction of their respective buildings.²

During this period, a pan-Slavic movement, which had been growing stronger throughout the entire 19th century, became a serious threat to the divided supporters of the two-headed empire. In addition to initiatives of numerous cultural societies, many sporting movements, such as the *Sokol* (i.e. hawk) movement, provided a useful veil under which the pan-Slavic idea had spread successfully through the Slavic countries of the Austro-Hungarian empire, contributing to better communication and stronger links.³ In order to meet the needs of the Sokol movement and facilitate the gatherings of the population in smaller towns, numerous communal buildings with halls, libraries and open-air grounds for physical exercises had been constructed. Even villages, such as Zlatar in northern Croatia constructed a Sokol Building. Architecture, sculpture and painting came together here, inspired by patriotism and the Hellenistic concept of „a healthy spirit in a healthy body“. The building constructed

¹ TOULIER, Bernard & KLEIN, Richard (Eds), *Les architectures de la culture – de la maison du peuple à la maison de la culture*. Cycle Les Réseau de la modernité, Docomomo International. Paris : Le Centre des hautes études de Chaillot, 16-17 December 2005.

² MARUSEVSKI, Olga – Iso Krsnjavi kao graditelj (Iso Krsnjavi as a Constructor), Zagreb: Društvo povjesnicara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1986.

³ The first Croatian Sokol Building was the one built in Zagreb in 1872. by ing. Matija Antolec and arch. Aleksandar Freudereich. Danas se u njemu nalazi Akademija za kazalište, film i televiziju.

in 1910 is considered as an Art Nouveau *Gesamtkunstwerk* and it remains a rare example of preserved originality and condition.⁴ [Fig.1]

The research work of the two Croatian architects, namely Martin Pilar and Janko Holjac, was an important factor during the inaugural period of the national style in Croatian architecture, which Izidor Krsnjavi initiated in 1880s.⁵ For a decade, they collected traditional methods and technical information as well as specific details regarding the materials used in the construction of characteristic “national” buildings in different regions of Croatia, analysing their specific characteristics: from the organisation of the internal space to the use of materials and ornaments. The result of this work is an album entitled “Croatian construction shapes” (containing detailed drawings of examples of rural architecture) which also had its German edition.⁶ These published blueprints served as a model for contemporary construction and restoration of historical buildings. They were the tools for affirmation of Croatian heritage. Some of them were published in the “Wiener Bauhütte” magazine as part of the curriculum of the professor Friedrich von Schmidt at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna where both Pilar and Holjac studied.⁷

At the same time, architect Stjepan Podhorsky is applying the morphology of pre-Romanic churches (using examples from 10th to 12th century which was the period of Croatian national kings) not only to the sacral architecture which he specialized, but also to the Croatian People's House in the small town of Krizevci, built in 1913. This is one of the largest buildings of this type with the hall, reading room and premises for the voluntary fire brigade and the hiking society. Although this was a contemporary polyvalent building, the national style was primarily reflected through application of historical models and characteristics of vernacular architecture. The architectural solution was sought through the bonding of history, folklore and patriotism.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the compatibility of the national features and international ambitions was especially evident in the Art Nouveau style. Art Nouveau was also part of a broader movement in central Europe which promoted national awareness, formed the national identities and, through art, created elements of modern, national cultures in the Turn-of-the-Century period. Many regional and local versions were created and, within them, the new principles of design of international provenance often articulated the nationally coloured content.

The organized activities aimed at improvement of the living and hygienic conditions in rural areas, began, throughout the entire country, in the period between the two World Wars. As of 1926, the Institute for Hygiene and the School of Public Health in Zagreb are devising the first concrete, planned activities changing the rural living conditions.⁸ At the same time, painter and art historian Ljubo Babic was one of the key figures on the Croatian art scene. His opinion often had a decisive influence on the features of the national art. He formulated the need for a national visual expression – “our expression” as he called it. In 1920, he travelled through Spain and became acquainted with the local artistic heritage, which he then often underlined as an important reference, trying to impose it upon the Croatian artists as a possible starting point.⁹ There were several important features in that strategy, which manifest the complex interplay of political, economic, and cultural factors that were specific for areas detached from the centres of general modernization processes. First of all, the political situation in Kingdom of Yugoslavia between the two World Wars and the Croatian dissatisfaction, created the need for shaping of recognizable and firmly

⁴ RADOVIC MAHECIC, Darja – „Sokolski dom u Zlataru (Sokol Building in Zlatar)“. *Kaj*, Zagreb, 1-2 (2005) 127-140.

⁵ At the international exhibition in Trieste in 1883 the Croatian Pavilion was built in National Style. See: KRSNJAVI, Izidor – „Gradjevni narodni styl (National Style in construction?)“. *Glasnik Društva za umjetnost i umjetni obrt*, Zagreb, 3 (1888), 1-9.

⁶ PILAR, Martin & HOLJAC, Janko (Eds) - *Hrvatski gradevni oblici (Croatian Construction Shapes)*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo inženira i arhitekta, 1904-1909.; PILAR, Martin & HOLJAC, Janko (Eds) - *Das Bauernhaus in Kroatien: kroatische Bauformen*. Zagreb: Kroatische Ingenieur- und Architektenverein, 1911.

⁷ DAMJANOVIC, Dragan – „Radovi hrvatskih arhitekata u casopisu Wiener Bauhütte (The Works of Croatian Architects and the Journal Wiener Bauhütte)“. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, Zagreb, 30 (2006), 229-240.

⁸ Croatian medical doctor Andrija Stampar, one of the founders of the World Health Organisation, was the key figures in this process. See: GRMEK, Mirko Drazen (Ed.), *U borbi za narodno zdravlje. Izabrani članci Andrije Stampara (In the Fight for the Public Health. Selected Articles of Andrija Stampar)*, Zagreb, Skola narodnog zdravlja & Medicinski fakultet, 1966.

⁹ BABIC, Ljubo – *O nasem izrazu (About Our Expression)*. Zagreb: Zaklada tiskare Narodnih novina, 1931, 24-29.

structured national culture in which the visual arts would play an important role. The second important feature was the exploration of regional models and accentuating the regional values. The division of the Croatian territory into southern „Dalmatian“ and northern „Pannonian“ testifies of the need to mark the existing regional characteristics as a basis for the national visual expression. Babic established the difference between individual and collective artistic expressions and an important element of his strategies was his interest for the village and studies of rural heritage. Babic wrote: “We note two types on the Croatian ethnic territory. The first one is the stone house – similar to Mediterranean type. The second one is the wooden house – it is usually found in the continental parts in many different forms. The nature of the builders is dual – ones are carpenters, the others are masons or stonemasons. This is most evident in ornamental elements”.¹⁰

The features of Babic's strategy were the consequence of a complex historical moment, in which the Croatian art was virtually divided between the desires to accept the articulations of visual modernity and to recognize its own, autochthon values.¹¹ However, at the time, that interest had no explicit political character, unlike the one of the members of *Zemlja* group (The Earth) – an association of artists founded in 1929 (majority were architects) – and banned in 1935. They had turned to the village and to rural topics in the 1930s. They were highlighting the problems of poor rural living conditions, emphasizing the misery of the large parts of the populace in order to underline their motto on contemporary architecture “Create for man a better social relationship and life both at home and at work!”.¹² The bonding tissue for the members of the *Zemlja* group was the programme of socially engaged action and indirect criticism of the ruling powers.¹³ However, the *Zemlja* group developed only a few blueprints for the rural communities and their projects and architecture are actually examples of functional modern architecture.¹⁴

Since 1919, architectural competitions for construction of Croatian People's Houses were regularly called. These aimed at achieving and maintaining the cultural identity. The first Croatian House was constructed in Vukovar (it was poorly adapted in 1960s and heavily damaged during the war in 1991)¹⁵. The Institute for Hygiene and the School of Public Health in Zagreb developed the standard blueprints for the community centres, considering them to be “centres of spiritual life and cultural work in numerous communities and their surroundings”. [Fig.2]

Aleksandar Freudenreich, an architect from Zagreb, stands out among many authors of these public buildings. He himself designed approximately 50 such buildings, always respecting the characteristics of the regional architecture.¹⁶

During the period of the “Independent state of Croatia” (1941-1945), under the ruling quisling regime which had strong anti-urban ideology, Freudenreich not only designed a number of “buildings for social events”, but, in 1943, he also published a book entitled “Homes of Enlightenment” elaborating the history of the building type, the concept of these constructions and their typology: “The task of our village is to protect and advance traditional arts and it has to be aware that by doing so it is performing an important national task”.¹⁷ Freudenreich theoretically developed his ideas, which in a characteristic manner interpret earlier positions of Ljubo Babic. According to Babic the national characteristics derived from the regional ones: “The basis for the construction of the Homes of Enlightenment in villages is more an architectural and artistic than technical problem.

¹⁰ BABIC, Ljubo – *Umjetnost kod Hrvata u 19. stoljeću (Art of the Croats in 19th century)*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1934, 15-20. (II. ed. under the name - *The Art of Croats* was published in 1943).

¹¹ PRELOG, Petar – „Strategija oblikovanja „našeg izraza“ umjetnost i nacionalni identitet u djelu Ljube Babića (The Strategy of Formulating „Our Expression“: Art and National Identity in the Work of Ljubo Babić)“. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*. Zagreb, 31 (2007) 267-282.

¹² PLANIC, Stjepan – Treba znati ... Problemi savremene arhitekture (One Ought to Know ... Problems of Contemporary Architecture). Zagreb, 1932.

¹³ PLANIC, Stjepan – „Arhitektura i društvo (Architecture and the society)“. *Književnik*. Zagreb, 1 (1933) 29-30.

¹⁴ RADOVIC MAHECIC, Darja – *Modern Architecture in Croatia in the 1930's*. Zagreb: Skolska knjiga & Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2007.

¹⁵ KARAC, Zlatko & SIMICIC, Duro – „Hrvatski dom u Vukovaru arhitekta Aleksandra Freudenreicha (Croatian Cultural Centre in Vukovar of architect Aleksandar Freudenreich)“. *Prostor*. Zagreb, 34 (2007) 205-223.

¹⁶ LIMANI, Silvija - ZANKO, Vanja - *Arhitekti Freudenreich i Deutsch (Architects Freudenreich & Deutsch)*, Zagreb: Galerija Milan i Ivo Steiner, 2005.

¹⁷ GALOVIC, Kresimir – „Arhitektura u Nezavisnoj državi Hrvatskoj 1941-1945 (Croatian Architecture during the Independent State of Croatia 1941-1945)“. In PREMERL, Tomislav (Ed), *Hrvatska arhitektura u 20. stoljeću (Croatian Architecture in 20th Century)*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2009, 171111115-210.

Construction forms in the village are joint artistic expressions, they were not created by an individual artist, they are conditioned by the certain environment and common wish to improve the living conditions. ... The rural construction forms have their history, they have been developed for centuries and are related to the land where we grew. Therefore, any perceptive creator, if he loves his people, will respect and appreciate the works this nation has created."¹⁸ Their typology was based on reinterpretation of the traditional cultural practices and vernacular architecture, and it varies from simple to very complex buildings. [Fig.3]

After the Second World War, the construction of communal houses was revived through the state's initiative, requesting the leading contemporary Croatian architects to design different types of community centres for different climates: using the stone on the Adriatic coast and in the continental parts by using the traditional styles and materials from different regions. The community centres are now built in great numbers throughout the Croatian rural areas. The catalogue entitled "Types of communal houses" presented the works of the best Croatian architects, at the time gathered around Architectural and Project Institute of the Republic of Croatia.¹⁹ [Fig.4]

Meanwhile, the "Cultural Centres of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)" were also being constructed. The centres were built in communities hosting military bases and barracks. Almost by default, these buildings were built as ambitious contemporary architecture, but the perception among of local population was that these buildings were constructed as communist and atheistic counterbalance to the churches and religious activities. When they were built, they were received with certain reserve and critical distrust. The most prominent clash was the one between the "aggressive" contemporary concept and the historical development of the community or region. Some of them became original examples of amalgamated contemporary architecture and traditional, regional materials, a synergy of architecture and landscape.

Today, this architecture is slowly discovering its new functions although many of these buildings are still neglected.²⁰

Most of the buildings constructed before the Second World War changed their functions a number of times or became derelict. Large Sokol buildings mostly remain empty but there are examples where the initial, original activities continue to this day. This particular type of village architecture – the community centres - usually have a great value in the memory of the local communities, but they are not appreciated as an architectural value in general. This presentation is a contribution to their re-interpretation and re-evaluation.

¹⁸ FREUDENREICH, Aleksandar – *Prosvjetna ognjišta (Homes of Enlightenment)*. Zagreb: Ministarstvo narodne prosvjete, 1943, 105.

¹⁹ - „*Tipovi zadružnih domova u Narodnoj Republici Hrvatskoj*“ (*Types of communal houses in the People's Republic of Croatia*). *Arhitektura*. Zagreb, 7 (1948) 15-18.

²⁰ GLAZAR, Tadej – „Arhetip i poligon za inovacije. Ivan Vitic, Dom kulture Komiza (Archetype and Polygon for Innovations. Cultural Centre Komiza)“. *Arhitektura*, Zagreb, 217 (2005), 69-78.



Fig. 1: M. Panjkovic, Sokol Building in Zlatar, Croatia, 1910. (photo: D. Radovic-Mahecic, 2005).

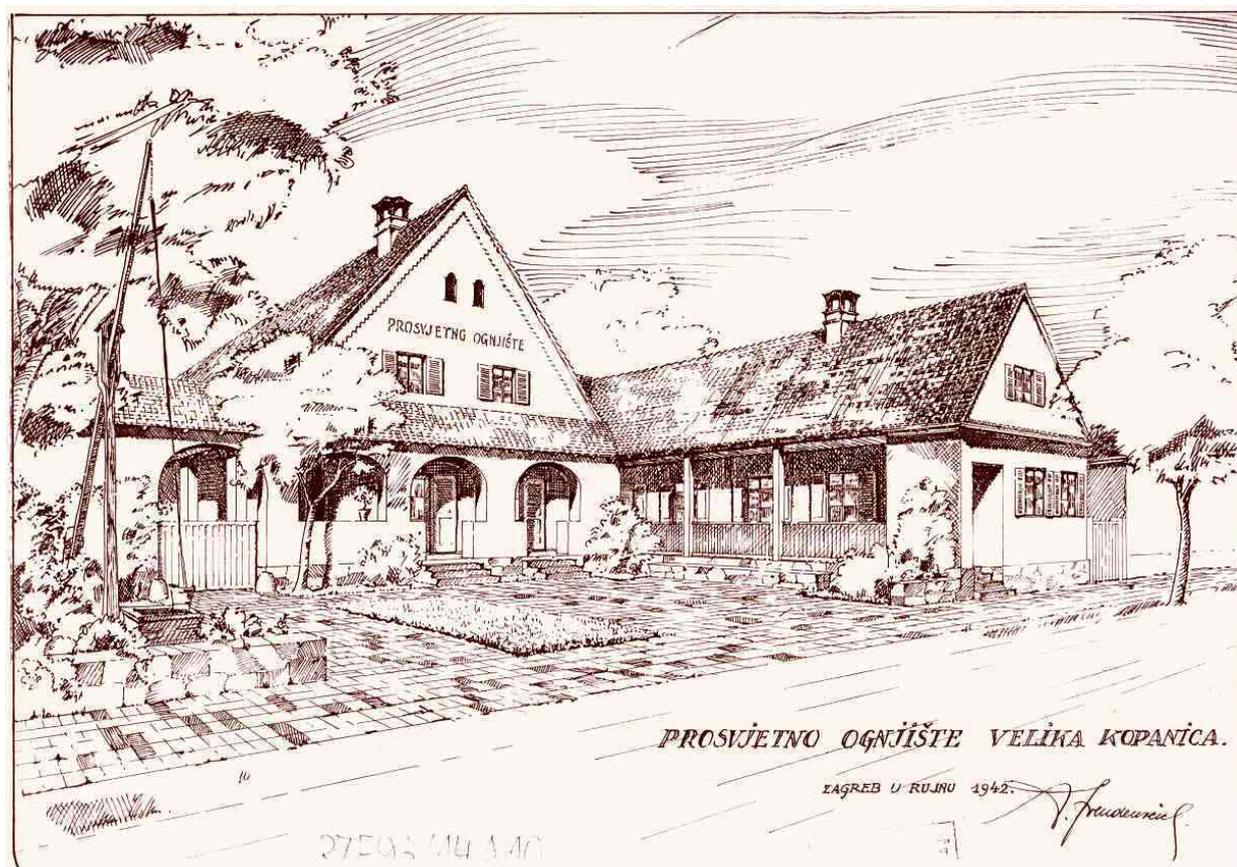


Fig. 2: Aleksandar Freudenreich, Project of the „Home of Enlightenment“ in Velika Kapanica, Croatia, 1942. (MK-UZKB-OAF – Ministry of Culture, Republic of Croatia) – not constructed.



Fig. 3: Aleksandar Freudenreich, Communal House, Delnice, Croatia 1947. (MK-UZKB-OAF – Ministry of Culture, Republic of Croatia) – contemporary photograph.



Fig. 4: Ivan Vitic, Cultural Centre of the Yugoslav People's Army, Komiza, Island of Vis, 1961 (photo: Damir Fabijanic, 2005).

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The Village School: Hub of Community, Pawn of Government, Broker between Here and Now, There and Then

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A Four-Part Study:

1. The Village School in Scotland
2. Eugeniusz Piasecki and the Village School in his *Les Écoles Polonaises et leurs Conditions Hygiéniques* (Lwów, 1910)
3. 'Greetings from Podgorje': Schoolhouses in Slovenia and on Slovenian Postcards
4. Learning From and In the Country: 'New Schools' in England – Gimson's Bedales and Gropius' Impington

Introduction

Many European states adopted universal education systems in the late nineteenth century. The governmental centralisation of programmes for childhood learning had profound effects on the fabrics of rural life. At the heart of this was the creation of village schools. Debates abounded as to their location, style, spatial organisation, relationship to the church, multi-functionality, connection with nature and the coordination of contemporary pedagogical ideas with architectural heritage/progressiveness. The resolution of these in modern, effective, politicised buildings and their surrounding spaces provided defining, landmark features of villages across the continent. This paper analyses examples from various parts of Europe to draw out common threads and distinctive qualities. The pan-European race to educate, to certain levels and according to set criteria and means, within prominent architectural-spatial ensembles, was bound up not only with the urge to develop (and discipline) the national character and thereby connect the past with the present and future, but also with current transnational ideas about healthy living harmonised with the environment. The expression of the values at play as witnessed through the treatment of the village school in northern and central Europe is therefore probed here. Besides the material creations of the schools discussion will also focus on the manipulation of the schools' image via picture postcards.

Much attention has been lavished on the urban 'school palaces' that sprung up from around 1890. Their growth may be seen as evidence of an increased and stark dichotomy between rural and urban schools in the initial age of European mass education. Yet this was also the heyday of the countryside school, the scale, appearance, organisation and patronage of which was multifarious. Indeed, as the urban reality and concept changed so too did the nature of the rural, with the values and resolutions of both city and village being intertwined afresh. While the town often sought to emulate the country so the country copied the town – not least through the borrowing of traditions and innovations (e.g. of styles, modes of healthy/'green' living, materials and technologies). This urbanisation of the rural and countrification of the urban was emphatically witnessed in the treatment of schooling, with the architecture of the city often acquiring 'folkish' qualities and that of the village utilising 'metropolitan' vocabularies. What may be termed a quest for a glocalised identity, for a belonging that was both intrinsically connected to the local environment while also part of developments in the wider world, was uppermost as far as school planning and construction was concerned. This paper selects distinctive examples that provide evidence of these moves. The intention is to start a conversation in terms of what the examples stand for and, as such, how they may be used to elucidate the historical paths of prevalent social, pedagogic and architectural trends.

The material articulation of village schooling in Scotland, Poland, Slovenia and England forms the crux of this paper. The journey taken reveals work by largely unknown 'provincial' architects through to the principal of the 'International Style', Walter

Gropius. I have chosen to tackle each of the four stopping points on the journey from a different angle in order to suggest a range of approaches to the subject. Appreciating the village school via fieldwork, criticism, printed images and in the context of the opus of master architects allows an evaluation of its status that might otherwise be overlooked. The selection of sources is necessarily abridged and it is acknowledged that considerable further insight into the role of the village school may be gleaned from, for example, examination of educational authority records. That said, the articulation of the village school as represented here is revealed in relation to specific and seminal rural pedagogies, not least those of Konrad Prószyński and Henry Morris. Ultimately, what emerges from this discussion is the widespread under-appreciation of the role of the village school in mainstream architectural history.

1. The Village School in Scotland

(two distinct examples of state schools from West Fife)

Saline Primary School [Fig. 1]

(Oakley Road)

'Low front block by Thomas Frame, 1875. Roguish Gothic with a battered chimney and gabled bellcote. Tall plain W addition' by John Houston, 1907. S extensions' by George Sandilands, 1922-24.¹

Sitooterie and Situpperie, CiAO (City Architect Office), 2003-2005

Neighbours Tudor Gothic Parish Church by William Stark, 1808-10

This landmark school (originally known as Saline Public School) is located on a prominent site in a weaving village within an area of West Fife that developed as a hub of the Scottish coal mining industry in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Its growth is seen as characteristic of many wider developments, not least in terms of key moments in: Scottish educational reform, architectural styles, approaches to rurality and demographic trends.² As with the other examples, the discussion is led by visual analysis in order to reveal how concerns for the present connected (and still connect in the 21st century) with an imagined/perceived past and future. Of particular significance are: 1) the changing perspectives of the school in the village space and 2) the way that CiAO (an Edinburgh and London-based practice) have recently projected change through consultation with schoolchildren and consideration of the environment.

North Queensferry Primary School

(Whinneyknowe and Brock Street),

'Blocky red sandstone Art Nouveau on a butterfly plan by Andrew Scobie & Son, 1912-14.'³

The architectural significance of this school was recognised in 2002 when Historic Scotland, the executive agency of the Scottish Government with responsibility for historic monuments, made it a Listed Building (B category). As a result it has a detailed entry in the Statutory List in which all its architectural features are itemised.⁴

North Queensferry is an unusual village built on a steep hillside that runs down to the River Forth. Its evolution has been from ferry landing point (to 1964 when Forth road bridge opened), fishing village and bathing resort in the 19th century to Edinburgh

¹ Gifford, John, *Fife. The buildings of Scotland*, London, 2000, p.408.

² Concerning the state of Saline's schooling prior to the 1872 Education Act, which established a national, state, system of education in Scotland, see Beale, James, *A history of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife*, Edinburgh, 1983, particularly p. 136 which notes the material and financial support for the school by the village church ('kirk session'). Concerning the post-1872 development of education in Scotland, see Bibliography. For an elaboration of CiAO's projects at Saline, see the CiAO website, e.g. <http://www.cityarc.co.uk/page.php?id=31>.

³ Gifford, *Fife*, 339.

⁴ See Historic Scotland, Statutory List for North Queensferry Primary School at http://hsewsf.sedsh.gov.uk/hslive/hsstart?P_HBNUM=49038.

dormitory in the 20th. The building and location of the school followed the construction of the Forth Railway Bridge (opened 1890), the first major British steel structure and THE icon for modern Scotland. The northern point of the bridge is in the village, with the railway and the station it serves being adjacent to the school. Sited close to the top of the hill, the school overlooks the old village below and is surrounded by twentieth century social housing. Its extensive playgrounds, southeast-facing principal elevation, large windows, ventilation and heating systems, distribution and fitting of internal space, all accorded with early twentieth century concerns with school hygiene and health as voiced at the concurrent International Congresses of School Hygiene. The visual presentation examines the materials and forms of the main two-storey butterfly-plan building, the treatment of the boundary walls and railings, the aspect of the school within the village, and its relationship to European trends in healthy schooling.

2. Eugeniusz Piasecki and the Village School in his *Les Écoles Polonaises et leurs Conditions Hygiéniques* (Lwów, 1910)

[Fig. 2]

Piasecki (1872-1947), a physician and P.E. teacher, was a key pioneer of Polish outdoor education and youth activity. He illustrates *Les Écoles Polonaises*, which was the Polish contribution to the 3rd International Congress of School Hygiene (in Paris, 1910), with plans and elevations for three rural schools (two for 'small villages' and one for a 'large village'). Each of these are comparable with the Fife examples.

In many respects Piasecki was a successor to the pedagogue Konrad Prószyński (pseud: Kazimierz Promyk, 1851-1908). It was Prószyński who laid the foundation for modern, countrywide education in Poland, and simultaneously set the international standard in terms of illustrated primers which were principally designed to get Polish countryfolk reading and writing. He established the underground Society for National Education in 1875, a year after beginning his campaign for rural enlightenment by touring the Mazovian villages close to Kaluszyn (then incorporated into Tsarist Russia) as an itinerant teacher of the peasantry. Foremost among Prószyński's early methods was the creation of wall primers. Before turning to board, paper and mass dissemination for these ABCs, he painted his pictorial reading charts on the outer walls of thatched barns that the peasants would pass on their way to the village church. Such novel decorative use of vernacular architecture for learning sewed the seeds for the Motherland Schooling Society's subsequent design of rural schools as propagated by Piasecki.

Piasecki's village schools appear in Section Six ('School Buildings and Furnishings') of *Les Écoles Polonaises*. They introduce what he describes (p.35) as an attempt to 'fairly comprehend the actual state of school architecture in our country via a series of illustrations, the examples of which we consider typical.' That attempt goes on to consider a whole variety of other (primarily urban) schools. Thus they can be regarded a cornerstone of the Polish educational system as envisaged in 1910. On page 32 are illustrations of two model Motherland Schooling Society schools, each with a main elevation, floor plan and grounds design. Blueprints of metropolitan Warsaw, these single schoolroom and two-classroom schoolhouses are derived from rural Polish cottage types. The single schoolroom school has Zakopane Style features: low-pitch, shingle-clad mansard roofs, dormer windows, overhanging eaves, asymmetrically positioned rising sun gable, rubble trims and round-arched side porch. With the main elevation facing southeast the school building comprises a school and schoolmaster's house. The plan is highly rational with the schoolhouse being entered via the large porch and a lobby which leads on to the office and, on the south side, schoolroom. The organisation of the schoolroom, with the three regular rows of eight double desks facing the teacher's place at the front and lit by three large windows from the left (in order to encourage writing righthanded) is consistent with current Europe-wide practice (for both rural and urban schools). The forty-eight pupils that could be fitted into the room also benefited from the school grounds being divided into a playing field, garden and farm. A separate, landscaped plot was allocated to the teacher and was located adjacent to the entrance to the schoolmaster's house. A very similar treatment was accorded to the

two-room school, although here the Polish cottage style is not from the Tatra highlands, the entrance is centralised, the roof (possibly) thatched, and the schoolrooms to the southfacing back of the building. Both illustrations were captioned as: 'type of the 'Macierz szkolna' [Motherland Schooling] Society, Warsaw'). Despite this, Piasecki avoids mention of the society and its national agenda in his text, this perhaps due to it having its legal status rescinded by the Russian authorities in 1907. The fact that *Les Écoles Polonaises* was published in Austrian-controlled Galicia no doubt facilitated the visual inclusion of the schools.⁵

While the squat one-storey Motherland Schooling Society schools, with their rural cottage-derived articulations reveal similarities with Thomas Frame's picturesque 1875 treatment of Saline Public School, Piasecki's 'large village' school (p.33) is closer to Scobie's North Queensferry School. Both are for six classes and have a regular, two-storey plan designed around a central entrance. Piasecki notes that the Polish design is for a school in Lazy (Austrian Silesia). As with North Queensferry, the Lazy community in southwest Poland had grown substantially in the late 19th century due to the building of a railway, in its case the Vienna-Warsaw line, which passed through its parish and for which numerous depots were built in the village itself. By 1910 there was an urgent need for a new school with children attending two inadequate small schoolhouses funded largely by the local railway workers. The ground floor plan in Piasecki is symmetrical, with central staircase on either side of which are the boys' and girls' toilets. It shows space distributed around an axis of the main stairs and corridor. Four rectangular classrooms lead off the corridor and are to the front of the building, their longer sides being lit by four large windows. Behind these, in the left wing is a gym hall and in the right wing, with a separate entrance, a nursery with kitchen. The elevation makes the school appear austere Gothic, with pointed arches describing the main shafts and dentilled cornices, this in keeping with current metropolitan trends for institutional architecture both in Poland and well beyond.⁶

3. 'Greetings from Podgorje': Schoolhouses in Slovenia and on Slovenian Postcards

For all the impressiveness of the village school designs in Piasecki, since they are only drawings and the two for 'small villages' are not identified with any specific location it is worth moving to an alternative form of early twentieth century school representation, the picture postcard, for an understanding of how schools acted within the villagescape. Particularly useful in this regard is the range of photographic cards in the collection of the Slovenian Museum of Education, Ljubljana.⁷ Many questions arise from these views, not least questions about the truthfulness/selectivity of their representation of villages; their commission and perceived audience; their formatting and viewpoints; their treatment of national, regional and local specificities. These can be encapsulated by visual analysis of five cards:

1. Mokronog-Nassenfuss [165], Dolenjska region, 1910. The new school had just been built and, since Mokronog was a municipal centre (c. 3000 population) serving several villages, it is given great prominence – visual analysis (cf Skocjan by Mokronog, 1912 and Telce postcards [176-7]).
2. Planina by Sevnici [125], Stajerska region, old village on hillside with school prominently on main street next to church and beneath castle.

⁵ *Macierz szkolna* was founded in Warsaw, by Tsarist decree, in 1906. It was authorised to establish private schools using Polish as the language of instruction. Initiators included Henryk Sienkiewicz and Joseph Swiatkowski. The purpose was to foster education in a Christian spirit; organise nationwide educational institutions of all levels; and promote learning through community events and publications. Unsurprisingly, given its nationalist associations, within a year it was pronounced illegal by the Tsarist regime and was forced underground. It was officially reorganised in the early years of the Second Polish Republic and by the mid-1930s was running numerous types of schools across the country, including 51 elementary schools and 36 nurseries.

⁶ Comparison of Piasecki's village schools with those detailed in Hinträger, Carl, *Volksschulhäuser in Schweden, Norwegen, Dänemark und Finnland* (Leipzig: J. M. Gebhardt's Verlag, 1914) is worthwhile. Hinträger surveys and illustrates numerous *Landschulen* in the Nordic countries (e.g. pp. 17-21 (Sweden), 131-136 (Norway), 188-191 (Denmark) and 265-280 (Finland)). Remarkable among these are the inclusion of Sijöd rooms for craft and hand-eye coordination work. Particularly striking are the Finnish designs by Karl Lindahl, Oiva Kallio, Birger Brunila and the Viipuri/Vyborg architect and Nuori-Suomi (Young Finland) member Väinö Keinänen.

⁷ For extremely useful analysis and reproductions of many of these, see Ribaric, Mateja, *Hise ucenosti na Slovenskem na starih razglenicah*, Ljubljana: Slovenski solski muzej: 2006. Figures in square brackets [] after the village name above refer to the illustration numbers in Ribaric.

3. Podgorje by Slovenj Gradec, Stajerska region [127], 1905, distant view of village across field with boy doing handstand and school clearly visible by church, and large inset of school [Fig. 3].
4. Vransko [147], Stajerska region, c. 1905, School as largest, most imposing building on street, and only one with people (nb variety) outside it.
5. St Cyril and Methodius Association National School, Gradisce na Kozjaku [96], Stajerska region, 1936. 'Modernist' elements (including porthole windows) within rustic setting.

4. Learning From and In the Country: 'New Schools' in England – Gimson's Bedales and Gropius' Impington

A)

While the Piasecki school drawings echo and anticipate certain developments in Polish school design (e.g. schools by Jan Koszczyc Witkiewicz, and Millennium Schools of the 1960s-70s) they can also be associated, in different ways, with two further developments in new ideas and forms of village schooling in Britain, or, more specifically, southern England. The first of these, the 'New School' movement devised by Cecil Reddie in the late 1880s, was a form of elite private education where the school, designed to educate the 'whole person' and benefiting from a large estate, primarily fostered an anti-competitive Ruskinian 'learning by doing' and co-operation.⁸ The progressive result was practical/active engagement with the land/nature, with agriculture and horticulture, natural and domestic sciences being dominant. Outdoor, rural life was thus endorsed as more natural than that of the town. A product of this philosophy was the 'Arts & Crafts' Bedales School constructed in the village of Steep, Hampshire from 1900.

- Visual analysis of Ernest Gimson's Lupton Hall (1911) and Library (1919-21);
- and Walters & Cohen's 'The Orchard' administration and teaching building (2005) – conservation and sustainability issues

B)

Impington Village College [Fig. 4], 1938-40, is the one rural school covered here that has received international recognition. It has done so, in large part, due to both its innovative architecture by Walter Gropius (and Maxwell Fry) and its conception, by Henry Morris, as a fount of humanist community schooling/rural regeneration. Its realization was to presage a whole gamut of post-war modern schools in Britain (both urban and rural). It is worth noting that Henry Moore also created a monumental 'Family Group' sculpture (1948-49) for it, though this has ended up at Stevenage School, Hertfordshire.

The pioneering achievements of Morris and Gropius at Impington were promoted very early on, not least by Herbert Read, and, even before the college was built, by Wright and Gardner-Medwin.⁹ They have also been amply acknowledged more recently, with Andrew Saint commencing the trend through a variety of illustrations and noting:

what matters is not a precise solution to any educational or architectural problem, but the sense of congruity between form and social intention: the relaxed groupings of classrooms, community space and shared hall. This ideal Morris had always

⁸ Piasecki (pp.27-28) notes the growth of the 'New Schools' movement, reveals that Reddie visited Poland in 1906 and that Polish educationalists had visited Abbotsholme, Bedales, Pangbourne and Verneuil (Edmond Demolins' Des Roche) Schools in their countryside settings. The result, as far as Poland in 1910 was concerned, was two boys' schools and one girls' school situated in the 'heart of the countryside and able to realize all the pedagogic, didactic and hygiene advantages of the 'New Schools'' (p.27) [Piasecki illustrates a boys' school at Czerwony Dwór and a girls' school at Skolimów, both actually quite close to Warsaw].

⁹ Read, Herbert, *Education through Art*, London: Faber & Faber, 1943, Section 2, Chapter Ten; Wright, H. Myles and Gardner-Medwin, Robert, *The Design of Nursery and Elementary Schools*, London: The Architectural Press, 1938, 13, 109, 112-113.

envisaged. Unusually for an educator, he took pains to spread it among architects, in his first manifesto for village colleges in 1924, in talks at the AA (1939) and RIBA (1945 and 1956) and elsewhere.¹⁰

At this point we should visually analyse the cost-effective, modern plan dominated by broad long corridor regarded as a 'promenade', and including the 'hall of silence and meditation', school garden and allotments, workshops, adult education and shared community education spaces.

Towards a Conclusion

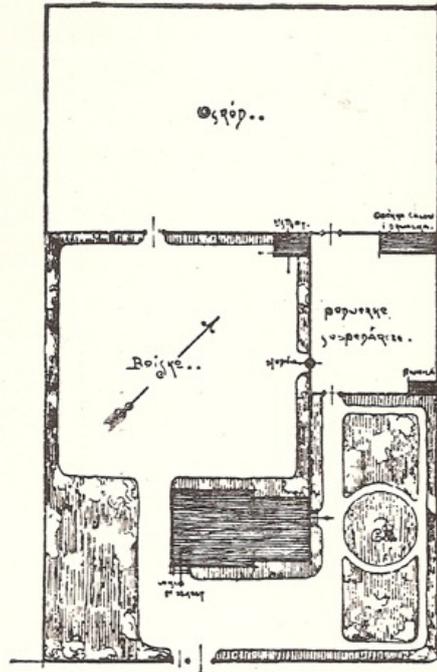
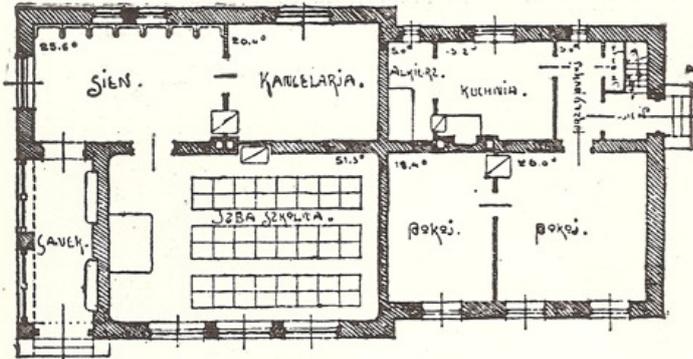
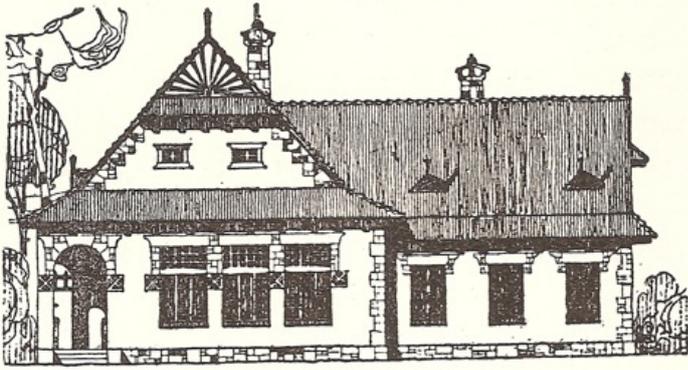
For all its innovations Impington, this paper concludes, was a continuation of rural schooling trends commenced in the late nineteenth century, these being picked up on by Morris in the early 1920s.¹¹ Its remarkable concern for country living has echoes in the Scottish, Polish and Slovenian examples discussed here. Thus, its appreciation of the value of village life for society as a whole and through architecture attuned to issues of sustainability, reflectivity and engagement with the environment is paralleled by the most recent and miniature development at Saline School – the conversion of the humble outside toilet block (c.1900) into the modern Sitooterie (2003) – a place to withdraw to, to meditate in and to be affected by the surrounding fields and sky.

¹⁰ Saint, Andrew, *Towards a Social Architecture. The Role of School Building in Post-War England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987, 41-44.

¹¹ A prominent, modernising, English architect of village schooling in the interwar period was George Widdows, whose experimental designs and awareness of current trends, found particular favour in rural Derbyshire. Widdows deserves much wider attention than he has hitherto been accorded.

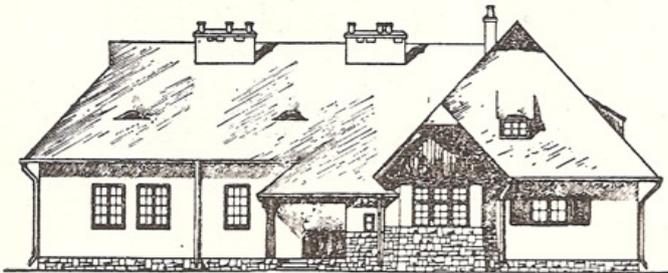


Fig. 1: Saline Primary School and Church, Fife, Scotland. Photograph: Jeremy Howard, 6 March 2008.

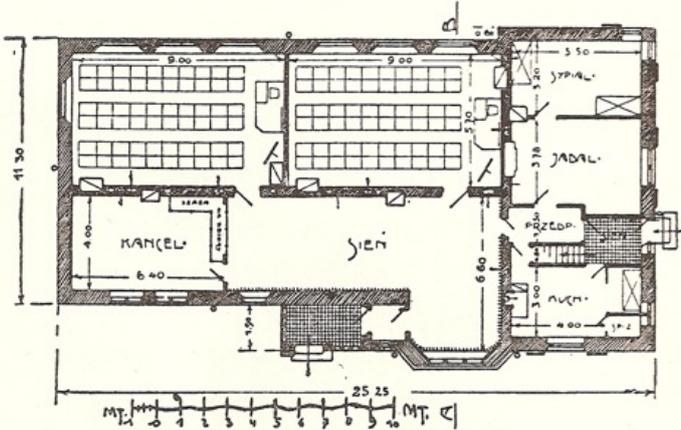


Ecole primaire rurale à une classe (type de la Société „Macierz szkolna“, Varsovie).

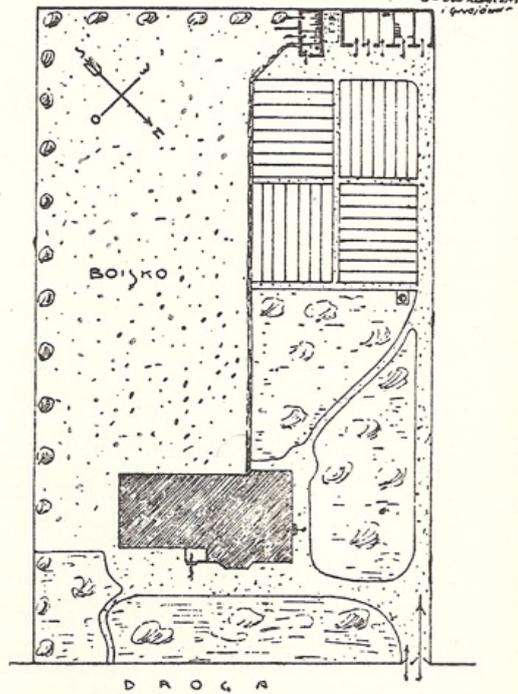
WIDOK OD DROGI



PLAN



SYTUACJA



Ecole primaire rurale à deux classes (type de la Société „Macierz szkolna“, Varsovie).

Fig. 2: Macierz Szkolna One- and Two-Schoolroom Rural Schools, c. late 1907, from Eugeniusz Piasecki, Les Écoles Polonaises et leurs Conditions Hygiéniques, 32.

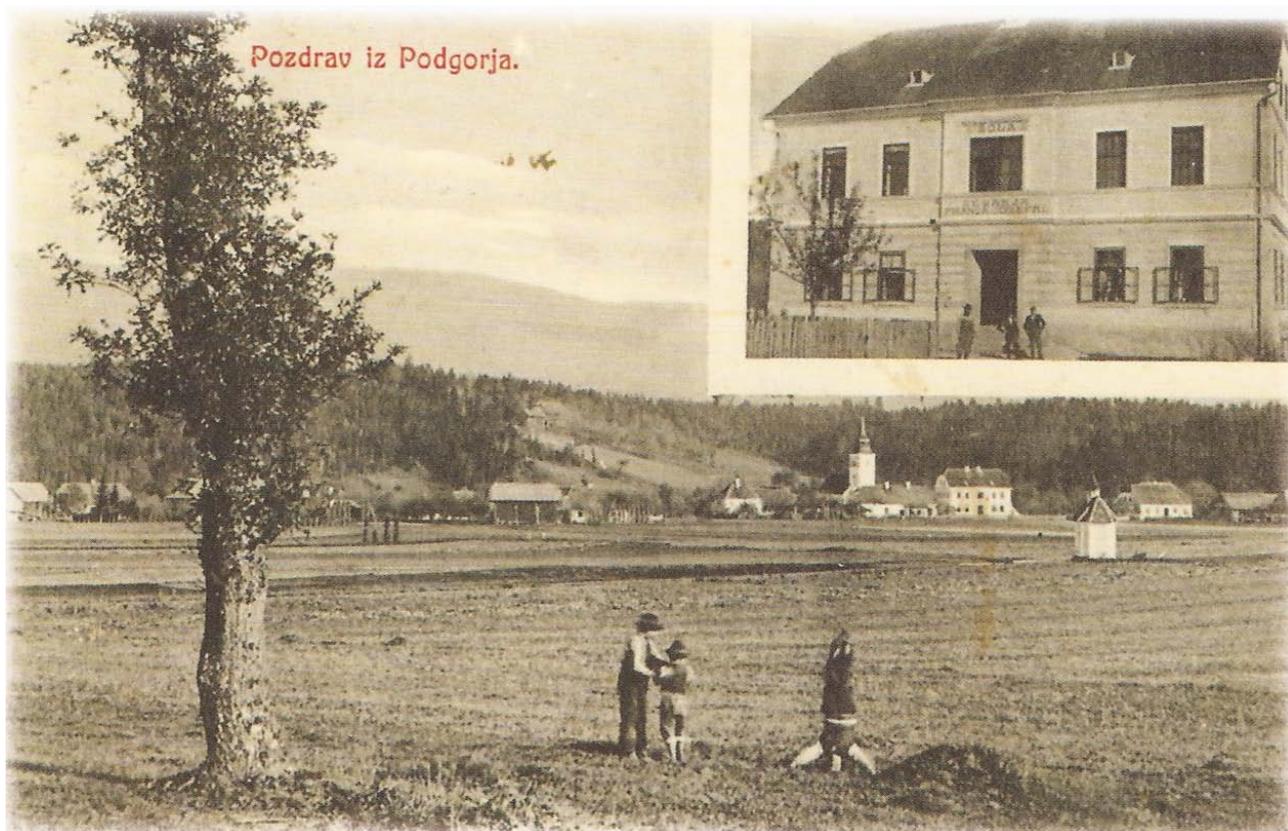
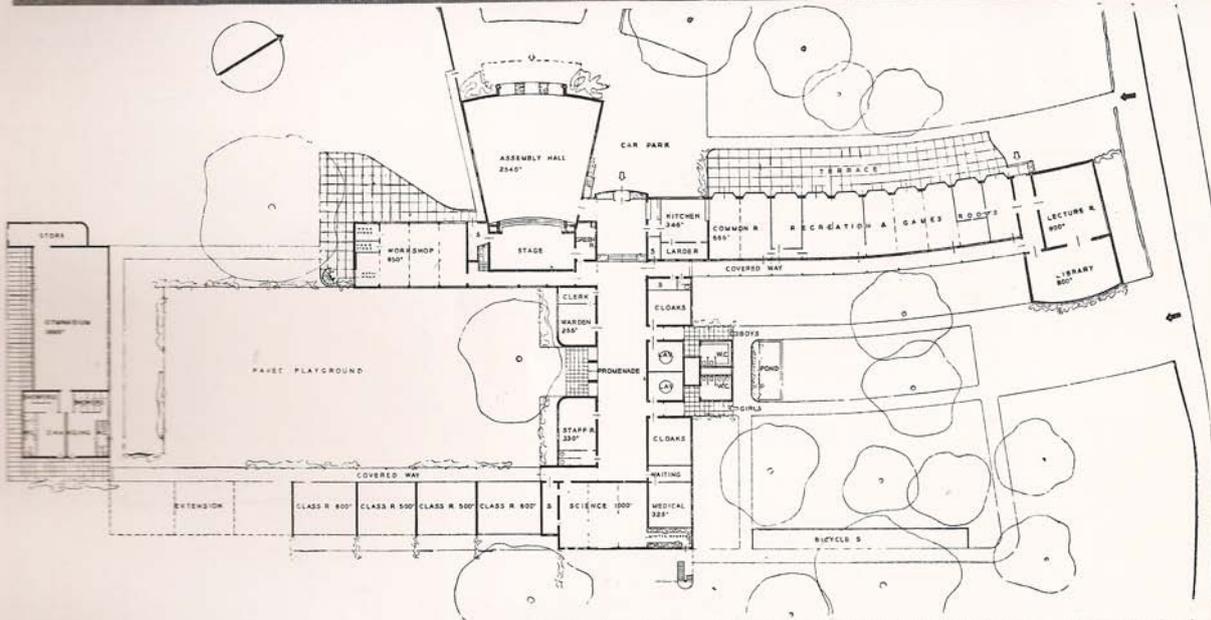
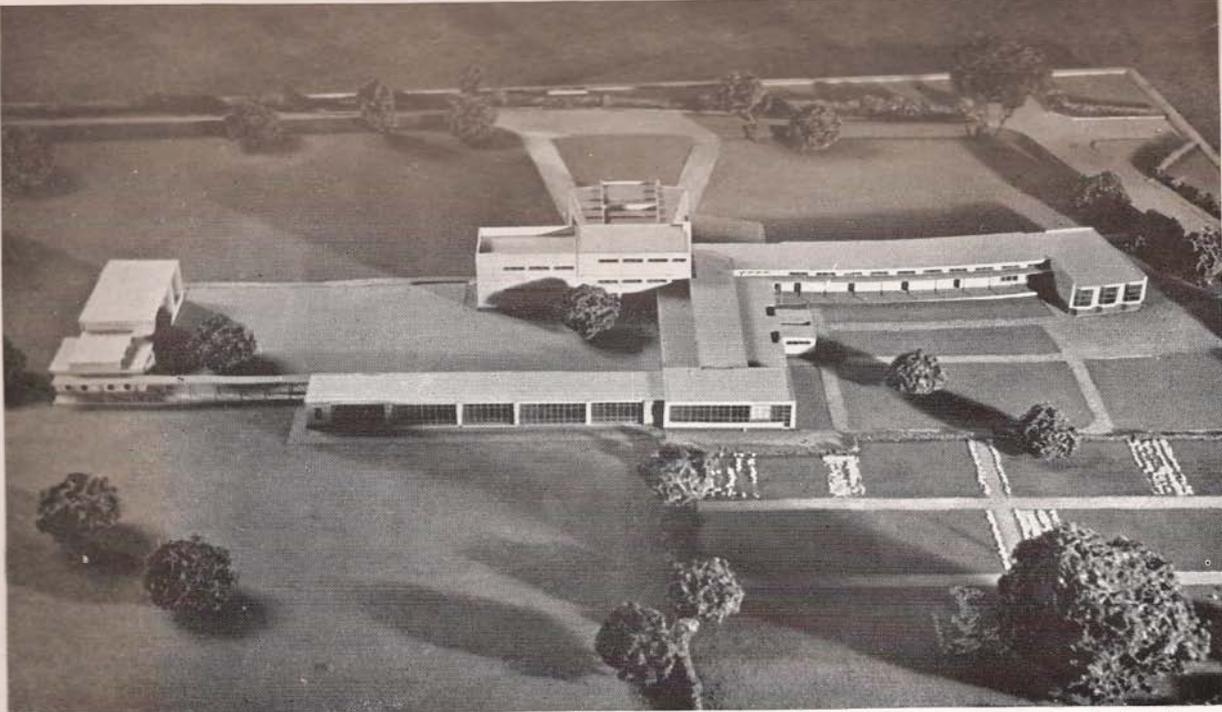


Fig. 3: 'Pozdrav iz Podgorja', Podgorje by Slovenj Gradec, Stajerska (Lower Styria), Slovenia, 1894-99. Postcard c. 1905. Slovenian Museum of Education, Ljubljana.



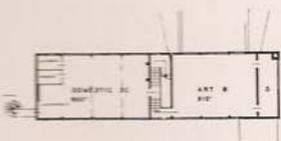
Impington Village College, serving Histon and seven of the surrounding Cambridgeshire villages : designed to provide for the cultural and social life of the senior children and adults of the community. The school will serve 240 boys and girls who formerly received very limited education in small all-age parochial schools.

The wing on the right of the assembly hall is largely for evening adult education, which will include University extension courses in the arts and sciences, handicrafts, agriculture and physical training.

The "promenade" provides a nucleus and will be an attractive feature in the intervals of concerts and plays.

Attached to the building will be community playing-fields and a demonstration centre for agricultural and horticultural education.

Architects : Walter Gropius and Maxwell Fry.



PLAN OVER STAGE

Fig. 4: Impington Village College, Walter Gropius, 1938-40, Maxwell Fry, Plan and Model, from H. Myles Wright and Robert Gardner-Medwin, *The Design of Nursery and Elementary Schools*, 113.

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Constructing a Regional Past. Reconstruction as an Opportunity for the Creation of Regionalist Villages

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After WWI the reconstruction presented an enormous challenge and resulted in one of the biggest building campaigns of the 20th century. In 1922, only three years after the start of the reconstruction, the Royal Commission for Monuments praised the regained picturesque and regionalist aspects of the region around Ypres.¹ Reconstruction is generally regarded as an example of traditionalist and regionalist architecture, excluding most modernist aims to redefine the built environment. Research mainly focussed on the legal framework, the organisation and the reconstruction of the most 'symbolic' cities like Ypres and Leuven. In this paper the focus is shifted to the reconstruction of villages along the frontline in West-Flanders. We will try to depict the relation between the pre-war situation and the choice made during the reconstruction for a regionalist style.

The 19th century transformation of the rural village

In the course of the 19th century the Belgian countryside was strongly altered by the industrialisation and the efforts of the national government to establish a sub regional transport network. The aim was clearly to improve the accessibility of rural communities in order to keep industrial and rural regions competitive with the surrounding countries.² This not only left strong traces on the rural landscape but also had indirectly important consequences for the appearance of the villages. Around 1800 most villages appeared as a small, isolated settlement with a parish church surrounded by a cemetery, some low vernacular houses and a number of farms.

The improved accessibility seems to have been a primary condition for a process of modernisation of the rural areas. Certain aspects of the transformation and modernisation of the city can, on a minor scale, be identified in the village. The growing interest for public hygiene for example can be found in the practice to relocate cemeteries just outside the village and in the national regulations for school building. 19th century building activities in villages included the construction of primary schools, the partial or complete rebuilding of the church, a new presbytery, a public pump, an elder home, etc. This resulted in a notable transformation of the village that can be described as a modest modernisation. The design of these public buildings was to a large extent the work of the 'provincial architects'. This official function was from the early 19th century onwards created in most Belgian provinces not only to support local authorities regarding their building projects, but also to control them in order to avoid exaggerated building costs and to improve the quality of the constructions. The style of these buildings did not differ much from urban architecture.

Criticizing the new village

This process of modernisation of the countryside became in the early 20th century an object of critique. In Belgium, as in other European countries, the village was, especially from 1900 onwards, increasingly perceived as an important element of the rural landscape that not only had to be protected, but of which the aesthetics also had to be developed. This growing interest for the

¹ 'Coquettes habitations dans le voisinage de quelque église si caractéristique de la Flandre maritime et, parfois, une tour reconstruite, à la silhouette fière et élégante, se profile déjà sur l'horizon.' *Bulletin des Commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie*. Brussels: Koninklijke Commissie voor kunst en oudheidkunde (1927), 271.

² See for example: "Les bonnes communications vicinales contribuent puissamment au développement de l'agriculture, du commerce et de l'industrie. Dans le but de donner une nouvelle impulsion à l'extension et à l'amélioration de ces voies si indispensables pour le bien-être des populations, le Gouvernement a proposé (...) un crédit de 100.000 francs, destiné à seconder les communes dans ces entreprises d'une haute utilité." *Rapport sur l'administration dans la Flandre Occidentale*. Bruges: Provincie West-Vlaanderen, 1843, 238.

picturesque must be understood within a context of the fading distinction between city and countryside. Architects and artists not only commented on what happened, but also indicated the main causes for the 'regretted modernisation' and formulated some remedies.

The Swiss architect and representative Georges de Montenach launched in 1910, on an international conference organised by the 'Belgian committee for public art', a call for the protection of the characteristics of the village, since the 'invasion' of urban motives was threatening the rural identity all over Europe. Some years later de Montenach further developed his ideas on the 'rural aesthetics' in his book entitled 'For the village', stressing the link between the village and the landscape and the importance of regional diversity. De Montenachs ideas turned out to be highly influential in Belgium and were a constant reference in Belgian studies on the aesthetics of the village.

Already before De Montenach's lecture, a growing interest in the countryside could be observed. Among the defenders of vernacular architecture was the Flemish author Stijn Streuvels, whose plea for the revaluation of country life was reflected in his house the 'Lijsternest', built in 1903-1904 on plans of his friend and architect Jozef Viérin and strongly inspired by the regional, traditional rural dwellings [Fig. 1]. Shortly before WWI Streuvels published his ideas on the countryside, literary essays which had no scientific ambitions, but reflected his defence of the esthetical qualities of vernacular architecture.³ In his analysis he described the village as 'the ornament and the beauty of the Flemish region' and criticised the urbanisation of the countryside. Streuvels blamed industrialisation, the growing road network and the rise of professionalism in architecture for the loss of regional identity. Before the age of industrialisation the country man had built his own house following his needs and nature, using local materials and following the basic rule to build from the inside out instead of from the outside in. Professional architects had, as he stated, no understanding of the qualities and the rules of vernacular architecture. Edward Léonard, an Antwerp architect and publicist, expressed a similar opinion in his book 'Country and village'. Léonard's aim was to stop the use of an urban architecture that did not fit within the rural context. He illustrated his ideas by confronting pictures of good and bad buildings, examples revealing the ignorance for the characteristics of rural architecture of most architects.

Developing ideas on a regionalist reconstruction

Shortly after the outbreak of WWI it became clear that the challenges for the reconstruction of the country would be enormous. Architects and theoreticians were convinced that the reconstruction would hold opportunities to realize their ideas on how cities, villages and the countryside should be built. Modernists developed an ambitious, though rather theoretical vision on the reconstruction. The defenders of a regionalist approach not only defined a theoretical framework but also developed applicable guidelines and models. Within the context of the 'National Commission for embellishment of country life' more detailed principles, sources for inspiration and model plans were produced. Among these were a study on farms by Jozef Viérin, a series of model plans for farms by architect Theo Raison and a number of essays on reconstruction edited by the Belgian Architects Association. The premise of all these texts was the idea that the reconstruction had to be seen as the outstanding opportunity to stop the 'urban bad taste'. Architect Henry Vaes considered providing public administrations with good examples a solution to remedy the existing lamentable situation. However none of these architects and authors defended an exact copy of the traditional rural architecture. History and tradition were merely sources of inspiration. At the same time architects had to understand and incorporate modern needs in their designs. The challenge for the regionalists was thus to reconstruct villages of which the architecture not only reflected the modest rural scale of the place as well as the rich history of the region, but was also adapted to the needs of a modern society. Or as Ronse and Raison stated: the villages had to be reconstructed in a way which preserved their architectural aspects from the past, but which also, without harming the aesthetics, corresponded to demands of

³ A text on the landscape, villages and the people was published in 1912: STREUVELS, Stijn – "Veld en dorp". In: ROOSES, Max (ed.) - *Vlaanderen door de eeuwen heen*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1912, 1-61. An essay on housing appeared the following year: STREUVELS, Stijn - *De Landsche woning in Vlaanderen*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1913. Both texts were later reworked and published as: STREUVELS, Stijn - *Land en leven in Vlaanderen*. Amsterdam: Veen, 1923.

public hygiene and the modern needs.⁴ These texts were mostly written by architects and are thus clearly promoting the use of designs made by professionally trained architects instead of a revival of the self-constructing countryman. Next to the self-evident regional inspiration and the principle of the use of local materials, modern elements like town planning were introduced in the models presented for the reconstruction of the village.

Constructing regionalist villages

After armistice it became clear that the regionalist approach corresponded best with the ideas of the government and the expectations of local politicians and inhabitants. The government started creating a legal framework already during the war. A first law from august 1915 obliged communities to draw up an urban plan before starting reconstruction. In 1919 the 'Service for the Devastated Regions' was created, an administration that had to take care of the practical aspects of the reconstruction. In April 1919 a system of 'adoption' was introduced, meaning that heavily damaged or destroyed communities could decide to be adopted by the government, that would then conduct and finance the reconstruction for them. In the front region all municipal councils decided to be adopted, since the total destruction and confusion made a normal functioning of the municipalities completely impossible. After the adoption, the 'High Royal Commissioner', who was in charge of the reconstruction, appointed an architect to most communities, who had to draw the general urban plan, designed in most cases the official buildings and even a number of houses.

In this way villages could easily be conceived as an architectural entity. The Brussels architect Georges Hendrickx for example was in 1919 appointed for the reconstruction of Sint-Joris, a village that would be entirely relocated. Hendrickx was thus given the opportunity to design a new village, without even having to take into account the pre-war situation. His plan reflected an ideal vision of the village. Around a central square with trees, he clustered the main buildings: church, presbytery, primary school and municipal hall, all constructed in a regional style [Fig. 2].

The architects, employed by the High Royal Commissioner were almost exclusively following a regionalist vision. Raisons opinion, for example, was that the reconstruction should recreate the general image of the destroyed village. Buildings dating from the 19th century and having no architectural interest – which meant they did not reflect the regional architecture – could be either rebuilt in a regionalist style or at least be embellished in that way.

The reconstruction of churches illustrates best the practice of enhancing the 'historical' aspect of the build environment. Historical has to be understood as referring to the 15th and 16th century, a period of economical and cultural welfare in the region. The reconstruction of the church was not only the most important building project; it also had a significant 'symbolic' value with its tower that marked the community in the landscape. Medieval churches were generally reconstructed to their pre-war situation, although later additions or transformations were mostly 'corrected'. Churches originally dating from the 17th century onwards were often regarded as having hardly any value. A church type considered characteristic for the region mostly replaced them: a three-aisled hall-church in gothic style. The outcome of the reconstruction was a considerable increase in the number of gothic churches in the region.

The design of other buildings was hardly ever based on the pre-war situation. The principle of an identical reconstruction, which was in cities used for important historical buildings, was in the villages hardly applied, since the limited 'monumental' character of the destroyed buildings. The option was instead to apply the regional style, characterised by the use of yellowish brick, step gables and the so called 'tabernacle window', a regional renaissance motive. The style was thus clearly inspired by the highlights of regional history.

⁴ "Nous voudrions que les villages rebâtiés conservent, pour autant que cela ne puisse nuire ni à l'esthétique, ni à l'hygiène, ni au confort et aux besoins modernes, leurs lignes architecturales d'autrefois." RONSE, Alfred and RAISON, Théo - *Fermes-types et constructions rurales en West-Flandre*. Bruges : Beyaert, 1918, 289.

At first sight, the planning was equally faithful if not identical to the pre-war situation. Nevertheless, changes were introduced to adapt the village to the modern age and to stress the picturesque character. Where needed, streets were enlarged to facilitate traffic. In front of important buildings wider streets or small squares were created to accentuate these monuments. The reconstruction was also the chance to ensure a correct distance between the cemetery and the other buildings. This consideration for public hygiene had not always been realizable within the 19th-century historical grown situation, but now became possible.

Reconstruction turned out to be the opportunity to equip every community with its own municipal hall. Before WWI only a limited number of villages possessed a proper municipal hall. In most communities the council assembled in an annexe of the primary school or even in a local tavern, a practice that was strongly criticised by the government. The systematic introduction of municipal halls, always in a regionalist style, embodies to a certain extent the rise of a modern local government [Fig. 3].

A new village, a vulnerable heritage

The key element of the reconstructed village was mostly a central square or a large main street around which were situated church, presbytery, school and municipal hall. Compared to the prewar situation the villages were not only better planned but also better equipped with appropriate public buildings. The systematic use of a regionally inspired style had to suggest the idea of the historical roots of the village. Thomas Coomans stated that the reconstruction created a landscape that presented more coherence than before, a result that was of great importance for the country's identity.⁵ The reconstruction can indeed be described as an evocation of the rich history of the region, without being a faithful reconstruction of the destroyed reality. Especially through the design of the villages and the churches the region was gifted with a 'new' past and a new regional identity.

At the same time, the traditional architectural language was combined with aspects of modernisation. Architects incorporated in their designs the 19th-century functions and building typologies, just like they had incorporated some aspects of the 19th-century modernisation in their writings on regionalism. Functional and practical aspects of 19th-century modernisation, being a logical reflection of a modern society, were in the reconstruction strengthened and translated in an architectural language that was considered in accordance with its rural setting.

⁵ COOMANS, Thomas – "Veel zorg, weinig zorg. De lotgevallen van de negentiende-eeuwse kerkgebouwen in de twintigste eeuw in België". In: BERGMANS, Anna DE MAYER, Jan DENSLAGEN, Wim and VAN LEEUWEN, Wies (eds.) - *Zorg geboden? Neostijlen in de negentiende eeuw*. Leuven: Kadoc, 2002, 134.



Fig. 1: Stijn Streuvels, the house 'The Lijsternest' in Ingooigem designed by Jozef Viérin, photograph, ca. 1910, Provinciale Bibliotheek Tolhuis, Bruges.

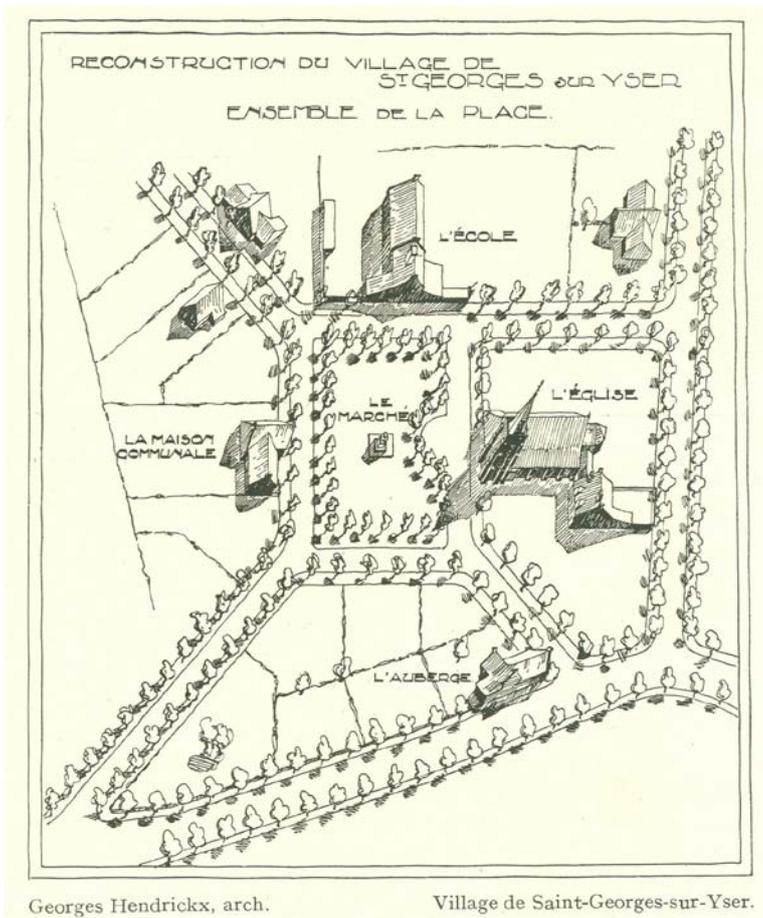


Fig. 2: Georges Hendrickx, reconstruction project for the village of Sint-Joris, published in *L'Emulation*, 1926, Provinciale Bibliotheek Tolhuis, Bruges.

1. - Elverdinghe Gemeentehuis.



Fig. 3: Jules Coomans, the municipal hall of Elverdinge, postcard, ca. 1925, Provinciale Bibliotheek Tolhuis, Bruges.

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Urban Outposts: Public Building in Swiss Alpine Villages

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In 2004, the Swiss architects Bearth & Deplazes located on a 'metro-map' all the buildings of architectural interest built, since 1988, in the Graubünden [Fig.1].¹ Given this is an alpine region, the 'metro map' is to be understood metaphorically - like an urban underground network, it follows graphic abstracting conventions that turn it into a geometric grid. Each of the stations is a locality, or commune, that has an architectural presence, often a public building – school, community hall, chapel etc.

The paradox underlined by this diagram can only be fully appreciated by one familiar with the region. With the exception of the capital Chur and a few resorts, most of this map's stations are remote rural settlements with small, often diminishing populations. And yet, this is a metaphor for an essentially urban infrastructural network, connecting a significant number of architectural landmarks built in less than two decades in this one alpine region. Should it be redone today, the map would show a distinct densification as new buildings of architectural interest continue to be built across the Graubünden.

This paper addresses the paradoxical juxtaposition of radical architectural landmarks over the rural, alpine, agricultural culture of this region. The acceptance of new architecture reveals parallels with urban culture, but at the same time constructional integrity and quality are shared points on the cultural agendas of both architect and alpine community. By focusing on a few projects, I will argue that they act as outposts of an essentially urban architecture in a rural alpine territory. Their existence indicates a possible future for village architecture in developed countries: the breakdown of the traditional distinction between urban and rural, the inclusion of villages in an increasingly metropolitan network of information and diversity.

I would also argue that this process of urbanisation is not without problems. The Graubünden architecture is possible due to specific circumstances bound with the cultural traits of this alpine rural environment. These traits are being threatened by the urbanisation of the rural realm, as illustrated by tourism and holiday homes. Such phenomena may interrupt the delicate cultural ecology that has enabled this remarkable production.

Graubünden is Switzerland's largest canton and the most sparsely populated - 190,000 inhabitants, of which almost half live at altitudes above 1000 metres. The most important sector of the economy is tourism, followed by industry, with much of its agriculture governmentally subsidised. And yet, with the exception of the great resorts like Davos or St Moritz, the economic facts are mostly concealed beneath the picturesque appearance of a mountainous farming land.

Graubünden is a territory of small dispersed settlements: fifty percent of communes have less than five hundred inhabitants, with fifteen percent counting under one hundred.² The topography dictates which communes enjoy industrial or tourist capital and which survive through agriculture, which remain isolated or are connected to the railway and motorway infrastructure. The commune's autonomy is threatened by the impact of external forces - the increasing need for specialised services, or the reliance on governmental funding.

¹ WIRZ Heinz, ed. - *Bearth & Deplazes. Konstrukte / Constructs*. Lucerne: Quart, 2005, 16-17.

² *Porträt Kanton Graubünden*. Economy and Tourism Office Graubünden, 2006 [cited 27 February 2007]; available from http://www.awt.gr.ch/bibliothek/de/statistik/zusammenfassungen/INET_Portraet%20GR.pdf. 8.

The point of communal autonomy is highly sensitive, even in matters to do with architecture and construction. Traditionally, the vote meant not only the agreement to fund but also to build a new public building – as Benjamin Barber puts it, ‘a contract entered into by the head to put the body to work’.³ More recently came an inevitable reliance on external specialists for the provision of fundamental and expensive necessities - new roads, schools, power stations. The relationship between community and an outside architect is determined by the accord between a pragmatic agenda and a professional-aesthetic ambition.

Paradoxically, this context supports an outstanding modern architecture, which itself attracts professionally interested tourists. Architecture as a cultural destination signals already an urbanisation of the territory: Bearth and Deplazes’s map tells a story of densification, the existence of a network of places rather than of isolated instances of architectural daring. Among these, Valerio Olgiati’s school in the agricultural commune of Paspels is perhaps the most telling example of an uncompromising architectural vision imposed on the traditionalist rural setting [Fig.2].

A smooth concrete cube with misaligned window strips, this school building sits in marked contrast to the traditional architecture of the village. The building, situated outside the boundary between houses and agricultural land, draws its power from its isolated position in relation to the landscape. Significantly, its connection to the older school buildings is concealed underground.

Architecturally, this building endorses the principles of architectural autonomy. It is both a school, with classrooms and teachers’ rooms and lobbies, and a crafted object with the gravitas of polished concrete and heavy bronze. It makes an artistic statement about the potential of architecture to arrest life and transform it into an aesthetic experience.

The building’s presence at the periphery of the village invites questions about the fusion of two horizons: the conservatism of the rural environment against the artistic ambitions of the architect, metropolitan in character. The marginal position is strategic for the possibility of this dialogue: the village can let the architecture be, and the architecture can unfold its lofty internal justification not in relation to the settlement, but to nature.

There is however more to this dialogue than a carefully drawn truce between rural realm as reactionary and urban values as avant-garde. The building was commissioned through an architectural competition, judged both by architects and locals. The architectural judges appreciated the project’s conceptual and aesthetic coherence; the local clients were persuaded by its economical footprint and minimal impact on agricultural land. It was on these pragmatic terms that the project later passed the communal vote. Despite its controversial appearance, the project won local support because it stayed within its (low) budget and was completed on time.

Peter Zumthor’s Thermal Bath in Vals is another instance of a Graubünden architecture that gained international and metropolitan appeal. Unlike Paspels, while retaining a rural character, Vals is economically reliant on tourism and industry. The modern developments are separate from the heart of the old village, in an area dedicated to tourism. Even so the thermal baths is conspicuously out of the view, its grass roof blending in with the slope and only one stone-clad façade signalling its existence carved out of the mountain [Fig.3].

Gion Caminada’s buildings in Vrin, a remote and stubbornly protected village, toe a more ambiguous line between traditional and modern. Structures as diverse as a telephone cabin, agricultural and industrial sheds, houses and a mortuary, stand out amid the old dark buildings on account of their golden or whitewashed timber. They employ the local vernacular materials and

³ BARBER, Benjamin R. - *Death of Communal Liberty. A History of Freedom in a Swiss Mountain Canton*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974, 271.

techniques, claiming an arguably modern aesthetic through their abstract volumetry and façade treatment. Despite the absence of local tourist facilities, Caminada's buildings attract an attentive professional audience to the village [Fig.4]. Bearth and Deplazes's school in Vella, near Vrin, is similarly ambiguous. Its rendered, double pitched volumes both mirror the village silhouette and distinguish themselves from it on account of their abstract crispness and severe, sculptural fenestration.

In their ambivalence, these projects straddle the familiar, yet problematic divide of modern versus traditional architecture. They illustrate different strategies through which architects deal with rural environments - isolation in Paspels, concealment in Vals, camouflage in Vrin and Vella.

These strategies make the new architecture simultaneously accessible to the local community of users and the international professional discourse. Unlike urban projects, which often steeped in the anonymity of large-scale policies and of interested parties, here each project is dependent on public approval. Gion Caminada testifies:

A building in a small village like Vrin always has a social value.⁴ [...] In order to appreciate what architecture is appropriate for Vrin, you have to be receptive. It is essential to understand and develop the [existing] structures. [...] A project has to fit with the place.⁵

Appropriateness demands that the building's pragmatic scope is clearly defined, whereas the artistic agenda is secondary. For its existence the project needs adhere to the implacable logic of economic efficiency, including the appeal to local skills and materials. However, these very conditions allow for striking buildings, which, in terms of material or skill, would be unattainable elsewhere.

For example, the local availability of timber and stone embody a vast amount of traditional construction knowledge. Having created a characteristic vernacular, these materials continue to dominate the contemporary production, fulfilling a principle of local sustainability. Thus, in the Vals thermal bath, stone that would have normally been prohibitively expensive was available within the commune and accounted for within its own economic system. Zumthor understands this not only as common sense but also as an act suffused with artistic intent, supporting the unity of the original concept:

Layer upon layer of Vals gneiss, quarried 1,000 metres further up the valley, transported to site, and built back into the same slope [...] within its homogeneous stone mass [the building] still retains a clear sense of the strongest of the initial design ideas – the idea of hollowing out.⁶

While lacking the traditional craftsmanship connotations of the timber and stone, concrete is also extensively used due to the local availability both of components and of expertise, coming from the extensive construction of viaducts, bridges and water dams in the area.⁷

In spite of its radical reputation in architectural journals, Graubünden architectural culture remains essentially archaic in terms of the procurement and often commissioning processes. This is due to three related factors: the political system of direct democracy; the stone and timber craft culture; and a specific historical and cultural configuration, allowing the co-existence of distinct cultural horizons.

Bearth and Deplazes' metaphorical metro map continues an established critical discourse likening Switzerland to a city. In 1763 Jean-Jacques Rousseau compared Swiss topography to urban districts; in 1932, the architect Armin Meili called

⁴ Interview transcript in SCHAUB, Christoph - "The Vrin Project," 2G, no.14: "Building in the Mountains: Recent Architecture in Graubünden", 2002, 137.

⁵ Ibid.: 139.

⁶ ZUMTHOR, Peter - "Stone and Water." In MOSTAFAVI, Mohsen - *Thermal Bath at Vals*, London: Architectural Association, 1996, 11-12.

⁷ Paspel school directly benefited from the locals' construction experience on this type of infrastructure.

Switzerland a 'traditionally decentralised city'.⁸ This idea was updated in the 1980s by André Corboz's notion of *Grossstadt Schweiz* – 'Switzerland City'.⁹ More recently, in 2006, came the publication *Switzerland – An Urban Portrait*.

This last resulted from an extensive research project conducted by leading Swiss practitioners - Roger Diener, Jacques Herzog, Marcel Meili and Pierre de Meuron - in collaboration with the geographer Christian Schmid. Theoretically the study is grounded in Henri Lefebvre's model of societal urbanisation, a phenomenon linked to the industrialisation and urban expansion.¹⁰ This concerns not only cities, but all phenomena resulting from the urban's dominion over the rural. The hypothesis of an urban Switzerland is not to be understood *ad litteram* as a conurbation, but as the site for complex, evolving territorial exchanges and cross-border interactions. A remote village is urban inasmuch the local supermarkets, Swiss Telecom phone booths and second homes are expressions of imported city life.

Within this framework, Marcel Meili's essay 'Is Matterhorn City?' alerts us to the Alps' transformation into urban configurations through the predominance of tourism:

The Alps are marketed as a variation of the city within a different context but also as icons of compensation. [...] The Alps can no longer possibly embody the mysteries of nature as an alternative to urban living. [...] Valley topographies have now become the mountainous settings of an oversized, urban scale: a kind of metropolitan staffage, comparable to the silhouette of Manhattan.¹¹

This allegorical flattening is the background to the new public architecture that combines rural and urban referential horizons. The growing demand for artistic landmarks, in the service of either tourists or increasingly cosmopolitan commuters, is juxtaposed over the architects' desire for projects that are both appropriate in a local context and relevant for contemporary professional or artistic discourse. Thus the 'underground map' of contemporary architectural monuments is not to be read as a paradoxical emanation of mountain culture but, as advanced by Bruno Reichlin, the expression of urban pluralism.¹²

At the same time this cosmopolitanism is not homogeneous but acts as a factor of future demarcations between alpine urban structures (resorts, well-connected villages) and rural 'fallow lands' (isolated, depopulated, predominantly agricultural).¹³ The tensions arising between urbanisation, including architecture, and traditional impulses brings into question the projects' status as high quality artefacts. The urban and rural outlooks act as two intermingling realities impinging on each other.

At stake in this muted conflict is the deep character of place, that which is inherent to it. The typical conditions of Graubünden architecture - alpine topography, constructive typologies, material palette - imprint on the architectural and constructional culture of the region. And yet, essentially, the buildings on Graubünden's 'metro map' are connected metaphorically by something invisible yet palpable: a shared collaborative mentality, shrewd and pragmatic, sustained by the social and political mechanisms at work.

⁸ Both quoted in CORBOZ, André - "Grossstadt Schweiz? Stadt der planer - Stadt der architekten," *archithese* 18, no. 6 (1988): 14.

⁹ See CORBOZ, André and MAROT, Sébastien - *Le territoire comme palimpseste et autres essais*, Paris: Les Éditions de L'imprimeur, 2001.

¹⁰ SCHMID, Christian - "Theory". In *Switzerland - An Urban Portrait*. Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser, 2006, 165.

¹¹ MEILI, Marcel - "Is Matterhorn City?," in *Switzerland - An Urban Portrait*, Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser, 2006, 921-24.

¹² REICHLIN, Bruno - "When Modern Architects Build in the Mountains," *2G*, no. 14: "Building in the mountains: recent architecture in Graubünden" (2002): 134.

¹³ DIENER Roger et al. - "Alpine Fallow Lands, Alpine Resorts," in *Switzerland - an Urban Portrait*, Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser, 2006, 876-85.

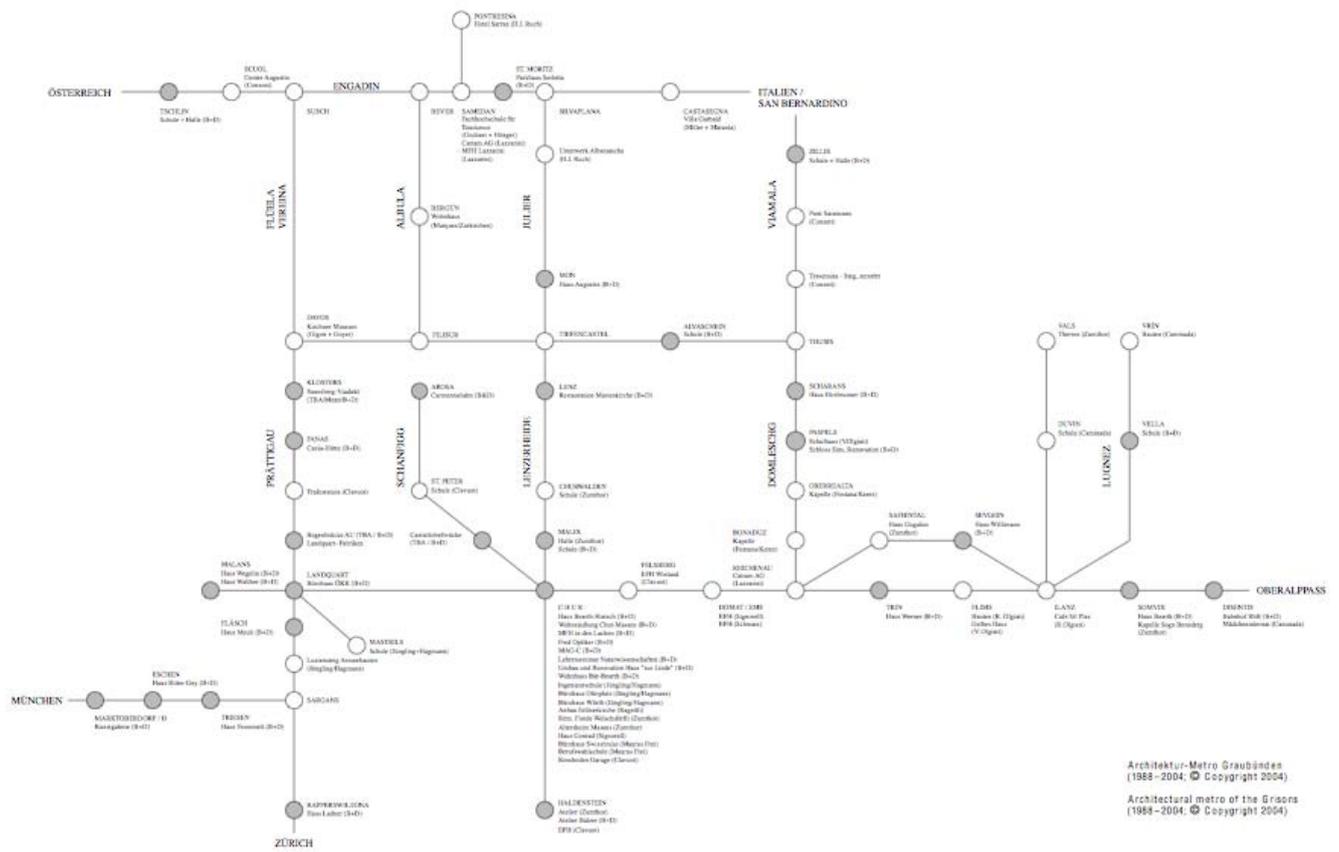


Fig.1: Valentin Beath and Andrea Deplazes, *Architektur-Metro Graubünden 1988-2004*, 2004.



Fig. 2: Valerio Olgiati, *School Building (Extension)*, 1996, Paspels, Graubünden. ©Irina Davidovici.



Fig.3: Peter Zumthor, *Thermal Baths*, 1990-1996, Vals, Graubünden. ©Guia arquitectura.



Fig.4: Gion Caminada, *Agricultural Sheds and Houses*, from 2000, Vrin, Graubünden. ©BauNetz Media.

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Emma Strada and Ada Bursi: The First Female Civil Engineer and Architect in the Italian Capital of Industry, Turin

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In 1927 Benito Mussolini asserted:

The woman must obey [...]. She is analytic and not synthetic. Has she ever done architecture in all these centuries? Tell her to build a hut for me, I am not saying a temple! She cannot. She is foreign to architecture, which is a synthesis of all arts, and this is a symbol of her destiny.¹

It is no scoop that Italian culture has always discriminated against women especially in the workplace. Why is it this way? What were the roles of the first female civil engineer and architect in an industrial city like Turin? What were the motivations underlying their choice of profession and what was their reception in the male work world of the capital of industry?

The history of two female pioneers, Emma Strada and Ada Bursi, helps answer these questions.

For the first time in Italy, on the 5th of September 1908, a woman graduated in Civil Engineering. Emma Strada (Torino, 1884 - Torino, 1970) graduated with honours from the Royal Polytechnic of Turin and finished third out of the 62 students enrolled in her course.

For a woman in Italy, this unusual choice of profession was determined by family tradition. Emma's father and brother were engineers, therefore, she began her career working with her father, apparently without signing any projects. This is one of the reasons why in Italy few gender studies exist on liberal professions in the fields of engineering and architecture.²

We need to remember that just in 1919 a law abolished the marital approval and allowed the admission of women to exercise any employment and occupation.

Emma Strada's father was a provincial councillor of Turin and was directly involved in building policies of the city. Since the early XX c., Turin was an industrial city that saw a complete transformation of its socio-cultural outlook. The city was revitalised and expanded and many architects were involved in the urban transformation process. In 1903 Emma graduated from the *Liceo Classico Massimo d'Azeglio* of Turin.³ This choice already manifested her intentions to continue education at the University⁴.

¹ 'La donna deve obbedire [...]. Essa è analitica, non sintetica. Ha forse mai fatto l'architettura in tutti questi secoli? Le dica di costruirmi una capanna non dico un tempio! Non lo può. Essa è estranea all'architettura, che è sintesi di tutte le arti, e ciò è simbolo del suo destino'. "Architettrici". *Attività Muliebre*. (1927).

² Many scholars have neglected the research on women pioneers in Italy because for a long time it was customary not to write the full name of the architect; therefore, we cannot tell if behind the title of architect there is a woman or a man. Another reason is that there were women who chose to remain anonymous, working alongside their husbands, holders of the agency, for their masters, or in team. SESTI Sara - "Donne di Scienza: un percorso da tracciare". In GALBANI, Annamaria (edited by) - *Donne politecniche. Atti del Convegno e Catalogo della Mostra - Milano, 22 maggio 2000*. Milano: Libri Scheiwiller, 2001, 13-14.

³ Italian law never prohibit women's access to university because it was not necessary, due to the fact that the university was attended only by men. During XIX c., the presence of women at the university remained low because to enter the university, women had to attend high schools reserved for males. Just think that in 1910-'11 in all high schools of the Kingdom were 791 girls while the boys were 13.551.

⁴ The family's biography, collected by dr. Margherita Bongiovanni (*Centro Museo e Documentazione Storica del Politecnico di Torino*, former president of Aidia) provides us with the following information on the familial milieu and on the professional duties of the Strada. I am grateful to M. Bongiovanni for making available of my research her information and the results of her work.

The same year she was enrolled in the preparatory course in Engineering Sciences at the University of Turin⁵, which later would allow her to enroll in the School of Application for Engineers.

At that time Turin was the seat of the Italian university where there was the higher presence of female graduates.⁶ Compared to the rest of the country, Piedmont was the first to welcome women in the university, and maintained a standard of excellence due to record high levels of literacy and the presence of religious minorities, such as the Jewish and the Waldensian, which was characterized by a high level of education that carried a high female access to higher education. But, we must underline that if the presence of women was accepted in universities, it was not the same at Royal Polytechnic School, because in accordance with the mentality of the time, the technical studies were not considered feminine at all.⁷

Emma Strada became assistant professor to Luigi Pagliani, who was the director of the Cabinet of Industrial Hygiene at the University of Turin and a lecturer at the Polytechnic of the Course of Hygiene. For a woman there was no possibility of an academic career and, consequently Emma had to work for her father. It seems that she had her first professional experience working as an engineer in the mine of Ollomont in Aosta Valley.

In 1910, her father closed his studio in Turin and the archival documents do not show that he had opened a new studio in the city under his name,⁸ probably because he moved with his family to Southern Italy. These were the years when in Southern Italy professionals and workers of the North led the modernization.

In 1909-'10, Emma moved with her father to Calabria where she worked on the construction of the railway 'auto-moto-funicular' of Catanzaro (junction Catanzaro-Sala) and on the Calabrian branch of the aqueduct of Puglia.⁹ So Emma succeeded remarkably in Southern Italy in railways, a typically male sector.

After her father's death in 1915, Emma worked in Aosta Valley, in Liguria and in Piedmont where she dealt with the design of some sections of railway, and in Turin, she worked on the project for the nursery of *Crocetta* even if the drawings stored in the historical city archive do not give any signature.¹⁰

After World War I, Piedmont was the most industrialized region of Italy, and as a result of the war women took the place of men in factories, offices and public services. Thus, women demonstrated their working ability. This event has contributed to the change of manners and has established a different conception of social relationships.

⁵ Archivio Storico Università di Torino (ASUTo). "Registro di matricola relativo all'allieva Emma Strada". *Registro immatricolazione studenti Facoltà di Scienze Fisico-matematiche*. Not inventoried, 19.

⁶ From 1867 to 1900 there were 257 women graduates in Italy. In the same period 49.8% of the female degrees were concentrated in Northern Italy, and 26.9% of the degrees were concentrated particularly in Turin. *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero dell'Istruzione pubblica*, April 3, 1902. DE GIORGIO, Michele - "Donne e professioni". In MALATESTA, Anna Maria - *Storia d'Italia, Annali 10, I professionisti*. Torino: Einaudi, 1996, 456; RAICICH, Marino - "Liceo università professione: un percorso difficile". In SOLDANI, Simonetta (edited by) - *L'educazione delle donne. Scuole e modelli di vita nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*. Milano: Franco-Angeli, 1989, 168.

⁷ The Regio Politecnico was founded in 1906 (G.U. n. 167 18/7/1906) from the merger of the School of Application (established, 1860) and Royal Industrial Museum (established in 1863). Students in engineering, before entering the three years of the School of Application, must attend two preparatory years at the University of Sciences. "Regio Decreto che approva il regolamento speciale per la facoltà di Scienze Fisico-matematiche e naturali e annessa scuola di magistero", n. 66 del 13.03.1902. *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno* (9 aprile 1902, n. 83). PUGNO, Giovanni Maria - *Storia del Politecnico di Torino*. Torino: Stamperia Artistica Nazionale, 1959, 32-149.

⁸ Archivio Storico della Città di Torino (ASCTo). *Annali Paravia*. Microfilm (1910).

⁹ Further researchs on Emma Strada's projects in Calabria are in progress at the Politecnico di Torino by the professor Giuseppa Novelli.

¹⁰ ASCTo. "Scuola materna Crocetta. 1868-1980". *Archivi Aggregati*.

From our point of view, apart from Strada engineering activities that are difficult to prove, what is extremely significant is her involvement in the foundation, in 1957, of *Associazione Italiana Donne Architetto e Ingegnere* - AIDIA (Italian Women Engineers and Architects Association) of which she was the first national president and where she has been actively involved in organizing cultural activities.

Among the founding members the contribution of the Electrical Engineer (1933, Polytechnic of Turin) Anna Enrichetta Amour (Milano 1908-Torino 1990) was crucial.¹¹ In 1953, while studying for her master's degree in Industrial Engineering at Columbia University in New York, she was approached by the women's association WES (*Women Engineers and Scientists*) and through this, upon her return to Italy, she became the initiator of the foundation of Aidia, of which she was national secretary and the editor of the biannual newsletter the *Bollettino Aidia*.¹²

In 1955, women engineers and architects of Turin and Milan gathered at the Exhibition of Mechanics in Turin, which on January 26th, 1957 formed the Aidia.

In Italy in 1957, 148 professional female engineers and 147 architects were enrolled in the registers, but it remained very difficult for women to succeed in the profession.¹³

At the second national conference of Aidia in Turin, Emma Strada introduced the debate: 'Professional claims and opportunities for women in the field of technology.'

In 1970, she accepted an offer to organize the 'III International Conference of Women Engineers and Scientists', located in Turin. This event was supported by British and American members of the WES Women Engineers and Scientists. The topics included 'Programming the Progress' and 'Family duties and professional women'. Unfortunately, the conference took place without Emma Strada who died just a few months before the event.

After Strada graduated, in 1908 the presence of women at the Polytechnic of Turin remained sporadic and almost random. Only after World War II the presence of women in the Faculty of Architecture of the Polytechnic of Turin multiplied. From 1944 to 1947 the enrollment of women increased at a rate faster than that of the men. In 1945-'46, 25% of the school population was female. In the fifties and sixties the number of graduates continued growing, while the number of male graduates had not increased. Despite the fact that Turin was able to include many engineers in multiple industries, woman did not find their future careers here. It was only in the eighties that women engineers entered marginally in Turin industry.¹⁴

¹¹ The other founding members were: the architect Vittoria Ilardi and Anna Enrichetta Amour, Laura Lange, Ines del Tetto, Lidia Lanzi, Adelina Racheli Domenighetti.

¹² BONGIOVANNI, Margherita - "Le donne al Politecnico di Torino". In MARCHIS, Vittorio - *Progetto, cultura e società. La scuola politecnica torinese e i suoi allievi*. Torino: Associazione Ingegneri e architetti ex allievi del Politecnico di Torino, 2010.

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¹⁴ AUDENINO, Patrizia, CORTI, Paola - "Donne e professioni liberali: studio, carriera e famiglia (1918-2000)". In AUDENINO, Patrizia, CORTI, Paola (edited by) - *Donne e libere professioni. Il Piemonte nel Novecento*, Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2007, 30.

Giuseppa Audisio was the first to graduate in Architecture at the Polytechnic of Turin(1930), however it seems she did not practice, so Ada Bursi (Verona, 1906 - Castiglione torinese, Torino, 1996)¹⁵ was the first female to practice as a regular architect in Turin. In 1938 she graduated from the Royal School of Architecture (founded in Turin in 1929) at the Polytechnic.

When she was a girl, Ada moved to Turin¹⁶ with her family and attended the Royal high feminine school Margherita di Savoia. She also attended the painting school of Felice Casorati and, in the second half of the Twenties, influenced by the friendship of the painter Mino Rosso, she completed some graphic works in futuristic style.¹⁷

In 1929, she had published in *La Casa bella* her drawings for the linoleum flooring she had made for the architect Giuseppe Pagano Pogatschnig.¹⁸

In 1932, she graduated from the Albertina Royal Academy of Fine Arts and in 1933 she entered the *Partito Nazionale Fascista*.¹⁹ The same year, Bursi exhibited her paintings with the group of Futurists at the 91st *Esposizione della Società Promotrice Belle Arti di Torino* - 5th Regional Exhibition of the Fascist Syndicate of Fine Arts. Soon she was well integrated into the artistic milieu of the time, which was still almost exclusively male.

Between 1920 and 1930, both in Europe²⁰ and in Italy, female architects were more numerous, even though public opinion perceived architecture as a 'profession for men'.

In Fascist Italy, women had never exceeded 10% of the 108,000 professionals.²¹ As a result of Fascism, the many obstacles that impeded female advances were successful because it was nearly impossible for women to enter public contracts and competitions. However, in 1935 the *Almanacco della donna Italiana* praises the successes of some professional architects, whose cases remained exceptions.²² In Turin, the interior designer Maria Besso was recognized as the winner of the first prize for the furniture of the new shops in via Roma. The example established by these female architects clearly demonstrates the level of excellence that women had to reach in order to fill traditionally male positions.

In 1936 Ada Bursi participated in the *VI Triennale di Milano* exhibiting some of her carpets and, together with the architect Ettore Sottsass sr., she created a table with a ceramic top for an American contractor.

Earning awards for the design of a tapestry and a set of coffee cups,²³ she enrolled at the School of Architecture in Turin, which at that time was part of the *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti*, and graduated in architecture in 1938 at the Polytechnic, where

¹⁵ Ada Bursi was born the 24th May 1906 at 10,15 am., in via Mazza 19, Verona. She was the daughter of Ettore Bursi and Anna Orlandi. "Estratto per riassunto del registro degli atti di nascita", Municipio di Verona, 23/10/1938 year XVII ("Ada Bursi", Ordine degli Architetti, pianificatori, paesaggisti e conservatori della provincia di Torino - OAT).

¹⁶ The 30/06/1917 she changed her address to piazza Vittorio Veneto 24 in Turin. Certificato anagrafico (n. 10261) 02/11/1940, Divisione 12 Servizi Demografici - Città di Torino ("Ada Bursi", OAT).

¹⁷ PERLO, Luisa - "Bursi Ada". In GODOLI, Enzo - *Dizionario del Futurismo*. Firenze: Vallecchi, 2001, v. 1, 176.

¹⁸ PAGANO POGATSCHNIG, Giuseppe - "Pavimenti moderni". *La Casa bella*. Milano: Studio Editoriale Milanese. 8 (1929) 44.

¹⁹ "Ada Bursi" - *Unione provinciale Fascista dei professionisti e degli Artisti Torino* ("Ada Bursi", OAT).

²⁰ In Europe, the Finnish Hornborg Signe (1862-1916) was the first female to graduate in architecture in 1890, Helsinki. Elena Luzzatto (1900-1983) was the first woman in Italy to graduate in architecture. In 1925, she completed her studies at the Royal School of Architecture of Rome (founded in 1919), with a thesis on Como Sanatorium. DE GRAZIA, Victoria - *Le donne nel regime fascista*. Venezia: Marsilio, 1993, 256. BASSANINI, Gisella - "Le 'madri dell'architettura moderna': alcuni ritratti nel panorama italiano e straniero". *Parametro*. 257 (2005) 20-23. BIONE, Cecilia - "Architettrici". *Parametro*. 257 (2005) 19.

²¹ Among the total number of architects 16 were women, 60 were lawyers, 30 were dentists, 297 were doctors and 500 were writers and journalists. DE GRAZIA - *Le donne nel regime fascista*.

²² DE GIORGIO - "Donne e professioni", 456.

²³ PERLO, "Bursi Ada", 176.

she was the only woman in her class²⁴.

After graduation the same year, she passed the national exam (*Esame di Stato*)²⁵, with 239 points out of 280, and she became a self-employed architect and the 24th October 1940 she became member of the Architect Association (*Ordine degli Architetti*).

In 1938-'39 she was special assistant to the course of Architectural Composition of the professor of Giovanni Muzio, and from 1946 to 1948 she was professor's assistant of Elements of architecture and Survey of monuments.

Probably not having found a real future career in the university, which was still the domain of men, she looked for a possibility of employment in public administration and, in 1941, she was hired in the construction sector for the reconstruction of the technical City Office of Public Works where she worked until 1971.

At the end of 1945 Ada Bursi was the only female among the 26 founders of the Modern Group Architects Giuseppe Pagano created in memory of the architect who died in the concentration camps²⁶.

In 1946, with her colleagues Amedeo Albertini and Gino Becker, Ada realised a series of modular furniture for the Exhibition of furniture by architects and craftsmen of Piedmont, held in Turin at the association *Pro Cultura Femminile*, Torino, 1946.²⁷ Among the exhibitors were also Carlo Mollino, Giò Ponti, Ettore Sottsass, and others. The modular furniture by Bursi, Becker and Albertini was a prelude to a new setting of furniture. The modular furniture were conceived to contribute to change living models. [Fig. 1] The architects wanted to express a new freedom of the household live. In January 1947, the architects wrote to the Commission 'Arredamento' of the *VIII Triennale di Milano* to propose the mass production of the modular furniture.²⁸ For the same *Triennale* the group of architects sent to the Commission 'Oggetti per la casa' the projects for a desk set, tea sets and taps, to be realized.²⁹

While working in the City Technical Office she also participated in 1946 with the architects Albertini and Becker, in the public competitions for the *Cemetery to the Fallen for the liberation of Turin*.³⁰ The project, anti-monumental and metaphysical won the second prize (the first prize went to Carlo Mollino).³¹[Fig. 2]

In the late forties, Ada Bursi showed her artistic creativity by creating some furniture reminiscent of abstract painting and sculpture. [Figg. 3-4]

In the City Office she designed social housing and school buildings. It is significant that a female architect was designated to design buildings for children.

In 1954, she designed the interior of the nursery school Vittorio Alfieri (via G. Collegno, 73) where she created a decoration that surrounds the walls and ceiling of the common room. The decoration is studied in every detail and combines different materials

²⁴ In 1938, in Italy there were 13 women architects and 23 women engineers. DE GIORGIO - "Donne e professioni". 479.

²⁵ Università degli studi di Roma, *Certificato Superamento Esame di Stato (n. posizione 244, n. partenza 2299)*. Roma 25 luglio 1939 - XVIII ("Ada Bursi", OAT).

²⁶ "Gruppo architettonico 'Pagano'". *Agorà*. Torino: T.E.C.A. 3 (1945) 16-21.

²⁷ ALBERTINI, Amedeo, BURSI, Ada, BECKER, Gino - "Mobili da Torino". *Domus*. Milano: Editoriale Domus. 216 (1946) 16. REGIS, Daniele - *Gino Becker Architetto. Architettura e cultura a Torino negli anni Cinquanta*. Torino: Gatto Editore, 1989, 111-114. "Informazioni sulle più recenti novità presentate da Lacca". *Stile*. 11 (1946) 21-25.

²⁸ Private Archive Amedeo Albertini, letter n. 201, 16/01/1947, S.DIS/M.9-2a.

²⁹ Private Archive Amedeo Albertini, letter 31/12/1946, S.DIS/M.9-2a.

³⁰ LEVI MONTALCINI, Gino. "Memoria di Partigiani". *Agorà*. Torino: T.E.C.A. 6 (1946) 33-35.

³¹ REGIS - *Gino Becker Architetto*. 49-51.

like mosaic, terracotta tiles and large panels phytomorphic and zoomorphic motifs, thus showing her sensitivity and artistic ability.

In 1957 and 1958, she built two primary schools (in via Sansovino and via Luini) and then she worked in a suburb (Vallette), where she completed a primary and a nursery school. In her research project, Bursi released the built volume from the traditional school model and proposed opened morphologies where volumes were arranged freely on the ground. The design of the facade is rigorously geometric, but without rationalist connotations. The design of constructive details is meticulous and the design process is fully controlled and goes beyond the furniture and furnishing design.

Only in 1969 was she entrusted with the execution of an entire school complex in a suburb of the city (via Duino) located in the neighbourhood of Mirafiori, not far from the homonymous Fiat factory and the Lingotto. The architect summarized here her experiences: the building is distinguished by the search for integration between the interior and the exterior. On the access to the road four main wings were built parallel to one another, interspersed with large green areas used for outdoor educational activities and connected with other buildings on the back with covered walkways. New technologies characterize the design of the brick work facades: aluminium window frames with shielding systems filter the sun.³² Glazed volumes help to bring the green and light inside the building.

Bursi worked as a professional in the post-war reconstruction and urban growth of the '70s and was involved in urban design and restoration, and in 1975 she left the Architect's Association and ended her career.³³

In 1961 in Turin out of 306 architects 43 were females³⁴. Thanks to these professionals, the status of women in architecture in Italy began to change.

³² LOMAS, Diana - "Complesso scolastico (scuola materna, elementare, media), Torino, via Duino, 1969, Ada Bursi". In GIUSTI, Maria Adriana, TAMBORRINO, Rosa - *Guida del Piemonte, Architettura del Novecento (1902-1906)*. Torino: Umberto Allemandi C., 2008, 317.

³³ *Cancellazione dall'Albo degli Architetti delle Province di Torino, Asti e della R.A. Valle D'Aosta, Torino 27 maggio 1975 (Prot. n. ° 205)*. The letter was sent by Claudio Deker, President of the Council of Architect's Associations, to the Ada Bursi, corso Giovanni Lanza 102 Torino ("Ada Bursi", OAT).

³⁴ ASSOCIAZIONE INGEGNERI E ARCHITETTI - *Annuario ex Allievi Politecnico di Torino 1961*. Torino: Stamperia Artistica Nazionale, 1961, 31-35.

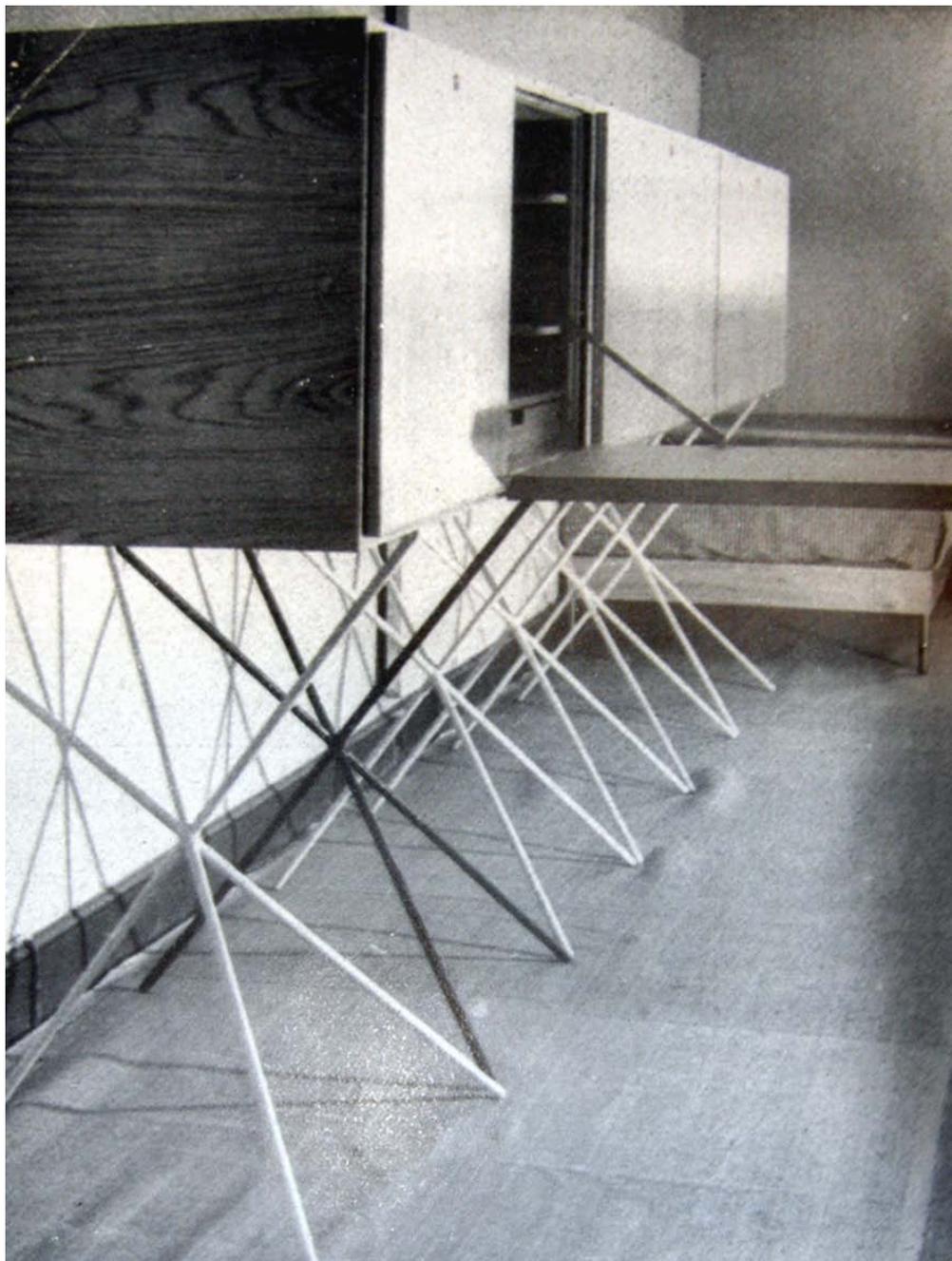


Fig. 1: Amedeo Albertini, Ada Bursi, Gino Becker, *modular furniture realized for the Exhibition of furniture by architects and craftsmen of Piedmont*, Pro Cultura Femminile, Torino, 1946. From: "Mobili da Torino". *Domus*. Milano: Editoriale Domus. 216 (1946) 16.

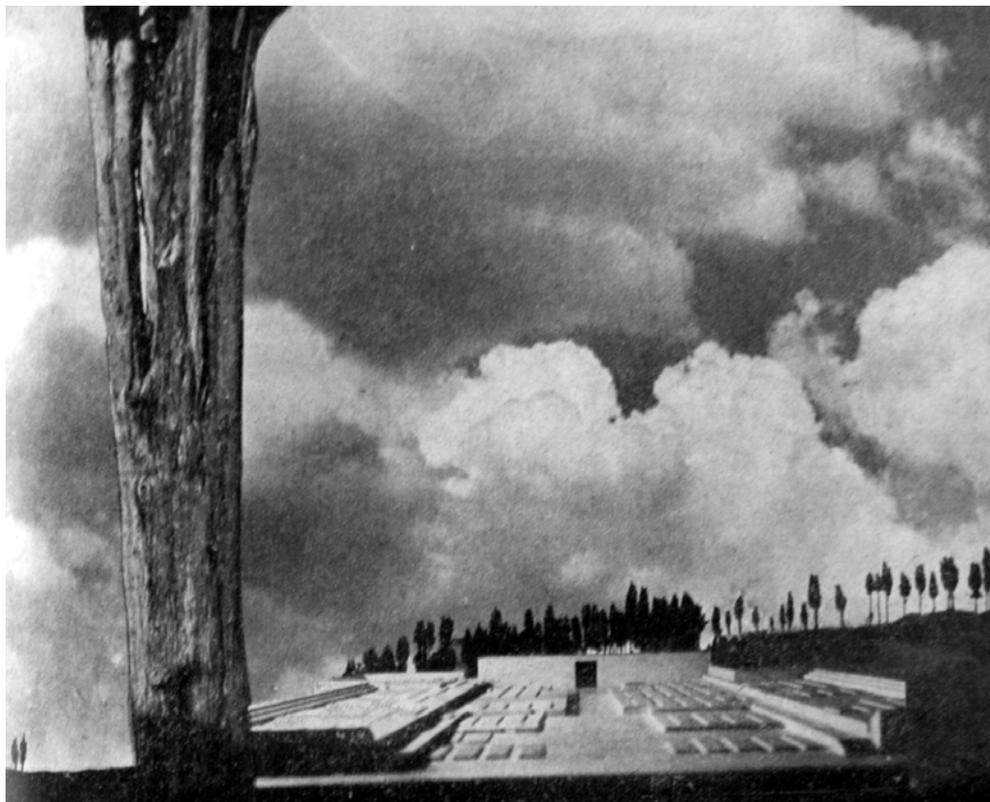


Fig. 2: Amedeo Albertini, Ada Bursi, Gino Becker, *competition for the Cemetery to the Fallen for the liberation of Turin*, second prize. From: LEVI MONTALCINI, Gino. "Memoria di Partigiani". *Agorà*. Torino: T.E.C.A. 6 (1946) 33.



Fig. 3: Ada Bursi, *wooden table with ceramic top with colored enamel*, Torino, 1948. From: "Mobile dell'Architetto Bursi A., Un quadro o un tavolo?". *Domus*. Milano: Editoriale Domus. 230 (1948) 37.



Fig. 4: Ada Bursi, *portmanteau of satin brass with securit glass top*. From: "Astrattismo in Casa". *Domus*. Milano: Editoriale Domus. 232 (1949) 31.

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Jewish Women Garden Designers and Modern Architecture in Vienna

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After 1900, for women, a higher education and a professional training gained in importance. Since studying was important in the Jewish tradition as part of the social integration, especially Jewish middle-class families encouraged their daughters to attend secondary school. Hence, 46% of the girls attending girls' secondary schools in Vienna in 1910 were of Jewish origin, whereas only 8-10% of the Viennese population were Jewish.¹ Apart from an artistic education, e. g. at the *Kunstschule für Frauen* (Art School for Women) or the *Kunstgewerbeschule* (Arts and Crafts School)², women had, at least hypothetically, access to technical professions and the necessary education at technical universities. After World War I, as lots of men had died or were disabled, more and more women were forced to earn their living themselves, thus gaining economic independence.³

Most of the very few women, but hardly any men, working in garden architecture at the early 20th century came from the liberal Jewish bourgeoisie. The majority of garden architects had received their training in palace gardens or horticultural businesses which did not accept women as trainees. In 1895, the first horticultural high school of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy opened in Eisgrub (Lednice, now Czech Republic).⁴ Sixteen years later, the first woman, Luise Waschnitius, graduated from Eisgrub.⁵ Waschnitius, coming from a Jewish family, had enrolled as guest student, which was the only possibility for women to attend a horticultural school at that time.⁶

Whereas numerous Jewish women were trained as lawyers or doctors, the number of Jewish women architects in Austria was small, albeit relatively larger compared to the number of non-Jewish women architects. Helene Roth studied at the *Technische Hochschule* (Technical University) in Vienna, finishing her studies as the first woman with an engineer's degree in Austria. Liane Zimble, Ella Baumfeld-Briggs, Elsie Lasar, and Ada Gomperz were trained at the *Kunstgewerbeschule*. Friedl Dicker was the only Austrian female architect who was trained at the Bauhaus. Due to the anti-Semitic climate at the *Kunstakademie* (Academy of Fine Arts), the education at the conservative Technical University (whose director, Carl König, was of Jewish origin himself) with its focus on solid technical knowledge was favoured especially by Jewish students, who represented up to one third of the students of the *Technische Hochschule*. Numerous Jewish modern Viennese architects married women who were trained as artists or artist-craftswomen and worked together with them, such as Oskar Wlach, Viktor Lurje, Felix Augenfeld, Otto Breuer, Gerhard Karplus, Heinrich Kulka, Jacques Groag, and Josef Berger.

Yella Hertzka, née Fuchs (Vienna 1873 – Vienna 1948)

In 1897, Yella Fuchs, coming from a liberal Viennese Jewish family, married Emil Hertzka, who in 1907 became head of the *Universal Edition* and turned it into the leading publishing house of contemporary music. The Hertzkas were friends of Gustav Mahler, Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg, and Ernst Krenek and organized famous garden parties in their home. Beyond that,

¹ Raggam-Blesch, 2008: 50-51.

² See Fliedl, 1986.

³ See Hecht, 2007.

⁴ Recht, 1976: 16.

⁵ For other countries see Enis, 2006; Buchholz et al. 2008; Way, 2009.

⁶ Waschnitius was born near Prague in 1885. After her graduation from Eisgrub, she worked as an assistant at the *Pflanzenzüchtungsanstalt* (plant breeding institute) *Mendeleum* in Eisgrub. In 1917, she married Eduard Rossi, which is the last evidence we have found so far.

Yella Hertzka was intensively engaged in the women's and peace movement. She was co-founder, president and later honorary president of the *Neuer Wiener Frauenklub* (New Vienna Women's Club), founded in 1903. From 1908 to 1909, then 35 years old, Yella Hertzka received a training at the horticultural school for women in Bad Godesberg, Germany. As a result, in 1912, she established a horticultural school for women in Vienna.⁷

In 1913, the Hertzkas moved to a house next to the school which was part of the *Villenkolonie* (Villa Colony) *Kaasgraben* in the Viennese villa district of Grinzing, initiated by themselves and designed by Josef Hoffmann. The colony was originally conceived of as a colony of composers and people from the music business. In the end, composers like Egon Wellesz and intellectuals like the social-democratic politician Hans Vetter, co-founder of the Austrian Werkbund, moved in. Up to now, it has not been possible to find evidence concerning the reasons Josef Hoffmann was commissioned to design what was then called *Villenkolonie Hertzka*, and not, for example, Adolf Loos, who was a close friend of numerous modern composers and whose humanistic, sober approach probably would have met better with Hertzka's political and ethic convictions than the aestheticist attitude of Josef Hoffmann.

Yella Hertzka's school became the leading training institution for women in horticulture and garden architecture in Vienna and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the early 20th century. From 1912 to 1927, 180 female gardeners were trained at her school⁸, whereas in Eisgrub, during the same period, only 52 of 334 graduates were women.⁹ Some of Hertzka's students were Zionists and moved to Palestine after their training.¹⁰

In 1920, 60 students and graduates of the school founded the *Verein der Grinzingler Gärtnerinnen* (Association of Grinzing Female Gardeners) with the aim of fostering further horticultural training, representing the gardeners' economic interests, and placing female gardeners in jobs.¹¹ This was the first horticultural organization of women in Austria, existing until 1938 when it was liquidated due to the *Anschluss*. In 1937/1938, Hertzka's school and business were closed. Hertzka, widowed since 1932, had to sell her property and handed her house over to her friend, the non-Jewish composer Maria Hofer. In her British exile, Hertzka, then in her late sixties, earned her living as a gardener and worked for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.¹² Her application for restitution was accepted in 1947, but Hertzka died before getting her property back.¹³

Helene Wolf, née Pollak (Vienna 1899 – after 1955)

Helene Pollak attended Yella Hertzka's horticultural school and was a founding member of the *Verein der Grinzingler Gärtnerinnen* in 1920. Beginning with the early 1920s, she had her own perennial nursery *Helonium* in Hadersdorf-Weidlingau, a small village that now belongs to Vienna.¹⁴ From 1925 on, she operated her business together with her husband, the German garden technician Willy Wolf. In addition to the nursery, they ran a constructing business and a garden architecture studio designing private gardens in the contemporary *Wohngarten* (living garden) style. In 1929, Imre Ormos designed the garden of the Urwalek house in Vienna's 13th district during his work for *Helonium's* design department.¹⁵ The terraced single-family house was designed by the Viennese architects Siegfried Theiß and Hans Jaksch.¹⁶ At the spring and autumn shows of the

⁷ M.A., 1920.

⁸ Anonymous, 1927.

⁹ Recht, 1976.

¹⁰ Enis, 2006: 100f.; Raggam-Blesch, 2008: 184.

¹¹ Harter et al., 1920.

¹² Oesch, n.d.: 163.

¹³ Oesch 2008: 119.

¹⁴ Vollbracht, 1924: 113.

¹⁵ I. Jámbor, pers. commun., 2009.

¹⁶ Architektur und Bautechnik 1929: 316ff.

Austrian Horticultural Society, *Helenium* regularly showed projects from its design department.¹⁷ *Helenium's* booth at the 1932 Vienna Fair was also designed by Theiß and Jaksch¹⁸ – probably a more frequent cooperation between the architects and *Helenium* existed.

In August 1938, shortly after filling in her “declaration of property”, Helene Wolf was forced to move to a detention house for Jews in Vienna's second district. Due to the impending “Aryanization”, she sold her estate to her non-Jewish husband. A petition for divorce had already been filed.¹⁹ Helene Wolf fled to California, where she worked as a gardener.²⁰ Willy Wolf sold *Helenium* in 1940 but remained living on the plot with his second wife.

Grete Salzer (Vienna 1882 – approx. 1944)

Grete Salzer, too, attended Yella Hertzka's Horticultural School. In 1920, she was a member of the board of the *Verein der Grinzinger Gärtnerinnen*²¹; in 1925, she became a member of the newly founded Austrian section of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Gartenkunst* (German Association for Garden Art) – DGFG. From 1922 on, Salzer ran a nursery, an office for garden design, and a horticultural school named *Hortensium* at Döblinger Hauptstraße 85/Hofzeile 29, where she lived with her parents and siblings.

In 1930, Salzer designed the surroundings of the Khuner country house, created by Adolf Loos and Heinrich Kulka, in Payerbach, south of Vienna.²² Probably Paul Khuner's sister Alice, married to Salzer's brother Richard, had arranged the contact. So far, we have no evidence whether Grete Salzer, who probably was more interested in growing and teaching, worked together with Loos and Kulka more often. In February 1939, she sold her nursery to Anna Klambauer and Erna Adam, a teacher at *Hortensium*²³, who ran it at least till 1941. In March 1939, Grete Salzer left for London, where she died before the end of the war.²⁴

Paula Mirtow, née Fürth (Strakonice 1897 – after 1963)

Paula Fürth's well-to-do family came to Vienna from the southern Bohemian city of Strakonitz (Strakonice) around 1900. Sigmund Freud's sister-in-law Minna Bernays had been the companion of Paula Fürth's grandmother before she moved to Martha and Sigmund Freud's Viennese house. The Fürths were close friends of the Freuds, with whom they often spent their holidays.²⁵ Paula Fürth's friendship with the same-aged Anna Freud lasted till their exile in Great Britain. From 1915 to 1920, Fürth studied natural sciences at Vienna University. In 1921, she earned a PhD degree for her thesis “On the biology and microchemistry of some species of *Pirola*”. In the 1920s, Paula Fürth was the chairwoman of the *Verein der Grinzinger Gärtnerinnen*, by then *Verein der Gärtnerinnen Österreichs* (Association of Women Gardeners of Austria), and, like Grete Salzer, a member of DGFG.

Paula Fürth's business in Döblinger Hauptstraße 60 was only a few houses away from Grete Salzer's. She ran a nursery with a flower shop, a garden architecture studio, and the *Gartenbauschule Döbling* (Horticultural School Döbling)²⁶ in a house that, like

¹⁷ Vollbracht, 1924: 113.

¹⁸ Schwalm-Theiss, 1986: 148; unpublished photograph, archive of G. Schwalm-Theiss.

¹⁹ Austrian State Archive, Aryanization File, 1938.

²⁰ Information from R. Loewenstein, 15. 9. 2009.

²¹ Anonymus, 1920.

²² Kulka, 1931: 43.

²³ Österr. Gartenkalender, 1932.

²⁴ T. Schwarz, pers. comm., 2009.

²⁵ Reminiscences of P. v. Mirtow (née Fuerth), Interview conducted by K.R. Eissler, n.d. Sigmund Freud Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²⁶ Fürth, P. 1930a.

Salzer's, belonged to her family. The building had been designed in 1909 by the renowned Vienna Jewish architect Alexander Neumann. The shop front was designed by the Jewish architect Fritz Rosenbaum, a former student of the German architect Heinrich Tessenow at the Viennese *Kunstgewerbeschule*. Later, Rosenbaum became a close follower of Josef Frank. Around the same time, Fürth worked together with Rosenbaum when he designed a model flower shop for the big Werkbund Exhibition at the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (Austrian Museum for Art and Industry) in summer 1930. Fürth was responsible for the interior design and the flower equipment.²⁷ In the same year, she designed, in an interior conceived by the Jewish architect Liane Zimble, a small indoor garden at the exhibition *Wie sieht die Frau* (How does the woman see), organized by *Wiener Frauenkunst* (Viennese Women's Art), in the Viennese Hofburg.²⁸ *Wiener Frauenkunst* was established in 1926 as a liberal left-wing secession of the *Vereinigung bildender Künstlerinnen Österreichs* (Association of Austrian Women Artists). Zimble set up an informal female network of craftswomen, architects, artists, and designers, consisting of a continuous project-related collaboration of women.²⁹

In March 1937, Paula Fürth married the writer Serge von Mirtow, registered as Greek-catholic. As Paula von Mirtow, she wrote articles about landscape gardening projects by colleagues like Albert Esch in the *Gartenzeitung*, Vienna, and even *Innendekoration* and *Gartenschönheit*, published in Nazi Germany. In July 1939, Paula von Mirtow escaped to London. Having converted to Protestantism, in January 1946, she finished the *Wistow Training Centre for Post War Christian Service*, a school for racially persecuted, converted Protestant deacons from Germany.³⁰ On November 17th, 1949, Bristol-based Paula Mirtow, teacher, became a British citizen.³¹ At least till 1963, she translated and wrote books with theological topics. Remains of her nursery like the skeleton of a glass house had still been found on the plot in Döblinger Hauptstraße until a few years ago.

Hanny Strauß, née Jellinek (Vienna 1890 – ?)

Hanny Strauß, too, was an integral part of the *Werkbund*. Together with her husband, Oskar Strauß, owner of a trading agency, she commissioned the architect Josef Frank to design their radically modern Viennese house in 1914. In 1925, Frank enlarged the house to provide the youngest of their four children, who was an epileptic due to an illness in his early childhood, with direct access to the garden. From her home, Hanny Strauß ran her perennial nursery *Windmühlhöhe*, named after the area where she lived. In 1932, the nursery covered some 400.000 plants. Like Salzer and Fürth, Hanny Strauß was a member of the Austrian Section of DGFG. Till 1938, she worked together with Frank several times. In 1929, she provided the plants for the Krasny garden Frank had designed with his interior company *Haus und Garten* that he had established together with the architect Oskar Wlach in 1925.³² In 1932, Frank, at that time vice president of the *Österreichischer Werkbund*, was the artistic director of the Vienna *Werkbundsiedlung*. There again, Hanny Strauß's nursery was commissioned to deliver the plants for the gardens of the houses designed by Frank, Wlach, Hugo Gorge, and Oskar Strnad, who is quoted by the architecture critic Else Hofmann as follows: "The beautiful, flourishing perennial garden which Mrs. Hanny Strauß has designed makes me all happy. [...] Through this, an old dream of mine has been fulfilled. The flowers come directly into the apartment."³³

It is remarkable that Strauß also designed an indoor garden at the Christmas Exhibition of the *Neuer Werkbund Österreichs* (New Werkbund of Austria) in 1935, which, after the splitting of the Austrian *Werkbund*, had been founded by the more conservative members like Josef Hoffmann, Peter Behrens, and Clemens Holzmeister as an "Aryan" secession in 1934. In this

²⁷ Born, 1930a; Fürth, 1932: 29.

²⁸ Österr. Kunst 1930, no. 8: 11; 1932, no. 7: 29; archive of "Wiener Frauenkunst", VBKÖ, Vienna.

²⁹ Plakolm-Forsthuber, 1994: 73-77; Plakolm-Forsthuber, 1995: 296.

³⁰ Röhm and Thierfelder, 2004: 583.

³¹ www.gazettes-online.co.uk/issues/38815/pages/297/page.pdf

³² Hofmann, 1932: 27; Wiener Architekten, 1935; Born 1930b: 29f.; *Moderne Bauformen* 1930: 212/429ff.; *Innendekoration* 1930: 402ff.

³³ Hofmann, 1932: 26.

exhibition, Strauß designed an organically shaped elevated flower bed serving as a partition.³⁴ Although Josef Frank had already immigrated to Sweden by then, Strauß (in a way) still managed to work together with him again at the *Paris World Fair* of 1937. Strauß designed the outer space and the courtyard garden of the Austrian pavilion that Oswald Haerdtl had designed.³⁵ In direct connection to the garden courtyard with free, floating forms and a water basin, *Haus und Garten* designed a modern living room. After the "Anschluss", Strauß and her family fled to Israel and later moved to the United States, where one of her daughters has been living up to these days.

Anna Plischke, née Schwitzer, divorced Lang (Vienna 1895 – Vienna 1983)

In 1927, Josef Frank was commissioned to design a winter garden for the family house of Robert and Anna Lang. This is how Anna Lang first met her later second husband Ernst Plischke, who, as Frank's assistant, was responsible for redesigning her house. It was the beginning of a fruitful teamwork which lasted for 40 years. Having graduated from secondary school, Anna Schwitzer, daughter of well-to-do assimilated Jewish parents, had attended Rosalia Rothansl's textile class at the Vienna *Kunstgewerbeschule*, and then achieved a horticultural training at the famous Rothschild's gardens. One of Anna Lang's first works was the garden of the Mühlbauer house in Vienna, designed by Ernst Plischke, in 1932.³⁶ Influenced by the *Wohngarten* style, Anna Lang saw gardens as enlarged living spaces and, thus, arranged the outer rooms in close relationship to the building.

Also in 1932, Anna Lang was commissioned to redesign and plant the garden of Hans and Anny Moller. Their house and garden had been designed by Adolf Loos four years earlier. In connection with the redesign, Franz Singer and Friedl Dicker, two architects trained at the Bauhaus and fellow students of Anny Moller, designed a garden house and rearranged the garden paths. Anna Lang planted exuberant perennials along the edges of the plot and the paths and loosened the lawn plot, which had been structured strictly orthogonally before, with plantings of small trees and paths with stepping stones.³⁷

In 1935, Anna Lang married Ernst Plischke and converted to Catholicism. In 1938, the Plischkes and Anna's two sons immigrated to New Zealand. In Wellington, Anna Plischke earned her living as a gardener. The family rented an old house with a huge garden, which she designed and where she grew fruit, vegetables, perennials, and shrubs. It took almost ten years until the sisters Katherine and Moira Todd commissioned Anna Plischke to design her first garden in New Zealand. Due to Wellington's mild climate, she was able to follow her ideas of composing gardens as enlarged living spaces much more easily. In 1962, the Plischkes returned to Vienna as Ernst Plischke was appointed head of the architectural master course at the *Kunstakademie*. They continued working together with the family houses of Koller-Glück and Frey, which Plischke designed then.³⁸

The female Viennese garden architects of the early 20th century we looked at closely during our research all worked in the private sector, designing gardens in the modern or *Wohngarten* style. Most of them ran several businesses, which provided them with an economic existence and allowed for gaining ground in a male-dominated profession. For Salzer and Fürth, their well-to-do families enabled their multi-dimensional businesses as their family homes in Vienna's 19th district provided large garden plots to run the schools and nurseries. As women had no access to existing training institutions, Hertzka, Salzer, and Fürth achieved an important objective by opening horticultural schools for women. Especially for Hertzka as a feminist,

³⁴ Simony, 1936.

³⁵ Selinko, 1937: 2f. Oswald Haerdtl was a social democrat but had joined the *Neuer Werkbund* due to loyalty towards his then office partner Josef Hoffmann. After the *Anschluss* of 1938, Oswald Haerdtl was one of very few non-Jewish Austrian architects who did not leave the country, but still did not follow the Nazis.

³⁶ Profil 1934: 65ff./103ff.; see Ottillinger and Sarnitz, 2003: 237.

³⁷ Sarnitz, 2003: 67ff.

³⁸ for details see Krippner and Lička, 2008.

promoting well-trained and economically independent women was of an utmost importance. Although a few notes from male networks reported mistrust in the quality of the training and in the ability of women working in horticulture³⁹, their work was generally appreciated.

In 1932, Grete Salzer and Paula Fürth described their premises of modern garden design.⁴⁰ Whereas Salzer stressed the importance of a careful and varied planting scheme while designing a garden, Fürth specified the principles of a modern living garden as convenience, plainness, and cosiness.⁴¹

Professional networking was an important strategy female garden architects used in order to promote women in horticulture and garden architecture. They both established their own professional associations, like the *Verein der Grinzingen Gärtnerinnen*, and were also involved in existing ones from art and architecture. On behalf of their private clients, they regularly cooperated with modern architects and discussed the role of women in horticulture and garden architecture. So far, we have not found any documents dealing with the relation between their being Jewish and their profession, and we have not found any hints documenting anti-Semitism in horticulture. Without any doubt, the Jewish garden architects defined horticulture and garden architecture in Austria in the early 20th century. Their violent expulsion caused a huge loss for Austrian garden design, architecture, and culture in general for decades. It took over 30 years until more women started working as garden and landscape architects in Austria again.⁴²

³⁹ Anonymus, n.d. (1926/1927?); Corresp. 1930/1931; Höhere Gartenbauschule für Frauen: 1929.

⁴⁰ Salzer, 1932: 28-29; Fürth, 1932: 29-30.

⁴¹ cf. Fürth, 1930b.

⁴² This lecture was written within a two-year research project on landscape architecture in Austria between 1912 and 1945 at the University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences in Vienna, financed by the *Austrian Science Fund* (FWF), P 20057-G08. Additionally, the ILA, *Institute of Landscape Architecture, University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences Vienna*, provided a grant to present the paper at the *EAHN Conference* in Guimarães. Many thanks to Corinna Oesch (*University of Vienna*) and Anja Seliger (*ILA Vienna*) for the fruitful exchange on the topics.

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Being a Female Architect in Portugal: A Short Introduction to a Long Ride

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Portugal was left relatively unharmed by the World Wars I and II. During WWI the participation of Portuguese soldiers was modest and in WWII Portugal was - at least in theory - a neutral country. Economical repercussions were felt but they didn't include man labour reduction. As a consequence of this, contrarily to what happened in other countries, Portuguese industry and architecture had no need to recruit female professionals.

In the 1930's the Portuguese political context was marked by the consolidation of Estado Novo, the recently imposed dictatorship headed by Oliveira Salazar. The regime was based on a rural vision of society and women were called to go back to their families to fulfil the traditional role of wives and mothers. With the meaningful exception of teaching and nursing, working women found a number of obstacles to pursue their professional carriers.

The first female Portuguese architect, Maria José Estanco (1905-1999), graduated in the 1940's, never became a member of the Portuguese Architects Association and struggled to find work, eventually giving up practice and becoming a secondary school teacher. By the second half of the 1940's there were a few female students of architecture, but still with no consequences in the work market.

During the 1960's everything started to change in Portugal. Cultural, economical and social realities pressured the regime to open to more liberal ways of life. It was also then that the presence of female students in architecture schools increases significantly. Still, attending and graduating in architecture did not necessarily assure women of access to the professional practice. In the last decades few female architects had a visible role in the Portuguese architectural production. Although the two genders are equally represented in the university field, architecture industry is still not open and democratic. My work analyzes the consolidation processes of Portuguese female architects in the XX century.

In Portugal, the entry of women into the realm of architecture, as professionals, draws an analogy to the route taken by the country which only in the 1970's became a democratic state. As an introduction, this work intends to outline over 60 years of work obtained from this partnership, drawing attention to the initial cases and spanning the period up to today. The structure of this work is divided into three main parts. Firstly, succinctly explaining some data regarding the existing professional situation of women architects. Subsequently, both the pioneers are introduced: Maria José Estanco and Maria José Marques da Silva. Finally, we conclude with what we designate as the reinvented original paradigm, in today's context.

The recent data points to a marked increase in the feminization of the profession. Actually, around 30% registered in the Portuguese Architects Guild are women¹. In the case of the Southern branch, in the last five years, over 52% of newly registered were young women architects². Even then, this figure is surely smaller than the number of women which have completed their degree in Architecture. In Portugal, like other European countries, the presence of women in universities grew significantly over the latter half of the XX century. In the Portuguese example, in the school year 2007-2008, nearly 54% of students of higher education were women³. The significant increase of the female presence will have, naturally results in an

¹ Official data from the Portuguese Architects Guild, Portugal (March 2010).

² Official data from the Portuguese Architects Guild, Southern Branch, Portugal (March 2010).

³ Students enrolled in Universities/Colleges of Public/Private Higher Education (National Institute of Statistics, 2009).

effective growth of degree holders in Architecture which does not directly correspond to a relevant reinforcement of women as sole leaders of architectural practices.

The existing cases constitute an exception generating further inquiry. Amongst others, we will try to answer the question pertaining to the beginning of this process that connects women and architecture, as well as to gauge the eventual relationship between the initial moment and the actuality.

Portugal lived a significant part of the XX century within a specific speed quite different from the rest of Western Europe. In the aftermath of the advent of the Republic in 1910, it witnessed a period of political instability that culminated in 1926 in a military coup. Four years later, the New State takes power and the lengthy leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar will see in 40 years of dictatorship⁴. The official policy of neutrality assumed by Salazar during the Second World War resulted in a near normality for the country⁵. As opposed to what is seen in countries involved in the conflict, female labour is not mobilized as the labour crisis never becomes an issue. The general labour changes due to women, will still take time to be experienced.

In 1935, at the School of Fine Arts of Lisbon, Maria José Estanco (1905-1999) becomes the first woman to finalize the curricular part of the Architecture course⁶. Born in the Algarve, she will live in Lisbon after concluding her secondary school and there she will enrol in a painting course⁷. Following a stay of two years in Brazil and her association with the birth of the town of Marília, in the northeast of São Paulo, she returns to Portugal, abandoning painting and joining Architecture. This experience, accompanying the activity of the Belgian engineer, in charge of the works, will definitely redirect her academical training⁸.

In 1942 she will present her CODA project, this trial will confer upon her the academical and professional recognition as an architect⁹. Her scholarly route is dually valued by her peers. On the one hand, she earns the prize for the best student of architecture¹⁰. On the other, she sees in 1945, the Kindergarten she drew for the CODA published in *Arquitectura* magazine, prominently portrayed on the cover, and containing five pages inside with the drawings, perspective and project statement [Fig. 1]¹¹. Already, three years before, the magazine had published the note that 'for the first time in Portugal, the diploma of architecture was granted to a woman', congratulating Maria José Estanco for the achievement¹².

If the academical field apparently accepted this novelty, Portuguese society of the first half of the 1940's was less flexible. In daily newspapers of the period, humorous representations of buildings, designed by the woman architect were depicted as crashing to the ground. But, identically, the professional field failed to respond like academia had and, after attempting to join various architectural practices, she gave up the profession and taught in a Secondary School¹³. This inability to effectively enter into the Portuguese architectural scene shows itself in her non registration of the National Trade Union of Architects¹⁴.

⁴ OLIVEIRA, César de – "A Evolução Política". In ROSAS, Fernando – *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960)*, vol. XII. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1992, 22-23.

⁵ Idem, *Ibidem*, 53.

⁶ MARREIROS, Glória Maria – "Maria José Estanco, primeira arquitecta portuguesa". In MARREIROS, Glória Maria – *Quem foi quem? 200 Algarvios do Séc. XX*. Lisboa: Colibri, 2000, 188.

⁷ Idem, *Ibidem*, 187.

⁸ MARREIROS, Glória Maria – "À conversa com Maria José Estanco, a primeira arquitecta portuguesa". *Nós As Mulheres*. Lisboa. 6 (1992), 13.

⁹ CODA – Concurso para a Obtenção do Diploma de Arquitecto (Competition to obtain the Architecture Diploma).

¹⁰ MARREIROS – "À conversa com Maria José Estanco, a primeira arquitecta portuguesa", 13.

¹¹ ESTANCO, Maria José – "Um jardim escola no Algarve". *Arquitectura*. Lisboa. 120 (1945) 8-12.

¹² Idem, *Ibidem*, 8.

¹³ MARREIROS – "À conversa com Maria José Estanco, a primeira arquitecta portuguesa", 13.

¹⁴ Designations of the professional associations of Portuguese architects by chronological order: National Trade Union of Architects (1933), Association of Portuguese Architects (1978) and The Portuguese Architects Guild (1998).

The other pioneer which we shall focus on is Maria José Marques da Silva (1914-1994), she obtained her diploma at the School of Fine Arts of Porto. The daughter of a renowned architect from Porto, José Marques da Silva (1869-1947), she obtained in 1943 the title of architect [Fig. 2]. The first step of her professional life was taken at her father's studio and there she meets the architect David Moreira da Silva (1909-2002) with whom she would later marry and work with, sharing the studio for over half a century¹⁵. Unlike her namesake from Lisbon, Maria José Marques da Silva registers with the National Trade Union of Architects in her graduation year, being the first woman to do so¹⁶.

David Moreira da Silva had studied town planning in Paris and, coinciding with a period of strong growth in town planning in Portugal, it is possible to find in the production of the studio a strong component of large scale projects. In these the signature unequivocally belongs to David Moreira da Silva¹⁷. If, given his specialization, it is understandable the precise authorship of the various urban proposals made, in the case of the architecture the situation is not so linear. Recognised the co-authorship and the involved participation of Maria José, in so much by the architect, as well as those close by¹⁸, it is no doubt surprising that, in the assumed public authorship, even today, the name of Maria José Marques da Silva continues to be virtually absent¹⁹.

Despite the different paths undertaken by these two women, they had other things in common than their training in Architecture. The public debate, in different contexts and with differing aims, was something that brought them together. On the one hand, Maria José Estanco had an important role in the Democratic Movement for Women, as a democrat and a pacifist, the participation of which continued over various decades²⁰. On the other hand, Maria José Marques da Silva exerted herself in the creation of a foundation with the name of her father, José Marques da Silva, dedicated to the publication of his works, as well as exercising relevant positions in the years of 1970 and 1980 in the Association of Portuguese Architects²¹.

With this schematic introduction to the journeys of the first two Portuguese women architects we complete the second part of the article. We will now look to identify links to the situation nowadays. In Portugal, at the beginning of the XXI century, we live within a context that mirrors in a partial and updated framework, the analysed foundational movement. If, taken into account, the data would infer a significant amount of architectural graduates that do not dedicate themselves to the practice of Architecture, it is understood that the number of women architects as solely responsible for their studios is residual. They appear, normally associated to other architects, as a couple or as part of a more diversified and numerous groups.

To be accurate in our analysis of the actual situation we cannot forget the result of democratization and feminization of Higher Education. There, exists a third possibility which exhibits a high percentage of female presence: to be a qualified employee of an architectural studio. In Portugal, in 2008, women represented 40% of private companies architectural staff. You can guess the reason for this strong presence: according to the official data, women earn, on average, 15% less than their male colleagues²².

To conclude, like its origin, the paradigm seems to repeat itself generically but, also to reinvent and enlarge itself. To give up the profession or be part of a working couple remain the two possibilities for women architects. Anyway, the partnership versions

¹⁵ PIRES, Maria do Carmo Marques – "David Moreira da Silva e Maria José Marques da Silva Martins – Um primeiro olhar sobre um atelier do Porto do século XX". In FERREIRA-ALVES, Natália Marinho – *Artistas e Artífices no Mundo de Expressão Portuguesa*. Porto: CEPESE, 2008, 175-176.

¹⁶ In the case of Lisbon, only in 1948, with Maria Helena Guedes Vaz Santana (1922-?), will the first registration of a woman architect take place (information released by the Southern branches of The Architects Guild).

¹⁷ LÓBO, Margarida Souza – *Planos de Urbanização. A Época de Duarte Pacheco*. Porto: FAUP, 1995, 148-157.

¹⁸ TAVARES, André – "Maria José Marques da Silva". *Boletim Arquitectos*. Lisboa. 112 (2002), 8.

¹⁹ See, for example, the case of the Palácio do Comércio (1941), in Porto (SILVEIRA, Alexandra Trevisan da; SEARA, Ilda; PEDREIRINHO, José Manuel – "Arquitetura do Porto no século XX (2)". *Jornal Arquitectos*. Lisboa. 85 (1990), 31).

²⁰ MARREIROS – "Maria José Estanco, primeira arquitecta portuguesa", 187-188.

²¹ TAVARES – "Maria José Marques da Silva", 8-9.

²² Official data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, Portugal, 2010 (courtesy of Professor Virginia Ferreira, University of Coimbra).

have diversified with the appearance of others that do not imply marriage in life or at work. But, equally, the right to publically assume authorship and the consequent identity as women architects is an effective and relevant improvement. The third possibility referred, matches what the French refer to as "l'air du temps" or the generic and actual reality of the job market. The easy exploitation of the weaker side: youngsters and qualified women as cheap and disposable sources of labour. Imagine yourself being a young "she".

A ARQUITECTURA PORTUGUESA

E CERÂMICA E EDIFICAÇÃO (REÛNIDAS)

UM JARDIM-ESCOLA NO ALGARVE



NUMERO 120 — MARÇO DE 1945

Fig. 1: Maria José Estanco, CODA's Project, Kindergarten, Algarve, 1942 (*Arquitectura*. Lisboa. 120 (1945) cover).



Fig. 2: *Maria José Marques da Silva, CODA's presentations, [s.d], photo, 16,79x13,37 cm, FIMS/fot.2041 (©Fundação Marques da Silva).*

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Official data from the following Portuguese institutions:

The Architects Guild, Northern and Southern branches

National Institute of Statistics

Ministry of Labour and Social Security

The Architecture and Social History of the Broletto Nuovo of Milan: from its Medieval Origin to the 'Ancien Régime'

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Among the civic palaces of medieval Italy, there was a clearly discernible model, typically consisting of a complex of contiguous and interconnected buildings, sometimes arrayed around one or more enclosed courtyards or squares, in which the various public functions exercised by the Commune coexisted—overseeing the administration of justice, the provisioning of supplies and food, and, more generally, the management of the city economy and the offices of government.¹

These complexes were typical of the cities of Northern Italy, where the seignories were established early; while their present aspects were frequently determined by nineteenth-century restorations that were in turn inspired by the final phase of the communal era. It would be futile to attempt to identify a precise and well-defined civic architectural type that corresponds to a particular geographic location. With endless formal variations, communal palace complexes were built across the entire Po valley, in Emilia, Lombardy, and Veneto. Their physical characteristics are less easily defined as one approaches Milan, where the gradual transition to the Savoy Monarchy between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age resulted in profound changes to the architectural character of the region. At Novara, however, the Broletto survives intact despite restorations, and stands as a canonical example of a North Italian Lombard civic palace.²

In numerous studies of single cities, as well as in comprehensive essays, the history of medieval institutions, based on written – but very scarce – sources,³ allows one to draw analogies and to recognize differences among civic complexes—much more so than analyses of their material remains, which are very difficult to read because of the numerous restorations; or of the fragmentary pictorial cycles, or the all too rare statuary.⁴ In 1967, Angiola Maria Romanini formulated her highly popular thesis on the relationship between the construction of municipal buildings of Northern Italy and the architecture of the Cistercians;⁵ but in the last forty years, her thesis has not been supported by further studies, even if there may have been links between Lombard civic architecture, at the time of Podestà Gregorio da Montelupo, and the Cistercians who directed the construction of Ferentino.⁶

The more one investigates the city and its buildings, even if they are utilized only as indirect sources for describing medieval society and its organization, the less sufficient the written sources; however, documents of the Modern era or even of the

¹ For Milan Enrica Salvatori "Spazi mercantili e commerciali a Milano nel medioevo: la vocazione del centro," in *Spazio urbano e organizzazione economica nell'Europa medievale*, Università degli Studi di Perugia. Ed.by A. Grohmann. – Napoli : Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1995, pp. 243-266.

² Carlo Tosco, "Potere civile e architettura : la nascita dei palazzi comunali nell'Italia nord occidentale," *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino*, 1999, 2, pp. 513-545; id. "I palazzi comunali nell'Italia nord-occidentale: dalla pace di Costanza a Cortenuova," in *Cultura artistica, città e architettura nell'età federiciana*, Comitato Nazionale per le Celebrazioni dell'VIII centenario della nascita di Federico II. ed by Alfonso Gambardella. – Roma : De Luca, 2000.

³ Nicolò Rodolico, "I palazzi pubblici comunali" in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 70, 1962 pp. 1449-1456; Carl Richard Brühl, "Palatium e civitas in Italia dall'età tardoantica fino all'epoca degli Svevi," in *I problemi della civiltà comunale*, ed. Cosimo Damiano Fonseca. Bergamo: Comune di Bergamo, 1971; Gigliola Soldi Rondinini "Evoluzione politico sociale e forme urbanistiche nella Padania dei secoli XII-XIII: i palazzi pubblici" in *La pace di Costanza. Un difficile equilibrio di poteri fra società italiana e impero*, Bologna: il Mulino, 1984, pp. 85-98; Pierre Racine "Les palais publics dans les communes italiennes (XII-XIII siècles)," in *Les paysages urbains au Moyen Age. Actes du XIème Congrès des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur*, Lyon, 1981, pp. 133-155.

⁴ Marina Gargiulo, "Programmi politici dei palazzi comunali in Italia settentrionale," in *Medioevo : la chiesa e il palazzo Centro Studi Medievali*, Università degli Studi di Parma, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, Milano: Electa, 2007, pp. 350 - 355, proposes an interpretation of the peinture cycles of Milan, Brescia, Mantova, based on the extant bibliography; the same approach in Enrica Cozzi, "I palazzi comunali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il XIII e gli inizi del XIV secolo: temi iconografici e committenza," in *Il Palazzo dei Trecento a Treviso: storia, arte, conservazione*, ed. Gabriella Delfini e Fabio Nassuato. Milano: Skira, 2008.

⁵ Le arti figurative nell'età dei Comuni "I problemi...", cit n. 2, pp. 83-95; Ferdinando Reggiori, "Aspetti urbanistici e architettonici della civiltà comunale," *ibidem*, pp.97-106.

⁶ Francesca Bocchi, "Il Broletto" in *Milano e la Lombardia in Età comunale*, Milano: Silvana, 1993, p. 90.

nineteenth century, though linked to historical events, and not necessarily related to buildings, may actually help us to reconstruct medieval edifices. Buildings and institutions, whether of the “civitas” or the “urbs”, must be analyzed for the entire duration of their existence. They must be read in all their stratified transformations, especially when used as sources for themselves—as documents of architectural history. Only by tracing these structures over long periods of time, and with methods that are empirical and precise, may one arrive at reliable conclusions. Recent studies of the Broletto in Milan should be read with this in mind.⁷ [Fig.1]

Paolo Grillo,⁸ in his survey of the social and political framework of communal-era Milan, devotes only a few pages to the Broletto, for the purpose of assembling and reviewing the archival and literary sources. To his credit, he avoids repeating literally the already imprecise sixteenth-century text of Bernardino Corio⁹; and he rightly argues that the Broletto did not result from the radical demolition and replacement of pre-existing buildings, but is instead the product of incremental adjustments. It was in 1316 that Matteo Visconti gave the Loggia degli Osii its present aspect, which in large part has survived the repeated transformations of subsequent centuries and the restoration of 1903.¹⁰ Only on two sides, towards Santa Tecla, and towards the Contrada Santa Margherita, until the Contrada dei Fustagnari (that from the Porta Cumana or Comasina led to the Cordusio), narrow streets or courtyards followed the external perimeter of the buildings facing the Broletto. The facades immediately surrounding the edifice, however, were contiguous, and were interrupted only by five gates that opened towards the city. Until the end of the eighteenth century, these were shut in the evenings. Although the space was tightly enclosed, Galvano Fiamma's fourteenth-century description of a Broletto “*alto muro circumdatum...*” which “*posset dici castrum civitatis*” is likely an exaggeration.¹¹

In 1228, the commune launched a strategic building program that was intended to be implemented over a long period of time. It called for the construction of modest buildings that were to be gradually replaced by more stately edifices. The principal phases coincided with institutional changes in the government. In the sixteenth century, the major public offices become the exclusive prerogative of the Milanese patricians, and in the age of reforms the modern state was born, with its updated system of justice. Starting in the sixteenth century, architectural drawings (which are crucial for documenting building projects) survived in increasing numbers, and the Broletto appears in several general plans and partial surveys.¹² Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a series of plans was drawn up depicting the various levels of the entire Broletto. These plans are the most complete documentation of the civic complex before the construction of the Piazza del Duomo and the Via Mercanti, which caused the demolition of the Palazzo del Podestà and Palazzo della Provision, and the radical transformations of the other buildings. In the construction permits, and in the exchanges between private individuals and the commune over the urbanistic plan, various drawings document the presence of medieval buildings. [Fig.2]

⁷ Carla Ghisalberti, “Il Broletto nel quadro dello sviluppo urbano della Milano comunale,” in *Arte medievale*, 2.Ser. 3, 1989, 2, pp. 73-83, summarizing the literature and documents on the transition from the “old” Broletto dell’arcivescovo – to the new Broletto founded in 1228, according to Corio; and in 1993, Francesca Bocchi emphasized the renewal of the old buildings near the Cathedral that stops only in the decade preceding the transfer to the new site, “Il Broletto” in *Milano e la Lombardia in Età comunale*, Milano: Silvana, 1993, pp. 90-93. Patrick Boucheron in 1998 (*Le pouvoir de bâtir. Urbanisme et politique éditiale à Milan. XIV-XV siècle*. Ecole Française de Rome 1998) reconstructing the urban development in Milan under the Visconti and Sforza, underlined the exceptional commitment of the first building program and subsequent changes in 1396, when the Broletto became the seat of local government in a capital of a territorial state. The breadth of the theme suggests - again - to force sources and literature, there is no space to review interpretations more current, sometimes dubious.

⁸ “Milano in età comunale, 1183-1276 : istituzioni, società, economia,” Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 2001, on the Broletto pp. 55-65.

⁹ *Bernardini Corii viri carissimi Mediolanensis patria Historia, Mediolani, apud Alexandrum Minutianum*, 1503.

¹⁰ Luca Beltrami, “La loggia degli Osii e il suo restauro,” in *L’Edilizia Moderna*, fasc.III, 1906, pp.14-18. On the property of the Visconti family attested to in 1229, see esp. Girolamo Biscaro, “La loggia degli Osii e la Curia Communis nel Broletto Nuovo di Milano. Spigolature d’archivio,” in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, vol. I, anno XXXI, 1904, pp.352-58.

¹¹ *Chronicon Extravagans et Chronicon Maius*, ed. A. Ceruti, *Miscellanea di storia italiana per cura della Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria*, Torino 1869, pp. 452-53.

¹² *ASCM*, Raccolta Bianconi, T. I, fol. 8; the following fol. 9r contains the design of Carlo Buzzi for making uniform the inner facades of the Broletto.

The staircase that led to the interior of the Palazzo della Ragione gave access, from its mezzanine landing, to the first floor of a simple edifice, which had a linear series of rooms whose windows faced the Broletto. On the opposite side, a blind wall marked the boundary with the rest of the structure behind. The edifice incorporated Porta Cumana and continued perfectly straight, to the northwest corner. Its height was increased by a story between 1606 and 1654,¹³ and the regularity of its plan can probably be attributed to the transformations of approximately that time. Above the gate, the medieval ashlar blocks of which were discovered during the demolitions of 1877,¹⁴ were located the offices of the Provvisione and of the Congregazione del Patrimonio, which were the municipal and provincial administrations.

The corner building, towards Santa Margherita Gate, largely rebuilt since 1558,¹⁵ housed on the ground floor the College of Notaries, a hall, a meeting room, and a chapel that protruded from the northwest side of the building,¹⁶ where the "stretta delle Farine" bent at a right angle.

On the first floor were the meeting rooms and the chapels of the Cameretta dei Sessanta Decurioni—the city council—and of the Tribunale di Provvisione, its executive authority. [Fig.3]

Beyond Santa Margherita Gate, Pope Pius IV de' Medici wanted to erect a monumental headquarters for the Collegio dei Giureconsulti, of which he had been a member.¹⁷ The Collegio admitted only patricians, who were destined to occupy the highest offices of the Milanese state. Pius IV ordered the demolition of the "Cancelle" of notaries, an arcade of two aisles with four bays, between Santa Margherita Gate and the original seat of the Collegio dei Giureconsulti; and he built a room of equal depth, but as wide as only a single bay of the Cancelle, and facing the square. In the "Cancelle", the notaries, sheltered inside and seated at their tables, drafted the deeds necessary for the commercial transactions that took place inside Broletto. The change to a smaller, more private meeting room, enclosed within a building, would not make sense if the nature of the notaries' activities had not substantially changed.¹⁸

Beside the Tower of Napo, the front of the Broletto exhibited a series of modest houses, perhaps made of wood, timber-framed, with shops; these stood before a vast vaulted space—the warehouse of the "Gabella del Sale"¹⁹—above which a gallery gave access to the prisons and continued to the house of the podestà. The salt warehouse was aligned with Santa Margherita Gate, and in the space between the road and the tower of Napo there was a tavern. On the corner, on the north side of the Pescheria Vecchia Gate, stood the house of a bookseller. Between 1652 and 1656, Carlo Buzzi, completing the Collegio dei Giureconsulti, replicated its decorative scheme on the east side, incorporating the gate, and constructed an oblique entrance, in order to connect the new level of the north side of the Broletto to the side on the street.²⁰

In 1644-45,²¹ during the reconstruction of the Palatine Schools after a fire, it was decided to extend Seregini's design to all the facades of the Broletto. The objective was not to update the architectural iconography of the exterior elevation, but to remedy the intolerable inconsistencies of the original medieval program, which had never been finished. Also to the west, the building

¹³ Costantino Baroni, "Documenti per la storia dell'Architettura a Milano nel Rinascimento e nel Barocco," vol. II, Roma, Accademia dei Lincei, 1968, docs. 926, 938.

¹⁴ "Atti della Commissione Conservatrice dei Monumenti e oggetti d'arte e di antichità della Provincia di Milano," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 1880, app. I, p. 64.

¹⁵ "Nota della spesa..." and other documents in *ASCM*, Loc. Mil. Cart. 222.

¹⁶ *ASM Fondo di Religione PM*, cart. 2157, doc. 9 July 1640.

¹⁷ Marco Rosci, "Il palazzo dei Giureconsulti e l'urbanistica del '500 a Milano in Galeazzo Alessi e l'Architettura del Cinquecento," Genova, Sagep 1975, pp. 493 – 500. The dates and attributions are debatable.

¹⁸ See two drawings, a plan and an elevation, but not correlated in *ASCM*, Raccolta Bianconi Tomo, 11 f. 11 e 11bis.

¹⁹ *ASM Fondo di Religione PM*, cart. 2101: printed minutes of "1568 adi 12 marzo...".

²⁰ Cfr. *ASM Fondo di Religione PM*. Cart. 2143, registro dell'archivio.

²¹ On the design, submitted to the Vicario di Provvisione, 6 May 1645, (*ASCM*, dicasteri, cart. 46 e Loc. Mil. Cart.210); Ettore Verga, *La camera dei Mercanti di Milano nei secoli passati*, Milano: Allegrretti, 1914; in ed. Milano: Garzanti, 1987, pp. 113-14.

which according to Corio's history had been erected by Podestà Enrico da Rip was a rude conglomeration of disparate structures.

From the gate rebuilt by Buzzi followed the prisons of the podestà and the elevated passageway that gave access to Palazzo della Ragione, adjacent to the Chapel of St. Ambrose, which was an "old structure [...] surrounded by a wall of wooden planks [...]"²²

The building protruded beyond the Gate of the Perfumers and faced some sort of courtyard to the east. The podestà resided in the upper story, above the shops and the prison tavern. In 1325, Beccaro dei Beccaria "*duas cameras magnas tabulis supra juxta arengheriam constituit, lobiae et marmorea arengheria, usque ad capellam domini pretoris fieri fecit*,"²³ annexing the rooms above the portico of the Ferrata to the Loggia degli Osii. Several rare images of the civic complex²⁴ exhibit a structure that is lower than the Palazzo dei Giureconsulti. Alongside this facade, from the Palazzo della Ragione to Portico delle Ferrata, ran a gallery on stone corbels that was repaired or rebuilt in 1568.²⁵ Only with the introduction of the new judicial system by Joseph II on May 1, 1786, when the Broletto became the seat of the lawcourts, were the prisons and balcony demolished and the exterior of the Palazzo del Podestà regularized and plastered. This remained the final aspect of the building until its demolition during the construction of the new Piazza del Duomo in 1867.²⁶ On March 26, 1812, Pietro Gilardoni submitted to the Commissione d'Ornato his well-known project for the new façade of the Portico della Ferrata²⁷

The history of the Loggia degli Osii, which was walled shut in the Modern era and incorporated within the Palatine Schools, and of the Portico di Azzone or dei Banchieri, above which stood the hall, illustrate the rather common practice of altering the function, and thus the structure, of such buildings—sometimes in response to catastrophic events. [Fig.4] More significant for understanding the dynamics of medieval building programs is the West side of the Broletto, now reduced to a few traces of walls and terracotta friezes. Since 1967, the structure has been known as the "House of Panigarola".

On the west side of the gate on Via Orefici stood the church of San Michele al Gallo, which predated the erection of the Broletto. It had a nave and two aisles that protruded into the piazza at the site of—today—the lancet window, probably from the fifteenth century. Behind the altar was a simple niche set into the wall, as indicated in the early-seventeenth-century plan from the Bianconi collection.²⁸ A cemetery was situated there, much like that at the Bramantesque church of San Satiro. The area was still demarcated by posts in the eighteenth century. On this site, without desecrating the graves—if not for the foundation of the (three) pillars—merchants obtained from Filippo Maria Visconti in 1433 permission to build their "hall", which was supported by a pointed arch with a large brick pier that holds up the staircase with a hanging capital. The fifteenth-century room did not lean against the wall of the church, and was only enlarged later.²⁹ In the second half of the sixteenth century, in order to assign separate spaces to cloth merchants and bankers, the Merchants created a room on the ground floor by closing a bay and half of the portico. Despite the quality of the stone cornices, which reflected the status of the patrons, the prevailing logic was merely additive. The reconstruction of the church by Girolamo Quadrio in the second half of the seventeenth century,³⁰ at about the same time as the building of the Scuole Palatine, allowed for a better connection between the chamber

²² See engineer Carlo Prada, March 1666, in *ASCM*, Loc. Mil. Cart. 221.

²³ Giorgio Giulini, "Memorie della città e della campagna di Milano nei secoli bassi," Milano: Bianchi, 1761, vol. V p. 164, from the "cronachetta dei Podestà di Milano."

²⁴ Gianni Mezzanotte has collected in a gift with some imprecision many views of the Broletto, "*La Piazza dei Mercanti a Milano*, Milano: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1989. See the view carved by G. B. Bianchi per Giorgio Giulini op.cit., other details on the north side of the Broletto, specular, now Milan, Musei Civici, Gabinetto dei Disegni.

²⁵ *ASCM*, Loc. Mil. Cart. 221.

²⁶ Ettore Verga, "La Camera dei Mercanti," cit. p. 115.

²⁷ *ASCM*, Ornato Fabbriche I, cart.23.

²⁸ T.I, f.8 See n.14.

²⁹ Ettore Verga, "la Camera dei Mercanti," cit. pp. 111-112. Boucheron, op. cit. 545, referring to Luciano Patetta, "L'architettura del Quattrocento a Milano," Milano, CLUP 1987, often unreliable.

³⁰ Carlo Torre, *Il ritratto di Milano*, Milan: Agnelli, 1674 and 1714, p. 236.

of Goldsmiths, above the gate, with a series of small rooms on the side of the church. This was suppressed in 1788 and sold to the Corneliani goldsmiths, who progressively divided up the interior of the old church.³¹ The surveys of the nineteenth century exhibit discrepancies, and the different floor levels of the Palatine Schools and the Chamber of Merchants have undergone further changes. The walls in which Beltrami claimed to have discovered in 1899³² traces of the late-Gothic lancet window, were executed no earlier than the second half of the seventeenth century, and probably much later. Considered the prototype for the windows of Palazzo Borromeo, the Milanese Broletto window was paradoxically a very late copy; nevertheless, in 1926 it inspired the restorers of the Broletto in Novara.³³

The facades of the Milanese Broletto unified the overall structure of the edifice—the various halls, rooms and chapels of various dimensions—without recourse to more nuanced typologies that might have better articulated the structure and function of the interior spaces.

Only the Hall of Judges, or Palazzo della Ragione, begun in 1233 (according to the inscription of Podestà Oldrado da Tresseno)—exhibits a clear relationship between the building's exterior and interior, in spite of the raising of its height and the addition of vaults, constructed by Francesco Croce in 1771 to 1774. In its regularity, the result of a system of geometrical (not mathematical) proportions, the great hall reflected a sort of functional indifference. It was essentially a courthouse since its construction, rather than a place for citizen assemblies. Several judges convened there, within its unified space. Each judge occupied his own area, which existed within boundaries that were vaguely defined by his seat and his notaries' desks. It should be noted that the notaries were more the custodians of public faith than the auxiliary subordinates of the judges, as they scrupulously recorded the statements of witnesses and defendants.

The hall mirrored the same logic as the surrounding square, the arcades of which served as shelters for the tables where men practiced the most delicate of professions: those of bankers and notaries. Meanwhile, a series of wooden shops attached to solid masonry structures housed the common exchanges.

The relationship between exterior typology and internal function was already obsolete by 1562, when the last bays at the opposite extremes were completed.³⁴ Some of these housed rooms for witness depositions in criminal trials, while others were for the Judges of the Roads and of the Vettovaglie.³⁵ By 1684, the partitions within one large shared hall had become insufficient; but the city engineer dissuaded the judges from creating additional subdivisions, suggesting instead the transformation of the mezzanine, above the existing rooms.³⁶ In the sixteenth century, the attic beneath the roof was already being used as an archive.

Grave damage to the large trusses necessitated a radical rebuilding between 1726 and 1727,³⁷ which produced a number of drawings that reveal much about the original structure. In 1617, the engineer Pessina³⁸ sketched a truss that was solidly connected to two posts, illustrating a system that was common in Lombardy, and known as the "reinforced beam". A century later, in 1716,³⁹ Gian Battista Quadrio depicted two posts that were well detached from the tie beam, constituting a system of bundled beams, made possible by their considerable length.

³¹ ASM Fondi Camerali. P.A. cart. 241 e Fondo Culto, P.A. cart. 1137.

³² ASCM, Piano Regolatore, cart. 1456.

³³ Alessandro Viglio, "L'antico Palazzo del Comune di Novara e gli edifici minori del Broletto col progetto di restauro Bronzini Lazanio," in *Bollettino storico per la provincia di Novara*, 22 (1929), pp. 1-116.

³⁴ ASCM, Loc. Mil. cart. 220. in particolare rogito del notaio Gio. Antonio Spanzota, 10 October 1566.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, Ordine del Vicario e dei XII di Provvisione, 10 settembre 1582, e "lista delle fatture ... da 12 luglio a d' 6 dicembre 1582," ASCM, Loc. Mil. cart. 213.

³⁶ ASCM Loc. Mil. Cart. 220; attached to the redaction of the notary Giuseppe Paravicino, 20 Dec. 1684.

³⁷ All the documents in ASCM loc. Mil. cart. 220.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 13 August 1617, annex drawing.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, estimate of Quadrio december, 10, 1716.

At the top of the walls at the level of the beam, double consoles were installed; the first was certainly made of timber, and rested on a large volute, suggesting a sixteenth-century restoration. With the two previous subdivisions, the interior of the hall had been adapted for the canons of the Late Renaissance. Despite obvious inconveniences, the external articulations and the triforium windows were maintained intact.

In 1774,⁴⁰ commenting on the transformation of the edifice into the notarial archive, Prince Kaunitz wanted the original architectural scheme to be visible, in order to highlight the medieval origin of the building. The conservation of the communal-era motifs resulted from not only a cautious management of the city's heritage, but also a conscious archaism. In 1740, when the erudite work of Ludovico Antonio Muratori was inaugurating a new era of interest in the Middle Ages, Marcant'Antonio dal Re included in his engravings of Milan a view of the Broletto—a recognizable relic of an unfinished project, and a permanent reminder of the ancient rights of the "City". It was a time when the Milanese patricians undertook to recreate their history with their own hands, whatever it may have been.

⁴⁰ Kaunitz to Count Firmian, / november 1774, HHSa Italiensiches Spanisches Rat, Lombardei Korrespondenz.



Fig. 1: Milan, Broletto, view of southern and west facades. On the right, Palazzo della Ragione (1978).

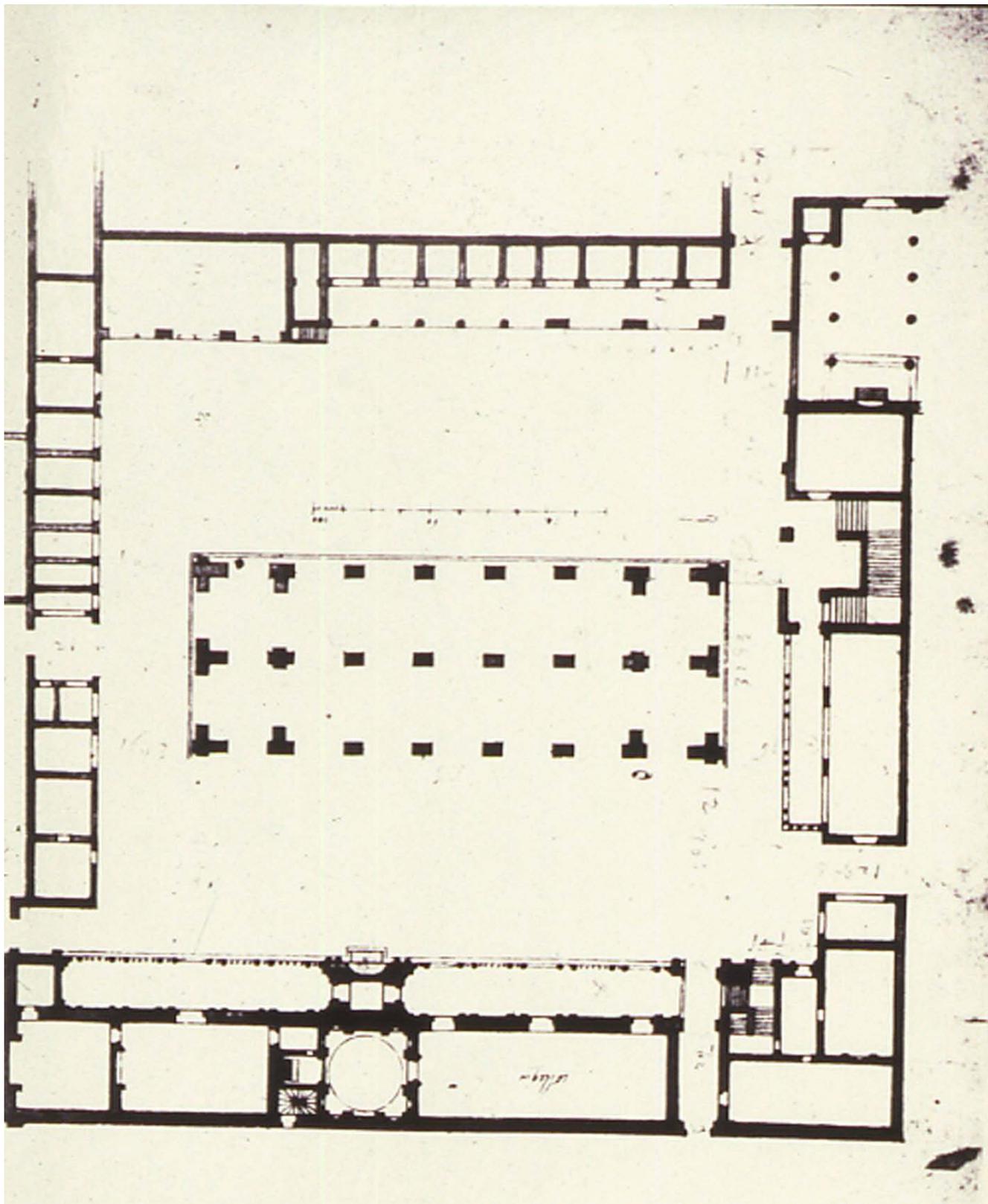


Fig. 2: Broletto, Milan, ground floor, before 1644, Raccolta Bianconi vol. I, fol.8.

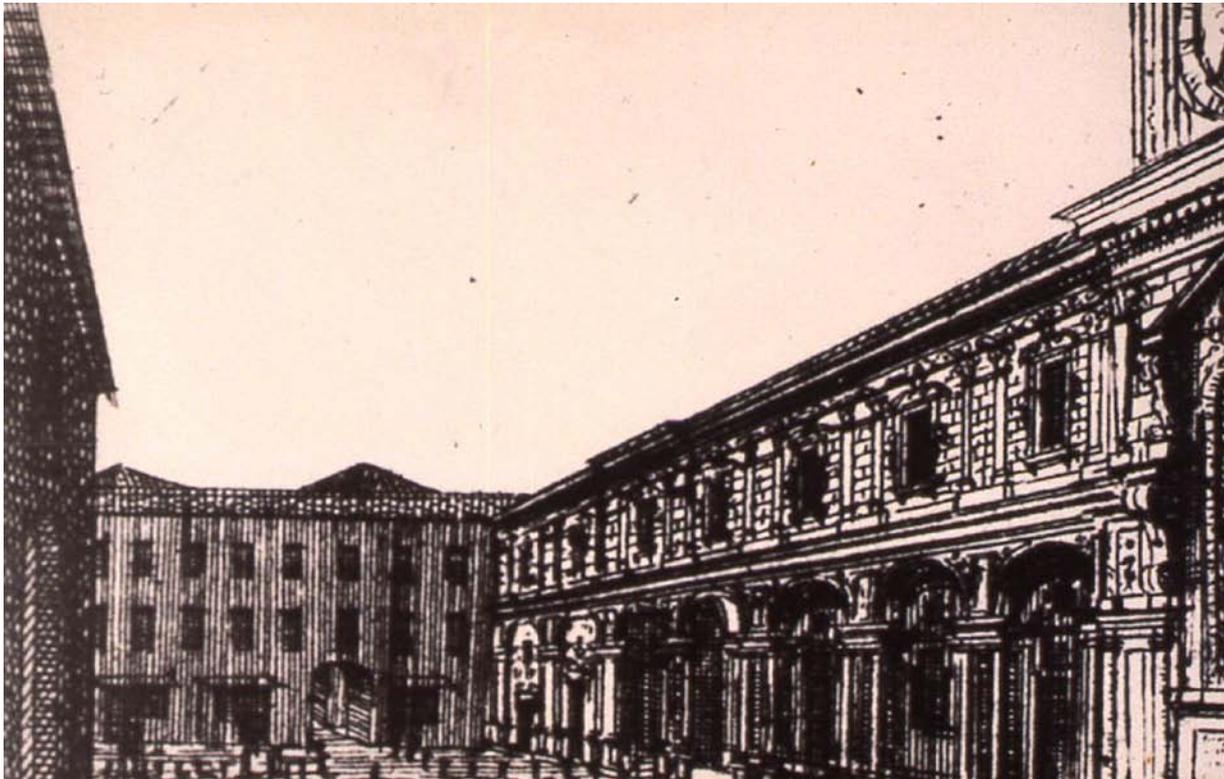


Fig. 3: Marcantonio dal Re, engraving of Broletto, Milan, 1740. Uffici della Provvisione (in the background); Palazzo dei Giureconsulti (on the right).

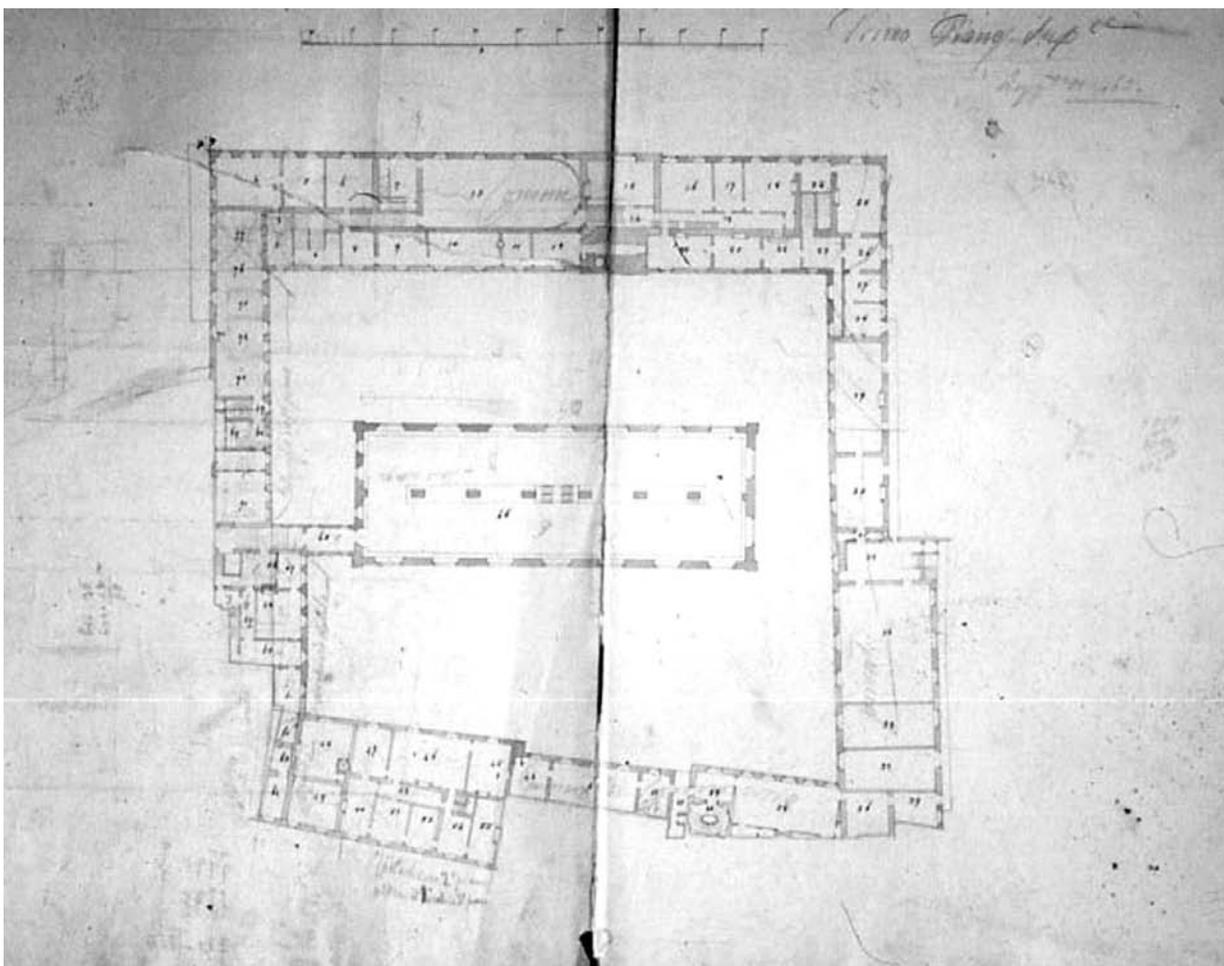


Fig. 4: Broletto, Milan, general plan about 1800, (Genio Civile cart. Piazza dei Tribunali, ASM).

Abbreviations

ASM : Archivio di Stato di Milano

ASCM: Archivio storico civico Milano

HSA: Haus- hof und Staatsarchiv Wien

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The Palazzo Comunale of Modena in the Middle Ages

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The *Palazzo Comunale* of Modena consists of an extraordinary conglomeration of buildings that were erected in separate campaigns between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries.

These disparate structures were united after numerous restorations, and finally concealed by a brick wall during the late-eighteenth century. The present study aims to identify and analyse the principal phases in the development of the civic complex and its influence on the design of the city of Modena. [Fig.1]

The earliest document citing a *Palazzo Comunale* at Modena is a contract of Bishop Eriberto dated May 8, 1046 that mentions an '*actum infra palacio Mutine*'.¹

In 1194, the *Palacium Vetus*, so named by fourteenth-century chroniclers, was under construction.²

In the eleventh century, Europe was undergoing a dynamic process of economic development that saw the formation of new social classes, as artisans and merchants joined forces with the minor nobility. In Italian cities, people began to create free citizen assemblies that were founded upon the concept of '*ius civitatis*'. These elected governments substantially contributed to the economic explosion of the Late Middle Ages.³ Thanks in large part to its geographical position, Modena actively participated in the expanding European economy.

For most of the medieval period Modena was a small community in the fertile Po Valley, near the important Benedictine Abbey of Nonantola, and at the centre of a network of navigable canals. It was located on the Via Emilia, a major road of ancient origin, and not far from the Via Francigena, the chief pilgrimage route to Rome. It was connected by various waterways to the navigable Po River.

The 1046 document citing a '*palacio Mutine*' confirms the existence of a secular group of leaders who administered the town.

In 1099 the *cives*, along with the diocese *populus* and the *ordo clericorum*, decided to rebuild the cathedral ex novo.⁴ This event is proof that the first rudimentary civic organisation began to evolve into a politically autonomous government.

It was the *cives* of Modena who appointed Lanfranco as the designer and builder of the new church. He is one of the few Italian architects of the medieval period who is cited by name.

A miniature of the second quarter of the thirteenth century depicts two scenes representing the architect Lanfranco. In the upper scene he commands four *operarii* to excavate a foundation; and in the lower scene he gives orders to two teams of *artifices*:

¹ A civic palace is cited in other documents from between 1056 and 1173. See FRASCAROLI, Elisabetta – "Palacio Urbis e Turris Communis". In DEZZI BARDESCHI, Marco, ed. – *Le pietre di Modena la storia siamo noi*. Modena: Comune di Modena, 2004, 13 n1.

² This event is confirmed by the inscription on a memorial plaque that reads: "Thank God this palace, where public affairs are happily dealt with, was built" in 1194. See MONTORSI, William – *Iscrizioni modenese romaniche e gotiche. Duomo e Palazzo del Comune*. Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1977.

³ See GROHMANN, Alberto – *La città medievale*. Bari: Editori Laterza, 2007.

⁴ In this period the town did not have a bishop installed because of the conflict between the pope and the Holy Roman Empire. For information on the construction of the cathedral, see the *Relatio de innovatione ecclesie sanctii leminiani, cronaca tenuta da Aimone, magister scholarum della cattedrale*; and PERONI, Adriano – "Il Duomo di Modena. L'architettura". In FRUGONI, Chiara, ed. - *Il Duomo di Modena*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999, 39.

masons and transporters of brick or stone.⁵ This painting constitutes important evidence of the two centuries of building activity that were required to complete Modena Cathedral. First Lanfranco (between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries), and later the Campionesi Masters (between 1165 and 1319), contributed to the construction of the Duomo and its bell tower, popularly called 'Ghirlandina'.⁶

The cathedral building site activated economic and cultural processes throughout the city. It was where experts from different disciplines exercised their crafts while sharing ideas and techniques, and it was supplied with vast quantities of materials by a wide commercial network of merchants and entrepreneurs.⁷

It is important to note that the construction activities not only stimulated economic development, but also promoted civic independence. During the second half of the twelfth century the civic government, with its oligarchic power base, assumed its definitive form.⁸ Its political and economic significance is confirmed by its participation in the Lombard League against Barbarossa in 1167 and the Treaty of Constance of 1183, its role in the foundation of the University of Law and Rhetoric in 1182, and its prominence in important commercial treaties with Lucca and Ferrara.

In 1188 the commune completed work on an ambitious extension of the city walls, which now encompassed a population of between fifteen and twenty thousand inhabitants. Most significantly, it oversaw the construction of its primary headquarters, which consisted of the *Palacio Urbis*, the *Turris Communis* and the *Palatium Vetus* (built in 1194).

The *Palacio Urbis*, according to recent and widely confirmed hypotheses, was located between the Via Emilia and the Piazza Grande.⁹ It was situated in the heart of the old city, in an area adjacent to the cathedral and at the junction of two major avenues: Via Emilia and Via Canalchiaro. [Fig. 2]

Just south of this site stood the old *Turris Communis* and, not far away, on the edge of the main piazza, the *Palacium Vetus*.

A stratigraphic analysis, performed during the 2003 restoration of the ground floor area next to the *Turris Communis*, has revealed five distinct building phases, and their construction sequence has been established.¹⁰ However, these phases have not been dated with any precision, since no archeological test or analysis of materials has yet been carried out.

The stratigraphic analysis points to the existence of a two-arch portico near the *Turris Communis* that was built in the Middle Ages. Again, the absence of any empirical analysis of the materials and of precise archival documentation prevents us from dating the construction of the portico and the tower.

It is believed that the tower was already in existence in the twelfth century, and a surviving document indicates that it was heightened in 1262.¹¹

Given the surviving archeological evidence, we can conclude that by the end of the twelfth century the communal palace complex of Modena already possessed the main typological elements that we associate with medieval Italian civic architecture:

⁵ PERONI – "Il Duomo di Modena. L'architettura," 40.

⁶ See PAGELLA, Enrica – "Figure del cantiere modenese," in FRUGONI, Chiara, ed. - *Il Duomo di Modena*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999, 105.

⁷ The stone for the Duomo came from quarries in the foothills of the Alps located near Vicenza and Verona. TOSCO, Carlo - *Il castello, la casa, la chiesa : architettura e società nel Medioevo*. Torino: Einaudi, 2003, 50.

⁸ A document of 1135 cites the '*consoli*', authorities elected by the citizens to rule the town with the Council. VICINI, Emilio Paolo – "Serie dei Consoli modenesi". *Memorie Real Accademia Scienze*. Modena. S. IV - vol. V (1934), 66.

⁹ See FRASCAROLI– "Palacio Urbis e Turris Communis," 8.

¹⁰ ANGELONI, Angela – "L'indagine stratigrafica". In DEZZI BARDESCHI, Marco – *Le pietre di Modena la storia siamo noi*. Modena: Comune di Modena, 2004, 28-35.

¹¹ See FRASCAROLI– "Palacio Urbis e Turris Communis", 12.

the palace for town council, the portico or loggia (which was a space for various political ceremonies—such as signing commercial treaties or legal agreements), and the tower.

The earliest nucleus exhibits obvious formal similarities to the architecture of castles and fortified residences, even if the portico rendered it impractical militarily.

The tower was the iconic vertical element of the structure and symbolised the power and authority of the civic government; but it also had other functions. It housed a bell for convening meetings of the Council and served as a warehouse for the city's most valuable documents (according to the Statute of 1327).

The *Palatium Vetus* was built on the edge of the square to the south of the tower, and was separated from it by a narrow street cited in the archives as the '*via ad capellam Comunis*'. According to a recent hypothesis, the *Palatium Vetus* was composed of two structures that were built in sequence.¹²

The first structure bordered the piazza and was nearly square in plan, with a crenelated 'Guelf' cornice. It had a side stairway on the '*via ad capellam Comunis*' in approximately the same position as the present stairway. This gave access to the second story of the building.

A new brick addition, facing Via Scudari and with its own access stairway, was built adjoining the earlier structure sometime during the thirteenth century. In the early-twentieth century, 'restorers' discovered traces of the medieval brick facade of the *Palatium Vetus*, including Lombard arches, a stepped biforium window, and traces of large round arches with stone capitals.

At the centre of the *Palatium Vetus*, between the twelfth- and thirteenth-century wings, the *capellam Comunis*, or St. Geminiano's Chapel, was built in 1251-52.¹³

Thus, by the end of the Duecento a complex structure had emerged, well adapted for the various functions carried out by the Council, *consoli*, *podestà*, lawyers and notaries.

For the medieval communal government, it was paramount that the exterior of the civic headquarters accomplish two things: (1) that it symbolizes the city and projects its prestige at a level that put the commune on par with the Church; and (2) that it be unique, and different from the vernacular architecture of the surrounding city.

The *Palatium Novum* was erected in circa 1216 to the south of the *Palatium Vetus* and was separated from it by a street that linked the square to the Via Emilia.¹⁴ The adjective '*novum*' was chosen to distinguish the edifice from the older buildings, but we do not know if the 'new palace' was intended to house new government magistracies. The building had porticos along at least one side.¹⁵

¹² See GUANDALINI, Gabriella, ed. - *Il Palazzo Comunale di Modena le sedi, la città, il contado*. Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1985, 18.

¹³ The chapel was used for religious rituals, but also for the *Conservatori* debates, as a space for drafting notarial documents, and occasionally as a prison (the latter function was prohibited in the 1327 Statute).

¹⁴ It is still possible to observe the street bending in a gentle curve.

¹⁵ The 1327 Statute established that the Saturday cloth market be held '*in platea Comunis*', between Grassoni's house and '*palatium novum Comunis et in porticibus inde existentibus*'. See BORGHI, Paolo - *I palazzi del Comune di Modena nello scorcio del secolo 13.: monografia letta durante la 3. adunanza dell'anno accademico 1942-43 della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria, Sezione di Modena*. Modena: Cappelli, 1943, 17.

A 1337 miniature of the Statute of the *Collegio dei Giudici* seems to depict the original exterior of the civic complex. A council of judges is seated, and behind them are two buildings with biforium windows surmounted by a *coronamento* with Lombard arches and merlons.¹⁶ The architecture likely represents, if only symbolically, the *Palatium Vetus* and the *Palatium Novum*.

The *Palatium Novum* was centrally located overlooking the square; its form and position created a monumental effect and a special relationship with the *platea Communis*.

The palace-square relationship was born; and from palace to square, the new urban layout expressed the desire for political change. This relationship between the palace and the square reinforced a new idea of city government and, in effect, produced a new *imago Urbis*.

This urban planning activity was not ignored by the ecclesiastical authority. In the new urban matrix formed by the palace and adjacent piazza, the southern side of the Duomo became more significant and symbolically relevant. Thus a monumental door, the *rege*, or main portal (post 1209, ante 1231), was built on the southern side.¹⁷

The *Palazzo dei Notai*, built in approximately 1220 and heightened in 1262, completed the palace-square layout. This palace was the subject of much scholarly research because of the 1898 interior restoration, which revealed substantial traces of the thirteenth-century façade overlooking the square. [Fig.3] It is composed of a wall of yellow sandstone ashlar that is perforated by alternating triforium and biforium windows. The triforium windows are framed by moulded round arches, common in both Lombard and Luccan architecture. They refer to the blind triforium of the Duomo. [Fig.4]

The palace had two entry stairs '*de pedra de marmo*'.¹⁸ The presence of two stairs could suggest that the palace housed two different *magistrature*, but there is no archival evidence.

A miniature in the Statutes of the Notaries depicts them together, in front of the four Evangelists. In the background there is a palace with biforium windows and a crenelated cornice - probably the *Palazzo dei Notai*.

Another representation of it is seen in a sketch made from an old painting, now missing, in which the palace is foreshortened from the north.

The side towards the Ghirlandina tower exhibits a small window at the mezzanine level, and a triforium within a round arch on the upper floor. The façade has a pitched roof with Guelf merlons above.

Traces of a fresco by Ercole dell'Abate (from the beginning of the seventeenth century) offer a view of the *Palazzo dei Notai* from the square.¹⁹ Leaning against the base of the building is a sloping roof portico covered with tiles. Above is a small window, and on the upper section a triforium window framed by a round arch. The superstructure of the palace consists of a *coronamento* with Lombard arches and merlons.

It was therefore a solid building with formal similarities to the architecture of castles, lightened by a row of elegant triforium windows that are linked by a marble stringcourse.

¹⁶ The Statute is preserved in the Archivio Storico del Comune di Modena. See SANDONNINI, Tommaso - "Del Palazzo Comunale di Modena"- *Atti e Memorie* serie IV, vol. IX. Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1899, 99.

¹⁷ FRUGONI, Chiara - "La facciata, le porte, le metope: un programma coerente". In FRUGONI, Chiara, ed.- *Il Duomo di Modena*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999, p.32.

¹⁸ As a report of their demolition described them in 1495. AMORTH, Luigi - *Modena capitale*. Modena: 1967, 28, n 12. BORGHI, *I palazzi del Comune di Modena nello scorcio del secolo 13*, 21.

¹⁹ The fresco is in old boardroom of Palazzo Comunale of Modena.

Based on these fragmentary representations, a fascinating, though incomplete reconstruction of the palace may be proposed.²⁰

The *Palazzo dei Notai*, opposite the apse of the Duomo, was the only stone structure of the civic complex, while the other buildings had brick walls with painted plaster.

Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence from the fragmentary remains of the original edifice to enable us to identify a Modenese civic palace typology, although there are some formal links to the architecture of the neighboring Duomo.

Considering the link between the building and the culture of the *maestranze*, it is important to remember that in Modena the *Fabbriceria* existed; and this managed not only the building sites of the Church, but other sites as well.

The *massaro* of this particular Modenese institution, first recorded in 1167, had responsibilities to both the Church and the Comune, but independently managed his own activity. He provided material, workers, building foremen and designers for the building sites of the town, and directed them without any ecclesiastical or government interference.²¹

Going a step further, we can hypothesize that because the construction of the Duomo represented an evolution in civic independence, it became an architectural prototype for the builders of the communal complex.

So you have a paradox here. The Palace with the tower was a potent visual symbol of secular power, which stood in opposition to the Church. But the Cathedral, built by free men, who were not under the temporal power of the Church,²² assumed a symbolic value by which the community identified itself, influencing the architecture of the palace.

My analysis implies that the square was already formed together with the group of buildings I have just described, even though construction on the complex continued during the thirteenth century and into the first two decades of the fourteenth century.

The *Turris Populis*, built between the *Palatium Vetus* and *Novum*, and overlooking the square, was one of the last buildings of the communal period. A document proves that the tower was in existence by 1315. It stood above the *Arengario del Popolo*, which was politically opposed to the *Arengario del Comune*, built in 1262 and located next to the *Turris Comunis*.

At the beginning of the 1300, after the brief regime of the *Estense Signoria* (1289-1306), the civic government was restored: the so-called '*Respublica Mutinense*'. This government integrated new magistracies within its administrative structure.

The civic complex is a document—real evidence of the changes from the government of a limited oligarchy to a wider popular one, from the *Turris Comunis* to the *Turris Populi*, from the twelfth century to the fourteenth century.

Within the space of two centuries, the most important elements of the current structure were completed, paralleling the development of civic institutions.

²⁰ AMORTH— *Modena capitale*, 25.

²¹ Some archival records report that the Comune entrusted the *massaro* of the *Fabbriceria* with important tasks. This implied that he was at the heart of the building activity and had the most talented workforce. See BARACCHI, Orianna – “Piazza grande e la Fabbriceria di S. Geminiano”. In *L'arte Muraria a Modena: storia di uomini e pietre dall'età romana ai primi del novecento*, Modena Aedes Muratoriana, 1993, 34-36.

²² In those years the bishop's chair was vacant. See note 4.

The square, apart from the buildings which overlooked it, assumed a new shape. It was no longer a formless void, but the vital heart of the community.

It was the *Platea Communis*, where the three towers loomed above the cityscape and defined the *forma urbis* for centuries. The *Turris Communis* and the *Turris Populi* represented secular power and stood in opposition to the Gothic Ghirlandina tower, symbol of religious authority.



Fig. 1: Modena: Duomo, Ghirlandina and Palazzo Comunale. Aerial view.

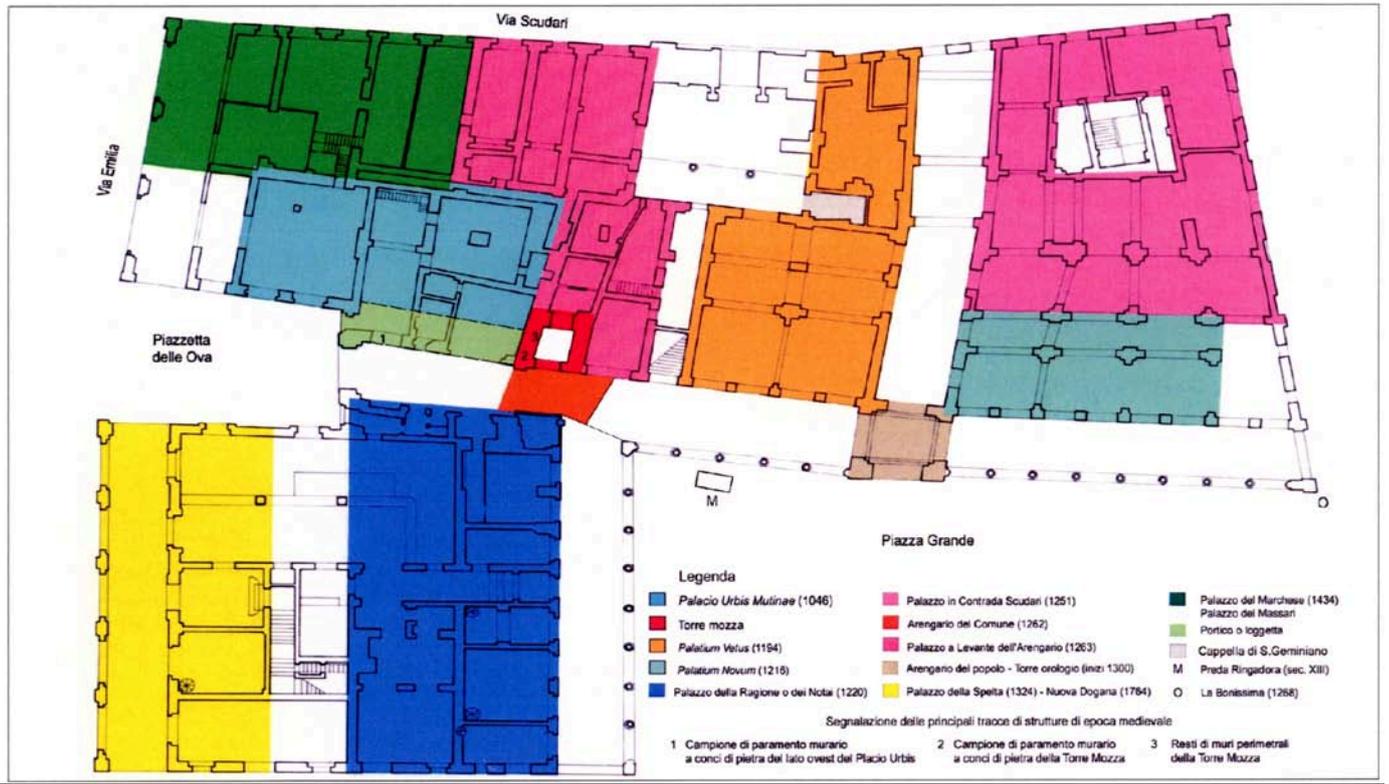


Fig. 2: *Palazzo Comunale* of Modena. Plan showing the temporal sequence of buildings erected between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries. From Guandalini's schema, revised and updated in FRASCAROLI, Elisabetta – "Palacio Urbis e Turris Communis", 12.



Fig. 3: Triforium windows, remains of *Palazzo dei Notai* façade (XIIIth century).

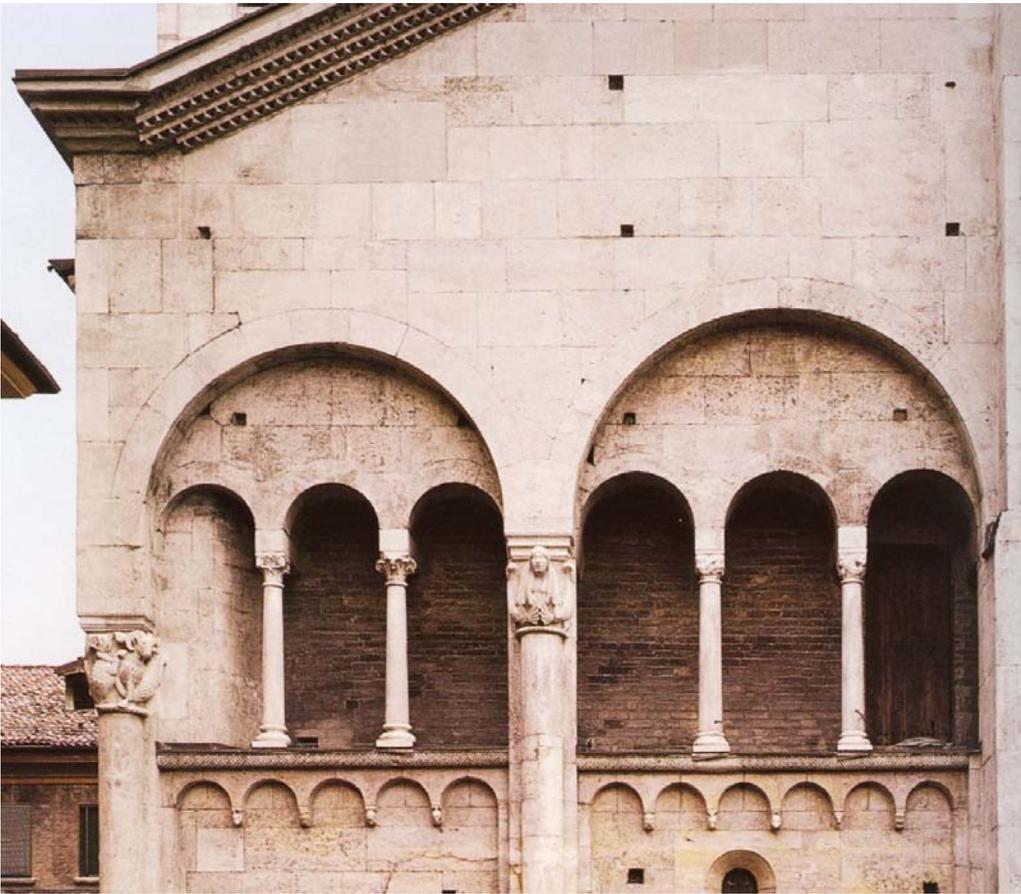


Fig. 4: Duomo of Modena, triforium.

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Co-opting the Space of the Comune: Mantua's Piazza dell'Erbe

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In 1250, the *Comune* of Mantua constructed a new wing for its *palazzo pubblico* complex. Other civic structures, collectively known as the Palazzo di Podesta, faced the north edge of the open grain and vegetable market, the Piazza dell'Erbe. An earlier, 1228, extension of these structures to the east had burned in 1241 and was replaced by the new construction of 1250. The new wing, known as the Palazzo della Ragione, extended along the east edge of the Piazza, creating its eastern boundary.

In 1413, another fire destroyed this eastern section of the civic palazzo complex. It then sat in ruins until 1430, when the remains were demolished and the rubble removed by order of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga. Then, in the 1470's, sixty years after it had burned, the Marchese Ludovico II Gonzaga had the Palazzo della Ragione "restored."

In the approximately 220 years between the 1250 building of the first eastern wing of the complex around the Piazza dell'Erbe and the 1470's rebuilding of this wing by Ludovico II, the political organization of Mantua shifted. It moved from a *comune* governed by an elected council and captain general to a seignorial fief in which government passed by inheritance in a family of aristocrats – the Gonzaga. Gianfrancesco Gonzaga received the imperial charter which granted him and his heirs the title of Marchese in 1433. This marked the formal end of *comunale* autonomy, although in fact the Gonzaga had been the effective rulers of the city since the 16th of August, 1328, the day on which a party led by the Gonzaga defeated and deposed the Bonacolsi family. The Bonacolsi had been their predecessors as Captains General of the *Comune* and de facto rulers of the city-state since 1272. The expulsion of the Bonacolsi was immortalized in a painting of that title painting by Domenico Morone. The scene in the painting is sited, not in the piazza that concerns us today, but in the adjacent Piazza Sordello, in front of the Palazzo del Capitano and inside the ancient walls of the city.

Ludovico II inherited the title of Marchese just eleven years after it was bestowed, in 1444. During his reign, he put in place political, economic and physical structures which completed Mantua's transition from *comune cittadino* to seignorial state. I would like to argue that his reconstruction of the Palazzo della Ragione and re-imaging of the Piazza dell'Erbe was a carefully designed component in his strategic consolidation of power, that it changed the iconographic meaning of the urban space, turning it into a representation of Gonzaga power on the cityscape.

The new wing that had been added to the *palazzo pubblico* in the mid-13th century not only defined the Piazza's east side, but gave visual expression to its role as the primary site of the *Comune's* civic and mercantile life. This detail from a map in the Venetian Archivio de Stato is the earliest image so far identified in which there is an effort to give an accurate representation of the open space and major surrounding buildings (Fig 1. Early 15th c map of Mantua). On the right is a blow-up of the part of the map showing the Piazza delle Erbe and the surrounding buildings, rotated so as to place the building to the east of the piazza right-side up (Fig 2. Enlarged detail showing original Palazzo della Ragione). This map is from the first half of the 15th century, but its exact date is uncertain. It certainly was drawn after 1405, as the Castello San Giorgio is accurately depicted, and it almost certainly dates from before 1470, as it shows the facade of the old church of Sant'Andrea, which was demolished by that date. I would argue that, in fact, it dates from between 1405 and 1413 and depicts the Palazzo della Ragione of 1250, before it was destroyed by fire.

The structure shown here is an archetypal *palazzo commune*. It has the ground floor loggia, the second floor windows of the meeting rooms, the asymmetrically located tower, the stair leading to a landing from which proclamations would be made and on which candidates for election would be presented, and a suggestion of a merloned roofline. As we shall see, certain of these characteristics will re-appear in Ludovico's 1470's re-building.

The Piazza dell'Erbe as it appears today is shown in Fig 3. Today's Palazzo della Ragione, located on the east side of the Piazza, is at base the building commissioned by Ludovico II, the one constructed in the 1470's. That structure was, however, heavily modified over time. What we see today is the result a thorough restoration of both the Pal. della Ragione and the adjacent Pal. De Broletto in the 1910's by the architect Aldo Andreani.

The goal of Andreani's restoration was to return the Palazzo delle Ragione to its 1470's form. Though a century later we would frown on some of his practices, it was, for its time, a careful restoration. It was based on both documentary evidence – though this was and is very scant – and extensive examination of the building's fabric. For example, although at some past time the window openings had been changed to squares, he found colonettes and bases buried in the replastering of the walls which indicated that the original windows had been triform with two colonettes each, so he reconstructed the windows in that way, and he located documentary evidence that Ludovico's building had merlons, so he removed a higher sloped roof and put the merlons back. There were, however, areas of the building fabric for which no physical or documentary evidence could be found to indicate its original form. Today's historic preservationists would object to what he did, which was to design new doors or windows modeled on examples found in other Mantuan buildings and install them as if they were original. Most of the spots where Andreani included these improvisations, however, were in the Pal. de Broletto. The Pal. Della Ragione seems to have been returned quite scrupulously to its 15th c. form, so that what we see to the east of the piazza today is close to but not perhaps exactly what Ludovico II had built starting in 1473.

The 1470's reconstruction of the Pal. della Ragione altered the symbolic content of the Piazza dell'Erbe, but, and I believed this was highly intentional, it did not change the space all out of recognition. The ways in which the 1470's building differed from that of 1250 are subtle but telling. The materials and architecture used in the rebuilding of the *palazzo* were those of the previous architectural AND political eras: unsheathed brick; triform windows divided by colonettes; merlons; pointed arches; a ground floor loggia; and an asymmetrically located tower. All of these evoke the form of the *palazzo pubblico* of a late-Medieval *Comune*.

Why would Ludovico choose to rebuild a structure that had been gone for sixty years, and having decided to do so, why would he have it built using an out-of-date archetype and architectural style? This was, after all, the same Ludovico who commissioned Alberti to design that great monument of early Renaissance architecture, Sant'Andrea, which sits on the west side of the Piazza delle Erbe, though its flank is screened from the Piazza by an arcade and row of shops. In fact, I think it is in the presence of this church, in its design and style and, ultimately, in its symbolic freight on the urban landscape that we can begin to find answers to my questions.

A number of scholars have recognized that the destruction of the old church of Sant'Andrea and its replacement with the Albertian basilica was a triumph of Gonzaga overlordship. Marina Romani, in her *Una città in forma di palazzo*, calls the old church a "Benedictine fortress and emblem of the comune" that "resisted the Gonzaga attacks for over 60 years."¹ Erection of the new church, literally on the spot occupied by the old, has been interpreted by scholars like Carpeggiani and Pagliari as a symbolic act of hegemony, a reification of the fact that the Mantovani, once *cittadini*, were now subjects of the Gonzaga lords.²

¹ Marina Romani, *Una città in forma di palazzo*. Mantova: Publi-Paolini, 1995. P 125. Trans. by author.

² Paolo Carpeggiani and Irma Pagliari, *Mantova. Materiali per la storia urbana dalle origini all'Ottocento*. Mantova: Gianluigi Arcari Editore, 1983. P 28.

His commissioning of the new church also demonstrates that Ludovico II understood the potential symbolic power of an architectural monument. By becoming the patron of the church, he exercising control over the relic, the Blood of Christ, laying claim, as it were, to the authority associated with the object of devotion. Building the new church associated his rule with divine authority.

The Piazza dell'Erbe, like the old church of Sant'Andrea, was a symbol of the communal past. The merchant-oligarchs who challenged the Bishops for control of the city in the 13th c. built their shops and houses around this Piazza, just outside the old city walls within which the Bishop ruled. It became the locus of communal power and therefore its physical form and surrounding fabric became the visual expression of that power on the cityscape.

The extent to which that association was fixed in the minds of Mantovani is suggested by the fact that when the old Palazzo della Ragione burned, in 1413, the contemporary Gonzaga Capitano, Gian-Francesco, was accused of having had it torched, so as to "destroy the written documentation of old communal liberties."³ This was despite the fact that, as Torelli points out in his article "Storia Esterna ed Ordinamenti dell'archivio Gonzaga" that there was not only no evidence for this accusation but also no logical reason for such a deed since the most important original documents regarding the comune had already been transferred to the Gonzaga archives elsewhere.

In 1444, when Ludovico inherited the title, the area around the Piazza Sordello and the Palazzo del Capitano in the oldest part of Mantua had already been reconfigured by previous Gonzaga. It was Ludovico II, however, who began a series of urban interventions outside the oldest circle of walls, interventions which increased the visual decorum of his city, while also putting the seignorial seal on it. It was Ludvico who had the Hospital of San Leonardo built, Ludovico who reorganized and redecorated the interior of the palazzo of the podesta (today called the Pal del Broletto), who commissioned Alberti to design San Sebastian and redesign San Lorenzo as well as Sant'Andrea, who built a new Casa del Mercato, who built the porticos on the west side of via Broletto and paved the piazza in front of Sant'Andrea. Most of these projects were located just outside the old walls, in what was now the central zone of the city – in other words, around the Piazza delle Erbe, once the territory of the merchant-oligarchs. Collectively, they turned the heart of the comunal city into a stop on a new Gonzaga axis, a term and concept originating with Carpeggiani and Pagliari.⁴

In 1472, construction began on Sant'Andrea; in 1473, on the new Palazzo della Ragione. Romani points out that at this time, in the 15th c, the Gonzaga still presented themselves as rulers in the model of the "famiglia allargata," citizens of the city whose importance had simply "stretched" farther than others.⁵ Their power had developed through incremental growth, first as increasingly wealthy private citizens, then after 1272 as Capitani whose re-appointment soon became a mere observance of comunal tradition. Nevertheless, the tradition of approval by a council of citizens was maintained. These roots in the past gave the Gonzaga seignorie a validity never enjoyed by, for example, the Sforza in Milano.

Rebuilding the Palazzo della Ragione on the piazza that was the traditional center of the merchant city allows the seignorie to continue to present itself as the legitimate continuation of ancient traditions, an image that was challenged by the symbolic weight of the connotations associated with the new church on the opposite side of the piazza. I believe that the archaic architectural style and archetype can be read as a deliberate balancing of that weight, a balancing accomplished through architectural imagery that associated the Gonzaga with the communal past.

³ Pietro Torelli, "Storia Esterna ed Ordinamenti dell'archivio Gonzaga." Trans. by author.

⁴ Paolo Carpeggiani and Irma Pagliari, Mantova. Materiali per la storia urbana dalle origini all'Ottocento. Mantova: Gianluigi Arcari Editore, 1983. P 32.

⁵ Marina Romani, Una città in forma di palazzo. Mantova: Publi-Paolini, 1995. P 73.

At the same time, however, Gonzaga seignorial control over the Piazza was expressed in multiple ways:

1) In the rebuilding, the entrance to the civic offices rehoused in the new wing was pushed around to the south side of the tower, where it was no longer even visible from the main space of the piazza.

2) The architectural unity created through the rhythmic repetition of symmetrically aligned elements on the facade of the new wing did not speak of the Medieval *palazzo pubblico* but instead of the Renaissance sensibility of the Gonzaga court in the late 15th c.

3) In 1396, a clock had been installed in the tower of the *palazzo pubblico*. The first public clock had been installed in London in 1325, and by the second half of the 14th c. all the important cities of Italy had to have one. This first clock and tower were presumably ruined in the fire of 1417. In 1474, Ludovico had a new and more elaborate clock designed by the court astrologer installed as the centerpiece of the new tower facade facing the Piazza, for which, according to Stephano Davari, he was “greatly praised by all the people of Mantua.” The clock was clearly a benefit provided by the lord to the city; Gonzaga Marchese and ultimately Dukes continued to pay for its maintenance and repair right up into the 18th c, when finally they had to stop because they could no longer find anyone capable of repairing the elaborate astrological mechanisms. Moreover, the clock face was aligned to create a visual link across the Piazza between the rebuilt tower of the Palazzo and the new San Andrea church (Fig 4. view thru porch arch of S Andrea).

These are subtle, skillful manipulations of the public realm. They reveal Ludovico as a man who understands the public realm as a place where power represents itself. An examination of the Piazza dell’Erbe’s 15h-century metamorphosis thus reveals that the Marchese skillfully used architecture and urban design to co-opt the space of the comune, to project a new seigneurial reading onto what had been the representative space of a former power structure, while at the same time retaining politically useful references to this space’s populist past. He thereby created a symbolic balance across the space of the piazza between the new church, a clear statement of seignorial power, and the new palazzo communal, with its equally clear message of respect for and acknowledgment of the communal past.

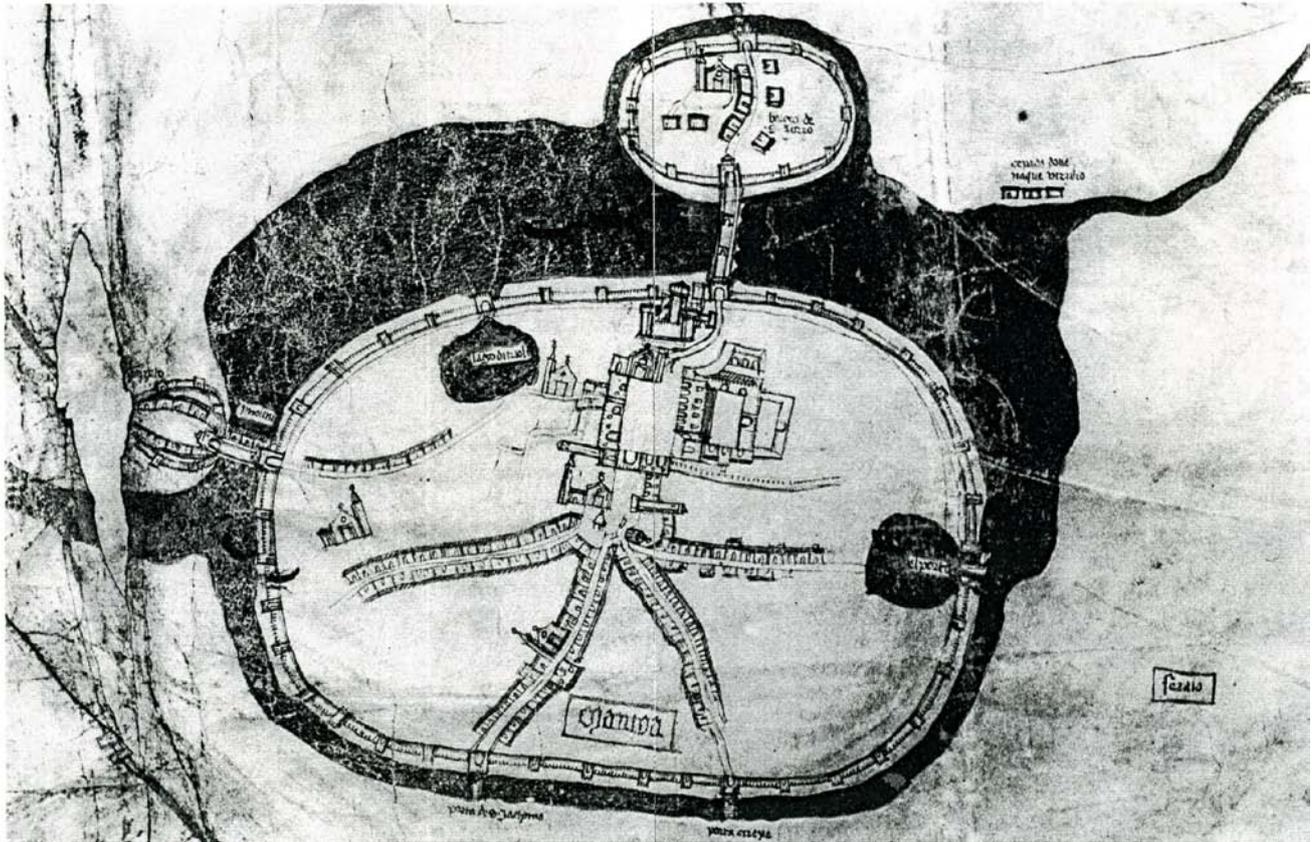


Fig. 1: 15th c. plan of Mantua.



Fig. 2: Original palazzo pubblico.



Fig. 3: Piazza dell'Erbe and Palazzo della Ragione.



Fig. 4: View of clock tower through Sant'Andrea porch.

“Lethaby’s Last”: Pevsner’s Historiography of Lethaby’s All Saints, Brockhampton

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In his 1961 article ‘Lethaby’s Last’, Nikolaus Pevsner made an extraordinary and unlikely comparison between All Saints’ church, Brockhampton, designed by the British Arts and Crafts architect William Richard Lethaby in 1901, and St. Jean de Montmartre, designed by Viollet-le-Duc’s heir, Anatole de Baudot in 1894, suggesting that, as both made use of concrete, he saw All Saints as in some way comparable to St. Jean de Montmartre.¹ While St. Jean de Montmartre was, we know, developed out of the theory of structural rationalism, Pevsner saw All Saints of Lethaby as the outcome of the same theory. This line of argument has since been followed by other historians, and it has become almost a convention to talk about this church by Lethaby as if it had something to do with structural rationalism.

Curiously enough, the church in rural England, designed and built with limited local means, with basic craft skills and without any advanced engineering, is compared to a building that pursued the very latest structural innovation. The structure of All Saints by no means corresponds to Viollet’s theory of structural rationalism. First of all, it is not a unified system of construction, but a composite structure; stone masonry for walls, timber construction for the roof of crossing tower and the belfry, and concrete for the nave, chancel and transept vaults; the stability of the church is arrived at by the mixing of structural systems and materials. [Fig. 1] Nor are the structural materials of the church fully exposed. Lethaby was not interested in representing the structural system in the building’s appearance, nor in showing the visibility of structural material. Concrete vaults, for example, are covered with thatch externally, while their internal surfaces are plastered with white lime, therefore in this building concrete remains concealed. [Fig. 2] As the structure of the church is composite and not fully exposed, how could the church be satisfactorily judged by the principle of structural rationalism?

This paper questions Pevsner’s historiography of All Saints, but wants to follow the analysis of these two churches in terms of construction. St. Jean de Montmartre and All Saints may be good cases for comparison, but perhaps not in a sense that Pevsner suggested – for, thinking one in terms of the other, there are more contrasts than similarities. Not only in its principles does the structure of All Saints contradict St. Jean de Montmartre, but when we compare the conditions under which they were built and the ways in which concrete was used at these two churches, the contrast between the two is especially revealing. And, if St. Jean de Montmartre illustrates the application of structural rationalism in reinforced cement, is there any alternative theory of construction, distinctive from structural rationalism, that we might draw out of Lethaby’s use of concrete at All Saints? The church St. Jean de Montmartre in Paris is one of the first and purest applications of structural rationalism in reinforced cement – at that time a new *technology* favourable to feats of structural daring. I call reinforced concrete here a ‘technology’, because in France reinforced concrete or reinforced cement was first introduced, not as just a material, but as a technology obtainable under license of concrete firms. Under this proprietary system, architects who wanted to build in reinforced concrete had to obtain one of the available licenses from the owner. In this circumstance, although architects were still in charge of the design, they had to rely on the knowledge of a concrete specialist in order to get the works built. The consequence of using reinforced concrete was that a large part of building activity was taken out of architect’s control, and passed to the hands of the concrete specialist.² Anatole de Baudot was able to build St. Jean de Montmartre in reinforced cement, only because he adopted *ciment arme’* - a new building technique of reinforced cement created by the engineer Paul Cottancin.

¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, “Lethaby’s Last,” *Architectural Review* (1961, Nov.) p. 354-357.

² Changes in the practice under a patented system were discussed by Patricia Cusack in her articles: Patricia Cusack, “Architects and the Reinforced Concrete Specialist in Britain 1905-08,” *Architectural History* 29 (1986) p. 183-196; Patricia Cusack, “Agents of Change: Hennebique, Mouchel and Ferro Concrete in Britain, 1897-1908,” in *Early Reinforced Concrete*, ed. Frank Newby, *Studies in the History of Civil Engineering: 11* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) p. 155-168.

The removal of architects from the construction aspect of the work raised direct questions for the arts and crafts architect. The separation of the design from the execution, unavoidable when adopting reinforced concrete, would have been unwelcome to arts and crafts architects who saw the union between those two processes in building construction as a necessary basis for a satisfactory work. The value of this way of working to the arts and crafts architects was that it gave them overall control over the craft of a building, therefore allowing them freedom in every stage of building processes. Their primary concern was that 'construction' was essentially part of the means for expressing architects' thought through the work - for which it was necessary that building construction was kept under architects' authority.

While at St. Jean de Montmartre the proprietary system of Cottancin was used, at All Saints there was no system. It did not adopt any licensed system of reinforced concrete. Concrete was carried out here *not* by the specially trained workers of a patented system, but by local workers directly hired. The construction procedure at All Saints, so different from that of St. Jean de Montmartre, presents an opening to an alternative way of thinking about the relationship between design and construction.

Although the date of All Saints makes it too early to consider Lethaby's use of concrete as a direct response to a propriety system, and in any case the use of a patented system at All Saints would have been inappropriate, both on account of its remote site, and because it is such a small building; nevertheless, it is likely that Lethaby would have been perspicacious enough to see the disadvantage of using proprietary systems. And even if Lethaby had no first-hand experience of them - Hennebique's system of reinforced concrete, established in Britain since 1897, a few years before All Saints was built, was so heavily promoted in Britain that he could hardly have avoided knowing about it. He would have seen the removal of architects from construction, as occurred with the propriety systems, not only as a hindrance to achieve the arts and crafts ideal of reuniting architects and workman, but also as a threat to the architects' role. It is in these terms of maintaining the connection between the design process and the process of making, a connection inevitable broken by adopting propriety systems of reinforced concrete, that we must look for any explanation of Lethaby's use of concrete at All Saints, for it represents an alternative to the procedure that would have followed from the employment of a patented system. In other words, it may suggest a departure from structural rationalism.

If the use of concrete at All saints is indifferent to structural rationalism and patented systems altogether, it is, on the other hand, in accordance with Lethaby's interest in making visible the element of human labour in the work and his obsession with primitive ways of building.

To appreciate these, I would like to draw our attention to the interior of All Saints especially to look at the roof structure – the vault structure that was built out of mass-concrete without reinforcement. [Fig. 3] Technically speaking, the interior of a building's vault could have been completed in various ways. The most of obvious choice was to cover the underside surfaces of the vault with plaster in order to achieve smooth surface, upon which another layer of decoration, such as mosaic covering or painting might be applied. Instead Lethaby chose to apply only a thin layer of white lime to the surface. Though this technique may seem equally obvious, it had some important consequences in the finished work. By not giving it into the usual smooth surface, Lethaby calculated that the vault surface still allows the evidence of the construction to be visible. By plastering the surface with a thin wash of lime, the shuttering mark becomes less obvious, but not completely obscured. Traces of the rough boarding used as form-work for the concrete vault, removed after the concrete was settled, are left visible through with lime wash. [Fig. 4] This half-concealing, half-revealing finish, providing a smooth, but not completely smooth surface, generates a semi-transparent veil, through which the construction behind the surface is partially apparent. This careful partial concealment

of construction evidently evokes Ruskin's argument of making human labour element visible in the work, and fulfils Lethaby's own principle that 'Every work of art shows that it was made by a human being for a human being.'³

While this partial concealment, partial exposure of construction is a distinctive characteristic of the church, the other unusual element in the work that went against structural rationalist expectations is to do with Lethaby's primitive mode of using concrete. Generally speaking, concrete was considered as new; it is a new material developed out of the latest technology, and as such it was always supposed by rationalists that it must be capable of arriving at a new form of architecture. Much effort has gone into creating the expression of that structural innovation, and Anatole de Baudot does exactly this at St. Jean de Montmartre where he built the complex networks of ribbed vaults entirely out of reinforced cement. But at All Saints, Lethaby understood concrete in rather different terms, for he treated concrete as if it were a 'primitive' material.

His particular interest in primitive means of building came out in his talk on 'The Architectural Treatment of Reinforced Concrete' at RIBA in 1913. Although the church had been finished a decade before he delivered his lecture, what he had done at the church anticipated what he was to say about the primitive in architecture. Of concrete, Lethaby was interested in its plastic quality - that it is like clay or paste carried out by handwork in primitive culture. In his lecture, Lethaby explained a way of using concrete without reinforcement in making primitive barrel vaults as like the art of pottery:

concrete was a continuous aggregation like clay or paste. It was a plastic material and was unfitted for sharp edges and delicate forms; it should be continuous like a big piece of pottery. Of course, all architecture in the past had not been the architecture of cut masonry. In many parts of the world the requirements of buildings had been satisfied by erection of clay. Handfuls of wet clay were put on until the building grew, like a swallow built its nest, and this extremely primitive method of building was really in the background behind all their vaults and domes.⁴

Seen in these terms, Lethaby's understanding of concrete as having an earthy quality just like clay, built out of the most ordinary means does not conform to the law of structural rationalism. Not only does it contradict the rationalists' assumption that the discovery of a new material would result in a new architectural form, it also denies the generally proposition that a new material like concrete should be part of a progressive line of technological development. Against the dominance of structural rationalism and the obsession with technological advance during modernism, Lethaby's approach to construction offered a distinct alternative.

While Pevsner linked All Saints with structural rationalism- a principle that viewed architecture as a constantly developing structural art, whose essence lay in the perfection of the structure, what we discover from our discussion is that All Saints is better understood in terms of an evocation of older ways of building that allowed architecture to be both progressive while also connecting with its earlier tradition. At All Saints, we are made aware of concrete as something that is not necessarily tied to technological progression, but as a 'primitive' material, allowing architecture to once again connect with its older tradition. While the use of concrete here was new, for a new church built in the early 1900s, the technique employed was seemingly old. At the end, it is in this particular way of working with concrete at All Saints that offers an alternative way of thinking about construction - that it can be both primitive while at the same time modern - and gives Lethaby's theory a value that Viollet's structural rationalism lacks.

³ W.R.Lethaby, "Art and Workmanship," in *Form in Civilization: Collected Papers on Art and Labour* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957) p. 168.

⁴ W.R.Lethaby, "The Architectural Treatment of Reinforced Concrete," *The Builder* (1913, Feb 7) p. 175.



Fig. 1: W.R. Lethaby, *All Saints' Church, Brockhampton*, 1901-02.



Fig. 2: W.R. Lethaby, *The composite nature of roof construction, most unusual for a new church built in the early 1900, mixes thatch with concrete. While less durable than hard materials, like tiles and shingles, the thatch is supported by the concrete vault, and protects the concrete from the weather, preventing the roof from leaking. All Saints' Church, Brockhampton, 1901-02.*



Fig. 3: W.R. Lethaby, *The vault structure, built out of mass-concrete without reinforcement, forms the tunnel-like interior. All Saints' Church, Brockhampton, 1901-02.*



Fig. 4: W.R. Lethaby, *The underside surface of the concrete vault, while plastered with a thin wash, still allows the shuttering mark of rough boarding to be partially visible. All Saints' Church, Brockhampton, 1901-02.*

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The Architectural, the Extra-Architectural and the Interdisciplinary: An Austrian Asylum Mortuary circa 1900

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Case Study

My case study is an obscure but striking building by an unknown architect located at the edge of a turn-of-the-century development which itself was built in the depths of the Lower Austrian countryside. It was built as part of the provincial psychiatric hospital of Mauer-Öhling, a complex of 33 buildings, designed beginning in 1898 by the government architect Carlo von Boog and completed in 1902. The building served as the hospital's mortuary: the bodies of patients who died during their internment were stored there, then given an autopsy, made presentable, laid out for mourners to pay their last respects, and given a funeral, before being buried in the adjacent cemetery.

The mortuary – like others built as part of asylum complexes across Central Europe in this period – thus lay at the intersection of three fields of discourse and practice: asylum psychiatry, pathology, and death rituals. It formed part of a psychiatric complex with a high profile, a small modern city in itself, presented to the public as the most advanced and humane mental hospital of its time in Europe; indeed it was one of a small number of buildings in this complex that faced onto a public road and was therefore visible to the outside world – it also featured in several illustrated published accounts of the new hospital. A large part of its limited floor space was given over to a fully equipped room for post-mortem dissection and examination, including the preservation of any body parts of particular interest to medics searching for the physical source of mental disease. And at the same time it served the older function of a funeral chapel, rooted in ancient cultural practices around death, religious rites and burial.

A rich programme, then, providing more than enough material for a multi-layered reading of the building as a social, scientific and cultural document. But then there's the architecture. The building is sited and laid out internally in a very particular way. Its formal vocabulary – massing, external surface articulation – makes gestures specific to the Austrian architectural scene around 1900. Are these factors relevant to an interdisciplinary reading of the building?

Methodology

In the course of my research, the multiple non-architectural contexts I've described have led me down seductively fascinating pathways into the distance in several directions. What if, instead, I were to stay close to the building, and take the building-as-building as a starting point? Is there a way of moving around and through it, looking at it closely, rehearsing experiences of its spaces and unpacking its formal qualities in a way that fully integrates the scientific, religious and institutional contexts?

In this integrated approach, the looking and analysis could provide tools for identifying those extradisciplinary elements with a direct and crucial bearing on the building. At the same time, a nuanced understanding of the extra-disciplinary matrix within which the building is situated, can guide the kind of looking we do.

So, for instance, through attention to floor plans and building briefs, I've been investigating the spatial division of the building into distinct but interpenetrating zones for the scientific and religious handling of the body. These are mapped onto completely separate access and circulation routes for those coming from the asylum side (attendants transporting patients' bodies,

pathologists) and those entering from the side facing the public road (mourners and other visitors). The development of the building's external architectural articulation from initial drawings preserved in the archives to final execution shows the architect departing from a received 'official' architecture and embracing the heightened architectural rhetoric of projects such as Olbrich's Secession building, built 1898 in nearby Vienna. The architectural vocabulary of white walls and cubic forms represented a set of powerfully unifying architectural tools, used, perhaps, to mask the extra-architectural contradictions inherent in the building.

Historiographical Position

Is it time to rethink what, as architectural historians, we mean by an interdisciplinary approach? And how might such an approach relate to a 'return to the material' or an emphasis on the architectural aspects of architecture?

An undeniable force in architectural history over the past twenty years has been the exploration of social, political, economic, cultural, and scientific contexts – extra-architectural contexts - for architecture. This impulse, which has various roots, has considerably broadened architectural historians' scope and has enriched the field enormously.

Scholars who see themselves as engaging in a contextual, or what's often called an interdisciplinary, approach, also often see themselves as departing or distancing themselves from formal analysis. To be interdisciplinary – the implication is - is to understand and interpret buildings as the results primarily of forces *outside* of 'architecture' defined as the visual and spatial articulation of the built environment by architects. The 'architectural' or the 'formal' had been too restrictive methodologically and problematic historiographically - too attached to a kind of connoisseurial evaluative approach and to canon building - and so needed to be put aside.

Now, it seems, the pendulum is beginning to swing back and we have a round table at an architectural history conference devoted to 'the return to the material', 'material' being defined by our chairs as 'an awareness of architecture as an autonomous discipline dealing with the design of the man-made environment.' But can a 'return to the material' take place in a way that avoids denying or losing track of the way attention to context has enriched our understanding of buildings?

Attending to the meaning of the term 'interdisciplinary' may be a way of moving forward. Interdisciplinary has come to mean 'extradisciplinary', that is, an almost exclusive focus on sources, discourses and values from beyond the 'home' discipline. If we refocus on the 'inter' in interdisciplinary, on the idea of an interaction of disciplines, we can develop a way of being able to examine the architectural *and* the extra-architectural, the formal *and* the contextual, not so much in order to develop an all-round comprehensive understanding of a building, which is impossible in any case and can lead to interpretations that are rather too pat. But rather to see architecture's relationship with the extra-architectural as part of a process, an interaction that does not always go smoothly, a process rife with misunderstanding. This would be an interdisciplinary approach to architecture that marshalled the architectural and the extra-architectural, not in order to reconcile them, but to understand the dynamics of their interaction.

The Power of Building Tradition

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In the late 1970s a small community of architects, artists, illustrators, and culturally interested people gathered in Graubünden (Switzerland) to discuss architecture, urban planning, and building conditions in the Alpine region. The aim was to develop contemporary and progressive culturally motivated works to defend the region from clichés of living in the Alps developed by mass tourism.¹

In the beginning of the 70s the relevance of historical architecture, and traditional urban settings were rediscovered. After the late modernism, historical towns, settings, and even constructions regained meaning and young architects became interested in social, cultural, and formal qualities. In Graubünden a major force to rediscover these architecture qualities arose from the Department of monument preservation in Chur. One of the main figures there was the architect Peter Zumthor, who in 1967 had returned to Switzerland from his studies at Pratt in New York and had decided to work in the rural region of Graubünden as a planning consultant.

Access to Material

The Department for the preservation of monuments initiated a major research program with Peter Zumthor as one of the driving figures. Research based on theories about the morphology of towns (Aldo Rossi: *The Architecture of the City*²), interaction of architecture and landscape (Friedrich Achleitner: *Die Ware Landschaft. Eine kritische Analyse des Landschaftsbegriff*³), and the visual image of towns (Kevin Lynch: *The Image of the City*⁴; Lucius Burckhardt: *Strolology*⁵) was carried out. The department was transformed into a research office with a clear mission: new buildings and planning should be based upon a deeper understanding of the existing traditional architecture and its urban situation. In the 70s the new generation wanted to preserve the existing «character» of the architectural substance and make «modernisations in the frame of the historical building substance».⁶ They were less interested in specific old buildings or monuments than in the overall urban context of villages and the specific layout of each house in relation to town, building material, and its construction. [Fig.1]

In final analysis for Vrin⁷, Castasegna,⁸ and Vicosoprano⁹ they investigated the morphological structure of the town, the use of the spaces, the structure of the floor plan in the ground floor, the visual appearance of buildings, the space in-between, and the building material used. The analysis consisted of photographs, plans, sketches, projects to compare by other architects, and an analytical text. Building material was seen as the original authentic construction element, a key element to

¹ ZUMTHOR, Peter – "Ziele und Absichten der neuen Bündner Werkbundgruppe", typescript of introduction speech, 1976, Archiv Bündner Werkbund. p. 4.

² ROSSI, Aldo - *L'architettura della città*, 1966.

³ ACHLEITNER, Friedrich - *Die Ware Landschaft*, lecture held at the first meeting of the new Bündner Werkbund in Davos, 1976. Later published in: *Die Ware Landschaft. Eine kritische Analyse des Landschaftsbegriff*, Residenzverlag, Salzburg, 1977.

⁴ LYNCH, Kevin - *The Image of the City*. – Cambridge: Technologie Press, 1960.

⁵ Among other publications where he focused on the impact of large scale to actual buildings: BURCKHARDT, Lucius - *Raumplanung zwischen Wunsch und Wirklichkeit*. sechs Vorträge – Zürich: Institut für Orts-, Regional- und Landesplanung an der ETHZ. 1971.

⁶ WYSS, Alfred; ZUMTHOR, Peter – "Gemeindezentrum Muttenz: Zur Diskussion um das Bauen in erhaltenswerten Siedlungen". *Werk*, 11. 1971. p.771-772. p. 771.

⁷ ZUMTHOR, Peter – *Siedlungsinventar Graubünden. Vrin. Lugnez*, Kantonale Denkmalpflege Graubünden, Chur 1976.

⁸ ZUMTHOR, Peter - *Siedlungs-Inventarisierung in Graubünden. Aufgabenstellung und Methode des Bündner Siedlungsinventares mit Inventar Castasegna*, Chur: Kantonale Denkmalpflege Graubünden. 1981.

⁹ ZUMTHOR, Peter - *Vicosoprano. Entwicklung eines gestalterischen Grundgerüsts für eine Bauzone mit privaten Einfamilienhäusern am Dorfrand*, Chur: Bündner Vereinigung für Raumplanung, 1980.

understanding a town and its building tradition. Based up on these research results strategies for further developments were proposed. The construction material was the key between culture, landscape, and the building itself. [Fig. 2]

Design criteria and final works

Peter Zumthor still underlines today: if he builds a new building the specific «place» is for him more important than its proper «use».¹⁰ Which means, the formal appearance of a building is guided by the specific analysis of the town. For Zumthor the house is «a school for all the senses»¹¹. He still believes in «the self-sufficient, corporeal wholeness of an architectural object as the essential.»¹² Therefore the material of a building is the substance keeping the knowledge of the past and this is a part of the wholeness of the building.

But the construction is not limited by the work of the architect. The structural engineering always plays an important part in the design process. Structural engineers like Jürg Buchli who lived and worked just beside Zumthors studio or Jürg Conzett who was working for years as an employee in Zumthors studio had an important role in the design process. For example Jürg Buchli suggested the use of a metal ring, as in old wooden wheels for wagons, to bind the central construction together at the Chapel of Sogn Benedegt in Sumvitg (1989).¹³ Such material specific constructions often play an essential part in the reduced work of Zumthor. [Fig. 3]

In Zumthors research on Vrin (1976) and Vnà (1976) and his first independent projects in Lumbrein (1979-84), Zumthor experimented with the specific role and the relation between new architecture and its urban context. In his later work, like the Chapel Sogn Benedegt in Sumvitg (1989) or the Thermal Bath in Vals (1996), the relation of the buildings with the specific context is a main force in the design process. Typology gives the buildings their form and the specific reinterpretation of the site is formulated by materiality and construction. As we see in the work of Peter Zumthor in the addition to the Gugalun house in Versam (1990-94) he does not imitate the traditional timber lag construction of the old farm building. He transfers the idea of piling wood logs. He constructed insulated boxes, which he piled up to form the outside wall. So there is a similarity in the wood construction without copying it. [Fig. 4]

Larger results

The Department of monument preservation asked in the 70s the cantonal government to finance a research project to study whole Graubünden entirely, which would have cost several million Swiss francs. Unfortunately, such a sum was too much for a small and conservative region. Therefore the parliament decided not to invest in this research. Each town was left open to do such a research for themselves. Nevertheless, based upon these researches, many architects built up their knowledge, like Peter Zumthor. A whole generation was formed. As a reaction a culturally interested group of people founded a new branch of the Swiss Werkbund for Graubünden in 1976. With this institution they had and still have a powerful institution in the background to involve themselves in public discussions.

And no wonder the younger architect generation like Valentin Beath and Andrea Deplazes, who worked in their early years in Zumthors office, are working intensively with construction and material. The publication by Andrea Deplazes *Constructing Architecture* has developed into a standard work.¹⁴

¹⁰ ZUMTHOR, Peter - "Der harte Kern der Schönheit", *Architektur Denken*. Baden: Verlag Lars Müller. 1998. p. 34f.

¹¹ WALSER, Daniel A. - *Interview with Peter Zumthor*, Haldenstein, 6. June 2005, unpublished.

¹² ZUMTHOR, Peter - "Der harte Kern der Schönheit", *Architektur Denken*. Baden: Verlag Lars Müller. 1998. p. 31.

¹³ ZUMTHOR, Peter - "Jürg Buchli, 1944-2010". *Tec21*. 11, 2010, p.14.

¹⁴ DEPLAZES, Andrea - *Architektur konstruieren: vom Rohmaterial zum Bauwerk: ein Handbuch*, Basel: Birkhäuser. 2005.

Abb.14, Vrin, Dorfplan:
Siedlungsstruktur.

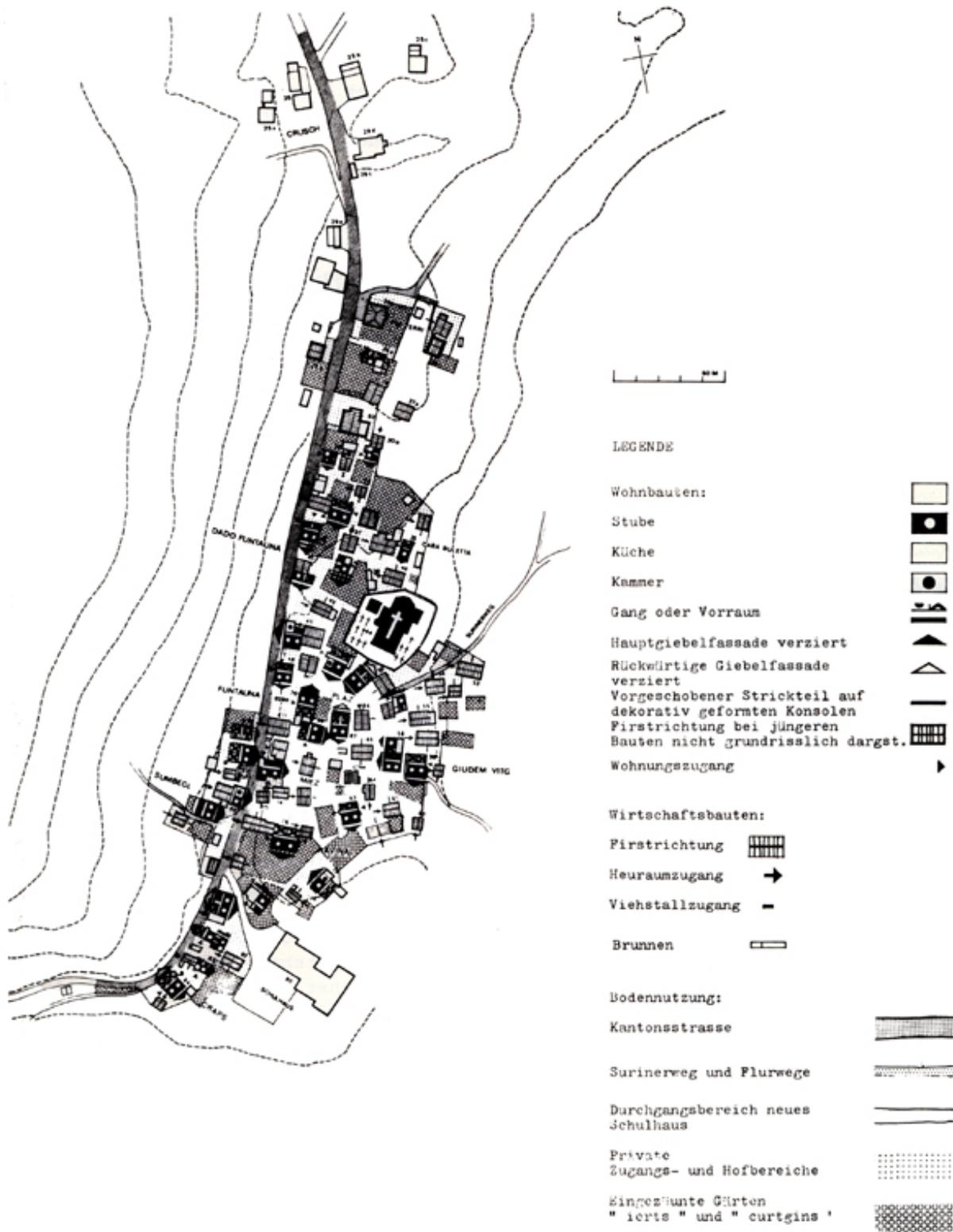


Fig. 1: Research on the urban structure and its typologies in Vrin, 1976 (Zumthor, Vrin, 1976).



Fig. 2: Visual appearance of the central square of Vrin, 1976 (Zumthor, Vrin, 1976).

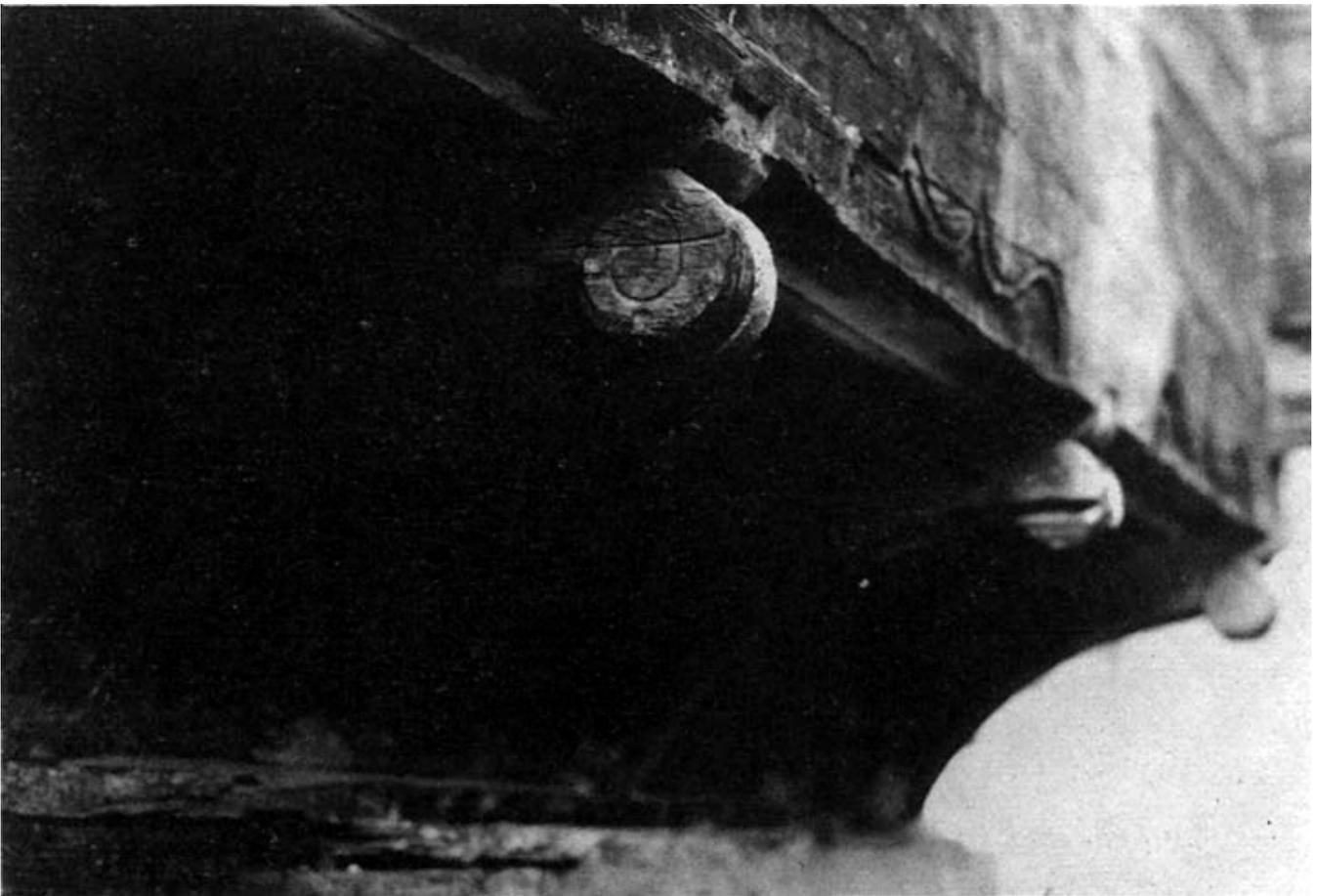


Fig. 3: Expiation of the specific construction detail in Vrin, house nr. 65 from 1746 (Zumthor, Vrin, 1976).



Fig. 4: Construction detail: left original lag construction, right: new insulated wooden boxes, Gugelun house, Versam 1990-94, Peter Zumthor (Photograph: D. Walser).

Materiality without Beauty: The Case of the Structural Panel Building in Czechoslovakia

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Materiality as a category of architectural analysis has historically been associated with beauty—physical and visual qualities of form, surface, joints, color, texture, and spatial configurations. In proposing a 'return to the material' as a response to the theoretical turn in architectural history, I argue that we must interrogate the status of beauty in this discussion. What if we talk about a materiality of the ugly or, in this case, the unaesthetic? What does such an analysis offer to architectural history? The example of the structural panel building shows how a study of the unaesthetic can open architectural history to a much broader range of subjects, locales, and authors without losing sight of the building as the object of investigation. It also forces us to be precise about why materials matter. In some cases, this lens provides better understandings of the real processes of building and collaborative work. In others, it exposes how the artist-builder debate is still unresolved in the writing of architectural history since artistic categories are used to analyze most buildings, even those created by architects who did not lay claim to the title of artist and some who emphatically denied it.

The structural panel building, a mass-produced, prefabricated, and standardized building type, was pioneered in the early 1950s and became the most common housing type in Czechoslovakia from the late 1950s until 1990.¹ [Fig. 1] As a serial building type produced by industrial means, the structural panel building does not fit into traditional categories of authorship, beauty, or craft. It is, however, a building type that can be understood as a material product of its political and cultural context. The lack of aesthetic concern shown in its design and its almost total dominance as a housing typology illustrates something about the character of architectural culture in postwar Czechoslovakia. Understanding this culture requires us to consider the material qualities of these buildings as much as the widespread perception that they are no more than ideological propositions without architectural value.

The first structural panel building in Czechoslovakia, the G House, was proposed in 1950 and a prototype completed in 1954. [Fig. 2] Designed by architects at the state-run Institute for Prefabricated Buildings, the five-story structure was similar in material, scale and layout to other standardized apartment buildings of the time. It was unique because of its construction method—reinforced concrete structural panels without a structural skeleton. The panels became floors, walls, and ceilings, installed by a small crew using a specially designed gantry crane. [Fig. 3] The panels were cast with upside-down V-shaped hangars embedded in them and designed so that that joint of the 'V' at the top edge of the panel was cut away to reveal a small hook. [Fig. 4] These hooks were then fastened together with metal staples, mortar poured between the panels and joints, and the space sealed with a PVC gasket. This process gave the facades of all structural panel buildings their distinctive grid pattern.

If judged on traditional criteria of craft and beauty, the structural panel building certainly falls short. With the exception of a few socialist realist embellishments on the G House prototypes, the facades were unarticulated and grey with smooth, slightly grainy surfaces that resulted from the prefabrication process. Façade patterns were proposed for the early prototypes, but never pursued. The economics of the postwar housing crisis demanded that resources go to building as many housing units as possible in the shortest amount of time. Results were judged quantitatively—the number of square meters per unit, units per year, cost per unit, if the buildings had central heating, modern kitchens and so forth.

¹ This presentation is developed out of material from Chapter 5 of my forthcoming book. ZARECOR, Kimberly Elman - *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: The Architecture of Industrialized Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945-56*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, anticipated 2011.

This perspective was shared not only by politicians and residents, but also by many of the architects in the state-run design offices who saw any desire for decoration as a remnant of bourgeois capitalist culture. Traditionally built standardized housing units from the same period looked very similar without ornamentation or formal articulation, indicating that it was not the process of prefabrication itself that altered architects' relationship to materials and forms. It was the shift away from the notion of architecture as an artistic practice to architecture as a scientific and technological discipline that changed the framework in which they conceived their work. In the late 1920s, architects such as Hannes Meyer and Mart Stam, along with Czech critic and theorist Karel Teige, formulated 'scientific functionalism' as a response to what they saw as the increasingly aestheticized avant-garde designs of Le Corbusier and others. At that time, projects were still conceived as individual and site specific and, despite claims that their work was based on function and program alone, aesthetic choices were still evident, however stylized or repetitive.

This was not the case for the structural panel building in postwar Czechoslovakia. Conceived within a system created by disciples of Teige who led the post-1948 architectural administration, these were buildings in which aesthetics were not a concern. Instead, they were calibrated based on material inputs and outputs—tons of concrete, pounds of steel, square meters of floor tiles—converted from raw material to finished product, not much different from the other industrially-produced objects in the planned economy.

This brings us back to the question of beauty and its role in architectural history. The structural panel building was an architectural proposition without an aesthetic dimension beyond the desire for the early prototypes to fit in with the existing scale of the city. These are not pretty buildings. The architects who designed them understood their innovation as a new construction technology that could be repeated on any site with the same results—comfortable, modest, and modern housing for industrial workers. They did not set out to fulfill an artistic mandate. What does this lack of concern for aesthetics mean for the place of these buildings in architectural history? For me, architectural history ceases to be relevant to the academy and the public if it cannot incorporate the serial, the everyday, the ugly. The processes of technological innovation, the cultural construction of the role of the architect, and the economic dimension of its design are critical aspects of the history of twentieth-century architecture that are often overlooked. Only by integrating such examples will the discipline move forward.



Fig. 1: Early Structural Panel Buildings under Construction, c. 1956, Prague, Czechoslovakia. From *Architektura ČSR* (1957).



Fig. 2: Bohumír Kula and Hynek Adamec, Early Structural Panel Building - G House Type, 1954, Zlín, Czech Republic. Photo: Kimberly Elman Zarecor.



Fig. 3: Construction Workers at the Site of Early Structural Panel Buildings, c. 1956, Prague, Czechoslovakia. From *Architektura ČSR* (1957).

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Modern Architecture and the Materialization of Materials

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One of the most memorable aspects of Paul Rudolph's Yale Art and Architecture Building (1958-63) is the rough, corrugated concrete surface that envelops the building inside and out. A&A's rugged finish soon became emblematic of the building as a whole. By the end of the 1960s, it had also become emblematic of so-called Brutalism in American architecture.¹

In his discussion of the building, Rudolph was eager to mention his experience of Le Corbusier's work: "One of the most humanizing elements in Corbu's concrete is the oozing, dripping and slipping of concrete between poorly placed forms." He was especially moved by his recent visit to Chandigarh, where he witnessed the cast-in-place concrete of Le Corbusier's High Court Building (1952-56), which was molded with rough form boards made by unskilled laborers. The result was a somewhat rougher, more "archaic" version of the *béton brut* of the Marseilles *Unité d'habitation* (1948-52).

However, Rudolph's concrete at Yale was far from Le Corbusier's *béton brut*. It was instead the sophisticated product of time-consuming craftsmanship. The entire structure is based on cast-in-place concrete walls 30 cm thick. The formworks were made of plywood panels on which triangularly shaped wood strips were nailed in a vertical pattern. After the forms were removed, the ridges were hammered by hand to expose the aggregates. The creation of this unique pattern required experimentation that took five months, some three-dozen prototypes, as well as the dedication and financial support of the general contractor.

A&A's rugged concrete was an inspiration for many designs, among them Place Bonaventure in Montreal (1964-68), a large scale merchandise mart designed by Raymond Affleck and his associates. A distinctive feature of the building is its highly textured concrete surface. So close were the visual connections with Rudolph's work that one reviewer called it "Rudolphian corduroy concrete."² But Affleck's corrugated concrete differed significantly from that of Rudolph. The concrete 'fins' were sandblasted and smooth rather than bush hammered and coarse, and the building's external envelope was first conceived as a system of prefabricated panels to be attached to the structure. Though the panels were finally cast-in-place, their characteristic was that of a cladding rather than of a thick load-bearing wall. At Place Bonaventure, the humanizing ideal of *béton brut* was lost to the reality of an industrialized construction.

Given that all three architects - Le Corbusier, Rudolph, and Affleck - have been closely associated with the use of "rough concrete," it should be clear by now that this notion conceals radical differences in terms of production process, aesthetic intent, and cultural meaning. In fact, while the three buildings discussed here acquired much of their meaning from the treatment of their concrete surfaces, the very process that led to these distinct "materializations" is often overlooked, or taken for granted.

The methodology advocated here focuses on the analysis of this specific aspect of the design process, what I term the "materialization of materials". Going beyond formal readings based on surface appearances, the method involves the close examination of executed buildings as well as archival documents, the probing of contextual determinants as well as architectural intentions.

¹ As Marcus Whiffen writes at the end of the 1960s: "In America exposed concrete left in its rough state - or sometimes, as in Paul Rudolph's Art and Architecture Building at Yale, artificially roughened - is common to a great many, if not most, of the buildings by which the adjective Brutalist comes to be applied." WHIFFEN, Marcus - *American Architecture Since 1780. A Guide to the Styles*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969, 279.

² FRAMPTON, Kenneth - "Place Bonaventure". *Architectural Design*. vol. 38, no. 1, January 1968, 42.

So far, my work tends to show that this materialization process unfolds within an interval that is neither confined to the conceptual nor the execution phase. While an integral part of the design phase, the treatment of materials resists pre-figuration by graphic means. While central to the project's execution, the specification of materials precedes the activity of the building site. And though centered on the architect, this process often involves the agency of engineers, contractors, and workers as well clients and sponsors, and is deeply engaged with the existing building culture.

But what consequences might the study of the materialization process have for the understanding of architectural objects? Firstly, it should encourage a reassessment of the place of materiality in the characterization of architecture. Though architectural historians often address this question, they may not always take sufficiently into account the fact that architects devote considerable time and attention to the selection, transformation, even "re-invention" of materials, and that most architectural projects acquire much of their meaning through their treatment of materials.

Secondly, it should foster the constitution of new groupings based on the materialization process rather than on the choice of materials itself. In the case of my examples, these groupings would seek to make a clear distinction between poured-in-place and precast concrete. The radical difference they embody in terms of the production process, to say nothing of the architect's own position regarding technology, is enough to call for the creation of distinct categories. Following this proposition, A&A and Place Bonaventure would belong to different groups: the first defined by the slow pace of time-consuming craftsmanship, the second by the speed of prefabrication and industrialized construction. If we had more time, I would show how this proposition works not only for the materialization of architectural concrete, but for that of other materials or components, like masonry, or curtain walls.

Thirdly, it offers a new vantage point to question accepted stylistic, and by extension, historiographic categories that have often been used to structure the history of modern architecture. Let us look at the case of Brutalism. As we know, the three buildings mentioned in my case study – the High Court, A&A, and Place Bonaventure – have been generally associated with architectural Brutalism, a connection over-determined by their common use of rough exposed concrete. Yet a closer look at their materialization process can only put into crisis this accepted genealogy. There is no doubt a link between Le Corbusier's High Court and Rudolph's A&A. But there is also a significant discontinuity in terms of architectural intention. And both the means employed and the results achieved are radically different. It should be clear by now that these differences can hardly be subsumed under the category of Brutalism, or any other label.

It is my contention that this focus on the analysis of the materialization process not only has the potential to offer new insights into the creative work of the architect, but may renew our understanding of the importance of materials and materiality in the historical study of modern architecture.

The Truth in Distortion: Photography and Architectural Perception in Jacob Burckhardt's Cicerone

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[Fig. 1]

What happens to existing concepts of perception when a new medium of representation appears? Does the concept adapt or the medium? - From the very beginning, photography raised questions of truth and distortion not only about itself but also regarding contemporary models of perception which, in turn, determined how the new medium was used, as I will argue here. This paper traces this interrelation between a concept of perception and a medium of representation in the writings of Jacob Burckhardt, professor of history and later art history in Basel. The first part outlines Burckhardt's aesthetic theory as formulated in the 1850s and 1860s, while the second part looks critically at the role that photography played in it.

1 The concept of perception

In 1855 Burckhardt published the *Cicerone*, an art guidebook to Italy that was to become an immediate and long-lasting success.¹ Hayden White remarked that it was the choice of the guidebook genre, opposed to the then common historical work on past lives, that enabled Burckhardt to treat the described works explicitly as 'objects of perception'.² In the decade that followed the *Cicerone*, many of the notions implied here found their place more explicitly in Burckhardt's aesthetic theory. In a series of lectures held between 1863 and 1868, Burckhardt defined aesthetics as 'the theory of the sensations which are stirred by . . . the artwork . . . therefore, the theory of what is going on in the viewer'.³ He stressed the importance of education – in order to be able to fully understand art, one needed to learn and study first as aesthetics was considered as the 'relationship of the educated man to art'⁴. In the *Cicerone*, this common education served to link reader and author when Burckhardt evoked the viewing reader through short insertions like 'one sees' or 'one knows that'.⁵ However, the faculty that Burckhardt stressed particularly in both theory and description is imagination - *Phantasie* in the German original. He defined this as the 'inner correspondent of art, the art force [*Kunstkraft*] of everyone' requiring art historical training to enable the viewer to perceive the aura which transformed an object into a work of art.⁶

Facing the Jupiter temple in Pompeii [fig. 2], he described precisely this process in the *Cicerone*:

The eye has here . . . rather a lot to restore, as the perhaps mostly wooden beams have disappeared; the thought alone . . . creates a great artistic pleasure.⁷

The eye becomes a 'restoring' agent and adds details to the incomplete ruins of Pompeii so that its owner, the reader, can enjoy 'a great artistic pleasure'. This visual restoration is facilitated by a division between inner and outer perception as apparent in this passage on the Neptune temple in Paestum:

¹ BURCKHARDT, Jacob - *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*, 1855, Stuttgart, Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1986.

² WHITE, Hayden V. - *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, 252.

³ BURCKHARDT, Jacob - *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst: Der Text der Vorlesung "Zur Einleitung in die Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst"*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992, 92: 'die Lehre von den Empfindungen, welche durch . . . das Kunstwerk - rege gemacht werden . . . die Lehre von dem was in dem Beschauer vorgeht.'

⁴ BURCKHARDT - *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, 35: 'Aesthetik ist die Beziehung des <gebildeten> Menschen zur Kunst'.

⁵ MAURER, Kathrin - 'Close-Ups of History: Photographic Description in the Works of Jacob Burckhardt and Adalbert Stifter', *Monatshefte*, v. 97, n. 1 (2005) 70.

⁶ BURCKHARDT - *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, 89: 'Die Phantasie als inneres Correspondens der Kunst, als Kunstkraft eines Jeden.'

⁷ BURCKHARDT - *Der Cicerone*, 25: 'muß das Auge hier . . . gar vieles restaurieren, indem die vielleicht meistens hölzernen Gebälke verschwunden sind; allein schon der Gedanke . . . ergibt einen großen künstlerischen Genuß.'

Even though it [the temple] is one of the best preserved monuments of its kind it does still demand a continuous mental restoration and after-feeling of that, which is missing . . . How differently would it speak to the outer eye as well, if it was still embellished with all the [decorations] . . . !⁸

Here, a mixture of 'mental restoration' and 'after-feeling' (*Nachfühlen*) completes the ruinous reality perceived by the 'outer eye'. Art-historical knowledge paired with a certain sensitivity enables the reader-viewer to 'restore' what was lost or remains hidden to the untrained eye. This implies Burckhardt's understanding of perception as being twofold - only the *Phantasie*, internal vision as it were, perceives the temple as it once was while the 'outer' eye only sees its ruinous reality.

However, *Phantasie* is not only essential for the appreciation of ruins. Any work of art, ruined or intact, accordingly possesses an impact on imagination; only through this it triggers any aesthetic response.⁹ The latter also relies on rational judgment but, importantly, imagination is the driving force, 'the desire which alone starts the whole restorative work.'¹⁰ In the *Cicerone*, the ruins of Paestum unfold this imaginative impact through their very materiality:

What the eye sees here, and at other Greek sites, are precisely no mere stones but rather living beings. We have to investigate their inner life and their development carefully.¹¹

Something essentially invisible, 'inner life', is here visualised by 'careful' investigation; by impersonating the reader's perception, the text is turned into a tool for art historical writing.

In his lectures, Burckhardt also uses the expression "*Innewerden*" of art which is perhaps best translated as apperception.¹² It refers to the act of becoming aware through experience but there is also a reference to internalisation (literally: becoming internal). Burckhardt describes a rational (as informed by knowledge of forms and styles) but also rather intuitive perception which seems trained through habituation as much as through intellectual study - a process to be followed word by word in his description of the Doric column:

the fluting . . . indicates that the column condenses and hardens itself internally, as if to gather its strength; at the same time, it reinforces the expression of the striving upwards. As in the whole building, these lines of the column are, however, nowhere mathematically sharp; rather, a slight swelling suggests its inner creative life in the most beautiful way possible. Thus moved and inspired, the column approaches the entablature. The powerful pressure of this element pushes its upper end apart to a bulge (echinus) which forms the capital. Its profile is in every Doric temple the most important indicator of strength, the keynote of the whole.¹³

⁸ BURCKHARDT - *Der Cicerone*, 6.: 'Obwohl eines von den besterhaltenen Denkmälern seiner Art, verlangt er doch ein beständiges geistiges Restaurieren und Nachfühlen dessen, was fehlt und dessen, was nur für die aufmerksamste Pietät noch sichtbar ist. Wie ganz anders würde er auch zum äußern Auge sprechen, wenn er noch mit allen . . . [Dekorationen] geschmückt wäre!'

⁹ BURCKHARDT - *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, 61.

¹⁰ BURCKHARDT - *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, 90: 'Die Phantasie ist jedenfalls die Triebkraft, das Verlangen, welches allein die ganze restaurative Tätigkeit in Bewegung setzt.'

¹¹ BURCKHARDT - *Der Cicerone*, 4: 'Was das Auge hier und an anderen griechischen Bauten erblickt, sind eben keine bloßen Steine, sondern lebende Wesen. Wir müssen ihrem inneren Leben und ihrer Entwicklung aufmerksam nachgehen.'

¹² BURCKHARDT - *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, 93.

¹³ BURCKHARDT - *Der Cicerone*, 4: 'die Kannelierungen . . . deuten an, daß die Säule sich innerlich verdichte und verhärtete, gleichsam ihre Kraft zusammennehme; zugleich verstärken sie den Ausdruck des Strebens nach oben. Die Linien aber sind wie im ganzen Bau nirgends, so auch in der Säule nicht mathematisch hart; vielmehr gibt eine leise Anschwellung das innere schaffende Leben derselben auf das Schönste zu erkennen. So bewegt und beseelt nähert sich die Säule dem Gebälk. Der mächtige Druck desselben drängt ihr oberes Ende auseinander zu einem Wulst (Echinus), welchen hier das Kapitell bildet. Sein Profil ist in jedem dorischen Tempel der wichtigste Kraftmesser, der Grundton des Ganzen.'

This passage is a detailed account of the column's parts stating what each tells the viewer about the column's 'inner life' - the fluting hence points to an inner upward movement. Burckhardt's visual and descriptive focus on smallest features brings, ultimately, the whole of the building to life. He writes, 'as in the whole building' and 'the keynote of the whole' - every detail corresponds to the whole through its impact on imagination. Burckhardt, however, does not describe the whole but instead puts all his verbal skills on focusing the reading viewer's gaze.

2 The medium of representation

Photography was never invented. It was discovered. At least this is the way it was presented by its so-called 'pioneers', the British scientist William Fox Talbot and the French inventors Louis Daguerre and Joseph Niépce. They seem to collectively speak not of the 'invention' of photography, as one would for instance of that of the steam engine or the telephone, but rather of its 'discovery' as if it had always been there, unknown off. Indeed, the essential parts of photography had been available for centuries before its official 'discovery' in 1839 - to put these together seems to have, however, required a specific mindset, as historian Mary Warner Marien argues.¹⁴ Jonathan Crary, in *Techniques of the Observer*, also attests that 'a reorganization of the observer' took place before 1839. Accordingly, the stable visual mode of the past centuries, represented by the camera obscura, had been replaced in the early 1800s by a new visual practice 'abstracted from any founding site or referent.'¹⁵ Photography was in this sense an outcome of this development rather than its cause.

However, photography's pioneers were convinced of its revolutionary force: They portrayed photographic images as enabling nature to depict itself - to 'write' or 'paint' her own image were expressions used by Talbot, Daguerre and Niépce.¹⁶ Photography was, therefore, regarded to be nature's very own language as it was understood as an artificial retina showing what was then thought to appear on the inner surface of the eye. Later and in Burckhardt's own sphere, questions about the legitimacy of the photograph seem to have played a larger role. In 1866, Moritz Thausing questioned whether 'photographic surrogates' could ever live up to aesthetic demands.¹⁷ However, Wilhelm Lübke praised photography for first allowing comparative studies based on simultaneous observation. Moreover, the unsurpassed 'faithfulness' of photographs accordingly generated 'perceptions which before had been unconceivable.'¹⁸ Herman Grimm claimed that photography was for painting what the plaster cast was for sculpture, enabling investigations to attain a 'different sharpness than in the past.'¹⁹ Jacob Burckhardt himself declared frequently that photographic documentation prevented the irretrievable loss of art through war, accident or natural disaster.²⁰ If the photograph became thus regarded as a 'surrogate', a replacement of the original, similar in appearance but perhaps lacking

¹⁴ MARIEN, Mary Warner - *Photography: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed., London, Laurence King, 2006, 1-2, and *Photography and Its Critics: A Cultural History, 1839-1900*, Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997, 4, 15-21, 37.

¹⁵ CRARY, Jonathan - *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1992, 14.

¹⁶ As quoted in MARIEN - *Photography: A Cultural History*, 23.

¹⁷ Thausing was professor at the Vienna School of Art History. THAUSING, Moritz - *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, v. 1 (1866) 260: 'ob diese photographischen Surrogate an sich den höheren ästhetischen Anforderungen des Beschauers gerecht werden können'. As quoted in PETERS, Dorothea - 'Fotografie als "technisches Hilfsmittel" der Kunstwissenschaft: Wilhelm Bode und die Photographische Kunstanstalt Adolphe Braun', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, v. 44 (2002) 171n.

¹⁸ Lübke was professor in Stuttgart. LÜKBE, Wilhelm - 'Die Dresdener Galerie in Photographien', *Kunstchronik*, v. 9 (1873) 81: 'Photographie . . . uns erst in die Lage gesetzt, vergleichende Studien mit jener Sicherheit zu betreiben, auf welche der Wechsel der subjektiven Stimmung, der Beleuchtung, der Tageszeit, des Aufbewahrungsortes keinen Einfluß mehr übt. Die durch die weiteste Entfernung getrennten Objekte führt die Photographie in einer Nachbildung, mit deren Treue Nichts wetteifern kann, uns neben einander zur Prüfung vor's Auge und läßt uns zu Wahrnehmungen gelangen, an welche vorher nicht zu denken gewesen wäre.' As quoted in PETERS - 'Fotografie als "technisches Hilfsmittel" der Kunstwissenschaft', 171n.

¹⁹ Herman Grimm was son of Wilhelm Grimm, one of the famous Brothers Grimm. He was professor in Berlin. GRIMM, Herman - *Über Künstler und Kunstwerke*, Berlin, Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1865, 37: 'Man geht heute den Erscheinungen mit anderer Schärfe zu Leibe als früher. . . . Ein Museum mit Abgüssen der antiken Werke ist Grundbedingung des antiquarischen Studiums. Es liegt auf der Hand dass für die moderne Kunst dasselbe geschehn müsse: es bedarf einer Sammlung des gesammten Materials. . . . Und da sich ein Mittel gefunden hat, derartige Sammlungen zu schaffen, so bleibt nichts übrig als, wenn überhaupt etwas geschehn soll, es anzuwenden. Der Erfolg hat gezeigt, dass die Photographie dieses Mittel sei. Durch ihre Hilfe kann herbeigeschafft werden was man bedarf. Sie leistet für Gemälde diesselben Dienste wie der Gyps für die Statuen.'

²⁰ See SIEBER, Marc - "'Wo ich nicht von der Anschauung ausgehen kann, da leiste ich nichts": Jacob Burckhardt und die Photographie'. In TAUBER, Christine - *Die Kunst der Malerei in Italien*, Basel, Beck, Schwabe, 2003, 14. Also GANTNER, Joseph - *Jacob Burckhardt und Heinrich Wölfflin: Briefwechsel und andere Dokumente ihrer Begegnung 1882-1897*, Leipzig, Koehler & Amelang, 1988, 153.

its innermost qualities, it was also turned into a thing-in-itself rather than a representation - similar to casts of ancient sculpture which the viewer had long since become used to in European museums.

Sometimes in the early 1870s, if not before this, Burckhardt started to systematically acquire photographs of art while travelling through Europe.²¹ By the 1880s, the collection numbered thousands of images - a few of which are included with this paper - and was carefully kept in custom-made folders meticulously ordered by genre, place and period. Many are the references to it in Burckhardt's letters - looking through it and showing it around was one of his favourite pastimes.²² But what was its influence on his writing and aesthetic theory?

In his teaching, Burckhardt relied deeply on photographs. His figure walking along the streets in Basel towards the university with a large folder full of illustrative material under his arm has long since become the stereotypical appearance of the Swiss academic (fig. 2). However, when he referred to it as a genre, it was often in a pointedly derogatory way. In a lecture he lamented that the uneducated layperson was looking only for an 'as realistic as possible photographic rendering of the sensually pleasing' in the sense of 'the pretty à la keepsake'.²³ Even more explicitly, he later claimed that Dutch seventeenth-century painters produce an image . . . of their national identity which stands equally high above a mere photograph as their landscapes stand above the mere photographic depiction of the real Dutch landscape views.²⁴

'Mere' photography was neither capable of capturing the 'inner life' of those paintings or the depicted landscapes nor of triggering the viewer's *Phantasie* as it was too realistic.

Methodically, Burckhardt seems to have valued the photograph most for the capacity to isolate and point to certain features of objects. In a letter from Rome he promises a friend a 'modest, but speaking photograph, a lateral view of the staircase of the Palazzo Madama in Turin' (fig. 3).²⁵ This photograph seems to reveal more than the building itself through its capacity to 'speak' - presumably through the choice of viewpoint. Elsewhere, Burckhardt alludes to the fact that photographic images can be enlarged or investigated with a magnifying glass, thus revealing smaller details invisible to the human eye. In his essay 'The Portrait' he claims that the heads in Mantegna's fifteenth-century frescos in Mantua (fig. 4) were 'only to be recognised and enjoyed completely in detail photographs'.²⁶ In the same essay, discussing some of Bellini's large populated paintings, he emphasises again that 'not the originals, only the detail photographs render the complete impression'.²⁷ It seems plausible that the art historian would detect certain features of the artwork only after meticulous study - impossible perhaps on site - sitting at his desk and working through the photograph with a magnifying glass.²⁸

[Fig 3 e 4]

²¹ See, for example, BURCKHARDT, Jacob, *Briefe: Vollständige und kritisch bearbeitete Ausgabe*, ed. Max Burckhardt, 11 vols, Basel, Schwabe, 1949-86, vol. 6, 18, 185. Also BURCKHARDT, Jacob, *Briefe an einen Architekten, 1870-1889*, München, Georg Müller und Eugen Rentsch, 1913, 38-9, 48, 51, 60, 71, 75-6, 86, 103, 111, 128-9, 135-6, 145, 161, 218, 246-7, 264.

²² See BURCKHARDT - *Briefe an einen Architekten*, 177.

²³ BURCKHARDT - *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, 58: 'das Ideal der Meisten ist die möglichst realistische, photographische Wiedergabe dessen was Jedem sinnlich angenehm dünkt, wobei sie einen erbärmlichen Maßstab an den Tag legen und sich mit manierirter Übertreibung des Hübschen à la keepsake zum besten halten lassen'.

²⁴ BURCKHARDT, Jacob - 'Über die niederländische Genremalerei'. In DÜRR, Emil - *Jacob Burckhardt: Vorträge, 1844-1887*, Basel, Benno Schwabe & Co, 1918, 64.: 'Was sie [niederländische Maler im 17. Jh.] hervorbringen ist ein Bild, aber ein sehr freies und selbstgewähltes, ihres Volkstums, das ebenso hoch über einer bloßen Photographie steht als ihre Landschaften über dem bloßen photographischen Abbild der wirklichen niederländischen Landschaftsanblicke.'

²⁵ BURCKHARDT - *Briefe an einen Architekten*, 10: 'ich bringe für Sie eine nur geringe, aber sprechende Photographie mit, die Seitenansicht der Treppe von Pal. Madama in Turin!'

²⁶ BURCKHARDT, Jacob - 'Das Porträt in der Malerei'. In *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 27 vols, Basel, C.H. Beck, 2000, vol. 6, 193: 'Die einzelnen besterhaltenen Köpfe beider Wände mit ihrer herrlichen freien Auffassung und sichern Aehnlichkeit - der geistigen und seelischen - . . . sind vielleicht erst in den Einzelphotographien völlig zu erkennen und zu genießen.'

²⁷ BURCKHARDT - 'Das Porträt in der Malerei', 201: 'Nicht die Originale, erst die Theilphotographien geben hievon den vollständigen Eindruck.'

²⁸ Burckhardt describes doing exactly this in a letter to Wölfflin in 1896. See GANTNER - *Jacob Burckhardt und Heinrich Wölfflin*, 155.

However, why does Burckhardt here emphasise twice the completeness of an impression rendered through a partial, incomplete representation? It is single photographs, out of context, that reveal complete impressions. I would propose that, to attain an aesthetic response, Burckhardt relied on a focused, even isolating vision, an exclusion of the periphery, a sort of tunnel vision perhaps, distorted in a way. 'Complete' here then means not so much optically complete but, rather, aesthetically. He needs to freeze the retinal image by means of the photograph, to bring the eyes to a halt in their continuous movement. The photograph thus reveals more than the original, more than reality - it seems hyperreal - but, simultaneously, it is unable to trigger imagination. Consequently, the photographic detail takes over a similar role as the description of the column in the *Cicerone* - an extreme focus on parts and a halting of the naturally wandering gaze enable the aesthetic perception of the whole of a building. This seems to be what Burckhardt turned photography into - a means to substitute, even enhance, optical vision in absence of the real object. The photograph, for Burckhardt, seems to be a surrogate not for the object but, rather, for one part of perception, the outer eye - the artificial retina.

Photography confirmed Burckhardt's notion of inner and outer vision, optical and aesthetic and it enhanced his aesthetic concept by establishing the necessity to halt vision, to freeze the retinal image in order to subject it to imagination. In the whole of an object, it seems difficult to discern the aura of an artwork - such aesthetic apperception needs the isolating still focus on the part to make space, as it were, for the completing force of *Phantasie*. Any representation, whether verbal or photographic, needs to necessarily imitate, to substitute, such a focused optical vision. Representations which attempt to render the whole at once would, conversely, seem suspect and possibly distorted. Again, I do not argue here that Burckhardt placed the photograph, or rather its study, over that of the original object. Instead, I propose that his preference for detail shots and enlargements, chronologically later than the writing of the *Cicerone*, show that the distinction of outer and inner vision, of optical and aesthetic perception, remained of constant importance throughout his art historical writing practice. The hyperreality of photographs reinforced and confirmed an already established model of perception - in a way they only made it all the more apparent. To conclude, and to extend Crary's argument, photographic representation was a product of such models rather than their origin.



Fig. 1: *Jacob Burckhardt in front of Basel Cathedral*, c. 1890, scan from original photograph by Anton, Wikimedia Commons, licensed under GNU Free Documentation License, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jacob_Burckhardt-Basel.jpg.



Fig. 2: *Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii*, photograph on cardboard, *Photosammlung Jacob Burckhardt*, Bibliothek der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel, Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, folder 46, no. 2160.



Fig. 3: *Palazzo Madama* in Turin, photograph on cardboard, *Photosammlung Jacob Burckhardt*, Bibliothek der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel, Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, folder 42, no. 1605.

1574



La famiglia de' Marchesi
di Gonzaga.

Mantova, Pal. Ducale, archivio notarile (Camera de' sposi)

Mantegna

Fig. 4: Frescos in the *Camera degli Sposi* by Mantegna in Mantua, photograph on cardboard, *Photosammlung Jacob Burckhardt*, Bibliothek der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel, Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, folder 9A, no. 1064.

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Aerial Views and Panoramas: Photographing the Nineteenth-Century Universal Expositions

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Photographs of the nineteenth-century universal expositions in Paris that show their monumental buildings and expansive landscaped grounds invoke a special fascination. Composed of architecture on a vast scale, with great outdoor courts and voluminous exhibit galleries, the expositions had an urban image of grandiosity that was fitting for nineteenth-century Paris. This urban image found poetic expression through photography, with the most innovative of building designs, construction techniques, and urban design conventions being brought to the attention of a wide audience throughout Europe and America. There was a developing relationship between architecture and photography in which certain motifs appeared that helped define nineteenth-century modernity.¹

Of particular interest is the link between the dramatic growth of the expositions from a single building to a whole complex of buildings and the development of aerial photography and panoramic views employed to represent them. The first universal exposition in France [Fig. 1], held in 1855, was composed of just three buildings: a single Palais de l'Industrie, plus an additional machinery gallery and fine arts building. In contrast, the Exposition of 1900 was an entire city spread out along both sides of the Seine [Fig. 2], from the Place de la Concorde to the farthest corner of the Champ de Mars. Photographic representations of these two expositions show a change from perspective views of a single building, taken from ground level, to panoramic views taken from a high perspective, principally from the Eiffel Tower and the roof of the Palais du Trocadéro.

This transformation represents a change in spatial perception that was inherent in both photography and architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century. Historian Shelley Rice refers to a new visual image of the city being created in three dimensions by architects and builders and at the same time in two dimensions by photographers.² Images of the expositions brought a new content and aesthetic delight to photographic representation, a change in scale, point of view, and level of detail.

This paper analyzes the graphic representation of the five universal expositions in Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century, demonstrating one of the ways photography transcended a purely documentary role of representing individual buildings to one of aesthetic fascination with aerial views and panoramas that encompassed vast complexes of urban buildings and spaces. A picture unrolled before one's eyes in these photographs, one that showed the immensity of the expositions, their great size and monumentality.

National Industrial Fairs

The representation of exposition architecture in aerial perspective views was popular even before photography became widely used. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Paris held a series of industrial expositions which were purely national in scope, many of which were illustrated in newspapers and trade journals, as in these engraved views of the Expositions of 1834 and 1844.

There was a long tradition of this kind of topographical illustration, which was both antiquarian and picturesque. The aim was to record the architectural monuments and scenery of the city in a noble and spirited way. They typically exploited the picturesque effects of a scene more than they accurately recorded it. In the words of Eva Blau, 'The picturesque sensibility fostered a

¹ Elvire Perego, "The Urban Machine: Architecture and Industry," in *A New History of Photography*, Michel Frizot, ed., pp. 197-223.

² Shelley Rice, *Parisian Views* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), pp. 10-11.

romantic nostalgia for the past.³ In the case of the expositions, the picturesque sensibility was invoked to popularize something new, the new building type housing an exposition of industry, science, and art.

1855

These two views of the Palais de l'Industrie of the 1855 Exposition demonstrate a significant contrast between such picturesque aerial views and an early photograph. The photograph is very detailed, allowing us to count windowpanes, note masonry coursing, and assimilate the sculptural compositions.⁴ The documentary quality of the photograph is reinforced by the fact that there are no people or carriages in the scene. This probably indicates that it was a daguerreotype, which required a twenty- to thirty-minute exposure time. The image it presents is that of a lifeless, almost surreal context, a city and street without human interest.⁵

The lithograph on the right, in contrast, is picturesque and quite animated with people, carriages, and fountains, invoking the expositions' festive atmosphere. It portrays a more inviting image of the exposition, with the intent of popularizing the event and making it attractive to visitors from all over the world. However, as Elizabeth McCauley argues, photographs like that on the left made other modes of visual communication, like this aerial lithograph, suddenly look quaint, distorted, and inefficient.⁶ Artists, whether engravers or lithographers, could only approach a successful rendering of reality; whereas, photography allowed representation of faithfulness to reality.⁷

1867

Each of the French expositions was different from the one before, and this was especially true in the case of 1867. The new technology of the nineteenth century was nowhere more evident than in the great Palais de l'Industrie of 1867, an elliptically planned building that covered over 1.6 million square feet. It featured a continuous curved façade with innovative flying buttresses that projected above the roofline, and in plan it featured an intricate series of elliptical galleries interconnected by radial corridors. Unlike the Palais de l'Industrie of 1855, it was built entirely of iron and glass, with no masonry at all. It had the same kind of transparency and lightness of structure as the Crystal Palace in London of 1851, which set an early standard for iron and glass technology in architecture. This comes through in this photograph, in which the transparency of the main gallery is evident through the large round-arched windows. Architectural historian David Van Zanten has described such transparency as a distinctly modern attribute of French architecture at this time. It gave the viewer the ability to grasp by a glance at the exterior of a building its structure, function, and philosophical nature.⁸ Photography was a decisive optical revolution that allowed us to understand this new concept of space.⁹

1878

Two new buildings were constructed for the Universal Exposition of 1878, a new Palais de l'Industrie on the Champ de Mars, and a giant auditorium theater, the Palais du Trocadéro, on the opposite side of the Seine. Both buildings were immense by anyone's standard. The Palais de l'Industrie, designed by Léopold-Amedée Hardy, with an area of over 2.5 million square feet, covered at least two-thirds of the Champ de Mars site. The Palais du Trocadéro had a huge horse-shoe-shaped auditorium,

³ Eve Blau, "Patterns of Fact: Photography and the Transformation of the Early Industrial City," in Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman, eds., *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation: Works from the Collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture* (Montreal: Centre Canadien d'Architecture, 1989), p. 39.

⁴ Arnold Gasson, *A Chronology of Photography: A Critical Survey of the History of Photography as a Medium of Art* (Athens, OH: Handbook Co., 1972), p. 8.

⁵ Rice, *Parisian Views*, 5-6.

⁶ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994, 1.

⁷ Herman Van Goethem, *Photography and Realism in the Nineteenth Century* (Antwerp, Belgium: Ronny Van de Velde, 1999), p. 15.

⁸ David Van Zanten, *Designing Paris* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 255.

⁹ Perego, "The Urban Machine," p. 197.

large enough to seat 4,700 people, and it included exhibit spaces housed in lateral wings extending from either side to form a sweeping curve that embraced the entire width of the site.

There were numerous aerial photographs taken of the 1878 Exposition, many of them from roofs and balconies that afforded panoramic views. These two photographs, as if looking in a mirror, were taken from opposite sides of the Exposition grounds, one from a balcony of the Trocadéro Palace looking toward the Palais de l'Industrie, the other, from the roof of the Palais de l'Industrie, looking toward the Trocadéro Palace. It is interesting to note how the over-scaled coats of arms on the roof of the Palais de l'Industrie and the banner masts frame the composition, and note also the juxtaposition between the romantic, picturesque landscape in the foreground of the scene, contrasted with the more formal, classical buildings in the background, a compositional technique similar to that characterizing much seventeenth- and eighteenth-century landscape painting.

1889

When we look at the Universal Exposition of 1889, what is certain is that the development of science and industry in the nineteenth century radically renewed basic questions of aesthetics, with photography helping to give visual form to those questions, providing imagery of the mechanized world. The technology of the 1889 Exposition manifested a new beauty that was perhaps best portrayed in these two photographs, one the famous interior view of the Palais des Machines taken by Albert Chevojon, the other a view of the Eiffel Tower taken by Louis-Emile Durandelle. The open lattice-work arches of the Palais des Machines and the piers, arches and girders of the Eiffel Tower contributed to an increasingly technologically oriented aesthetic sensibility. The photographers were attentive to the form and perspective of the structures, their spatial relationships, and the interplay of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines.¹⁰

The 1889 Exposition was planned as a group of interconnected buildings organized in a U-shaped pattern and focusing on an impressive Court of Honor. The Eiffel Tower was at one end, and a monumental domed entrance rotunda which served as the front door to the Palais des Machines, at the other. This composition provided an impressive scene for the photographer taking an aerial view from the first observation deck of the Eiffel Tower, as the pedestrian walks lining the main axis with its reflecting pool and fountain, converged on the domed structure. This dramatic perspectival central focus was offset by the expansive landscaped parks and flanking buildings framing the composition on either side, and by the immense scale and repetitive structural supports of the Palais des Machines' roof and walls in the background. To make evident the transformation taking place in ideas of aesthetic beauty, this otherwise picture-perfect composition is marked by the smoke billowing from the smoke stack, exhaust from the steam engines on display inside.

1900

Finally, the Exposition Universelle of 1900 was intended to be the culminating event of a century that had seen unprecedented changes in building design and engineering in both Europe and the United States. Representing a long list of statistical achievements, the 1900 Exposition Universelle had the largest number of buildings, the greatest number of exhibits, the largest attendance, it covered the most ground, and it cost the most to build.

The site of the 1900 Exposition was so large and dispersed that the only complete aerial views were possible in lithography. This illustration shows in the foreground the entrance gate and the new Grand Palais and Petit Palais, which replaced the Palais de l'Industrie of 1855. To the left is the Invalides and in the background the new buildings of the Champ de Mars, plus the Eiffel Tower, and the Palais du Trocadéro left from the previous expositions. The aerial photograph, in contrast, taken from the right tower of the Palais du Trocadéro, shows a more limited view, and it portrays a more starkly rendered juxtaposition of

¹⁰ Eiffel commissioned Louis-Amile Durandelle and Albert Chevojon to produce two photographic albums of work on the construction of the Tower, showing the progress of its construction. Perego, "Urban Machine," p. 204.

the Industrial Age contrasted with the eclectic array of styles of the more traditional buildings scattered around the site. Again, the impact of the Industrial Revolution is accentuated by the smoke spewing from the dual smokestacks of the Palais des Machines.

One of the more interesting aerial photographs of this exposition was this view of the Court of Honor, now a space that is clearly defined by continuous ranges of buildings on either side, and a Water Chateau at the far end, which replaced the domed Entrance Rotunda of 1889. The photographer here was concerned with urban space on a large scale, with the receding lines of buildings on either side of the picture frame converging on the broad horizontal lines of the Palais des Machines. The eye is led from the foreground to the Water Chateau as the central focus, then beyond, to the left and the right like a crossing T, which is then punctuated by the giant ferris wheel on the right.

What is also evident here, in abundance, are people. The site of the exposition in this case has life and vitality, as photographic techniques have advanced enough to allow for a quick snap of the shutter. The image of the exposition is complete, the focus not being so much on the buildings as it is on the social engagement of the fair goers. The buildings are more of a backdrop to the pedestrian activity on the sidewalks and pathways, an enticing view that brought a more humane quality to the exposition, without the sentimentality of the aerial lithographs of 1855 and 1867.

For photographers accustomed to shooting scenes of historic buildings in the center of Paris, the expositions provided symbols of the new. As McCauley writes, new buildings excited more curiosity than the standard landmarks, which had long been canonized in engravings and lithographs. Tourists and local collectors alike avidly purchased photographs of the modernizing city and its recently constructed buildings. These scenes represented a real-time experience, the contemporary transformation of the historic city.¹¹

The universal expositions held in Paris were a significant aspect of the modernization of the city that was carried out in the nineteenth century. Their representation in aerial photography played a key role in defining what was new, innovative, and even daring in architecture and urban design. I can think of no better expression of the modern city that emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century than this emblematic image of the Eiffel Tower set amidst the fair's other monumental buildings. It was photography that brought poetic expression to such urban images of Paris.

¹¹ McCauley, *Industrial Madness*, 196.



Fig.1: Palais de l'Industrie, Exposition Universelle of 1855, Paris, France, (Courtesy Roger-Viollet).



Fig.2: Exposition Universelle of 1900, Aerial View, Paris, France (Courtesy of Roger-Viollet).

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Blurred Observations: A Late Nineteenth-Century Grand Tour***Eamonn Canniffe**

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A personal archive of Rome

The John Rylands Library in Manchester contains a deposit of eighteen items from the collection of Captain James Douglass Kennedy of Lancaster, personal records of his engagement with the world of Roman archaeology between 1891 and 1896. (Fig.1) There are two large bound photographic albums, four smaller albums, and then a series of eleven lined notebooks, map books and pocket books, and a single letter. The collection contains commercially available photographs, many still in good condition, but the more intriguing material comprises Kennedy's notes of his reading, of lectures and field visits he has attended, the comments of his various companions, and hundreds of his own small and often poor quality photographs (their authorship often asserted by the addition of his initials) for which he doggedly provides times, dates and locations. One effect that the volumes have is to reveal how, at this relatively early date, a wealth of photographic material was commercially available, showing the monuments in detail. But they also reveal the process of acquisition and how Kennedy had the means to collect the material and to invest in the large albums, and the leisure and enthusiasm to lay them out and annotate the images.

Kennedy, who was born in 1845, noted in the documents that he and his wife, (referred to in the material as M.E.K.) had previously visited Italy in 1881, 1882 and 1890. His accumulation of material in Italy, and especially in Rome, should be seen as the research of an aspiring writer aiming to provide material for the growing cultural tourism market. At that time the major English author long established in the field was Augustus Hare who noted the effect of his rivals' publications on the visitors to the city of Rome 'Their Murray, their Baedeker, and their Bradshaw indicate appalling lists of churches, temples, and villas which ought to be seen, but do not distribute them in a manner which will render their inspection more easy.' (Hare 1893: 2) Kennedy would appear, from the methodological evidence in his material, to have been engaged in the process of producing his own contribution. The repetition of material and references in different formats suggests a lengthy editing process being conducted, probably during the months spent back at home in Lancashire. (Fig.2)

The photographic albums, especially the two largest volumes of commercial photographs as well as Kennedy's own images, represent some kind of definitive collection of the visual material. However, perhaps more intriguing is the small black notebook that could be a mock-up for a proposed small guidebook. The slim notebook of faintly lined paper (obtained from 'Alexander Thomson, 8 Princess St. Manchester' as a small yellow label in the red marbled endpapers indicates) includes maps at various scales cropped down and pasted into the book across double page spreads. At the front is a map of the city within the walls, and amended in red pen to create divisions that correspond to the sections of Kennedy's hand written texts. At the back a map of the 'Environs of Rome' is pasted across two pages. On one page a hand drawn plan of the hills precedes the section 'Site of Rome'. After Kennedy has accounted for his nine divisions a map showing the gridded extensions to the city beyond the walls is pasted in as a double page spread. The text, in very condensed handwriting deals with the history and principal monuments of each of Kennedy's divisions, in a considerably more concise form than Augustus Hare's 'Walks in Rome', the two volume thirteenth edition of which appeared in 1893, although they too are pocket-size. Despite the non-publication of this possible book an examination of Kennedy's material in its raw state reveals much about the social milieu of Roman archaeology towards the end of the nineteenth century. Professional methods were developing but the dilettanti attitudes of early eras had not entirely disappeared and therefore the pattern of the lectures and visits in which Kennedy participated are as significant as much for his personal encounters as they are for the sites he saw and photographed.

A day's photographic excursion

Although his albums are organised largely around year or location, Kennedy's perennial habit of recording precise dates and times for his photographs makes it possible by cross-referencing to reassemble his experiences chronologically. Kennedy's tenacity to record everything he visited is emphasised by the rapidity with which he attempted to appropriate much of the city photographically in a single day during his first year as a member of the British and American Archaeological Society of Rome. Although the elements of his itinerary are pasted into his photographic albums by subject one is able to reconstruct the frenetic pace of a day such as Wednesday 25 March 1891. This first of what was to become an annual series of excursions was nearing its end and Kennedy seized the opportunity of a bright and clear spring day to travel all over the city. As well as the early spring sunshine, the date of this dedicated photographic expedition was probably prompted by Kennedy gaining a *permesso* from the Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti signed and sealed two days before allowing him to take '*fotografie dei vari monumenti di Roma e provincia*.' Although the permit was valid for two months, Kennedy was obviously keen to take advantage of the privileges he had been afforded and eventually pasted it as a trophy into one of his albums.

The sequence of images recorded on that day begins at 9.30am with a partial photograph of the facade of Santa Maria Maggiore which Kennedy records as 'taken from a cab' – presumably hired for the day given the distance he and his camera were to travel. At 9.45 he is outside the Porta Maggiore, a wagon of hay providing a picturesque addition to the scene he captures at this busy entry point into the city. Thirty minutes later he is at the Amphitheatrum Castrense and at 10.30 at the Lateran basilica looking over open ground back towards Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Kennedy had therefore visited three of the seven major basilicas, the *sette chiese*, in the first hour of his own secular pilgrimage.

The next group of photographs in the sequence cover the Baths of Caracalla recorded punctiliously by Kennedy as being taken at 11.00am, 11.05, 11.15 and 11.30. At 11.45 his cab returned towards the city via the Celian hill and he photographed the picaresque scene of resting soldiers outside the portico of Santa Maria in Domnica, their sergeant noted as sitting 'in the boat', the ancient ship-shaped basin which gives the church its alternative name of Santa Maria alla Navicella.

Kennedy's route then proceeded to the 'Coliseum' where following a view of the Arch of Titus and the distant Capitol at noon, ten minutes later he photographs the west side of the amphitheatre's exterior, including a passing troop of soldiers 'at the double'. For the retired military man this was no doubt a more approved activity than his previous military encounter. This incident is followed in the reconstructed sequence at 12.15 by a photograph of the interior of the amphitheatre showing the lower part looking east.

At this point in the excursion it would appear that a long lunch was taken, as there is nothing recorded for over two hours. At 2.20pm Kennedy photographed the live Capitoline wolf in its captivity by the *cordona* of the Campidoglio. In 1872 the Comune di Roma had decided to display a simulacrum of the city's symbolic mother in a caged cave within the Capitoline hill, (a curiosity which was maintained until 1975). Five minutes later a general view of Piazza Campidoglio follows in the sequence with the ancient statue of Marcus Aurelius at the centre of the photograph.

Having crossed the Capitoline hill the next photograph is an elevated view of the portico of the Temple of Saturn, timed at 2.28pm, followed at 2.30 by a more general photograph of its setting in the Forum Romanum. At 3.5 (presumably 3.05) Kennedy recorded that he now had company on his expedition, his companions having perhaps only joined him at lunchtime, as the next image in the sequence is a photograph of the 'Basilica Constantini with Lady Dean, M.E.K. and Mary K. in Via Sacra'. The three ladies stand in the middle distance dwarfed by the immense arches, one of the darkly-clad ladies sheltering from the sun under an umbrella. After this brief appearance companions do not feature in the photographs until the end of the day, and Kennedy took advantage of his cab to visit further outlying monuments. But before those visits at 3.10 the interior of the Arch of Titus is photographed, Kennedy taking the opportunity of the strong light to capture the scene of triumph carved on the arch's

reveal. At 3.35 another photograph of the Colosseum is recorded taken from just above the Arch of Titus, followed by an excursion to the Aventine hill.

At 4.00 Kennedy photographed the Servian Wall on the Aventine hill in the Vigna Torlonia. From here, precisely half an hour later, Kennedy recorded a panoramic view of Trastevere in three frames from 'the garden terrace of Il Priorato' and five minutes later he captured Piranesi's screen wall around the piazza adjacent to the church and priory of the Knights of Malta. At 4.45 he recorded the view of the Palatine hill as he descended the Aventine hill, noting the 'Palace of Commodus'. A further five minutes later, hurrying presumably because of fading daylight Kennedy photographed the circular Temple of Hercules from the recently constructed Tiber Embankment, and at 4.52 he concluded the day's photography with a candid image of two unnamed women. Both are hatless and their dress does not suggest that they are Kennedy's earlier companions (although the younger one is possibly Mary K). The northern corner of the Temple of Portumnus is in the background and behind that a multi-storey building with numerous lines of washing hung from the windows. One suspects that this photograph, given the lack of names (an unusual aberration) was an attempt by Kennedy to capture some local Roman 'colour'.

The following day Kennedy had an excursion to Tivoli. Although no other permit survives in the Rylands holdings it would appear that the itinerary of 25 March 1891 provided Kennedy with much significant material as he returned to its locations, particularly the Forum Romanum over and over again in subsequent years with various of his scholarly acquaintances or others, such as when he photographed 'M.E.K. at the base of the Column of Phocas – Gathering ferns' unsentimentally timed and dated 11.10am 24 February 1894.

Postscript

Capt. Douglass Kennedy was recorded as a member of the British and American Archaeological Society of Rome in their journal for the five sessions from 1891-92 until 1895-96. In Volume II Number 7 1896-97 in the Annual Report (376) his death was noted. Kennedy's name was not even correctly recorded, suggesting a certain degree of disdain for this marginal figure. With his obsession with precision one can only imagine how the late Captain would have reacted to such posthumous disregard.

Kennedy's precise purpose in accumulating his material might never be defined for certain. His researches border on the exhaustive but remain without a clear theme other than the desire to catalogue and account for every experience in some kind of way, as part of a broader pattern. He could not be compared to the significant archaeological figures he encountered, Rodolfo Lanciani (1901) and Thomas Ashby (Hodges 2000), or even to a possible acquaintance and more obscure scholar such as Peter Paul Mackey (Coates-Stephens 2009) but his documents do indicate the dedication with which a dilettante might attempt to understand Rome.



Fig 1: M.E.K. *Captain J. Douglas Kennedy and Mary K. at the ruins of the temple of Maiden Victory on the Palatine hill, Rome 3.15pm 22 March 1891* John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

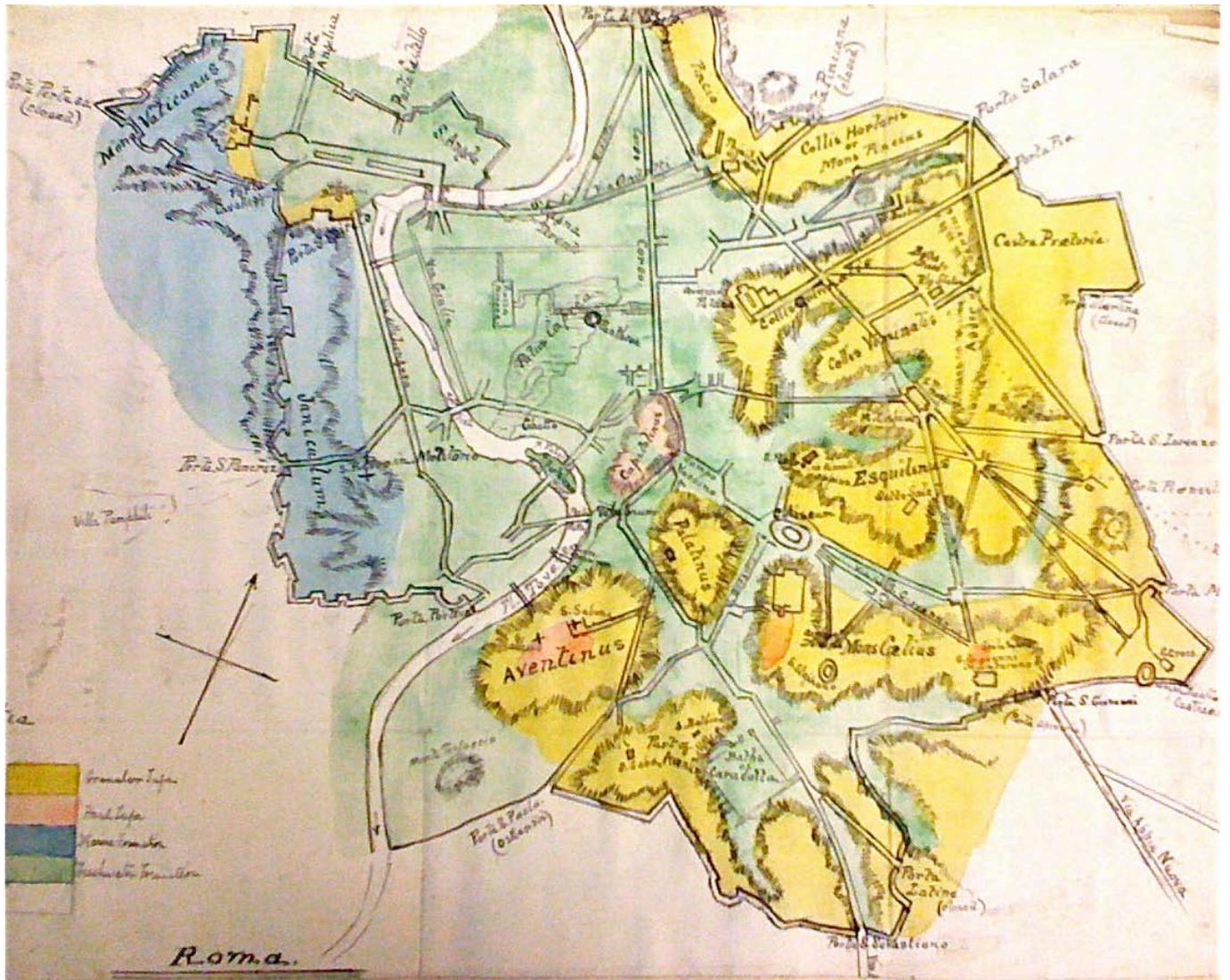


Fig 2: J. Douglas Kennedy Hand drawn geological map of Rome John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

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*A substantially extended version of this essay will appear in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* in 2011.

Modernization and History: A New Town, a Museum and a Saint's Sanctuary

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1. Introduction

The eastern Mediterranean is often described as the cradle of civilization. Nation-states in the region that were fully committed to modernization projects could not resist the temptation to use this heritage as a shared tradition, to bestow national cohesion and collective pride. Modernizers therefore developed sophisticated methods to harness this heritage to the apparatus of the modern nation-state. Scholars have theorized this phenomenon, demonstrating how modernizers use the past to make the radical change they provoked familiar to the citizens of new nation-states, who have often been uprooted from their former habitats and ways of life. This understanding of heritage as a modern practice in the service of the state is our premise.

Most studies relate to one dominant national narrative that has succeeded in articulating a winning formula. In contrast, this historical study of two sites in northern Israel—an archeological museum and a sanctuary—goes back to the early days of the Israeli nation-building project, in the 1950s and 1960s, in order to trace examine the multifaceted competition over such winning national formulae.

Taken together the two sites and the nearby new town, Hatzor, represent the inherent reciprocity and tension between the developmental and symbolic praxis of the Israeli nation-building project. On the one hand, building the new town was part of a vast planning project aimed at developing the land and rapidly settling masses of Jewish immigrants. On the other hand, the attention given the historical sites—through archeology and restoration—addressed the symbolic praxis of the nation-state: the persuasion of these immigrants that they had returned to their biblical homeland. To this end, the local past was treated as an important resource in cultivating the immigrants' identity with their new place.

Yet, there is a momentous difference between the uses of this resource in the two sites. Architectural observation of these sites near Hatzor and their different architectural languages reveals competing national historical narratives. Our study identifies two dialectical strategies that were promoted by different official agencies to modernize the perception of the past. Together they forge the Jewish identity of Israel, although the power of each has changed according to cultural and political circumstances.

Here we demonstrate how architecture was entrusted with the task of alleviating the burden of modernity and how it served as a cultural mechanism to articulate these conflicting historical narratives.

2.

The new town of Hatzor was founded in 1953 as part of a government policy of population dispersal. This top-down planning model aimed to simultaneously modernize the state and populate its territorial periphery. This periphery had few facets: distance from the economic center, proximity to and security vis-à-vis a hostile border, and social homogeneity due to fast settlement of immigrant population.

The peripheral settlements took on uniform shape of modernist layout and design. This modernist pattern became the Zionist dominant style because it articulated the triple negation of labor Zionism: negation of the traditional Jewish culture that was identified with the Diaspora, negation of the Oriental-Arab place, and finally, negation of bourgeois culture. The modern style was intended to emphasize the spirit of the times over the concrete dimensions of place and people. This perspective made it possible to relate to the place as a *tabula rasa*.

The new town Hatzor exemplified this concept: three neighboring units with civic centers that were built on a seemingly vacant place. However, despite the modern approach, Hatzor's site was not a *tabula rasa*. Three layers of the recent past and two layers of ancient history whisper under the earth's surface here. The deepest layer is that of the biblical city of Hatzor that existed in 3000-2 B.C. and is described in the Book of Joshua as "the head of all those kingdoms," and also mentioned in ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources. Hatzor is considered a significant site in the biblical narrative, because it was the last city that Joshua and the people of Israel conquered on their way to settling the land of Canaan. The remains of the biblical city were discovered three km northeast of the new town.

The second ancient layer represents later traditions, traced to the 13th century and later, which identified local sanctuaries with the mythical figure of Honi and his family, who lived 2000 years ago. Honi is said to have made rain fall during a drought year by standing in the middle of a circle and praying to God – a miracle for which he was named the "circle maker." Another folktale tells us of Honi's 70-year sleep. His sanctuary was a well known site for Jews and Arabs that came there to pray for rain.

The earliest of the three recent layers was that of the Arabic village Pir'am. It was located 1 km northwest of the new town. Israel conquered the village during the 1948 War and its population was driven away. The sanctuary of Honi was located in this village.

In 1949, a group of 70 families— Jewish immigrants from Yemen—were settled at this site and tried to farm its land. Less than two years later, the government relocated them and built two transit camps for new immigrants nearby. The camps were called Hatzor A and B; most of their residents were Jews from Arab countries, who were sent there and had no local affinity to this particular place. The new town Hatzor replaced these camps.

Hatzor did not have its own leadership until the late 1950s. For the first decade or so, member of the nearby Kibbutz Ayelet Hashachar, a communal pioneering settlement founded prior to the state, was responsible for the town. The sponsorship was meant to foster cooperation, mutual acquaintance and facilitate the "melting pot" ideology. But the results were quite the opposite—town residents developed a sense of helplessness, detachment and marginality, as well as feelings of despair and discrimination.

3.

Against this background, the state shifted its emphasis to include not only the progressive aspects of Israeli sovereignty, but also its national and regional historical sources. According to Canclini: "In order to legitimate their hegemony, the modernizers need to persuade their addressees – at the same time that they are renewing society – they are prolonging shared traditions. Given that they claim to include all sectors of society, modern projects appropriate historical goods and popular tradition" (1995, 107).

The two sites of Hatzor provide perfect resources that could integrate the historical and traditional aspects into a modernizing scheme. Each site exemplifies one of Canclini's definitions: the archeological excavation and the nearby museum embody the "historical good"; and the sanctuary site associates with Honi embody the "popular tradition". The different architectural aspects of each project show how their respective designs embed different attitudes toward the history of the place and the nation.

4.

The Tel Hatzor archeological site represents the dominant national historical attitude advocated by Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion. This approach described the modern state of Israel as a resurrection of Jewish sovereignty in biblical times,

a continuum that was interrupted by two millennia of forced exile. The mandate of archeology—a modern, secular and scientific instrument—was to bear the past of the nation and foster its biblical narrative as a source of inspiration and aspiration. Excavations were expected to unearth ancient Jewish life, legitimizing the right to the territory and strengthening the emotional sense of belonging to the corporeality of earth.

Yigael Yadin, a former chief of staff of the Israel Defense Force, led the archeological excavation in Hatzor. Determined to use this excavation as a testing ground to create and shape an independent Israeli archeology. Yadin also believed that the large-scale project could offer material and cultural benefits to the neglected region.

The four-year dig in Tel Hatzor, between 1955-1958, was very successful and the ensuing debate quickly extended beyond scholarly circles. Although Yadin had a large professional team, he insisted on employing new immigrants, particularly from Hatzor. However, the labor division and symbolic gains among the two groups was problematic. While immigrants acted as day-workers, it was Kibbutz Ayelet Hashachar that hosted not only the archeological delegation, but eventually the findings they helped recover. When Yadin decided, in the early 1960s, to build a museum of the findings, he located it not at the archeological site or in the new town but rather at the entrance to Kibbutz Ayelet Hashachar.

Yadin and his donors commissioned architect David Reznik. Reznik personal history, secular point of view, modernist sources of inspiration and architectural body of work represented the Zionist ideology of the Israeli state. Unlike his generational peers, the rising architectural elite, Reznik was born and professional trained overseas, in Brazil. His modernist convictions were shaped in Oskar Niemeyer's office, and his work embodies an attempt to synthesize Corbusian and Brazilian modernism with the uniqueness of the Israeli context. As a professional new immigrant and ardent Zionist he didn't hesitate to invoke such concepts as "enthusiasm," "symbolism," and "pathos" in the projects he planned and the messages with which he imbued them. These qualities earned him the 1995 Israel Prize, the most prestigious award granted by the state of Israel.

The archeological museum he built is located in an open concourse. It is shaped as a rectangular box with three ceilings held by four pilotis. A double wall stands in front of the main levels, protecting it from the strong local winds. This outside wall is built of silicate bricks; the three levels of roof and the pilotis are made of concrete. The pilotis at the entrance level delineate a hexagonal space that encloses a spiral staircase leading to the raised display level. The building is very simple, clear and sharp. Although small in size, it conveys a silent monumentality. According to Reznik, the hovering of the building above ground is an antithesis to the findings preserved in it: "Because these objects came from the ground, we decided to raise the building up off the ground and leave the earth undisturbed (2005, 90)."

In our mind, it was an act of raising a treasure chest from under the ground into the air. The four pilotis connect the underground to above the ground. The surface—the transparent entrance level—functions, according to Reznick, as a "preliminary declaration" of the "contemporary." (2005, 90). Yet this is a "contemporary" that has no volume or shape yet, but just outlines. Together with the upper windows, this space serves to illuminate the display space with daylight. The use of silicate bricks, which are identified with the pioneering industry in Tel Aviv, and the bare concrete, which was adopted as a local material that symbolized the direct, rough character of the native Israeli sabra, are actually the main references to localism in this building. However, the symbolic reverberation between underground and above ground may be understood as a dialogue between past and future; the disengagement of the land and a reminder of Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye. All create a feeling that this building emphasizes the dimension of time over any other parameter. This is also evident in Reznik's report of a conversation in which he told Yadin he would "design a structure whose period of construction would be unmistakably identifiable when excavated in a thousand years" (2005, 90).

The act of planning and building the museum projected hegemonic power. The national status of the archeologist Yigael Yadin, the members of Kibbutz Ayelet Hashachar and architect David Reznick along with the "tailwind" of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion reflect its high position on the national priority list.

5.

In sharp contradiction to the national priority given to biblical Hatzor, our second site, Honi's sanctuary, expresses alternative and somewhat subversive methods of spatializing history. We should be reminded that the majority of Hatzor's residents were new immigrants from Arab countries, who preserved a Diaspora consciousness in their daily life. The tradition of Honi's sanctuary helped them maintain familiar traditions and rituals from their countries of origin.

Here we find a "happy marriage" between popular sentiments and anthropological and historical research. This kind of field research is identified with Israel's second president, Yizhak Ben Zvi, who emphasized the continuity of small Jewish communities in the Land of Israel over the 2000 years of Jewish Diaspora. Ben-Zvi's perception of the essence of the relationship between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel offered an alternative point of view to Ben Gurion's historical attitude. His thesis was based on sites like Honi's sanctuary, which confirm the continuity of Jewish rituals that were also preserved in Diaspora Jewish communities. The main place where Ben-Zvi's activity became an official praxis was the Ministry of Religions. This ministry enthusiastically operated a process of sanctifying of many sites and dates, in order to connect the different communities and their diverse customs to their newly revived "homeland" and national identity. An important aspect of this operation was architectural.

Meir Ben-Uri, the ministry's architectural adviser, was in effect the modern planner of most Jewish religious national sites. His oeuvre until the mid-1970s included synagogues, sanctuaries, memorials and ritual sites. Ben-Uri belonged to the first generation of modernistic Zionist architects who came from Europe in the early 1930s. Although he worked in a country that institutionalized modernism as its national style and hegemonic praxis, Ben-Uri was a bit outside the mainstream of the local professional community and didn't adopt the same modernistic architectural conventions as his peers. We don't know whether to ascribe this to his sources of inspiration, which were a bit more oriental or to his political identity, which was religious Zionist and not the dominant labor Zionist.

Honi's sanctuary was one small project designed by Ben-Uri in the Upper Galilee. This region is a hub of many sanctuaries and a center for pilgrims of all religions. According to the principle defined by Ben-Uri, the development of the sites should encourage the local and traditional language. I quote: "[This act of building] should use raw material that exists in the surrounding area and in cooperation with Arabs, Druze and Maronite craftsmen and builders from the villages in the Galilee" And he added: "By using stones and mud we will have here a project of building without cement and iron" (1952).

Ben-Uri's unique architectural language created a landscape pattern of sanctuary sites that imitates the local type of building, in effect institutionalizing an old-new vernacular. He made us believe that these sites had always looked like this. Thus he supported Ben-Zvi historical claim of continuous Jewish settlement and customs in the Land of Israel over 2000 years.

Sanctuary sites usually stand in the middle of an open area, organized as a Greek *temenos*. Honi's sanctuary, by contrast, is situated in a cave and it is not a three-dimensional object; from the outside, it's only an opening in the rock.

Ben-Uri created here a new design that would blur the appearance of flatness. First, he delineated a large square in front of the cave, rendering the whole space two-dimensional. Then he designed two alternative paths, simultaneously opposing and complementary, in and around the site. The movement along the paths and the cessation at the end granted the space three-

dimensionality. The first path is a staircase up to an observation post; the stairs climb gently, almost hidden, over the hillside. Once at the observation post, you actually stand above the tombs, suddenly facing a panoramic view of the surrounding area. Here Ben-Uri placed a column, as a symbolic axis mundi, with an inscription related to Honi. At this point the entire area is conceived as a complete and holistic space.

The other path is a huge circle (6 meters in diameter) in the middle of the main square. It symbolizes the circle from Honi's story and the miracle of the rainfall. The marking of the circle is a very literal, simple and symbolic act, but it has a naive strength. It invites you to trace its outline again and again, in a meditative act of devotion. The routine movement becomes a kind of ritual. In the center, Ben-Uri marked a smaller circle, symbolizing the place where Honi stood. Thus Ben Uri provided two modes of experiencing the site: Ascending the stairs provides an experience of encirclement, while walking on the circle of stones is an inner, personal experience.

Ben-Uri's professional perception actually challenged the three negations of Labor Zionism mentioned earlier: negating bourgeois culture, Arab culture and Jewish Diaspora culture. He created an architectural language that positively combined the local Arab tradition with the different Diaspora Jewish traditions. His alternative modern vocabulary offered concretization instead of abstraction, differentiation instead of uniqueness, religiosity instead of secularity, and handcrafted environmental instead of industrial objects. Actually he held the double-edged sword of modernity—on the one hand, he promoted the preservation of local traditions, collaborated with people of other faiths, and saved sites from the bite of modernization. On the other hand, he appropriated these sites and made them part of a modern national mechanism.

6.

The new town of Hatzor Haglilit was intended to convey a "new" national period and dictate a modern way of life. The residents of Hatzor were inadvertently made the carriers and agents of this modernization process. The two historical sites near Hatzor that we have just analyzed were developed and coexisted within a modernistic mechanism and under the auspices of the state. The purpose was to forge a concrete bond between the residents and the notion of the Land of Israel as a historical inheritance. The museum displays tangible remnants of the past based on the official historiography of the state; the sanctuary creates an experiential ritual based on collective memories.

Historically and methodically, the archeology museum expressed the "leaping approach" to history—focusing on before the exile and after the return—while the sanctuary site expressed the "continuity approach" of life in the Land of Israel throughout history. Yet, both methods were the result of modern fields of knowledge: history, archeology, and anthropology.

These different approaches were also hidden in the subtext of the two ancient stories: the story of Joshua's war in Hatzor symbolizes a process of erasure and a new beginning, while the stories of Honi symbolize continuity and devotion to the place.

Architecturally, both sites tried to express historic affinity and formulate an architectural language that expresses belonging. But the sources of inspiration were different. The museum conveys the modernism that the state adopted as its national expression and is tinted with brutalist nuances, while Honi's sanctuary exemplifies an alternative mode of expressing and interpreting the modern project of territorial Jewish nationalism. In addition, while Reznik's museum is a perfect symbol of its period, Ben-Uri's sanctuary building was directed to blur the period context, to stand outside of time.

In retrospect there are no clear losers or winners. The recent development of each site is fascinating in light of contemporary discourse on identity, locality and globalization, homogeneity and multiculturalism, but that subject warrants a paper of its own.

Architecture and Politics in Educational and Cultural Buildings in 1960s Greece

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1. The Reconstruction

The devastating effects of the Second World War (1940-1945) and the Civil War (1946-1949) have shaped, in the beginning of the first half of the 20th century, in Greece a nebulous environment with an uncertain future. The conflict among senior economists regarding the axes of the economic policy that should have been followed by Greek governments in the post-war era, is a common phenomenon of that period. In 1951, the Prime Minister of the government at the time, N. Plastiras, after failure of the « Economic Recovery Program », invited the economist and ex Secretary of Treasury Mr. Varvaressos to proceed to a systematic analysis of the real Economy of Greece and propose solutions. Varvaressos drafted a «Report on the Greek economic problems», which submitted on January 1952. The critical Report fed the economic and political inequalities. The *industrialization* of the country constituted a matter of great contradiction and divided the economic community of Greece in two camps¹. In combination with the particular political conditions of Greece, the fundamental element on which was based the choice of identity² as well as every economic and consequently political strategy was *property*. The notion of *private property*, the cornerstone of liberal economy, had been infiltrated within the Hellenic society already from mid 19th century and had as a result the possession of the means of production and distribution of goods by private individuals, the failure of control by social groups or the state and the growing social inequalities due to uneven income distribution³.

It is worth noting that the whole post-war discussion of experts regarding the most appropriate choice for the course of the Greek economy includes the development of the agricultural sector, industry and the construction industry, without ever bringing forward the notion of property. All proposals for development used to rely on state interventionism as a guarantor in terms of legitimacy and elimination of profiteering, but none of them challenges the correctness of the logic of capitalism.

From 1954 till 1972 the country is headed towards development of the industrial sector with the absorption of most of the funds and major investments. Accordingly, the manufacturing activity remained at high levels, the construction industry was increased while agriculture and commerce⁴ were reduced.

In this context, the promotion of unsustainable construction activity was called *Reconstruction* and its shape has taken various dimensions. By the late 1920s had already been created the legislative conditions for the maximum private exploitation of earth, through the multistory construction⁵ projects.

¹ See Ref.: 1) LIKOYIANNIS Athanasios, (edit.) - *Kyriakos Varvaressos. Report on the Greek economic problems*, Savalas pub., Athens, 2002. 2) VARVARESSOS Kyriakos, "The Greek economic problems, Review of Economic and political Sciences", 2-3 (1952) p.205-209. 3) ECONOMOU, Dimitris - "Urban Policy in the 1950s", Proceedings of the 2nd Company Conference History of the City and Urban Planning Urban Planning in Greece from 1949-1974, Volos 2000, p.39-48.

² The «Choice of identity», indeed, represents the main objective of the post-war political decisions which have directed Greek thought in the reproduction of western European life and ideology models, over a long period of time.

³ The possibility of private property could consolidate in contemporary Greek's thought their relation with the liberal economy of the West and consequently the practically automatic acquisition of the Western European identity.

⁴ PROGOULAKIS, Giorgos - *A Draft of the Economic and Social History. From the disaster of Asia Minor to the eve of the political Changeover 1922 – 1972*, Athens, 2009, page 131.

⁵ In combination to a) L.3741/29 «on horizontal property», b) of ΓΟΚ (General Building Regulation) of 1929 (which included high building densities), and c) of the 1934 P.D. (which defines the maximum heights of the capital per zones), were set before the war the foundations of construction activity and extensive expansion in height of Athens buildings.

It is true that after 1950, the construction activity is characterized by a systematic increase. From 1953 to 1972 the investments in the residential sector are increased by 33,4% and constitute the highest index of investments in terms of the Gross Domestic product⁶. The urban population is increased by 15% and surpasses the 50% of the country's population. The effect of the above situation is the development of the urban habitat, emphasizing at detached houses. Given that state investments in habitat are reduced, the only source of finance for the construction industry is private capital⁷. In addition, due to the increase of tourism by 250%, at the period 1953-1972 we have the construction of various tourism installations⁸.

Thereby, from the beginning of 1950s onwards the urban centers of the Hellenic territory start to reflect a modernized character, a bad copy of the European models. The urban landscapes are flooded with a plethora of *modern architectural projects*, on the basis of money saving, austerity and perfect functionality.

2. The 1960s

Thus, Greece seemed to stick to the new tendencies, to adopt a growing western mentality, and escape from the «risks» of communism, to have renounced for good its engagement with vernacular architecture and the neoclassical vocabulary of the middle class, by accepting a spatial organisation that reflects a particular way of life: that of individualization, excessive consumerism and western ethical values.

At the 1960s, the economic transformations, starting with the association agreement of Greece with the EEC (9th of July 1961), reinforced the capitalistic character of the Hellenic society. Despite the apparent course of progress and prosperity of the Greek society, this period was characterised by social and political struggles, mainly due to three reasons⁹: a) the unstable function of democratic institutions, b) the Cold War, c) the contrasts in terms of the choice of strategy for the economic development.

The authoritarian policy, which was inherited by the Civil War, and the failure to constitute a strong political movement in combination with the power of the monarchy and army, lead to the overthrow of the parliamentary system and the introduction to the dark seven-year period of the Colonels Regime. The Cyprus problem, the American influence in the Hellenic policy and the coercive participation in a united Europe constituted elements which inevitably influenced the internal economic policy decisions.

The industry in Greece during the 1960s, although it «aspires» to reorganize and readjust its product, fails to align with the guidelines of the global command: the branches of chemical industry and transport, strong elements of the European development process, do not draw the required attention and significance in the overall modernization project of the country. However, what remains as an imperative need is the evidence of a modernization process, even if, its economic determination can not be indicated. Evidence supporting this, is that from 1953 had already been created the necessary legislative arrangements intended to attract foreign capital in the Greek market. (Decree 2687/53 concerning investment and protection of foreign capital).

Along with the appearance of architectural forms were developed various tendencies which however –apart from a few exceptions – did not present any significant difference in construction methods and materials. The most known Greek architects

⁶ Database of the Statistical Office, table 2 - 120.

⁷ Database of the Statistical Office, table - 120.

⁸ G. Progoulakis is stating: «Between 1968 and 1972 were built 850.000 new residences in the entire country, also due to the favorable, in terms of construction, measures of junta in the sector of financing, with obvious political effects associated with the attitude that a part of population had against dictatorship», op.cit. p. 168.

⁹ Database of the Statistical Office, table - 158.

¹⁰ See RIZAS, Sotiris - Greek politics after the Civil War, Parliamentarism and dictatorship, Kastaniotis, Athens, 2008.

of 1960s were: Papaioannou, Despotopoulos, Valentis, Konstantinidis, Milonas, Fatouros, Doxiadis, Zenetos, Valsamakis and others, who were, each one with its own way, engaged with the perfect infiltration of the new code related to the shaping of the structured space. By associating either the nostalgia of the vernacular Greek character with the necessity for renewal or with the outspoken confidence in the extremely innovative proposals, the *modernization* structure of Greek architecture had conquered every corner of the large Greek cities and was also extending without obstacles to the periphery, having as forerunners the spatial planning¹⁰ and the public buildings: cultural centers, town halls, museums, hospitals, tourism installations, school and university buildings¹¹. Architecture, for one more time, was expressing the course of society.

In particular, during 1960s, in the sector of education was initiated a policy for the creation of regional universities with the intention of supporting the development of regional economy and the upgrading of local societies, a policy which is also continued until today. From 1964 it is observed an increase of the children who carry on from the Primary School to the Secondary School and the University. There are also observed drastic changes such as the institution of «free public education» and the reinforcement of the technical education, the establishment of contemporary Greek Language (Dimotiki) as equal to purifying language (Katharevousa), the teaching of ancient texts translated in Dimotiki. Such modifications returned to their previous status after the arrival of the Colonels Dictatorship. However, education which was based on purely nationalist tendencies, constituted a fundamental elemental of the dictatorship policy since the head of government Georgios Papadopoulos took over as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Education. From 1958 to 1975 were created 76 new departments of higher education with the respective infrastructure of buildings: 8 in Thessaloniki (1958), 14 in Ioannina (1964), 21 in Patras (1966), 9 in Rethimno (1973), 7 in Komotini (1974), 5 in Xanthi (1974), 4 in Chania (1975)¹².

3. The case of Doxiadis and the University of Patras

In this particular context of Greek reality architects try to respond to the modernization trends. After the war Constantinos Doxiadis (1913-1975) participated actively, through various governmental positions (1945-50) to the attempt for the reorganization of the state and in 1951 he created the 'Doxiadis office' which quickly expanded its reach to 4 continents. From 1944, when the German occupational army withdraws from Athens, Doxiadis presents a huge collection of information material concerning the war destructions in the Greek territory. This perfectly organized and classified material, is exposed initially in various places in Greece and then outside Greece. These expositions, in combination with lectures, broadcast interviews, talks in international organizations, publications of texts with tables and diagrams, will constitute the basis on which Doxiadis would draw a series of proposals for the reconstruction and economic development of the country. Initially, from the position of the head of the Sub-ministry of Reconstruction and then as Director-General for reconstruction and other positions, he will strengthen the relations of Greece with the United States and Great Britain and will attempt to present the achievements of technological evolution to Greek society and the virtues of the profession of mechanical engineer¹³. He developed the theory of «Ecumenopolis (Ecumenical city)» where the organization of space in the city was following a model applicable to any condition. The increase of earth's population, the technological evolution, the common use of vehicles, the conservation of memories and ancient traditions, should all come together to the attempt for the organization of space on the basis of

¹¹ «From 1963 till 1970 are drafted, the majority of them by individual researchers, 11 regional plannings of prefectures or departments of the country, and 27 regulatory plans. In addition, are assigned 14 touristic development projects by the Ministry of Coordination(1963-69), as well as 5 relevant projects by GNTO (1959-1967)». See TSOULOUVIS, Eleftherios - "The projects drafted from 1960 onwards", *Architecture in Greece*, V.11, 1977. See also: PAPANICHOS N., CHASTAOGLOY V. -"Urban planning and Regional planning in the 1960s. The case of the Regional Planning of Thessaloniki", Proceedings of the 2nd Company Conference History of the City and Urban Planning: *Urban Planning in Greece from 1949-1974*, Volos 2000, p.49-60.

¹² See FILIPPIDIS, Dimitris - *Modern Greek Architecture*, Melissa, Athens, 1984, p.342-354.

¹³ Database from the site of the Ministry of Education www.ypepth.gr. See also: LAMPRIANIDIS, Lois – "Spatial distribution of regional universities", Contribution to the Conference of the Association of DEP (teaching staff) of the University of Thessaly on the subject of: *University in course of transition*, Volos, 20 October 2004.

¹⁴ *Anthropolis: City for Human Development*, p. 163-176. See also: KYRTSIS, Alexandros-Andreas, (edit.) - *Constantinos A. Doxiadis, Texts, Drawings, Settlements*, Ikarus, Athens, 2006, p.337-353.

«humanistic» principles. He undertakes to introduce these principles to international committees and symposiums, within the framework of the educational organisation he created in 1959, in the Center of Ekistics and the journal EKISTICS which he started publishing from 1963, in international seminars that he organizes in Dilos with the participation of architects, city planners and sociologists from all over the world.

The theories of Doxiadis concerning the design of University Campus buildings appeared in a structured form in his book *Anthropolis: City for Human Development* in 1974, the year of his death. In this book Doxiadis, by referring to the basic characteristics of University Campuses and in direct association with the age of students (the conquest of the world characterizes, according to him, every young ranging from Alexander the Great up to the most ordinary 25year old individual), was stressing that the design of the specific installations should allow the free movement of people, releasing them from the obstacle of cars, without disturbing the calmness of human nature with breath-taking and monumental buildings. Of significant importance is also the movement of ideas, through the process of dialogue, which shall not take place only in the university grounds but also in the streets and the market, the organization of which is not different than that of the universities as their principal characteristic is the use of the geometric grid, the axial organization and the hierarchical arrangements. In this way, he suggests the direct connection of the city and the University Campus, the organization in closed and open spaces of average and small size in order to form small neighborhoods, the connection with the big and fast motorways allowing each young to travel and meet «the poverty of Calcutta and the difficulties of the desert in order to challenge them through hard work and inventions»¹⁴.

As a result of the educational reform of 1964, having George Papandreou as a prime minister and minister for Education, but also within the framework of the further educational policy of the European states of 1960s, new university buildings start to emerge around the country. The example of the University Campus of Patras (its implementation process started in 1972 on the basis of Doxiadis' plans) is representative in terms of its organizational procedure, the choice of site and also its architectural choices. A city organized according to the orthonormal grid, with separate traffic systems for pedestrians and vehicles, with the organization of small building complexes capable of forming autonomous organizations, with an explicit division of functions (spaces for housing, for pure educational reasons and sports activities), restricted to the height of the buildings. The only high building -the tower- that would host the School of Humanistic Studies takes on a symbolic role by representing the absolute subjection of the educational system to Human. The project of the University Campus of Patras is not that different than the one he had designed some years before (1960) for the capital of Pakistan. In his book *Building Entopia*¹⁵ the two examples are present side by side [Fig. 1]. The University of Punjab, for 20.000 students, figures the characteristics of the human community and in the same time preserves human values. Is "dynamic in its macro-scale and as stable as possible in its micro-scale"¹⁶. This means that has all the elements of the big cities: «it is surrounded by highways imposing the non-human scale, but these are restricted to the borders of the communities; it is connected with adjoining communities by controlled passages for pedestrians, or by bridges or underpasses; it is not crossed by the automobile, but is served by it; it is designed on a human scale in all its elements, with emphasis placed on the requirements of the pedestrian in design, movement, spatial dimensions, etc.»¹⁷. The same characteristics are valid for the example of Patras. The University campus of Patras has a range of 2200 sq. m. and is situated in the north-eastern part of the city while its distance from city center is 6 km. The university was founded in November 1964, under the supervision of the state. In 1972 Doxiadis' Office was assigned to carry out a masterplan of the area, which was delivered in January 1973 [Fig. 2]. This report (with various amendments) constituted the basis for the construction and development of the university. The choice for the layout of the university campus in a location far away from the city, brings forward the western models related to the creation of an academic community isolated from social processes

¹⁵ DOXIADIS, Constantinos - *Building Entopia*, W.W. Norton, New York, 1975, p. 164-165.

¹⁶ DOXIADIS, Constantinos - *Ekistics, An introduction to the Science of Human Settlements*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1968, p. 438.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

and dedicated exclusively to scientific research. Such an ideological choice was ensuring the prevention of the politically active student groups' mixture with the respective social movements.

Doxiadis' proposal is adding, in terms of morphology, to what is mentioned above. The layout design of the big arterial roads, the settlement of the sub-regions per scientific sector and the layout and shape of the individual buildings, testify the absolute subjection of rule, organization, division, cleanliness, supervision to orthonormal grid [Fig. 3]. The morphological choices are completed with the use of standardized materials: structure from reinforced concrete (either visible or covered with coating), slopping roofs with tiles, aluminum frames, e.c.t. The symbolism that used by Doxiadis is evident: the form of the 2 central buildings in a ground plan Π is similar with the initial letters of University of Patras (Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών). The design of the big building complexes of the Schools of Science in closed forms with internal atriums (a block of houses copy, coming from the proposal of Stamatis Voulgaris for the planning of the city of Patras), the uninterrupted connection of buildings through a series of covered vertical corridors [Fig. 4], the sports facilities, the open air amphitheatre and the emphasis on the use of green between buildings and streets, constitute some of the fundamental design choices of the researcher, who attempts to combine international standards with local characteristics of Greek architecture and nature.

According to C. Doxiadis, Patras is no different than Punjab: the necessary condition for the achievement of balance in contemporary big cities (Megalopolis) is the conservation of these design elements permitting to the inhabitant of contemporary cities to continue to live in a human-friendly environment irrespectively of all contradictions that may present to the structure of the city due to great technological evolution.

It is worth noting that this is the period where European countries try to adapt to the new technological developments and adopt them either in terms of city networks or building infrastructures. There is a drastic development in transport services, leading to the transformation of urban landscapes, while high-tech architecture aspires to render the shell a flexible tool of the entire concept of planning. It appears however the need not only for a growing quantitative production of goods, but also for an ever increasing facilitation of the provision of information and services. The creation of a new vocabulary of architecture has to compete with the increasing production of images through electronic processors where technology constitutes an agent for the display of complexity in the articulation of surfaces and space, the highlighting of the construction element and the promotion of the mechanical equipment as a feature of the architectural form.

In July 1968, Doxiadis organized in Athens an international meeting on education. Some contributions are published in the journal EKISTICS¹⁸ *concerning the relation between the education buildings and their environment*. In the journal's pages there are also articles from international journals such as the Progressive Architecture, Batelle Technical Review, Journal of Social Issues, Architecture of Canada, and other, where the authors present the latest developments in education technology, the organisation of new academic departments with emphasis on the environmental treatment of space, the significance of the education building as a nucleus of urban development. The objective of the articles is to bring forward dynamically the aspect that presupposes the participation of the education buildings planning along with industry and commerce to the structures of the new contemporary city. Besides, according to Doxiadis, the educational process can be traced on the basis of architectural and urban planning thought. Doxiadis believes that the architect-city planner undertakes the role of educator in contemporary society and through his work should seek the reorganisation, not only of the housing system, but also of the way of life that contemporary citizens experience. The educational role of the *Athens Technological Organisation* which was created by him in 1959, certifies that.

¹⁶ Issue, December 1968.

Of significant importance is the short article of the professor of the Aristotle University at the time, Dimitris Fatouros, which was published in the specific journal, supporting the idea of human's development through his continuous interaction with the environment, a fact reinforcing the significance of architecture and urban planning as an educational process. Besides, he was stressing that each building as part of the natural environment, should give natural dimensions to every human formation. The active participation of human in the organisation of environment and the role of natural structure constitute prerequisites of the human-environment¹⁹ relationship.

4. Conclusion

Which is the educational and ideological significance of the architectural proposal of Doxiadis for the planning of the University Campus of Patras in the specific time period of Greece? During the Colonels junta and at the same time where Doxiadis is suggesting free movement of actions and ideas for the University of Patras, David Holden (a famous English journalist specializing in Middle East affairs) was writing for Greece²⁰: «Schoolgirls shall not wear mini-skirts. Civil Servants shall answer all letters within three days. Beard and hippies shall be discouraged. The mail shall be delivered. Music shall cease in public places after midnight. No assemblies of more than five people shall be permitted. Those who disobey shall be locked up».

How do the organization of city-planning and the architectural proposal are evaluated as guarantors of a harmonized human-environment relationship, in a period where the country is governed by political agitation and economic instability?

At the time where the international architectural community was trying to present new directions of research and withdraw from modern rationalism (post-modern era), how can be evaluated the insistence of Doxiadis on the principles of functionality with «humanistic elements»?

Greece in the mid 20th century was representing a country struggling to prove its relation with the West. On the one hand was poverty and on the other hand the attempt to present a contemporary character. But what are the facts?

It should be invented a form, as that of Doxiadis', in order to become the leading form of an architectural proposal: rationalism, organization and reconciliation, which are familiar characteristics of the modernizing tendencies, were related to the environment and the pollution prevention, the sustainable development, the respect for human nature, the explicit delimitation in the use of machinery, allowing accordingly Greek architecture: a) to present an innovative, modernizing character, away from the imitations of a denounced modernism, and b) to become an agent, through the proposals of Doxiadis in the East, of a program on which had been organized the entire western world from Enlightenment onwards.

The normalization of grid, the acceleration of actions, the organization in terms of city control, starting from the first drawings of J.N.L.Durand till the architecture of Bauhaus, were intended to the better «preparation» of Western world in order to adapt to the development expectations of the middle class. Finally, no matter how different was Greece from Pakistan in terms of culture during the 1960s, both of them had to pass through the process of MODERNIZATION in order to be able to hope for their future.

¹⁷ FATOUROS, Dimitrios - "The physical environment as a field of learning", *Ekistics*, vol. 26, No 157, dec. 1968.

¹⁸ HOLDEN, David - *Greek without Columns. The Making of Modern Greeks*, Lippincott, 1972, pp.235: «Schoolgirls shall not wear mini-skirts. Civil Servants shall answer all letters within three days. Beard and hippies shall be discouraged. The mail shall be delivered. Music shall cease in public places after midnight. No assemblies of more than five people shall be permitted. Those who disobey shall be locked up».

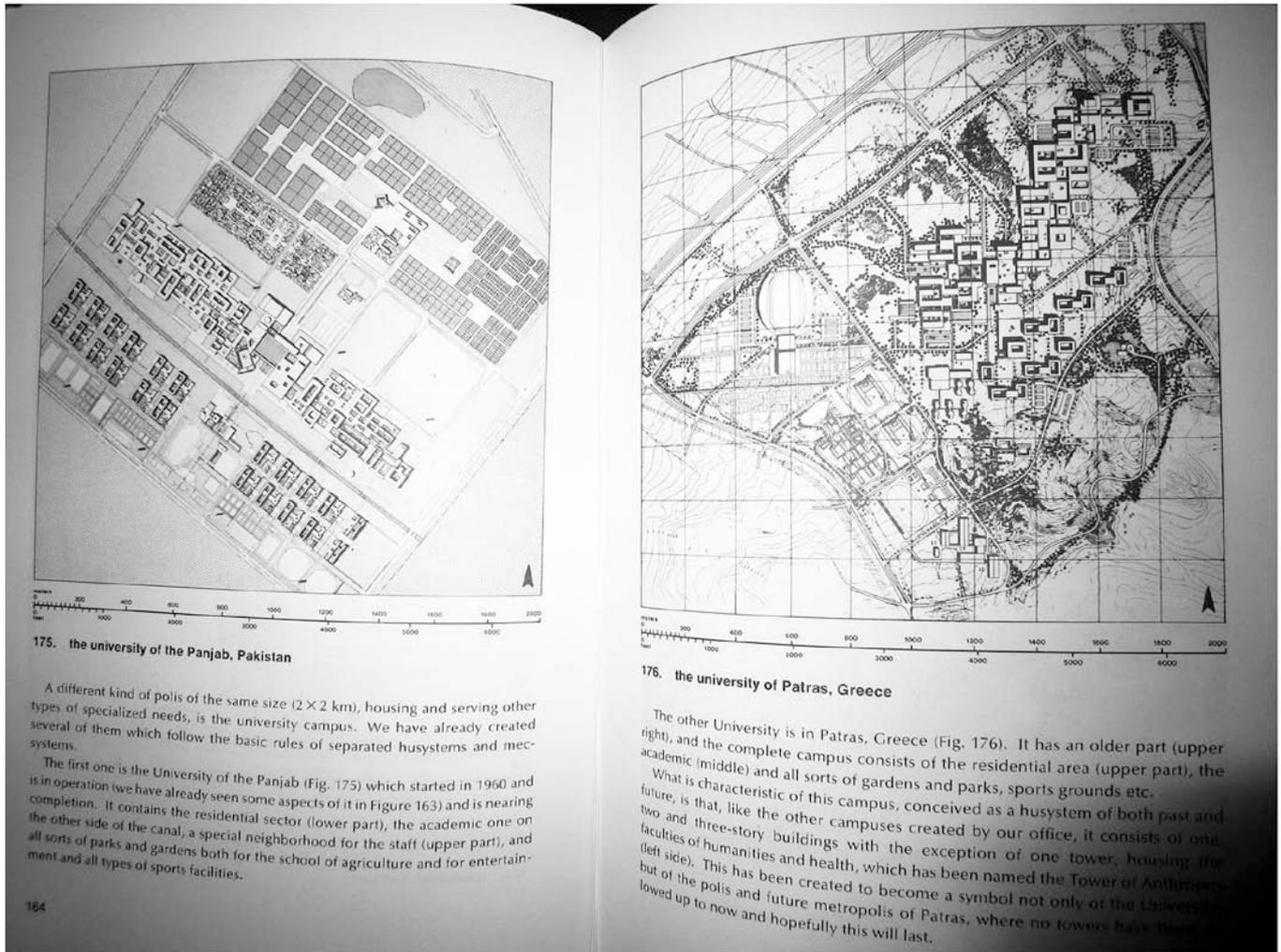


Fig. 1: Doxiadis, Constantinos, Building Entopia, W.W. Norton, New York, 1975.



Fig. 2: Model of Masterplan - Doxiadis' Office.



Fig. 3: University of Patras: Rectorate building.



Fig. 4: University of Patras: Exterior corridors connecting buildings.

'Both/And': Suburban Architecture in the Renaissance Veneto

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'Suburb' is a term rarely applied to the landscape of sixteenth-century Italy. In the history of Renaissance architecture, the exception is the *villa suburbana* type, understood as a revival of an ancient Roman villa used for brief sojourns away from the city. This paper presents an example of suburban architecture in the Venetian mainland, the Villa Pisani at Montagnana, built by Andrea Palladio between 1553 and 1555. Villa Pisani validates the use of the word 'suburb' for this period and also offers a richer picture of the Renaissance suburban residence than does the familiar definition of the *villa suburbana*. Although Montagnana was a smaller urban center than Venice, Villa Pisani encapsulates certain themes, both formal and functional, that demonstrate the emergence of the suburb as a social and design concept.

Annexed by Venice in 1405, Montagnana, which lies about 50 kilometers southwest of Padua, became the center of an essential state-sponsored industry. The waterlogged countryside around Montagnana was ideal for the cultivation and maceration of hemp, to make the ropes that secured the maritime republic's galleys.¹ It was also the focus of large-scale land investments by Venetian patrician families, including the Pisani, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Villa Pisani commanded such an extensive agricultural estate, but, given this function, the villa was located in a somewhat peculiar position. It perches on a site that can only be described as 'suburban' in the geographic sense: it stands immediately outside the medieval walls of Montagnana, at the corner of the intersection where the well-traveled route to Padua exits the town and crosses the road and moat encircling its walls. The main door opens directly onto the Padua road in front of the bastion and gate of Castel San Zeno. Just outside the palace entrance, a barrier halted visitors as they approached so they could pay tax on the goods or produce they were bringing into the city to sell.² At the nexus of rural agricultural production and urban commerce, the Venetian nobleman Francesco Pisani asked Palladio to build him a house in late 1552.

Janus-like, the cubic block of Villa Pisani presents a double visage, a reflection of the liminality of its site. The street front [Fig. 1] is closed and strongly mural, like an urban palace, with a temple-front motif composed of Doric and Ionic half-columns topped by a pediment. The rear façade [Fig. 2] instead displays the character of a villa, with the frontispiece motif forming two loggias, open to the rear garden.

This double aspect has proven a thorny point in the villa's historiography. A typological approach has dominated Palladio scholarship, but Villa Pisani does not conform to the categories of either city palace or villa. In his treatise, published in 1570, Palladio presented it with the *case di villa* on the terraferma that he had designed for noble Venetians. It lacks, however, the constellation of rural outbuildings familiar from his villa designs, which led Giangiorgio Zorzi to exclude Villa Pisani from his discussion of Palladian country estates.³ Carolyn Kolb later justified the Palladian classification with documents proving that

¹ David Celetti, *La canapa nella Repubblica Veneta: produzione nazionale e importazioni in età moderna* (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2007); Pietro Giorgio Lombardo, "Il problema della canapa nello stato veneto e il canonico Camillo Storni da Montagnana (1747-1802)," in *Contributi alla storia della chiesa padovana nell'età moderna e contemporanea*, ed. Angelo Gambasin (Padua: Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, 1984); Ivana Pastori Bassetto, "La coltivazione e il commercio della canapa nella Repubblica Veneta," *Archivio veneto* ser. 5 141 (1993).

² According to a drawing in the Archivio Pisani, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, such a barrier (*sbarra*) existed in the 1740s. Given that this was Montagnana's most important entrance, customs activity likely took place there in earlier centuries as well.

³ Giangiorgio Zorzi, *Le opere pubbliche e i palazzi privati di Andrea Palladio* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1965), 219. Cf. Fritz Burger, *Die Villen des Andrea Palladio: ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Renaissance-Architektur* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1909), 98n2.

Villa Pisani had controlled an agricultural estate.⁴ Other scholars have since settled for calling it a 'villa-palace,' which better captures the building's typological ambiguity.⁵ My research assumes this ambiguity to have been a conscious choice and instead asks how its ambiguous, or hybrid, form reflected not only the site but also the functional requirements of the patron.

James Ackerman applied an alternative label, 'villa suburbana,' to Villa Pisani.⁶ As we shall see, Villa Pisani does not conform to the usual definition of the villa suburbana as an *all'antica* pleasure retreat. Yet it is worth considering the relevance of the suburban idea for Villa Pisani. The term was not foreign to contemporary architectural discourse. In *De re aedificatoria* (c. 1450), Leon Battista Alberti had described the *hortus suburbanus*, or suburban garden. He defined it as a third type of private residence, which combined 'the dignity of a city house with the delights of a villa.'⁷ Applying Alberti's definition to Villa Pisani, we see that decorum and dignity required the closed, urbane character of the façade facing the busy Padua road. Healthy breezes and pleasant views -- villa delights -- could instead be enjoyed from the shady recesses of the rear loggias. Like Alberti's suburban garden, the Villa Pisani is a *both* a palace *and* a villa: it is a hybrid. Likewise, the Renaissance suburb came to be defined by its hybrid character.

The suburb, in the sixteenth century as today, depends on being both separate from yet accessible to the city. Villa Pisani was the administrative center of a large estate, but the Pisani holdings were scattered in bits and pieces across the territory of Montagnana, mainly to the north and east. Villa Pisani instead occupied a core of family property located outside the city walls in Borgo San Zeno. Francesco Pisani's father Giovanni had begun purchasing land in this zone early in the century. After his death, his wife Elena and Francesco continued to build up this core, which comprised an orchard and some agricultural appurtenances.⁸ Although he had long owned property throughout Borgo San Zeno, he began construction only once he had secured the expensive corner lot in December 1552. The chronology suggests that this site was a deliberate choice.⁹

Pisani wanted this spot, I argue, precisely for its prominence and its proximity to Montagnana.¹⁰ This situation recalls Alberti's suburban garden: 'A place close to a town, with clear roads and pleasant surroundings will be popular. A building here will be most attractive, if it presents a cheerful overall appearance to anyone leaving the city, as if to attract and expect visitors.'¹¹ In Alberti's view, the suburban building should visually engage the visitor to the nearby town: like a city gate, it mediates the experience of entering and leaving. In Palladio's woodcut illustration for Villa Pisani from the *Four Books*, the house is shown with wings that reiterate this theme. Two arches, which Palladio calls '*porte*' (gates or doors) in the text, link to lateral towers.¹² Their form, comprised of an arch flanked by pairs of columns, recalls Renaissance city-gates and ancient triumphal arches. Usually interpreted as a later elaboration of the existing design as Palladio prepared his treatise for publication, these unbuilt

⁴ Carolyn J. Kolb, "New evidence for Villa Pisani at Montagnana," in *Interpretazioni veneziane: studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. David Rosand (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1984).

⁵ Fernando Rigon, *Palladio* (Bologna: Capitol, 1980), 72; Antonio Canova, *Le ville del Palladio* (Treviso: Edizioni Canova, 1985), 128.

⁶ James S. Ackerman, *Palladio's Villas* (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin, [1967]), 58.

⁷ Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), 294 (Bk. 9, Ch. 2).

⁸ See Kolb, "New evidence," 236n14-15. Her archival discoveries of the 1970s have been amplified and, in some cases, revised by recent finds in the Archivio Pisani at the Biblioteca Correr.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 228. She argues that the site was attractive for its access to water from the Fiumicello, which flows under the western flank of the house [Fig. 2]. As she suggests, the site contradicts Palladio's recommendation to place a villa at the center of an estate. Cf. Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (Venice: Dominico de' Franceschi, 1570), Bk. 2, Ch. 12, 45.

¹⁰ As Kolb observes, the site does fulfill Palladio's recommendation to build near running water. An eighteenth-century diagram of Pisani property and accompanying documents in the Correr, however, indicate that even in the sixteenth century the land was bounded on the east and north by another canal, known as the Fossetta della Bastia, proving that he was not constrained to build over the Fiumicello, presumably a much more expensive option.

¹¹ Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 295.

¹² Palladio, *Quattro Libri*, Bk. 2, Ch. 14, 52.

wings may instead have been sanctioned by Pisani himself, as new archival evidence suggests.¹³ Even without the wings, however, Villa Pisani, on its prominent corner site, was intended to be seen both in conjunction with and in contrast to the crenellated brick structure of the medieval Castel San Zeno.

This bastion and gate guarded the most important entrance into Montagnana. It also had unmistakably Venetian associations, for it housed the offices of Venetian officials sent to oversee the hemp industry.¹⁴ The conversion from a defensive to an administrative use demonstrates the changed role of city walls in the Renaissance, when innovations in military technology had rendered medieval fortifications ineffective against gunpowder artillery. In 1548, four years before Villa Pisani was begun, the Venetian officials lodged in Castel San Zeno sought to fill in the surrounding moat in order to create a garden.¹⁵ The town blocked the proposal, but it marks a significant shift in the conception of the city limits. The medieval city was both encapsulated and emblemized by its circuit of defensive walls. The *borgo*, outside the walls, housed ecclesiastical institutions and often dangerous or unpleasant industrial functions like lime kilns.¹⁶ The Renaissance instead saw the partial conversion of this suburban space for elite residences and gardens. The officials' proposal highlights the new, non-defensive functions of city walls and bastions, but it also indicates a Venetian desire to claim and renovate Borgo San Zeno. Indeed, local historians have dubbed it the '*borgo veneziano*.'¹⁷ By the end of the sixteenth century, this zone was dominated on the north side by Pisani property, which had its own garden. On the south lay the estate of another Venetian family, the Mocenigo, who erected an elegant loggia on the Padua road.

We can thus identify a process of 'suburbanization' carried out by the Venetians in Montagnana's eastern periphery. This *borgo veneziano* was defined by a commingling of rural and urban architectural forms. The deeds for Pisani's property indicate that this zone contained agricultural structures such as haylofts and threshing floors. But as one sixteenth-century map shows, the Padua road was lined on one side by arcaded porticoes, identical to those flanking the road after it enters the city walls.¹⁸ The Mocenigo loggia, which had not been constructed at the time this map was made, responds visually to the arcades across the street. Such porticoes were a common feature of larger Veneto cities such as Padua.¹⁹

Montagnana may have been smaller than Padua, but it had urban pretensions. As Leandro Alberti put it in 1550, 'the most noble *Castello* of Montagnana...seems rather a city than a *castello* because of the civility and richness of its people.'²⁰ He might equally have referred to the richness of its buildings, such as the duomo of Santa Maria Assunta, which dominates the town's spacious central piazza. Francesco Pisani took a special interest in this church. He sponsored Paolo Veronese's *Transfiguration* of 1555 for its high altarpiece, as well as Palladio's later, ultimately unexecuted designs for its choir.²¹ His

¹³ My recent archival finds in the Biblioteca Correr, which describe Pisani's purchase of plots across the public road from Villa Pisani (along the edge of the moat), seem to support Kolb's controversial claim that Palladio could have designed the wings for Pisani. Establishing the chronology of the design is part of my ongoing research. Cf. Kolb, "New evidence," 228.

¹⁴ Stores of macerated hemp were held in the cellars of Castel San Zeno before transport to the Arsenal, Venice's shipyards, where the ropes were manufactured.

¹⁵ Antonio Giacomelli, *Montagnana mura e castelli* (Vicenza: G. Stocchiero, 1956; reprint, 1993), 78.

¹⁶ For the Italian usage of the German-derived term *borgo*, see Aldo A. Settia, "Da villaggio a città: lo sviluppo dei centri minori nell'Italia del Nord," in *Città murate del Veneto*, ed. Sante Bortolami (Venice: Silvana; Giunta regionale del Veneto, 1988), 24.

¹⁷ Antonio Draghi and Sergio Mian, *Montagnana: centro storico e territorio* (Montagnana: Amministrazione Comunale di Montagnana, 1983), no. 15.

¹⁸ See Luca Zappati's *Map of the Territory of Montagnana*, dated 1566-75, in the Museo Civico di Montagnana.

¹⁹ Palladio himself notes such porticoes as characteristic of Padua's urbanism. Palladio, *Quattro Libri*, Bk. 3, Ch. 2, 8.

²⁰ '[I] nobilissimo Castello di Montagnana, molto habitato da civile popolo per cotal maniera, che più tosto pare una Città che Castello, atte[n]de[n]do alla civiltà & ricchezza di quello....' Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Bologna: Anselmo Giaccarelli, 1550), 420r. On the terminology for cities and urban areas and Alberti's treatment of Montagnana, see Marco Folini, "Sui criteri di classificazione degli insediamenti urbani nell'Italia centro-settentrionale, secoli XIV-XVIII," *Storia urbana* 24, no. 92 (July-Sept. 2000): 13.

²¹ For the documents associated with these two commissions, see Don Bruno Cogo and Piero Dal Pra, *I tesori del Duomo: oggetti di culto, arredi sacri, paramenti, antichi documenti del Duomo di Santa Maria Assunta* (Urbana: Corradin, 2002), 70-76. For the choir, see also Giangiorgio Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti di Andrea Palladio* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1967), 77-84.

investment in the *terraferma* was thus not limited to agricultural output but included the urban center that lay beyond his doorstep.

Pisani's cultural patronage was focused on Montagnana, and so was his real estate portfolio.²² According to his 1566 tax declaration, he owned virtually no property in his native city.²³ Instead he rented a house during his sojourns in Venice: documents show that he moved every few years.²⁴ It was not uncommon for Venetian nobles to rent,²⁵ yet, although Pisani was quite wealthy and had no surviving brothers with whom he had to divide his estate, he still did not invest in Venetian property.

His income sources confirm this strong orientation to the *terraferma*. He earned his wealth from his agricultural estate, which was both rented and sharecropped to local farmers. He was also paid interest as a creditor for numerous loans, some of which were notarized in Villa Pisani's entrance hall.²⁶ The villa thus functioned as much as an office as the administrative base for his farming activities. As Francesco's primary residence, Villa Pisani, moreover, embodied the public face of this noble family: it had to communicate the 'dignity of the city house' referred to by Alberti. With its prominent coat of arms and *all'antica* Doric frieze, it carried the burden of self-expression traditionally born by the urban palace.²⁷

Drawing on a trope in ancient Roman literature, Renaissance writers associated the city with business affairs -- *negotium* or *negozio* -- and the country with cultivated leisure -- *otium* or *ozio* -- only possible upon retreat from urban life.²⁸ Villa Pisani served as a place of *negotium*, where Pisani conducted business with tenants and debtors, but it was also a locus of *otium*. Here he hosted artists whose work he patronized, including Palladio, Paolo Veronese, the sculptor Alessandro Vittoria, and the poet-painter Giambattista Maganza. They might have gathered in the upper *salone* of the palace, above the semi-public hall where Pisani conducted daily business. In a poem written after Pisani's death in 1567, Maganza vividly invoked Pisani's palace in the last stanza:

Now that you, Pisani, are dead, it seems to me
That even the stones of your palace are weeping.
The palace at Montagnana, which was
a Paradise of amusement, *virtù*, and repose.²⁹

In Villa Pisani, the dualities of *otium* and *negotium* were two sides of the same coin.³⁰ Its hybrid form reflects not only its location

²² Cf. Claudia Terribile, "La 'Famiglia di Dario' di Paolo Veronese: la committenza, il contesto, la storia," *Venezia Cinquecento* 15, no. 29 (2005): 77.

²³ Other than part of a bakery in S. Simeon Grande, which brought him eight ducats a year. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Dieci Savi alle Decime, b. 131/1035, 1566 tax declaration.

²⁴ Recent archival finds in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and the Biblioteca Correr indicate that he lived in a *casa da statio* belonging to the Mocenigo family at Santa Margherita in the mid-1550s and in the Palazzo Falier at S. Samuele (now S. Vidal), on the Grand Canal, between early 1558 and 1563. See also Terribile, "La 'Famiglia di Dario,'" 95n38.

²⁵ Laura Megna, "Comportamenti abitativi del patriziato veneziano (1582-1740)," *Studi veneziani* n.s. 22 (1991): 272-302; Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 195-200.

²⁶ Zorzi, *Le opere pubbliche*, 220n11-12. For his sources of income, see the 1566 tax declaration cited above, n. 23.

²⁷ Cf. Terribile, "La 'Famiglia di Dario,'" 77.

²⁸ Palladio evocatively described the ancient practice of *otium* in Book II of his treatise. '[M]en of the ancient world made a habit of withdrawing frequently to [their country estates], where, visited by brilliant friends and relatives, they could easily pursue that good life...since they had lodgings, gardens, fountains, and similar soothing locales, and above all their own *virtù*.' Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books on Architecture*, trans. Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1997), 121 (Bk. 2, Ch. 12, 45).

²⁹ 'Dasche Pisan tiè murto el m'è deviso, / Che'l pianza inchin le pri de'l to pallazo / Da Montagnana, ch'iera de solazzo, / E de virtù, e de rieque un Paraiso.' Giovan Battista Maganza, *La Prima [-Terza] parte de le Rime di Magagnò, Menon e Begotto in lingua rustica padovana* (Venice: Gregorio Donato, 1584), Pt. 3, H2r-H2v.

³⁰ This is reinforced by Palladio's statement in the *Four Books* that in the *casa di villa* 'principalmente consiste, il negotio famigliare, e privato.' He thus uses *negotio* to refer to private, family 'business.' Palladio, *Quattro Libri*, Bk. 2, Ch. 12, 45.

between city and country but also its unification of leisure and business, familial privacy and public self-representation. It marks an important example of the emergence of the suburb as both a social concept and a physical space with specific design requirements and possibilities.³¹ The Renaissance suburb encompassed and sometimes even reconciled apparent polarities such as private and public, ancient and modern, leisure and business, urban and rural. Eschewing the 'either/or,' it embraced what Robert Venturi called the 'both/and' of complexity and contradiction.³²

³¹ The expanded version of this paper presented at the conference includes a brief discussion of Palazzo Trevisan on Venice's island suburb of Murano, built c. 1555. Palazzo Trevisan displays a similar hybrid form, with a canal front like a Venetian palace and a rear loggia overlooking a garden and grotto. Unlike Villa Pisani, however, it was used for brief visits for its patron, the lawyer Camillo Trevisan, also had a palace in Venice. On Palazzo Trevisan, see, among others, G.M. Urbani de Gheltof, *Il palazzo di Camillo Trevisan a Murano* (Venice: Ferdinando Ongania, 1890); Elena Bassi, *Palazzi di Venezia: Admiranda Urbis Venetae* (Venice: 1976), 528-43; Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, "Su palazzo Trevisan a Murano e un camino di Alessandro Vittoria a Caldogno," *Arte veneta* 53 (1998).

³² Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 23.



Fig.: 1 Andrea Palladio, *Villa Pisani at Montagnana*, street façade, 1553-55.



Fig. 2: Andrea Palladio, *Villa Pisani, Montagnana*, garden façade, 1553-55.

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Townscapes, Tradition and the New English Suburb

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*The suburbs examined in this paper are not located on the boundaries between city and countryside, the urban and the rural, but within the heart of the country itself. The planning of post-war England, since 1945, saw the legislated separation of rural England and urban England, of tradition and modernity; and to each an appropriate architecture: traditionalism and Modernism. Rural England is not only the agricultural landscape of field and farm but the county network of market towns and villages. It is the homeplace of Englishness and is positioned against the modern universal megalopolis. The efforts of English county planners from the 1970s to contain modernity within industrial conurbations, to curb the perceived contamination of the countryside by Modernism and to maintain Englishness through the aesthetic control of suburban development within the country is a history not of place-making but of place maintaining. The rise of the neo-traditional development to its eventual dominance of late twentieth-century English market-town suburbia is traced through three texts: *Town and Country Planning*; *The Containment of Urban England*; and *Townscape*.*

But first, *The Guardians*. *The Guardians* by John Christopher (1970) is a story about two teenage boys, Rob and Mike, who live in two different, opposing worlds – the Conurbs and the County - separated by the Barrier – a physical, and mental, boundary fence. The story is about Rob's escape from the Conurb:

...He went on, his back to the glow of light which was the Conurb...The glow stretched in a band across the southern horizon, made up millions of lumoglobes, neon signs, electrocar headlights, display illuminations. It would diminish as the night wore on, but it would never completely die. There was always light in the Conurb.¹

Rob wondered how far he was from the Barrier: and in that instant he saw it...A steel fence about twelve feet high...Bit by bit he dug earth away until there was a gap he thought he could wriggle through...He stood up shakily. He was in the County...He was dazzled by the sunlight and had difficulty taking in the landscape before him. It went down in a gentle fall and was not wild but patterned with fields and hedges. To the left a cart-track led in the distance to a lane...²

Rob's escape from the Conurb challenged clearly defined physical and cultural boundaries between the Conurbs and the County. Having crossed the Barrier, he was soon to discover that as a Conurban he was an alien in the deeply conservative and traditional County and would have to learn to fit in:

The gentry lived in the County. There were others, the Commuters, who worked in the Conurbs but had their homes in the County. Some went back nightly by private copter, others at week-ends...The Commuters regard themselves as gentry and look forward to the time when they can retire to the County and not have to go back to the Conurbs. There are two worlds, with a barrier between them. The barrier may not be strong in the physical sense but in people's minds it is enormous.³

Written in 1970, the novel depicts a near-future England defined by the complete physical separation of Tradition and Modernity. The dichotomy is not a straightforward divide between urban and rural but between the industrial megalopolis and the geographic and cultural space of the 'county-side'. The Conurbs are the centre of modernity, rationality and technological

¹ John Christopher, *The Guardians* (Hamish Hamilton, London), 1970, 43.

² *The Guardians*, 56.

³ *The Guardians*, 103.

progress: industrial, electric, fast and violent. The Conurbs are a universal, urban megalopolis, portrayed as a concrete, high-rise, point-block place dominated by a violent urban working class. In contrast, the County is an artificial rural world modelled on a mythical pre-industrial England. The County is not wild nature but a cultivated place articulated by a cultural network and socio-economic infrastructure of market towns, villages, hamlets, estates, farms, fields, woods, lanes and roads. It is concerned with tradition, custom, memory, dwelling and identity; it is the homeplace of Englishness.

Like Rob's new friend Mike, County people are generally prejudiced against the Conurbs and Conurbans:

Like everyone else in the County he [Mike] knew little about the Conurb: enough to be contemptuous of it. It was the place of the mob, where everyone ate processed foods and liked them, where there were riots and civil disturbances, where no one knew how to behave properly, how to dress or exchange courtesies, how to speak English even. It was the place one knew existed and, apart from thanking God one did not have to live there, preferred to forget.⁴

John Christopher's England emerges as an unstable socio-political balancing act of two opposing worlds. The two worlds are only able to co-exist through closely controlled separation. It is a class-informed, apartheid model of national planning.

To post-modern thinking, modernity and tradition are fused in a set of complex interrelationships characterized by ambiguity and fluidity, a world of multiple modernities characterized by hybridity and interdependence within which tradition is an active process; what Ananda Roy has described as the 'corrupting impact of history upon modernity'.⁵ Tradition is more often understood not in terms of opposition but as a creative, adaptive and reflective process within modernity.⁶ The divided England of *The Guardians* mirrored the prevalent twentieth century conception of modernity and tradition as two forces in opposition: 'modernity is usually in conflict with tradition, promoting the idea to change old ideas, concepts, culture and architecture.'⁷ As George Simmel anticipated, modernity and the metropolis were to rise 'against the weight of historic heritage'⁸.

In England, however, the ascendancy of modernity over tradition was not so clear. While the post-war project of constructing Modern Britain was initiated, tradition, especially rural tradition, also remained as a central component of national identity and national politics; The cultural theorist Peter J Taylor suggests that this immutable link to the countryside was/is largely class-informed:

The English do not have a 'homeland' as such rather they have the Home Counties...Englishness has never been a typical form of national identity because it has been intrinsically linked to class divisions...and there is a presumption that everything that is good about England is rural.⁹

Whatever the case, rural nostalgia as a cultural condition was not uncommon across post-war Europe where discussions of place, identity, territories (of the soil) and boundaries were traced through Heidegger and the idea of the domus: 'it is not in the cities but in the countryside where one is most in touch with nature and tradition'.¹⁰ What is significant is that in England the post-war rationale for reconciling these two opposing cultural forces was separation and containment. The containment of the English megalopolis was effectively achieved through the radical planning measures implemented under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947. However, by the 1960s a disturbance was observed in the 'county-side': 'the Barrier' had been breached.

⁴ The Guardians, 96.

⁵ Ananda Roy, 'Traditions of the Modern', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 12:2, 2001.

⁶ Dell Upton 'The Tradition of Change', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 5(1), 1993, 149 – 165; Simon Bronner, 'Building Tradition: control and authority in vernacular architecture', in Lindsay Asquith and Marcel Vellinga (eds.), *Vernacular Architecture in the Twenty-First Century – Theory, education and practice*. (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 23 – 45.

⁷ Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity*, MIT Press, 1999.

⁸ George Simmel, *Metropolis and Mental Life*, 1903.

⁹ Peter J Taylor, 'Which Britain? Which England? Which North?', in *British Cultural Studies*, 134.

¹⁰ Martin Heidegger, *Buidling, Dwelling, Thinking*, in *Re-Thinking Architecture*, Neil Leach (ed), p.89.

Modernist suburban developments on the edge of traditional market towns and villages had proliferated. In response to this contamination of the country-side, from the early 1970s design guides were introduced by county councils to impose aesthetic control and maintain the 'character' of valued 'townscapes'. The regulatory system of scenographic, vernacular-inspired building design and planning introduced by design guides created a new, county architecture that would dominate the late twentieth century: the neo-traditional suburb.

Town and Country Planning

The Guardians took only a small step into science fiction. It is a satire of post-war England, English society and planning; the physical and mental division of England into the Conurb and the County underpinned post-war planning. The roots of this separation can be found in planner Patrick Abercrombie's *Town and Country Planning*, 1933. Abercrombie's vision of two Englands rejected the low-density urban model of the Garden City that dominated inter-war planning discourse.¹¹

There should be no attempt at a fusion or confusion of the two: town should be town, and country country; urban and rural can never be interchangeable adjectives. If this fundamental polarity is grasped there should be no danger.¹²

Abercrombie was Secretary to the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and described urban expansion into the countryside as 'contamination' of the homeplace of Englishness:

The English countryside is...a well-cultivated matron...It is in no sense a piece of national boasting to say that that this cultivated country is the most beautiful in the world – and still remains so where it has not been damaged by recent assaults.¹³

Abercrombie was writing in the inter-war period of the 1930s. After the horror and social upheaval of the First World War many writers shared Abercrombie's upper-class nostalgia for rural England and Englishness. H.V. Morton's *In Search of England*, 1927, developed a notion of Englishness based on nostalgic rural archetypes: the English village, the English pub, the English cottage. Morton argued that 'searching for England has become a national movement.'¹⁴ Similarly, Sir John Betjeman's BBC Home Service broadcasts through the 1930s and 1940s epitomised this national mood:

I realise more strongly than ever today, how exquisitely beautiful are the villages and old towns of England...But this is so easily destroyed...Planning is very much in the English air now. Let the planners be careful. It would not be worth our being away from England if we had come back to find our village transformed into single blocks of flats towering out of unfenced fields.¹⁵

The cause of urban containment and rural preservation was furthered by two wartime developments: the Scott Committee and the establishment of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. The Scott Committee, 1942, reported on uncontrolled development in the countryside. The committee recommended the introduction of green belts and compulsory purchase to establish a system of national parks to resist the spread of towns.¹⁶ The Ministry of Town and Country Planning was established in 1943 as the central government department responsible for the implementation of a new, national, post-war planning policy. As Betjeman wrote: 'perhaps we shall be allowed to live in the sort of England recommended by the Scott report where country shall still be country and town shall be town'.¹⁷ John Punter has argued that for the rural lobby 'what was ultimately at stake can be clearly identified - mass enjoyment of suburbia, exurbia and the countryside threatened the privileged enjoyment of those fortunate enough already to be in possession of such positional goods.'¹⁸ What was unusual about *Town and Country Planning*

¹¹ Patrick Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning* (Thornton Butterworth, London), 1933.

¹² *Town and Country Planning*, 177.

¹³ *Town and Country Planning*, 177.

¹⁴ H. V. Morton, *In Search of England* (London), 1927; David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London, 1998), p. 64.

¹⁵ John Betjeman, *Coming Home, On England Revisited*, 1943, in Stephen Games (ed), *Trains and Buttered Toast: John Betjeman* (John Murray, London), 2007, 138.

¹⁶ Parliamentary Committee on Land Utilization in Rural Areas chaired by Sir Leslie Scott, 1942.

¹⁷ *Coming Home, On England Revisited*, 139.

¹⁸ John Punter, *A History of Aesthetic Control: Part 1, 1900-1953*, *Town Planning Review*, 58 (1), 1986, 389.

is that unlike the clear rural or urban, tradition or modernity, partisanship of most writers and campaigners, whether Simmel or Betjeman, Abercrombie was an active promoter of both the modern city and traditional rural England. Under Abercrombie containment would delineate the boundaries of two legitimate English realms.

The Containment of Urban England

In *The Containment of Urban England*, 1973, Peter Hall argued that the post-war division of England into two worlds - urban and rural - had been successfully achieved:

Megalopolis England [is] a super-urban agglomeration of 63 metropolitan areas. 90 per cent of the metropolitan population of England and Wales is concentrated in these zones...Here then is prima facie evidence of the existence of an English Megalopoli.¹⁹

The *Town and Country Planning Act* (1947) put Abercrombie's plans into action with the establishment of the first national parks and by granting local planning authorities powers to refuse 'any plans for the erection, extension or alteration of any buildings with respect to the design or external appearance'.²⁰ Urban planning phenomenon measures such as ring roads and bypasses were also consequences of the Act. The modern city centre was to be zoned for civic functions, business and shopping and the people moved out to the city suburbs (accessed via new roads). Green belts were proposed to stop the spread of the new city suburbs into the countryside (city suburbs, not county town suburbs):

'to all intents and purposes the system of control of external appearance current today had been established'.²¹

Containment was not universally accepted by sociologists, architects and planners with the satellite New Towns of the late 1960s (e.g. Hemel Hempstead, Milton Keynes, Telford) eventually emerging out of the Regional City and Garden City models of the 1930s. In the 1980s Jean-Francois Lyotard and Neil Leach argued that the rural village was a myth and that there was 'no room for the domus in the modern city' but it was Peter Hall and Paul Barker in the mid 1960s who rejected the sanctity of the English domus and introduced the concept of Non-Plan²². Non-Plan, first aired in the radical magazine *New Society* and influenced by anthropologist Herbert Gans' *The Levittowners*, was an early articulation of everyday aesthetics and the study of cultural production.²³ Paul Barker explains:

Our idea was to take various tracts of countryside and hypothesize what might happen if they were subjected to Non-Plan. Naturally we chose the rural tracts whose apparent despoliation was guaranteed to cause most offence.'²⁴

However, in *The Containment of Urban England* Peter Hall conceded that containment had triumphed:

Green belts around the conurbations and larger free-standing cities have stopped their further peripheral...The cities and conurbations responded by public housing schemes inside their own boundaries, at high densities with a high proportion of high

¹⁹ Peter Hall, *The Containment of Urban England*, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 140, No. 3 (Oct., 1974), 396.

²⁰ 1948 General Development Order cited in *A History of Aesthetic Control: Part 1*, 373.

²¹ *A History of Aesthetic Control: Part 1*, 376.

²² Jean-Francois Lyotard, *Domus and the Megalopolis* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1988), cited in Neil Leach, *Darkside of the Domus*, in *What is Architecture?*, Andrew Ballantyne (ed), Routledge, 2002.

²³ Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*, Allen Lane, Penguin Press, London, 1967. Extracts published in *New Society* as 'An anatomy of suburbia', vol. 10, no. 261, 28 September 1967.

²⁴ Paul Barker, *Non-Plan Revisited: Or the Real Way Cities Grow: The Tenth Reyner Banham Memorial Lecture*, *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1999), pp. 95-110.

rise dwellings...Containment is a success for British post-war planning in terms of its own objectives... [particularly] for those who succeed in buying their way into rural towns and villages.²⁵

In the cities, the national project was the post-war reconstruction of bombed-out places such as Cardiff, Sheffield, Southampton and Plymouth. These were to be rebuilt as modern, and Modernist, cities of the future. The city was to be the place of modernity, rationality and technological progress. As imagined by Kenneth Browne in Colin Buchanan's *Traffic in Towns*, 1963, the modern English city would be a vertical, concrete place of point-blocks, raised decks and pedestrian ways - as partially executed in city centres such as Newcastle and Dundee. Appropriately rational, technical criteria dominated city planning guidelines under the anonymous 1947 *Advisory Handbook on the Redevelopment of Central Areas* (Modernist architects Charles Holden and William Holford were advisors). 'The *Handbook* became the pattern book for post-war urban reconstruction, introducing: floorspace indices, daylight regulations and an emphasis upon ventilation, open space and car parking...The *Handbook* had a profound effect upon the townscape of post-war Britain, in particular upon London and the blitzed provincial cities.'²⁶ As the architect of dual England, Abercrombie was as active in the development of post-war cities as he was in the defence of the countryside. While closely involved with the CPRE in the 1930s and 40s he also produced city plans for post-war reconstruction. For example, Abercrombie's *A Plan for Plymouth*, published in 1944, is the most complete example of an Abercrombie city plan carried out post-war.²⁷

While Modern, urban England was under construction rural, traditional England had to be preserved and maintained. The English countryside continued to be revered in government literature such as the 1953 Ministry of Housing and Local Government's *Design in Town and Village*:

The English village is among the pleasantest and most warmly human places that men have ever built to live in. And certainly it has a physical characteristic and appearance that is strongly its own. ²⁸

John Punter argues that 'urban containment policies, particularly in the 1950s, represented a physical victory by the rural counties over what were regarded as the expansionist designs of the urban authorities'²⁹ While urban expansion was curbed, the preservation of the built environment within the country-side was further aided by the Civic Amenities Act (1967) which saw the introduction of Conservation Areas and the first County Conservation Officers.³⁰

Townscape

The spread of the megalopolis had been contained; however, there was a disturbance deep within the 'county-side'. By the 1960s it was becoming clear to a range of interest groups within the CPRE – local architects, planners, councillors, rambles - that traditional county towns and villages were being 'contaminated', to use Abercrombie's term, by Modernist suburban developments. The architecture under attack was the Anglo-Scandinavian Modernism, typical of post-war suburban developments, which emphasised the use of traditional materials such as brick, tiles and timber cladding. However, when combined with restrictive highways regulations even 'soft' Modernism was too much for county sensibilities. The principal concern was that the inappropriate planning and universal genericism of these 'anywhere housing' developments damaged local character.³¹

²⁵ Peter Hall, 'The Containment of Urban England', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 140, No. 3 (Oct., 1974), 405.

²⁶ *A History of Aesthetic Control: Part 1*, 372.

²⁷ Abercrombie, P and Paton Watson, *J A Plan for Plymouth*. Plymouth: Underhill 1943; Jeremy Gould, *Plymouth: vision of a modern city* (English Heritage, 2010), p 33.

²⁸ Thomas Sharp, 'The English Village', in *Design in Town and Village*, Ministry of Housing and Local Government (London: HMSO, 1953), 26.

²⁹ *A History of Aesthetic Control: Part 1*, 376.

³⁰ A Private Member's Bill introduced by Duncan Sandys. John Punter, *A History of Aesthetic Control: Part 2, 1953-1985*, *Town Planning Review*, 58 (1), 1987, 42.

³¹ John O'Leary, 'Town Planning and Housing Development', in *Housing: The Essential Foundations*, ed. Paul Bachin and Maureen Rhoden), 133-35 (London: Routledge, 1998).

The 'breakthrough' by county planners was the introduction of the design guide. Design guides were introduced, produced and enforced by county councils in the early 1970s to ensure that suburban developments within the 'county-side' maintained the 'character' of the historic towns and villages to which they were adjoined. Design guides were/are concerned with county identity and the visual maintenance of context, i.e. the regional, historic, built environment and are not concerned with suburban development within and around major cities, which have their own local government and planning authorities. Although, a persistent criticism of such guides by supporters of regionalism is that in practice they do not reflect the vernacular differences of different counties. The primary aim of design guides is to visually incorporate suburban development into historic towns rather than create new rural places. Typical terms used in design guides are: character, sympathetic, appropriateness. The intention is place maintaining not place-making; the suburb is subservient to the historic town.

The first design guide was the influential *A Design Guide for Residential Areas* produced by Essex County Council in 1973. On publication the Essex Design Guide was heralded as 'a breakthrough' in the *Architectural Review*, while the *Architect's Journal* described the guide as, 'as significant as Le Corbusier's *Vers Une Architecture*'.³² As Lydia Robinson reported in the *Architects' Journal*: 'The purpose of the design guide is to trap the largest housing schemes, both public and private...It was conceived as a major attack on mass housing schemes with a significant environmental impact on the character of an area.'³³

The principal author of the Essex Design Guide was the architect Melville Dunbar. In 1968 Dunbar was one of the first conservation officers appointed by Essex County Council following the Civic Amenities Act (1967). As a conservation officer Dunbar was concerned at how new 'dreary' suburban developments in the South East did not relate to the 'palate' of 'historic towns and villages' upon which they bordered, 'palate' suggesting a wholly visual aesthetic concern.³⁴ The goal of scenographic place maintenance was to be achieved through 'townscape'. Dunbar was 'very influenced' by Gordon Cullen and the idea of townscape developed in the *Architectural Review* through the 1950s and 60s.³⁵ In 1955 the *Architectural Review* published *Outrage*, illustrated by Gordon Cullen. *Outrage* criticized the post-war suburbs and introduced the idea of townscape, which Cullen would develop through to the publication of *Townscape* in 1961. The central tenet of townscape was the promotion of visual variety in the built environment through irregularity, asymmetry and contrast, a similar interest in the picturesque as a contemporary aesthetic to that explored by Pevsner's 1956 *Englishness of English Art*.³⁶ Cullen was concerned with townscape as an art form, the 'art of relationships' and an emphasis on the 'faculty of sight'. The polemic of townscape was particularly targeted against commercial suburban developments and the American 'prairie planning' model: straight streets of repeated lots, regular rows of houses set back from the street.³⁷ Cullen cites two twentieth century vernacular-revival developments as good examples of townscaping: the Well Hall Estate, Eltham, London, by Frank Baines, 1915, and Redgrave Road, Basildon New Town, by Noel Tweddell, 1953.³⁸ However, *Townscape* was not primarily concerned with the maintenance of English places. For Cullen, townscape was a reinterpretation of the picturesque and, although he took his examples from valued historic precedents, his concerns were with the creation of new and modern places.

The Essex design guide translated the pictures and ideas of *Townscape* into the working 'standards, mechanics and criteria of local government - producing townscape.'³⁹ While Cullen's concerns were aesthetic, the Essex guide used townscape to promote an anti-modern county agenda. The guide distinguished between planning (density and lay out) and styling (regional

³² David Crawford, Straitjacket: a discussion with Melville Dunbar, principal planning officer, Essex County Council, *Architectural Review*, vol. CLIV (920), October 1973, 228 – 236; Lydia Robinson, Essex Design Guide a First Time Report, *Architects' Journal*, 22 September 1976, 2.

³³ Lydia Robinson, Essex Design Guide a First Time Report, *Architects' Journal*, 22 September 1976, 2.

³⁴ Pers. Comm. Interview with Melville Dunbar, January 2010.

³⁵ Dunbar was a friend of Gordon Cullen, Kenneth Browne and *Architectural Review* owner Hastings de Cronig Hostings; they all used to drink at the Bride of Denmark pub, Queen Anne's Gate, London (the basement of the Architectural Press offices).

³⁶ Nicolaus Pevsner, The Englishness of English Art/ Pevsner's advocacy of the picturesque was criticised/mockd by Reyner Banham in 'The Embalmed City', *New Statesman*, April 12, 1963, 529, republished in Nigel Whiteley, ed., *Reyner Banham: historian of the immediate future* (London: Centennial Books, 2002), 30-80.

³⁷ Gordon Cullen, *Townscape* (Architectural Press, 1961), 134.

³⁸ Gordon Cullen, *Townscape*, 164.

³⁹ Pers. Comm. Interview with Melville Dunbar, January 2010.

vernacular), both fulfilling different roles within a townscape. A primary concern of the Essex guide was the arrangement of outdoor space: housing density, road widths, junctions, turning radii, site lines, and street-lighting distance. Under the guide, houses were brought closer together and forward to the street-line to reduce open space - avoiding prairie-style front lawns and SLOAP (space leftover after planning). Most of the guide concentrated on ways of achieving townscape, however, a small section covered the design of individual houses – ‘form, fenestration and materials’, which in Essex meant gabled roofs, brick and timber boarding.⁴⁰ Like its successors, the Essex guide emphasised that new architecture should be of an appropriate location, scale, design and materials. Not surprisingly, many architects protested against the enforced historicism introduced by design guides, *The Architects’ Journal* reported:

Predictably what galls many architects is the threat it poses to an architect’s freedom, particularly to produce alternative, and presumably as good, design solutions...And many architects feel that if the whole countryside is covered in ‘mock medieval’ housing, it would be just as much as a disaster as the barren prairie estate. ‘It’s a passport to Noddyland’, comment some local architects.’⁴¹

The neo-traditional architecture produced under design guide regulations has continued to be criticised by regionalist architectural writers from Kenneth Frampton to Liane Lefaivre.⁴² For Juhani Pallasmaa, for example, neo-traditional developments ‘recreate a sense of place and rootedness in history through the application of historical and regional motifs...they usually fail because of the one-dimensional literal use of references and a manipulation of motifs on the surface level.’⁴³ This is a complete rejection of visual townscaping as a means to achieve meaningful cultural objectives. However, the tendency towards rural nostalgia and the revival of the forms and detailing of traditional architectures has been an English preoccupation since the growth of the first cities of the industrial revolution in the later eighteenth century. The peculiar characteristic of the twentieth century was the imposition of vernacular revival design through planning control.

The national impact of the Essex design guide cannot be understated. County design guides have proliferated and neo-traditionalism defined suburban development across provincial England through the 1980s and 1990s. Despite a commitment to unfettered private enterprise and reduced government control, the Conservative government of the 1980s maintained the planning infrastructure and supported design guides as they were compatible with the paternalist, patrician outlook of elements of the Conservative party and with the Thatcherite national identity-building agenda.⁴⁴ Centrist New Labour went further and in 2006 introduced the National Planning Policy (England) which states that all new housing must ‘compliment the neighbouring buildings and local area...enhance distinctive character, relate well to the surroundings and support a sense of local pride and civic identity.’⁴⁵ It is a policy that supports Nezar AlSayyad’s argument that ‘tradition’ is ‘invoked to preserve particularly national or regional agendas’.⁴⁶ Or, as Neal Leach argues, ‘what purports to be a sentimental evocation of traditional forms can be seen as part of a larger project of constructing and reinforcing a regional or national identity.’⁴⁷

Conclusion

The exponential growth of neo-traditional suburban developments in the late twentieth century was a result of the aesthetic control imposed by county design guides in order to maintain county townscape. Design guides were introduced in the 1970s to

⁴⁰ Lydia Robinson, *Essex Design Guide a First Time Report*, 14.

⁴¹ Lydia Robinson, *Essex Design Guide a First Time Report*, *Architects’ Journal*, 22 September 1976, 2.

⁴² Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzoni, *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World* (London: Prestell Publishing, 2003), 19.

⁴³ Juhani Pallasmaa, ‘Tradition and Modernity’, 129.

⁴⁴ John Punter, *A History of Aesthetic Control: Part 2, 1953-1985*, *Town Planning Review*, 58 (1), 1987, 50; Michael Parkinson, *The Thatcher Government’s Urban Policy, 1979-89*, *Town Planning Review*, 60 (4) 89, 421-30.

⁴⁵ *National Planning Policy Statement 3: Housing* (London: HMSO, 2006).

⁴⁶ Nezar AlSayyad, *The End of Tradition?* (2004).

⁴⁷ Neil Leach, ‘The Dark Side of the Domus’, in *What is Architecture?*, ed. Andrew Ballantyne (London: Routledge, 2004), 88 – 102.

stop the contamination of the 'county-side' with inappropriate Modern suburban development. Design guides must be understood in the context of a divided England in which the urban megalopolis is contained and the 'county-side' preserved as the homeplace of Englishness. Planning since the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act has worked to maintain these two Englands and implement Patrick Abercrombie's pre-war vision of an England of two equal parts where tradition and modernity flourished within their borders.

Popular Participation in the Brazilian Favelas: Art and Urbanism

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The favelas have been stigmatized as places that concentrate several problems: moral, social, health and legal. For a long time, the only imaginable intervention was their dismantling. However, after 1960, this makeshift production of the city became the object of renewed attention. A major revision started to reevaluate its culture, social relations and spatial conformation. We will discuss three cases: the art works of Hélio Oiticica; a proposal concerning the working conditions on building sites and an urban intervention in the slums of Diadema. The focus of analysis is the cultural and social change materialized in these proposals.

In order to understand that change, it is necessary to take into account the strong connection in Brazil between Modernism and the construction of the nation-state. The modernists saw as their task the invention of a Modern Brazilian Culture, which would be simultaneously modern and national. They wanted to update the arts and to establish a national identity.

But, in Brazil, it is the poor people who have a distinctive culture that could allow the invention of a national identity. This "popular culture" bears the scars of the previous social organization, which is precisely what must be overcome in the process of modernization. Besides that, this "popular culture" often underlies the common prejudice against the poor.

So, the modernist image of the Brazilian people should be created as a highly positive one. During the first half of last century, we observed in different moments the creation of contrasting sets of images. The first was a product of the "Semana de 22", a cultural event in São Paulo that inaugurated the Brazilian modernism. In the beginning of last century, this city has an enormous economic development that increased its population and modernized its social and cultural habits. But, this modernization led to the elite's identity crisis, and to a strengthening of the nationalist sentiment. The modernist artist was not alien to this identity crisis.

The Brazilian Modernism was strongly influenced by the School of Paris, which showed a lively interest in the "primitive" cultures. Living in Paris, Heitor Villa-Lobos introduced some popular rhythms from Brazil, creating a distinct musicality that synthesized both the desires for national sentiment and modernity. Immediately, other artists followed his path, blending modern and primitive themes.

Until that time, "primitive" references were not admitted as a subject matter. Although the early modernist production restrained itself to the aesthetic field, it helped bring to light the aspects of the reality that Brazilians considered shameful. The country's modernization reproduced archaic structures and elements. These structures were not secondary: although industrial workers and strikes were part of everyday life, the majority of population still lived in the countryside. The "archaic element" prevailed on the (authoritarian) institutions and on the (oppressive) political and social practices. Modern Art, free from old prejudices, opened paths for a deeper knowledge of the country: so, the modernists established an important link between culture and politics. The questions raised by Modernism had a wide effect beyond the artistic field.

The world crisis of 1929 led the modernist intelligentsia into unsuspected paths. In the 1930s a revolution started a comprehensive project designed to accelerate the national development ("nacional-desenvolvimentismo"). The modernist national identity became an ideological component of the country's modernization. The result was a profound change in the nature of that movement, once some of its more important artists and writers participated in the renewed State. Modernism, from now on, was validated by official seal.

The creation of a modern Brazil means the incorporation of most of the population into an urban and industrial economy. Seeing it as a way to promote this integration, the new government encouraged the invention and diffusion of highly positive images of the Brazilian people. Accordingly, the representation of the "primitive" aspects of popular culture was repressed. The new images privileged portraits of modern and exemplary workers, idealized aspects of popular life, culture and national history. The reference to the popular aimed the creation of a modern national identity and not the recognition of the specificity of the culture, values or needs of the majority of the population.

We have a paradigm in the project designed by Mário de Andrade for the Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico (Office of Historic Heritage): a complex cultural action that included the collection of elements of popular culture and art, their selection, reworked by an erudite artist and disseminated through State education.

During that period, a group of architects gained influence in the official cultural policy, which brought the confluence of the modern architecture and the project of national identity. Lúcio Costa was the key figure; he identified the modern and colonial Brazilian architecture: which, for him, displayed a similar rationality and preference for pure form. The architectural program defined by Costa became the main tendency for decades, from the Pampulha Park to Brasília. The Modern Brazilian Architecture, monumental and aimed to represent a modern nation, was based on a body of ideas about the construction the nation.

Modern Architecture could have played a decisive role in the incorporation of the urban poor through a social housing program; although some architects in the Social Security System started that task, the housing supply never met the increasing demand. On the other hand, the urban development in Brazil, based on the market, evading the rationality sponsored by the modern architecture, only promoted a crescent socio-spatial segregation. The favelas grew in number and changed into an array of illegal housing types, which occupy large areas, within and in the city boundaries. Nowadays, the urban scene includes not only the typical slum, but a huge illegal (but real) city that mingles with the official one. So, it is not a surprise that the favela became one of Brazil's typical representation.

The negative representations convert the favela into an autonomous entity with its own values, distinct from the society. In order to understand that representation, an accumulation process, we will only point some significant moments. Some authors start its history with a peasant rebellion (Canudos war) in the 1890s defeated by the Brazilian Army that led to the illegal occupation of a hill ("morro") in Rio de Janeiro by the returning soldiers. They renamed a hill "Morro da Favela", while building their shacks there; so, the word "Favela" came from a hill in Canudos. "Os Sertões" (1902), a famous book by Euclides da Cunha about this war, fought by the federal government against the poor people, helped to generate images that, taken seriously by Brazilian intellectuals, gave birth to negative understandings of the favelas. That view can be found in others early accounts: engineers and public health servants described the favelas as a "leprosy of aesthetics", claiming for its removal. During the twentieth century, these professionals proposed changes in the Brazilian cities which only promoted greater socio-spatial segregation. Until 1950, the prevailing opinion about the slums simply advised to continue their eviction.

In that decade, we observe new initiatives: the Dominican friar Lebrecht, supported by the Catholic Church, advised the preservation of all forms of illegal housing, as places of strong social links. The "Peace Corps" (from the Kennedy administration) studied the geography and the population of the slums and praised their potential for participation and

engagement. These pioneering initiatives were promoted by foreigners; perhaps their foreigner vision enabled them to escape from the pitfalls of the current prejudices.

But, after 1960, we observe different approaches to the problems of the illegal city. That change was due to the crisis of the "nacional-desenvolvimentismo". Some sectors of the Left proposed strategies of popular mobilization, which led to a new conception of the relationship between politics and culture. Another image of the "Brazilian people" emerged: the oppressed poor mobilization. A new relationship between the social classes was proposed, that included a greater acceptance of the popular culture on its own terms and a demand for a greater political participation of the population. From this moment on, the favelas were brought to the centre of the national political and cultural discussions. Those demands had direct repercussions on the cultural production.

The examples chosen for analysis - artistic proposals, reflections on the actual conditions of work in the building sites and urban interventions in slums – are the result of a context of resistance; they are based on elements from the national-popular project and on others, as a result from their criticism. It is important to stress how these proposals translated the practice of popular mobilization (essential in national-popular project) into the demand for a greater participation of the audience, the workers and the slum inhabitants.

In the art works of Hélio Oiticica in the 1960s, we observe the end of conventional modern art forms and of Modernism's strategy of interaction with the popular culture. Works such as "Parangolés" or "Penetráveis" (1964) were attuned to the neo-avant-garde experiments and to the urban popular culture.

The artistic formation of Oiticica occurred during the "Neoconcretismo" (1959 -1963), a major renewal movement in the visual arts. Oiticica started painting abstract canvas, soon abandoned in favour of experiments that launched the art work into three-dimensional space and required handling by the audience. The spectator's answer ("participação") becomes the structuring element of the work. His proposals aimed "the decentralization of the art and the proposition of creative experiences". (CATALOGUE. 2004 [1966], s/p)

The proposals incorporated elements such as time, touch or movement, thus converting the art work into an event in time. That deep restructuring of art practices allowed Oiticica to begin a renewed dialogue with popular culture. While his "Parangolés" established a strong dialogue with the practices of the world of samba, his "Penetráveis" incorporated the spatial forms present in the slums. Thus, Oiticica proposed an interaction between Modern Art and popular culture based on equal terms.

The "Parangolés", his best-known proposal, were a kind of cloth structures aimed to be dressed; they had all sorts of shapes and materials. Their goal was to induce the person dressing them to a new relationship with his own body, playing with movements and improvising rhythms. The "Parangolés" resulted from the happy convergence between his Neoconcretismo works and his experiences at the Morro da Mangueira. Surprisingly, Oiticica, a practitioner of fine arts, an Apollonian genre par excellence, had clear grounds to learn that kind of dance. Oiticica saw, in the Dionysian ecstasy of the Samba, a way to further his experiences. In this sense, the culture of samba appeared as a huge field to be explored.

This renewed interaction reappears in the "Penetrables", environments which recreate some of the slum's spatial characteristics, such as the strong colour, the interrelationship between internal and external space, body and environment. Poverty generates a very specific material culture, dominated by improvisation, reuse and multi-functionality of spaces and objects. The "Neoconcretismo"'s artistic experiments sharpened Oiticica's eyes for those qualities: for him, poverty could lead to creative forms of behaviour. Lygia Pape wrote:

No, nothing is more inventive, generated by that misery, than those cubes of space, which have reversibility of functions: they are bedroom at night, living room during the day, passage or kitchen, TV room, deposit or a small bar. No place is more colourfully rich than that cluster of boards, corrugated iron, pieces of wood, old stairs, with a red light shining inside.

The perception of the potential contained in these improvised objects opens another way to approach the "popular". Oiticica in "Fundamental basis for a definition of Parangolé" (1964):

In the architecture of the favela, there is an implicit character of Parangolé, because in the organic structure (...) of these buildings, there are no abrupt transitions from room to room or kitchen, but the essence that defines each party binds one to another in perfect continuity. (In JACQUES, 2003, p.35)

"Tropicália" (1967) was an environment in which the artist recreated the spaces of a typical "favela", mingled with images of stereotyped mass media and official Brazilian culture. The collision on different kinds of representation (of the industrial world and the popular) promoted by the work was interpreted as an allegory of Brazilian culture, torn between the "primitive" and the modern worlds.

The critical attitude appears explicitly in the banner-parangolé "Cara de Cavalo", dedicated to the memory of a burglar friend of Oiticica, murdered by the police after a short career of crime. In the banner, the words "Be marginal, be a hero" were written above the silhouette of the body left lying on the street.

Finally, it is worth to analyze the "Presentation of Parangolé", a performance of Oiticica. In an important exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in Rio de Janeiro ("Opinião 65"), his contribution was to attend the opening along with the "passistas" (dancers) of the School of Mangueira; they were dressed with Parangolés with inscriptions like "I'm possessed", "I'm hungry" or "Freedom". The direction of the museum prohibited the access: so, the artist and dancers moved into the free space on the ground floor of the building. Oiticica pursued the performance to make clear the difficulty of access to high-culture by the morro's inhabitants, thus showing the split between the vanguard and popular culture, even in an institution dedicated to Modern Art.

At the same time, working in São Paulo, the architects Sérgio Ferro and Rodrigo Lefèvre launched a proposal based on two findings: eighty percent of the houses on the outskirts were built without any professional participation; the other finding concerned the absence of rationality and the working force precarious conditions on the building sites. Thinking simultaneously about both findings, they prepared a whole program aiming to rationalize the building work and, simultaneously, to promote the political empowering of this working force, through the promotion of their "fundamental and massive participation".

Their critics of the Modern Brazilian Architecture stressed its participation in the State, which resulted in the reduction of the scope of the architect's action into the condition of a technician of the form. They realized it by observing the construction of the new Capital, Brasília, specially the construction of the cupolas of National Congress, where were present very difficult working conditions, highly hand-made, almost irrational:

"if we try to imagine a worker putting those irons, one beside the other, one inside the other, trying to tie one to another, picking up those bars of an inch, an inch and a half, trying to fit in other irons that were already assembled ... and after all the hardware installed, the builder has to bring the concrete up and start casting the concrete there, within that frame of iron, closed more than a cooking sieve, and having to play inside the concrete and hitting the concrete if you look at it thinking about the production process, how the worker will actually work to get to do that, you start thinking that maybe there is something deeply wrong in our architecture"(KOURY, 2003)

They focused their attention on the Brazilian Architecture's difficulties in adopting industrial processes. Through their research, they shed light on the distance existing between the architect's practices and the reality of the building sites. They criticized the importance given to the representation of the modern national identity, which led to the disregard for the real conditions of production and work. These disturbing findings led them to critical interpretations (like those by Andre Gorz) of the relations between class domination and work, the ties between modern design and capitalism and, in particular, to criticize the vision of an harmonious relationship between the technological processes and production. They criticized the idea of the neutrality of the Technology, relating it to forms of social power: its improvement would only lead to a greater social domination:

"The capitalist division of labour, with its separation between manual and intellectual work, between work execution and decision-making, between the production and management is both a domination and a production technique (...) Education and production, training and work were separated because the theory and knowledge were separated from the practice - and the workers, separated from the means of production of culture and society."

This, to conclude:

"This is why, in a revolutionary perspective, the unification of education and production, work and culture, is an essential requirement."(KOURY, 2003)

So, the architectural practice should change, becoming a "revolutionary" practice: the solution lays in deep changes in the workplace, such as sharing the decisions with the workers, thus allowing open discussions. That proposal meant a huge shift: the usual building processes used the most disqualified labour force; the building worker, more than simply being relegated to a passive role, was despised.

Believing the possibility of a new relationship, they foresaw that disqualified labour force as a future political agent. Ferro and Lefèvre's objectives were interlinked: accepting the usual building conditions (self-construction, low-industrialized building materials, etc), they adopted the clay brick because that building system was widely used by the poor people. That intention should have an appropriate architectural expression: "the best use of the material, cement, brick, which is the most elegant solution, in which they have to use less labour, less material, and do it as clean as possible (...) is you inevitably end in the dome (...) arches, hyperbolic paraboloid, (...) structures that are fundamentally correct". (FERRO, 2000) The choice of dome shape was not born from an abstract idea, such as a desire for lightness or a reference to the Brazilian landscape (as in the Pampulha Park), but resulted from the calculations and the best way of production.

Their proposal was to modernize the current building practice, avoiding as a paradigm the large industry model. They criticized the dominant notion of modernization, proposing another kind of social and economic development: it was based on rationality consistent with the productive context, which respected the popular knowledge, and aimed to change the worker into an active partner. Lefèvre said:

"In studying the problems of self-construction, we thought about a future situation, when Brazil would resume its development, but with a fundamental and massive participation of the people, a new kind of development that would imply the redefinition of many things. (...) We thought the people's own potential as a raw material essential to a development that was more our own, and not a process of modernization that does not suit us."(Khoury, 2003)

In 1972, the architect Luis Fingermann started to work in Diadema, a city in Brazil's larger industrial region. As in other regions, the economic development produced chaotic conditions such as a great number of irregular urban occupations with poor living conditions, lack of public equipments and infrastructure. The architect's aim was to establish a new approach, viewing the slum

as a source of urban solutions rather than of problems. Favouring its local permanence, he began to study the living conditions, "avoiding the cultural dualism between a proposed situation and the existing one." (Fingermann, 1973).

His findings led to the definition a new "Program for Popular Houses", which pursued the "community's socio-spatial integration" and took into account the "real condition and expectation of each individual". It was implemented "through encouragement and reaffirmation of the customer's cultural values" (PROCAP, 1973). A small detail of the school built in the place clears the proposed relationship with the "local culture": the rest room for small children had one single mattress, in a way similar to theirs homes, where the whole family slept together in a single room. The architect wanted to avoid any cultural shock: "If I put single mats in that room, the child will not want to sleep in that shared bed at home: he will want to sleep alone." (Fingermann, 2009). This approach opened new fields of research on the relationship between architecture and its users. A prototype was built in a typical urban lot and with local materials; the project was designed to be built in stages, according to the financial schedule of each resident.

The program of urban redevelopment also included collective meetings with the residents in order to promote their political organization, enabling them to claim for their social rights. Coherently, part of the interventions was built by means of a "mutirão", a system of collective self-building by the future inhabitants; it was envisaged as a privileged moment of cooperative work, enabling new social arrangements.

According to Fingermann, the program granted to their dwellers not only "an address, electric light and sanitation", but also a sense of citizenship; they started "to have a voice, participate (...), an absolutely revolutionary transformation". (Fingermann, 2009) Another positive result was the fact that 80 slums and 51 areas were rebuilt, changing the living condition of 3575 families (1983/1988).

Although the architect and his team were fired in 1984, urban interventions following his line of thought continued until the present day. However, that experiment was less satisfactory in the point concerning popular participation: "

From the moment on, that a particular shanty town had its problems solved, the vast majority of the inhabitants did not see more sense in participating in such meetings". (ALMEIDA, 1999, pp.99, 100)

The intended "revolutionary change" through popular participation produced another unexpected result. That pioneering experiment, that did not question the relationship between housing and commodity, produced another unexpected result: it was institutionalized by the federal government as a method of making low-price housing, resulting from the elimination of the workforce's costs.

In different, but related ways, Oiticica, Lefèvre, Ferro and Fingermann denounced the limits of the State culture ideology and the intelligentsia's connivance; they elected, as figures for their critics, the images and the realities of the slum, the marginal and the building worker. Oiticica's artistic experiments with the "Mangueira" stopped when he moved to New York; Ferro and Lefèvre proposals were never implemented; Fingermann's experiment produced unexpected national results. All of them worked with elements that could not be assimilated; but the final result was the tightening of the guidelines of the national project they criticized.

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Actor Networks and the Emergence of Order: A Socio-Spatial Study of an Informal Settlement in Mumbai

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My research investigates the emerging socio-spatial morphology of a slum in Mumbai, India, and in particular how actor networks feed into and out of the slum assemblage. Actor networks are functional chains of heterogeneous social material that relationally constitute space and society. The actor networks that are examined in this paper are various water distribution schemes operating in the slum. Fuelled by politicians and hijacked by their accomplices, these actor networks fragment space and society and their functionality is sold to private developers interested in redeveloping the slum. What follows is a brief contextualization of the slum followed by an examination of the water networks themselves.

The historical emergence of Ganesh Murthy Nagar

Ganesh Murthy Nagar is a 40-year-old squatter settlement located in the Back Bay at the very south of Mumbai. It is wedged in between a military installation to the south, and a bus station along with another squatter settlement to the north. It has undergone near constant expansion: vertically through the addition of floors, and towards the west into the mangrove forest. Currently there are some 2,300 hutments occupying 5.4 hectares, which house roughly 11,500 people.

The settlement sits on land that the British and Indian governments tried to reclaim for over 150 years, but never could. The administration started reclaiming the Back Bay in the 1850's, then again in the 1920s, and the 1960s. Throughout this process the reclamation of the Back Bay has become synonymous with political corruption and developer-governmental malfeasance. Reclamation was frozen in the 1990s by environmental legislation seeking to protect the coastline, which resulted in the curious shape of the Back Bay and an opportunity for those associated with Ganesh Murthy.

Water

Water is a defining feature of the settlement: it is everywhere and always present, even in its absence. It is distributed from various sources throughout the settlement and is carried in 20-liter containers on heads, in arms, hand in hand, and on bicycles. The various drips of thousands of water containers constantly in motion keep the settlement in a permanently slick. It is perhaps a reminder that water is constantly in need and constantly in short supply. In the survey I conducted, water conditions were identified as problematic by 60 per cent of households. There is not enough of it, it is heavy and must be carried great distances, it is sometimes undrinkable, and it is too expensive.

The water distribution ecosystem in Ganesh Murthy is a multiplicity, but is dominated by a few networks. People bring water to the settlement from their places of work in the nearby, high-profile neighbourhoods of Cuffe Parade or Navy Nagar and farther away still, travelling a kilometre or more carrying 20-liter water containers. The sea is also used as a source of water. There is a fresh-water spring that flows into the sea where women do their washing, and where some people fill their containers. Water may also be borrowed or bought from an acquaintance in another part of the settlement with better water access. More formally, privately sold tanker water is available for the many that cannot make do with the 60 liters issued per day by municipal water schemes. Most people wash up with this water that has previously been known to carry cholera, but some are forced to drink it as they cannot afford, or have been denied access to, potable water supplied by the city.

Municipal water schemes

The municipality of Mumbai is charged with providing water to all slum dwellers living on state land that have been notified – that is, who have provided proof of residency since before 1995. These municipal water distribution schemes are administered by local community based organizations (CBO) and in Ganesh Murthy there are four networks that physically span roughly 80 to 85 per cent of the slum's area. The schemes came about in response to the increasing water needs of a growing population and they facilitated further growth of the slum.

The first scheme was implemented in the early 1980s due to the work of the Colaba Hutment Dwellers Welfare Association, which petitioned the government for three years before being awarded water access in the form of one tap. The CBO is comprised of slum dwellers owning the original 111 hutments that were counted in a state census in 1976. These original hutments comprise Part I of the slum. The second scheme was initiated by the Seva Sangh CBO, which is composed of hutments in Part II of the slum. The CBO was registered in 1982 and distributes water from their two networks, which were established in 1991 and 1993.

The third and fourth water schemes developed in response to a large population influx in the 1990s. Land had to be produced to accommodate the migrants, as most of the slum was still a swampy mangrove forest. Sometimes slumlords would organize large scale dumping to facilitate the sale of hutments. This happened on January 15th, 1999, when 70 truckloads of construction debris were dumped on the mangrove forest, creating over an acre of developable land in what is now considered Part III of the settlement. This land, the new hutments, and several ways of illegally legitimizing residency led to the establishment of two more municipal water distribution schemes in the early years of the new millennium.

Part III developed along two perpendicular commercial arteries, and then inwards towards the centre. This pattern of development created long, narrow, and isolated pathways with few connections to each other. The spatial isolation created by the gullies has led to a severely fragmented sociospace with no unity and little power to resist the dictates of the more organized water networks. Large fires, often initiated by slum dwellers before demolitions, and yearly municipal demolitions themselves add to the fragmentation and play into the hands of the established networks. Although the state erected a guarded fence between the settlement and the mangroves in 2004 after the last big fire, people continue to spill over the boundaries and increase demand for water. Two newer satellite settlements have sprung up at the edges near the mangroves, and Ganesh Murthy is used as a staging point for the nightly dumping of debris in the mangroves of neighbouring Ambedkar Nagar, which curiously has not been fenced in.

Municipal water schemes are officially comprised of the municipal water network, the CBO-administrator, the physical infrastructure, and the consumers. The water is supplied by the city once or twice a day directly from the underground water main to a storage tank via a municipal meter to measure consumption. A pump connected to the water tank delivers water to the network through a main to several smaller pipes, which are gauged to deliver a certain amount of water over a specified time. The pipes are fitted with communal taps that are operated by various employees of the CBO. The water is sold by the city for 25 rupees per 10,000 litres to the CBO, and an amount is collected from the member households to pay the bill.

The capture and uses of water networks

In reality the water networks are a little more complex as they are connected to politicians and are physically manipulated to produce more water at a lower cost. First, the networks are legacies of local politicians who fund the cost of the hardware and help the process along as it goes through various government agencies. The politicians are motivated to cultivate the slums as vote banks through their patronage of communal assets. They support the CBO, but the power actually accedes to one person.

In fact the CBO is centred on the one person, the slumlord, who has intimate ties to the politician. The slumlord captures the public asset by dominating the CBO, and then uses the network for his own financial ends.

The four networks at Ganesh Murthy have booster pumps that the slumlord inserts between the water main and water tank, which pulls more water from the municipal system. The booster pump, while strictly illegal, can be informally authorized by the municipal water department in cases where water pressure is too low to fill the water tanks. The booster pump, which brings in more water, can be aided by extra storage capacity in the form of one or several 5,000-liter tanks that are added to the network, as is the case in two of the four networks. Instead of paying for the extra water taken, the water meters are made to work for the network instead of the city. All the meters but one are broken, buried, unreadable, or otherwise non-functional, thus the amount charged is replicated from the last time the meter worked, and in some cases this goes back to 2007. I quickly went through the municipal water meter readings for Colaba and found that roughly 50 per cent of water meters are dysfunctional; suggesting widespread corruption. Thus, not only are the meters in league with the networks, but quite probably some administrators and employees of the water department as well.

With the swelling of the settlement at its borders and the vertical expansion of hutments, all told, the four networks distribute water to 75 per cent more clients than are officially listed, resulting in an average distribution of 60 liters of water a day per hutment, instead of the 225 liters apportioned by the city. In theory, water taps are strictly communal, but one can purchase an illegal private connection for 10,000 rupees, paid to the CBO. Finally, water can be purchased directly from the CBOs' water tank, for a nominal, if not illegal fee. The money is used to consolidate and expand the network. CBO payoffs to police, municipal employees, and gangs ensure their cooperation and complacency. Two toilet blocks funded by the World Bank have also been captured and integrated into one of the networks through the supply of water, and now charge user fees and deliver a poor service to constituents who contributed money to the start-up costs of these 'participatory' projects.

Oligopoly and emergent spatiality

The four water networks at Ganesh Murthy have been very successful at maintaining their oligopoly, which comes with a heavy social burden borne by the settlers. In neighbouring Ambedkar Nagar, by comparison, there are fifty water networks serving roughly the same number of people, which enable a more democratic administration of services. Several reasons explain the strength of Ganesh Murthy Nagar's water networks. The networks are violently and viciously protected. During my interviews, few people were willing to discuss details of the water situation for fear of losing their service. The records held at the municipal water service are replete with complaints to the police, the city, and the State human rights commission about abuses over water. With the cooptation of the authorities, the backing of gangs, and the threat of no water, people are kept in line through fear. In 2009 one additional water network was permitted to setup in the settlement but it turns out that this merely an addition to the Part II network used to infiltrate a competing network's territory. The networks are constantly in competition with each other, and factions in the CBO often war with each other for ultimate control, while politicians use the networks to vie with each other for votes. These are often violent competitions that may involve physical fighting and threats, resulting in disruptions of service, and an overall feeling of insecurity for the settlers.

Another important factor favouring the maintenance of these oligopolistic networks is the spatial form and context of Ganesh Murthy. The settlement has but a small entrance along the road where the water main lies. There is limited space for a water connection and infrastructure like a pump house. By contrast, Ambedkar Nagar has a lot more area that is coextensive with the water main. Further, there are several spots where pump-houses and other infrastructure can be located. As a case in point, an association in Ganesh Murthy that was trying to establish a water network in early 2010 was unable to find space to place its infrastructure as the other schemes are using their extended networks to block it by various means.

Emerging redevelopment

The networks are also being used to shape the future redevelopment of the area. Mumbai has an innovative slum rehabilitation policy, which integrates free land from the State, capital from developers, and the participation of 70 per cent of slum dwellers to produce formal housing on sites with enough excess flats to be sold on the market to generate revenue for the builders. At Ganesh Murthy the water networks are paid by developers in exchange for signatures from an arbitrarily decided slum pocket population. Violence is sometimes the only means of obtaining signatures from slum dwellers that are unwilling to even think about risking their homes, which are so closely linked to their livelihoods. Documented violence associated with this process in Ganesh Murthy includes explosions, kidnappings, and death. The whole process, however, is a scam perpetrated by the water networks, which never manage to collect 70 per cent of the signatures, allowing them to approach other developers for more money.

Or so they think. Towards the end of 2009 two plans for developing Ganesh Murthy were filed with the planning authority and are under review. Unsurprisingly, the two plans mimic the areas of the water networks. However, they overlap in two areas, which correspond to the new network, and to an area serviced by two networks. This has raised some questions for the authorities, and places the redevelopment in jeopardy.

In conclusion, tracing the infrastructural actor networks reveals a distributed agency whereby environmental legislation, politicians, slumlords, pumps, and piping share responsibility for the emergence and consolidation of a slum. The ostensibly public water distribution schemes are captured by private interests that maintain the network with fear and violence for personal profit; whether it be money or increased power. Those caught in the crossfire of competing claims to the networks are the slum dwellers, who live without enough water and in constant fear of losing what little they have. Ironically, it is the private developers that use these socially fragmenting and dominating actor networks to accomplish what the government never could: the reclamation and development of the Back Bay.

Chapels in Fifteenth-Century Palaces and the Idea of Palatine Chapel

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As architectural structures and concepts, *palatium* and *capella* spring from an idea of the sacrality of power and its spaces that came to maturity in late antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The synthesis of the two concepts (the 'palatine chapel') in fifteenth century Italy is thus the outcome of the encounter between a late medieval European institutional context (with the development of territorial princedoms and monarchies) and the emerging artistic expressions of the Italian Renaissance. In addition, *palatium* and *capella* – terms that soon enter common currency – gradually come to signify building types, rather than political ideologies.

This paper will attempt to outline a comparative periodization of the phenomenon in several North-Central Italian princedoms.

Definitions and models

The *capella* is not just a small religious building. Ideologically, the term implies:

- close association with one or more relics (the word derives from the *capa* or cloak of St. Martin, dynastic relic of the Merovingians);
- a space that is not simply for private worship, but centers on the public nature of the patron's power expressed in the *palatium*.¹

In the development of the idea of the palatine chapel, the essential references are to be found in the Merovingian archetypes, and above all in the Carolingian prototypes (Aachen), and the echoes of the imperial palace in Constantinople.²

Between the XIVth and XVth centuries, the experiments with national monarchies and territorial princedoms³ – associated with the first 'capital cities'⁴ – led to a proliferation of palatine chapels, no longer solely an imperial appanage, and linked to the supposedly sacred roots of each new dynasty.

Across Europe, the most widely recognized architectural model is the Capetian *capella regia*: the sacralization of royal power is connected with the possession and ostension of relics of the passion of Christ.⁵ The building stands apart from the palace, joined to it by arcaded passages and connecting spaces.

In addition to the royal French prototypes (the *Sainte-Chapelle* in Paris, 1248; Vincennes, 1370-1552), we also have the chapels of the Counts of Valois (who ascended to the throne of France in 1328) and the ducal dynasties of Bourbon (Bourbon l'Archambault I, *circa* 1315), Berry (Riom, 1382; Bourges, 1392), Savoy (Chambéry, from 1408) and Burgundy (Dijon). The

¹ MESQUI, Jean - "Les ensembles palatiaux et princiers en France aux XI^e et XV^e siècle". In RENOUX, Annie (ed.) - *Palais royaux et princiers au Moyen Age*. Le Mans: Université du Maine, 1996, 61-62.

² DUVAL, Noël - "Cappella. Origini". In *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*. Roma: Treccani, vol. IV, 229-232.

³ TABACCO, Giovanni - *Le ideologie politiche del medioevo*. Torino: Einaudi, 2000, 83-101.

⁴ BERENGO, Marino - *L'Europa delle città. Il volto della società urbana europea tra Medioevo ed Età moderna*. Torino: Einaudi, 1999, 3-26.

⁵ HACKER-SÜCK, Inge - "La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris et les chapelles palatines du Moyen Age en France". *Cahiers Archéologiques*. Paris: Picard. XIII (1962), 217-257; BILLOT, Claudine - *Les Saintes Chapelles royales et princières*. Paris: Editions du Patrimoine, 1998; LENIAUD, Jean-Michel; PERROT, Françoise - *La Sainte Chapelle*, Paris: Editions du Patrimoine - Centre des Monuments Nationaux, 2007.

construction of a chapel usually marks a rise in the family's rank (generally a dukedom obtained from the emperor), which brought the need to establish a 'religious cradle' for the new-born dynasty.

A parallel path was that taken at the papal residences in Rome (the Lateran Palace's *Sancta Sanctorum* and the Vatican⁶), and above all at the papal palace in Avignon which, with his sequence of chapels – located, for all their sumptuousness, within the volumes of the palace – became a model of close integration between private, public and sacred spaces for the fourteenth and fifteenth century seats of Europe's dynasties.⁷

While the first model still dominates beyond the Alps in the fifteenth century, in Italy we see an approach that prefers to construct interior spaces: concealed, inward-looking 'treasure chests'.

And what was the rationale behind this choice? We can hazard several geopolitical hypotheses:

- The territorial principalities of Central Italy are often fragmentary in nature and less than absolutely secure in their possessions⁸: dynastic ambitions are countered by the memories of the *Comunes*, which moderate the princely families' ideological self-celebration and claims to sacred status.
- Consequently, palace chapels are both places of family worship and places that celebrate the state, though less flauntingly: the role of expressing a legitimizing sacrality, as opposed to the former life of the free city, falls to the entire palace⁹ and its political liturgies, rather than to a monumental chapel outside the palace.
- The influence of the 'standalone' Imperial or French model, though inescapable, is tempered by the papacy's 'internal' model.
- The rich religious topography of Italian cities leads to a shift from the comprehensive model of the royal chapels elsewhere in Europe (with their court liturgies, relics and tombs), distributing their functions among different churches.

Savoy 1408

The first explicit expressions of palatine chapels south of the Alps are associated with the oldest dynasties in the Imperial sphere, and were formulated in the early decades of the fourteenth century: the same years that saw the construction of the ducal chapels of Valois and Bourbon.

The *princeps* of Savoy-Acaia built his dynastic palace in Pinerolo, starting from the chapel (1314), connected by a painted arcade to the *magna aula castris*, featuring a tower over the apse, and jutting past the curtain walls.¹⁰

A few years later, Azzone Visconti also sought recognition through the chapel of his urban palace: San Gottardo in Corte (1336) bursts ostentatiously into the Milan cityscape with its octagonal apse and steeple,¹¹ and is integrated in the life of the city, at least until the political murder of Giovanni Maria (1413), which took place on its threshold.

These Northern Italian experiments are conceptually contemporaneous with more ambitious Central European projects such as the chapels at the Hapsburg's Hofburg in Vienna (from 1325), in Marienburg for the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order (1340) and in Karlstejn for the Emperor Charles IV (1348-1364).

⁶ GIGLIOZZI, Maria Teresa - *I palazzi del papa. Architettura e ideologia: il Duecento*. Roma: Viella, 2003; MONCIATTI, Alessio (ed.) - *Domus et splendida palatia. Residenze papali e cardinalizie a Roma fra XII e XV secolo*. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006.

⁷ SCHIMMELPFENNING, Bernhard - "Ad maiorem pape gloriam. La fonction des pièces dans le palais des Papes d'Avignon". In GUILLAUME, Jean (ed.) - *Architecture et vie sociale. L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*. Paris: Picard, 1994, 25-46.

⁸ FOLIN, Marco - "Città, 'quasi città' e piccoli stati nell'Italia di Antico Regime (secoli XV-XVII)". *Storia urbana*. Milano: Franco Angeli, 102 (2003), 7-11.

⁹ BOUCHERON Patrick - Non domus ista sed urbs: *palais princiers et environnement urbain au Quattrocento (Milan, Mantoue, Urbino)*. In BOUCHERON Patrick; CHIFFOLEAU Jacques (eds.) - *Les palais dans la ville. Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale*. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2004, 266 ff.

¹⁰ LONGHI, Andrea - *Architettura e politiche territoriali nel Trecento*. In VIGLINO DAVICO, Micaela; TOSCO, Carlo (eds.) - *Architettura e insediamento nel tardo medioevo in Piemonte*. Torino: Celid, 2003, 30 ff.

¹¹ ROMANINI, Angiola Maria - *L'architettura gotica in Lombardia*. Milano: Ceschina, 1964, vol.1, 233-239.

The dynastic ambitions of the Visconti and Savoy families were crowned some decades later with ducal titles granted in 1395 and 1416 respectively.

The castle of Chambéry boasts the most significant Quattrocento *sainte-chapelle*,¹² patterned after the Gothic Capetingian and Valois models, with protruding apse and volumes. Begun in 1408, construction was continued by Amadeus VIII, the first Savoy duke and antipope from 1439 to 1449. From 1506, the chapel housed the longest-lived of the relics of the Passion, the Holy Shroud, then firmly established as the dynasty's 'palladium' and sign of the legitimacy of its power after Julius II had formerly approved an office and mass for it.¹³

Medici and Gonzaga 1459

The equilibrium following the Peace of Lodi (1454) and the events of the Diet of Mantua (1459) would seem to have laid the groundwork for an institutional and artistic rethinking of the palatine chapel, even in the Italian courts that were farthest from the Alps.

The Medici's chapel in the palace in Via Larga, one of the first in a private palace in Florence, was preceded by papal permission for a portable altar and private priest (1421).¹⁴ Though the residence of the Medici crypto-signoria did not qualify as a dynastic palace,¹⁵ Pius II regarded it as *palacium rege dignum*.¹⁶

Descriptions have come down to us of the welcome given by Cosimo de' Medici to the young Galeazzo Maria Sforza (April 1459), summoned together with Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta to meet Pius II towards Mantua: though it had not yet been frescoed, the chapel was a fit setting for receiving illustrious guests, and would appear to have been used customarily by Cosimo for this purpose.¹⁷ In the following months,¹⁸ the role of the chapel would be underscored by the fresco cycle of the three Magi by Benozzo Gozzoli,¹⁹ an 'ambitious government program'.²⁰

The chapel's location recalls the functional and ceremonial layout of the papal apartments²¹: contained within the compact block of the palace, it is at the end of the sequence of smaller and smaller rooms that make up the private quarters, near the bedchamber and the studio;²² however, it is also accessed from the gallery connected to the main staircase. The chapel had a

¹² TOSCO, Carlo - *L'architettura religiosa nell'età di Amedeo VIII*. In VIGLINO DAVICO; TOSCO - *Architettura e insediamento nel tardo medioevo in Piemonte*. 73-77; See: PERRET, André - "Le château et la Sainte-Chapelle de Chambéry". In *Congrès Archéologique de France-Savoie (1965)*. Paris: SFA, 1965, 9-20.

¹³ PERRET, André - "Essai sur l'histoire du Saint-Suaire du XIV^{ème} siècle au XVI^{ème} siècle". *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles lettres et art de Savoie*. VI s., t. IV, 1960, 49-121.

¹⁴ KENT, Dale - *Il committente e le arti. Cosimo de' Medici e il Rinascimento fiorentino*. Milano: Electa, 2005, 316 ff., 381 ff.

¹⁵ RAVEGGI, Sergio - "Il committente: i Medici nel Quattrocento". In CHERUBINI, Giovanni; FANELLI, Giovanni (eds.) - *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*. Firenze: Giunti, 1990, 12: 'Cosimo [...] si insignorisce della città restando privato cittadino e riuscendo però nello stesso tempo ad esercitare per un trentennio un'egemonia che sarà poche volte minacciata. La struttura costituzionale dello stato resta dunque apparentemente intatta'; KENT - *Il committente e le arti. Cosimo de' Medici e il Rinascimento fiorentino*, 432 ff.

¹⁶ BULST, Wolfger A. - "Uso e trasformazione del palazzo mediceo fino ai Riccardi". In CHERUBINI; FANELLI - *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*, 99 (see: Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, Lib. II, 28, 31).

¹⁷ HATFIELD, Rab - *Cosimo de' Medici and the Chapel of his Palace*. In AMES-LEWIS, Francis (ed.) - *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici, 1389-1464. Essays in commemoration of the 600th Anniversary of Cosimo de' Medici's Birth. Including papers delivered at the Society for Renaissance Studies Sixcentenary Symposium at the Warburg Institute, London, 19 May 1989*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, 224 ff.

¹⁸ ACIDINI LUCHINAT, Cristina - "La cappella dei Magi: architettura e breve storia". In MERENDONI, Simonetta; ULIVIERI, Luigi (eds.) - *Il palazzo Magnifico. Palazzo Medici Riccardi a Firenze*. Torino-Londra-Venezia-New York: Umberto Allemandi, 2009, 93 ff.

¹⁹ HATFIELD - *Cosimo de' Medici and the Chapel of his Palace*, 239-240: 'the chapel appears to represent not only a family of the highest level - that is, of the level of person dignified enough to have such chapels in their homes - but also the Commune of Florence and its government. [...] The only person whose reputation was so great that he might represent his republic *at home* (as he in effect did when he was host to Galeazzo Maria) was of course Cosimo'.

²⁰ CARDINI, Franco - "I Medici nel «quartiere» di San Lorenzo". In MERENDONI; ULIVIERI - *Il palazzo Magnifico. Palazzo Medici Riccardi a Firenze*, 83.

²¹ FROMMEL, Christoph Liutpold - "Abitare all'antica: il Palazzo e la Villa da Brunelleschi a Bramante". In MILLON, Henry; MAGNAGO LAMPUGNANI, Vittorio (eds.), *Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Michelangelo. La rappresentazione dell'architettura*. Milano: Bompiani, 1994, 186-190.

²² BULST - "Uso e trasformazione del palazzo mediceo fino ai Riccardi", 112 ff.; GURRIERI, Francesco - "Palazzo Medici Riccardi: lineamenti storici". In MERENDONI; ULIVIERI - *Il palazzo Magnifico. Palazzo Medici Riccardi a Firenze*, 54 ff.

number of relics: in Piero's days, the reliquary known as the 'Reliquiario del Libretto' with relics of the Passion was venerated there.²³ The altarpiece by Filippo Lippi (1444-1456), which predates the Magi cycle, is dedicated to the Trinity, but contains direct references to the Florentine political scene: after the Medici were banished in 1494, it was no accident that the painting was taken to the Palazzo della Signoria.²⁴

In the same months, the Gonzaga also plan to set up a chapel at the time of the Diet, in the late fourteenth century Castello San Giorgio, where Ludovico now intended to return with his household. The chapel is the first commission given to Andrea Mantegna in Mantua, but was only partially completed when the pope arrived in May 1459.²⁵ Here again, it was only in the following months that the chapel's iconography would be fully defined (by 1464, and then expanded in the celebrated *camera picta* from 1465), as part of the work coordinated by the Florentine Luca Fancelli. It is not clear whether the space occupied by the Mantegna chapel was the same of that of the oratory built by Giovanni Battista Bertani in 1563²⁶.

As in Florence, the Three Magi are the central theme of the iconographic program (now scattered among a number of museums), rich with oriental overtones echoing the cosmopolitan climate of the Diet and the planned Crusade, as well as the Greek culture studied at the Mantuan court. It is thought that the rest of the program was associated with the private dimension of the chapel and the relic of the Blood of Christ,²⁷ whose dynastic function would in any case be entrusted to the new church of Sant'Andrea, begun in 1471.

Sforza 1473

Galeazzo Maria Sforza – whom we met in the Medici chapel in 1459 – moved his court sometime around 1468 from the old Visconti palace near the Duomo to the castle of Porta Giovia, rebuilt by his father Francesco, where two new chapels were created near the ducal apartments²⁸: a private oratory on the upper floor, and the palatine chapel, in sequence with the state rooms, not apparent from the exterior of the building but facing the courtyard, completely frescoed in keeping with Galeazzo Maria's 'exhibitionistic patronage'²⁹ of the arts. The chapel (1472-1473) was designed by the Florentine Benedetto Ferrini, who recast the Ducal Court in the Tuscan Renaissance taste.

After Galeazzo Maria was assassinated, his widow Bona of Savoy withdrew to the Rocchetta, where she refurbished the upper apartments (after 1477), with a new chapel adjacent to the sequence of rooms.

²³ ACIDINI LUCHINAT - "La cappella medicea attraverso cinque secoli". In CHERUBINI; FANELLI (eds.) - *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*, 83.

²⁴ KENT - *Il committente e le arti. Cosimo de' Medici e il Rinascimento fiorentino*, 381 ff.

²⁵ SIGNORINI, Rodolfo - *Opus hoc tenue. La camera dipinta di Andrea Mantegna. Lettura storica iconografica iconologica*. Mantova: Artegrafica Silvia Parma, 1985, 113 ff.; VENTURA, Leandro - "Mantegna architetto. Un'ipotesi di lavoro per la Cappella del Castello di San Giorgio". *Civiltà Mantovana*. Modena: Il Bulino. III s., a. XXVII, 5 (1992), 28-30; RODELLA, Giovanni - "Note sul castello di San Giorgio e l'architettura della Camera Picta". In CORDARO, Michele (ed.) - *Mantegna. La camera degli Sposi*, Milano: Electa, 1992, 221: 'doveva sancire, in modo è il caso di dire sacrale, l'avvio del programma del Gonzaga di fare della fortezza la sede più propria del governo marchionale dall'interno della città'.

²⁶ VENTURA - "Mantegna architetto. Un'ipotesi di lavoro per la Cappella del Castello di San Giorgio", 37-38; RODELLA, Giovanni; L'OCCASO, Stefano - "... questi logiamenti de castello siano forniti et adaptati... Trasformazioni e interventi in Castello all'epoca del Mantegna". In TREVISANI, Filippo (ed.) - *Andrea Mantegna e i Gonzaga. Rinascimento nel Castello di San Giorgio*. Milano: Electa, 2006, 25 ff.

²⁷ VENTURA, Leandro - "La religione privata: Ludovico II, Andrea Mantegna e la Cappella del Castello di San Giorgio". *TE. Quaderni del Palazzo Te*. I s. Modena: Panini. 7 (1987), 29 ff.; LUCCO, Mauro - "Mantegna a Mantova e i suoi eredi". In LUCCO, Mauro (ed.) - *Mantegna a Mantova. 1460-1506*. Milano: Skira, 2006, 3-5.

²⁸ PATETTA, Luciano - *L'architettura del Quattrocento a Milano*. Milano: CLUP, 1987, 227-240, SCOTTI TOSINI, Aurora - "Vicende costruttive del Castello". In LOPEZ, Guido; SCOTTI TOSINI, Aurora; MATTIOLI ROSSI, Laura - *Il Castello Sforzesco di Milano*. Milano: Electa, 1986, 60-64; SALCH, Charles-Laurent - "Le chateau de Milan. Un grand chantier de château-fort. 1451-1492". *Chateaux-forts d'Europe*. Strasbourg: Castrum Europe. 16 (2000), 24 ff., 32 ff. See sources in: BELTRAMI, Luca - *Il Castello di Milano (Castrum Portae Jovis) sotto il dominio dei Visconti e degli Sforza. 1368-1535*. Milano: Hoepli, 1894, *passim*; MARANGONI, Guido - "La cappella di Galeazzo Maria al Castello Sforzesco". *Bollettino d'arte*. Roma: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. s. II, IV/1921, 176-186; V/1921, 227-236.

²⁹ LOPEZ, Guido - "Il Castello di Milano: cinquecento anni di storia". In LOPEZ; SCOTTI TOSINI; MATTIOLI ROSSI - *Il Castello Sforzesco di Milano*, 18.

Este 1474, 1479

Ferrara's elevation to the dukedom by Paul II in 1471 triggered a reorganization of palace functions and spaces during the years in which Ercole consolidated his dynasty's legitimacy (1471-1505). In addition to rearranging the administrative offices of the state and the city facing the large new courtyard – one of the ceremonial hubs of the palace – a first ducal chapel was planned (1474) to house a miraculous image of the Virgin, only to be rebuilt as early as 1479.³⁰ As befits the idea of the Court as the visible manifestation of the Duke's sovereign power,³¹ the chapel – though closely connected with the lavish apartments – has its own recognizable facade, flanked by another feature that establishes the palace's identity, the monumental staircase.

Montefeltro 1476-80

After the hereditary title of duke was conferred by Sixtus IV (1474), the palace in Urbino adopted a chapel design whose unusual ideological stance reflected the climate of Christian humanism that imbued the court of Federico di Montefeltro.

The first chapel, situated in the interior courtyard at the head of the main apartments, was turned into a bedchamber before 1448;³² it was not until the remodeling of the 1470s that a sacred space reappeared in the twin 'cappella del Perdono' and 'tempietto delle Muse'. This combination of a Christian and a pagan chapel is unique, and has no direct sources in the humanistic writings of the day.³³ The site – though located on the ground floor near the quarters occupied by Ottaviano Ubaldini (the duke's secretary and counselor)³⁴ or the duke's heir³⁵ – is directly connected with the duke's private study on the floor above, which was the conceptual and spiritual nucleus of the dynasty.³⁶ The chapel, decorated by Ambrogio Barocci, would appear to have been part of the work directed by Francesco di Giorgio around 1476-1480.³⁷

The chapel's name, 'del Perdono' or forgiveness, apparently refers to the remission of sins mentioned in the Gospel of St. John (John 20:23). The chapel is a sort of intimate jewel-box, made for the reliquaries (displayed publicly on Easter Monday),³⁸ and associated with a special indulgence granted by Sixtus IV (hence the name 'Perdono', which applied to the reliquary)³⁹: clad in

³⁰ FOLIN Marco - "La committenza estense, l'Alberti e il palazzo di corte di Ferrara". In CALZONA, Arturo; CONNORS, Joseph; FIORE, Francesco Paolo; VASOLI, Cesare (eds.) - *Leon Battista Alberti. Architetture e committenti*. Firenze: Olschki, 2009, vol. I, 284 ff.

³¹ FOLIN, Marco - "Ferrara 1385-1505. All'ombra del principe". In CALABI, Donatella (ed.) - *Fabbriche, piazze, mercati. La città italiana del Rinascimento*. Roma: Officina, 1997, 367; see CATTINI Marco; ROMANI Marzio A. - "Le corti parallele: per una tipologia delle corti padane dal XIII al XVI secolo". In PAPAGNO Giuseppe; QUONDAM Amedeo (eds.) - *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara estense*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1982, 49.

³² HÖFLER, Janez - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino sotto i Montefeltro (1376-1508). Nuove ricerche sulla storia dell'edificio e delle sue decorazioni interne*. Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 2006 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2004), 70-72, 78.

³³ HÖFLER - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino sotto i Montefeltro (1376-1508)*, 288.

³⁴ ROTONDI, Pasquale - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino*. Urbino: Istituto Statale d'Arte per il Libro, 1950, vol. 1, 361 ff.; FONTEBUONI, Luisa - "Destinazioni d'uso dal sec. XV al XX". In POLICHETTI, Maria Luisa (ed.) - *Il Palazzo di Federico da Montefeltro. Restauri e ricerche*. Urbino: Quattroventi, 1985, 192; HÖFLER - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino sotto i Montefeltro (1376-1508)*, 147-150, 220-225.

³⁵ TÖNNESMANN Andreas - "Le palais ducal d'Urbino. Humanisme et réalité sociale". In GUILLAUME, Jean (ed.) - *Architecture et vie sociale. L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*. Paris: Picard, 1994, 144 note 29.

³⁶ ROTONDI - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino*, vol. 1, 336: "Palese è l'intento di costituire, nell'area occidentale del palazzo, presso le logge fra i torricini, tutta una zona sacra. Ed ove si pensi al valore spirituale di quelle logge, che aprono un contatto immediato con la Natura, spalancando l'edificio alla bellezza ed all'ampiezza del paesaggio, ci si rende maggiormente conto dell'unità dell'insieme". See ZAMPETTI, Pietro; BATTISTINI, Rodolfo - "Federico da Montefeltro e il Palazzo Ducale". In POLICHETTI (ed.) - *Il Palazzo di Federico da Montefeltro. Restauri e ricerche*, 53; CIERI VIA, Claudia - "Ipotesi di percorso funzionale e simbolico nel Palazzo Ducale di Urbino attraverso le immagini". In CERBONI BAIARDI, Giorgio; CHITTOLINI, Giorgio; FLORIANI, Piero (eds.) - *Federico di Montefeltro. Lo stato, le arti, la cultura*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1986, 56-63; TOMASSOLI, Walter - "Spirito umanistico e coscienza religiosa in Federico da Montefeltro". In CERBONI BAIARDI; CHITTOLINI; FLORIANI (eds.) - *Federico di Montefeltro. Lo stato, le arti, la cultura*. Roma, vol. 1, 347; HÖFLER, Janez - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino sotto i Montefeltro (1376-1508)*, 219.

³⁷ FIORE, Francesco Paolo - "L'architettura civile di Francesco di Giorgio". In FIORE, Francesco Paolo; TAFURI, Manfredo (eds.) - *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*. Milano: Electa, 2003, 91-93 and 122 note 62; FIORE, Francesco Paolo - "Il palazzo Ducale di Urbino". In FIORE; TAFURI - *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, 169-171; DE ZOPPI, Giacomo - "La cappella del Perdono e il tempietto delle Muse nel palazzo ducale d'Urbino. Analisi e proposta d'attribuzione a Francesco Di Giorgio Martini". *Annali di Architettura*. Vicenza: Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio. 16 (2004), 9-24; HÖFLER - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino sotto i Montefeltro (1376-1508)*, 218-219.

³⁸ ROTONDI - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino*, vol. 1, 358 ff. and 467, note 224.

³⁹ FONTEBUONI - "Destinazioni d'uso dal sec. XV al XX", 192.

marble, the chapel-reliquary could have conveyed a message regarding the human and divine body of Christ, both in the cult of the Passion, and in the adoration of the Eucharist⁴⁰.

The public functions of a palatine chapel are probably fulfilled by the adjacent new cathedral connected directly with the apartments of the duchess, whose construction (from 1474 onwards) is closely linked with the doings of the palace and the court.⁴¹

Another small sanctuary, dynastic but domestic, can be found alongside the audience room, where an oratory was created during the reign of Guidobaldo II (circa 1567).⁴²

Saluzzo 1515-1519

The palace of Revello was built by marquess Ludovico II of Saluzzo (1475-1504) as the official court residence, modeled after Alberti's ideal of the *palatium regis* and entirely unlike the dynastic castle of Saluzzo.⁴³ It was completed by his wife Margherita di Foix, regent in the first three decades of the sixteenth century. The chapel, known as the 'cappella dei marchesi', is intended not only for the family and guests, but also for a broader public to whom an explicitly political system of images is addressed.⁴⁴

Built in an area of cultural contamination at the foot of the Alps, the church can be regarded as a synthesis of two expressions of the palatine chapel: the architecture draws from the French royal and ducal model, with its Gothic structure and external polygonal apse surmounted by a semicircular tower (as at Pinerolo), whereas the iconographical program inside the chapel runs through a series of dynastic and Francophile devotional themes (St. Louis IX, St. Louis of Toulouse) in the Renaissance figurative culture of the courts of Northern Italy.

This contamination also began to show itself on the other side of the Alps, with the Renaissance designs of the chapel of Chateaudun (1451-1465, Counts of Dunois) and of the Bourbon chapels of Aigueperse (from 1475), Bourbon l'Archambault 2 (1483-1508) and Champigny-sur-Veude (1508-1543).

Towards the absolutist palatine church

An entirely different scale and approach begin to appear in the period when certain dynasties consolidate their ducal power, raising it above question.

In Mantua, created a dukedom in 1530 by the Emperor Charles V, the rationalization of the palace complex, promoted by Cardinal Ercole and by Guglielmo Gonzaga from 1549 onwards, entails a full-scale church, with forecourt and bell tower, as the

⁴⁰ WEDEPOHL, Claudia – "La devozione di un principe umanista: Cappella del Perdono e Tempietto delle Muse nel Palazzo Ducale di Urbino". In *Il sacro nel Rinascimento*. Firenze: Cesati, 2002, 506 ff. On the relationship between the body of Christ, the Eucharist and art, see: LONGHI, Andrea – "Lo spazio dell'altare: il rito, il corpo, l'architettura". In VERDON, Timothy – *Gesù. Il corpo, il volto nell'arte*. Milano: SilvanaEditoriale, 2010, 104-115.

⁴¹ ZARRI, Gabriella - "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche nel ducato di Urbino nell'età di Federico da Montefeltro". In CERBONI BAIARDI; CHITTOLINI; FLORIANI - *Federico di Montefeltro. Lo stato, le arti, la cultura*, 155 ff.; TAFURI, Manfredo - "Il Duomo di Urbino". In FIORE; TAFURI - *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, 194.

⁴² ROTONDI - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino*, vol. 1, 276 e 399; ROTONDI, Pasquale - *Francesco di Giorgio nel Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*. Milano: Provinciali Spotorno Editori, 1970, 63; SIKORSKY, Darius J. - "Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino sotto Guidobaldo II (1538-1574). Bartolomeo Genga, Filippo Terzi e Federico Brandani". In POLICHETTI (ed.) - *Il Palazzo di Federico da Montefeltro. Restauri e ricerche*, 82-83; HÖFLER - *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino sotto i Montefeltro (1376-1508)*, 147 note 32.

⁴³ BONARDI, Claudia - "Revello: il palazzo marchionale e le sue gallerie di candidi marmi". In COMBA, Rinaldo (ed.) - *Ludovico II marchese di Saluzzo condottiero, uomo di Stato e mecenate (1475-1504)*. Cuneo: Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della provincia di Cuneo, 2006, 601; BELTRAMO, Silvia - *The Seigneurial Mansions of the Saluzzo's Marquis in XVth Century (the Castle of Saluzzo and the Palace of Revello)*. In *Fifty-sixth annual meeting of the RSA-The Renaissance Society of America*, Venezia 8-10 April 2010.

⁴⁴ PIANEA, Elena - *Revello. La Cappella dei Marchesi di Saluzzo*. Savigliano: Editrice Artistica Piemontese, 2003.

focal point of the complex, conceived as part of the principedom's transformation into a proto-absolutist state.⁴⁵ Designed by Giovan Battista Bertani (1562-1572), the church, Santa Barbara, has a raised presbytery – a stage for the court's liturgies, governed by their own ritual – and a configuration conceived for sacred music.⁴⁶ The forecourt, completed by Bernardino Facciotto (1581), becomes the center and crossroads of the complex's open spaces.⁴⁷ In the same years, by contrast, a purely private place of worship is created in the ducal apartments of the medieval castle: the new oratory.⁴⁸

In the heart of the sixteenth century, private devotion and public ritual by now occupy drastically separate spaces, which will reach full expression in the royal palaces of the absolutist states.

⁴⁵ CARPEGGIANI, Paolo - *Il libro di pietra. Giovan Battista Bertani architetto del Cinquecento*. Milano: Guerini Studio, 1992, 36: the palace 'deve corrispondere alle complesse esigenze del nuovo ordinamento dello stato, deve fornire luogo di celebrazione prestigioso e funzionale per ogni *rito* della corte, deve configurarsi come immagine perentoria del potere assoluto del principe'; CARPEGGIANI, Paolo - "Il progetto del Palazzo Ducale (1549-1587)". In MORSELLI, Raffaella (ed.) - *Gonzaga. La Celeste Galleria*. Milano: Skira, 2002, 479-498.

⁴⁶ CARPEGGIANI Paolo - *Il libro di pietra. Giovan Battista Bertani architetto del Cinquecento*, 40 ff. e 83-87; CARPEGGIANI, Paolo - *Bernardino Facciotto. Progetti cinquecenteschi per Mantova e il Palazzo Ducale*. Milano: Guerini e Associati, 1994, pp. 26 ff.; CARPEGGIANI - "Il progetto del Palazzo Ducale (1549-1587)", 488-489.

⁴⁷ CARPEGGIANI - *Bernardino Facciotto. Progetti cinquecenteschi per Mantova e il Palazzo Ducale*, 26-27.

⁴⁸ CARPEGGIANI - *Il libro di pietra. Giovan Battista Bertani architetto del Cinquecento*, 82 ff.; CARPEGGIANI - "Il progetto del Palazzo Ducale (1549-1587)", 487; RODELLA; L'OCCASO - " ... questi loggiamenti de castello siano forniti et adaptati... Trasformazioni e interventi in Castello all'epoca del Mantegna", 25.

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The Influence of the Model. The Court of Mantua and the Aristocratic Palaces of the Renaissance

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From the mid 15th century onwards Mantua saw an increase in urban development which in a few decades brought about a comprehensive renewal of the architectural heritage of the city. This phenomenon, which involved the seats of local power, the principal churches and the residences of the elite should be seen in the context of a wider *Renovatio Urbis*, or Urban Renewal promoted during the marquisate of Ludovico II Gonzaga.¹ In the transformation of the city the Gonzaga requested the help of private citizens² who, as generous patrons, tried to build the most beautiful and ostentatious houses possible in the style of the times.³

From the 15th century on the Gonzaga dynasty surrounded themselves with a new elite of families who were entrusted with the task of managing the city state.⁴ This management in an era imbued with feudal values was understood as being a service to the person of the prince and not to an abstract institution. Unlike the old medieval nobility the new renaissance elite based their fortune not on feudal claims but on the increasing financial stability derived from work and business activity, such as trade and the professions, and service to the prince. Contemporaneously however, the upper echelons of the society could not say that they had 'arrived' unless they had obtained a title.⁵ With regard to this topic it is essential to note the studies of Berengo on the Italian elite of the *Ancient Regime*. According to the celebrated historian the 'patrician is not a noble'⁶ or at least not necessarily, but rather belonged to 'a rising merchant ruling class' and Italy, in Marino Berengo's view is fundamentally, a 'land of patricians'.⁷ Ancient noble families existed in Mantua, for example the Andreasi, but often the families that counted in the society of the era either had no title or received one much later. As Lazzarini wrote, the Mantuan nobles were 'aristocratised in the 16th and 17th centuries'⁸ with the effective acquisition of titles. The noble class, both old and new in origin, under the Gonzaga were however, 'never truly entitled or defined or legally established'⁹ as happened on the other hand in other Lombard cities such as Cremona and Milan. The Mantuan elite were actually very heterogeneous but with one thing in common: their closeness to the Gonzaga family. With the formation of the court, from the beginning of the 15th century, a group of new

¹ The heart of the merchant's *civitas nova* was reorganised giving a new look to the squares, reconstructing the municipal buildings, building the *Domus Mercati* and substituting the Benedictine abbey of Sanit Andrew with a new church and connecting the new Albertian 'basilica' with the church of Saint Sebastian at the other end of the city.

² FERLISI, Gianfranco - "I palazzi dei cortigiani e le scelte architettoniche e urbanistiche di Ludovico Gonzaga". In CALZONA, Arturo et al., edited by - *Il Principe architetto*. Città di Castello (PG): Olschki, 2002, 297-326.

³ MARANI, Ercolano, PERINA, Chiara - *Mantova: Le arti*, II. Verona: Istituto Carlo d'Arco per la storia di Mantova, 1961, 162-166. From the 15th century onwards patricians placed inscriptions recording the name of the builders. Among the various celebratory inscriptions visible one of the most interesting is the one which runs along the string-course on the Bonatti palace (122, Corso Vittorio Emanuele II): 'In the year of our Lord 1514, under the reign of Francesco Gonzaga, 4th Marquis, standard bearer of the Holy Roman Church, knight and legal expert Francesco Bonatti laid this stone. At the time of Federico Gonzaga, third prince, most excellent and merciful, the jurist and knight Antonio Bonatti had this edifice built from the foundations in his lifetime, at his expense, to be an adornment in eternity for the fatherland and the family, in the year of grace 1481' (GIRONDI, Giulio - *Palazzo Bonatti in Mantova*. Mantua: Sometti, 2004, 25-30).

⁴ ROMANI, Marina - "Tasselli di un mondo centripeto: la società urbana". In ROMANI, Marina, edited by - *Storia di Mantova*, I. Mantua: Tre Lune, 2005, 353-439; LAZZARINI, Isabella - "Un bastione di mezo: trasformazioni istituzionali e dinamiche politiche". In ROMANI, Marina, edited by - *Storia di Mantova... cit.*, 443-505; VENTURA, Leandro, edited by - *La Corte di Mantova nell'età di Andrea Mantegna 1450-1550*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1997.

⁵ That should perhaps also be read as one of the consequences of imperial investiture granted to the Gonzaga at the beginning of the 15th century that re-established and legitimised their feudal titles. And so, like every self-respecting court, the Gonzaga started to create their own nobles. In reality, the imperial investiture granted did not permit the creation of real nobles (a prerogative that arrived only in the 17th century), but gave the possibility of creating knights, as happened in the case of the Bonatti, Valenti, and many other families.

⁶ BERENGO, Marino - "Patriziato e nobiltà: il caso veronese". In *Rivista Storica Italiana*, Turin: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 87, 1975, 192.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ LAZZARINI, Isabella - "Un bastione di mezo"... cit., 497.

⁹ *Ibid.*

administrators, notaries, ecclesiastics and men at arms surrounded the 'lord'¹⁰ and these families of bureaucrats and courtiers were really active in building activity.

At this point it would be opportune to look at the reference models of the elite regarding the morphological and distributive character of the house and the solutions adopted in the buildings of the Gonzaga era. A premise is necessary: the renaissance house, including that of a prince, seems in the final analysis to be the fruit of a happy meeting between medieval tradition and the humanistic recovery of classical 'all'antica' habitations.¹¹ Within the Mantuan context in the second half of the 15th century, devoid of any significant archaeological evidence and in a period prior to the diffusion of Vitruvius' works or of their interpretation, this assertion should, however, be treated with particular care because in the city of Virgil the ancient is, in the 15th century, fundamentally that handed down and spread by Tuscan architects who arrived at the court of the Gonzaga.¹²

It is in Florence, defined by Federico da Montefeltro as the 'fountain of all architects'¹³ that one needs to seek to find the cultural and design points of reference of the innovations introduced into the Mantuan context. In the climate of the Medici city¹⁴ paradigmatic examples were born, such as the new house of Cosimo I,¹⁵ characterised by completely new planimetric conformation in which the sequence 'barrel vaulted entrance/square arcaded courtyard/ garden – after Bruschi – perhaps wanted to recapture, for the first time, the Vitruvian *casa degli antichi*'.¹⁶ Without the present day archeological knowledge understanding the Vitruvian text was a difficult job¹⁷ and the sequence of the spaces in the entrance was one of the hardest problems to solve. 'The only one who seemed to have understood them in his time'¹⁸ was Leon Battista Alberti. As reported by Fiore, this great architect had understood that for the Romans the atrium was not an entrance space facing the road, but a courtyard, also called the *cavedio*. Notwithstanding this brilliant intuition Alberti

[...] prefers to avoid a precise philological examination of the Vitruvian text and in *De re aedificatoria* leans towards a synthesis characterised by new terminology, where the central space, which he called *sinum* – or 'the heart of the house' following Orlandi's happy translation – already clearly enunciated as the main element characterising the new distribution of rooms in the ancient (classical) style.¹⁹

¹⁰ Some of these came from lineages that made their fortune during the period of the communes (like the Agnelli and Cavriani), others belonged to the feudal aristocracy (such as the Andreasi and Ippoliti), but many were new men, entrepreneurs in wool and merchants (one thinks of the Strozzi and Valenti), experts in the law (the Bonatti), court luminaries (such as the Arrivabene) or even non Mantuans welcomed by the Gonzaga (the Nerli from Florence, the Guidi from Bagno, the Castiglione from Milan, and the Guerrieri from Fermo).

¹¹ ROSSARI, Augusto, SCOTTI, Aurora - *Aspetti dell'abitare e del costruire a Roma e in Lombardia tra XV e XIX secolo*. Milan: Unicopli, 2005; CLARKE, Georgia - *Roman House, Renaissance Palaces: Investing Antiquity in Fifteenth-century Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; GÜNTHER, Hubertus - "Dal palazzo di Mecenate al palazzo Farnese: la concezione rinascimentale della casa antica". In SCOTTI, Aurora, edited by - *Aspetti dell'abitare in Italia tra XV e XVI secolo: Distribuzione, funzioni, impianti*. Milan: Unicopli, 2001, 219-239; FROMMEL, Christoph Luitpold - "Abitare all'antica: Il palazzo e la villa da Brunelleschi a Palladio". In MILLON, Henry, MAGNAGO LAMPUGNANI, Vittorio, edited by - *Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Michelangelo: La rappresentazione dell'architettura*. Milan: Bompiani, 1994, 183-204; VALTIERI, Simonetta - *Il palazzo del principe, il palazzo del cardinale, il palazzo del mercante nel Rinascimento*, Rome: Gangemi, 1988.

¹² BIANCHI, Marcella, CARPEGGIANI, Paolo - "Ludovico Gonzaga: La città, l'architettura: uno scenario per Andrea Mantegna". In SIGNORINI, Rodolfo, edited by - *A casa di Andrea Mantegna*. Cinisello Balsamo (MI): Silvana, 2006, 20-45; SUITNER, Gianna, NICOLINI, Dino - *Mantova: L'architettura della città*. Milano: Marcos y Marcos, 1987, 77-106; CARPEGGIANI, Paolo - "La fortuna di un mito: artisti e modelli fiorentini nell'architettura mantovana dell'Umanesimo". AA. VV. - *Filippo Brunelleschi: la sua opera e il suo tempo*, II. Florence: Centro Di, 1980, 817-837.

¹³ BRUSCHI, Arnaldo, et al., edited by - *Scritti rinascimentali di architettura: Patente a Luciano Laurana, Luca Pacioli, Francesco Colonna, Leonardo Da Vinci, Donato Bramante, Francesco Di Giorgio, Cesare Cesarino, Lettera a Leone X*. Milan: Il Polifilo, 1978.

¹⁴ For a first introduction to this topic see at least: BELLUZZI, Amedeo - *Palazzi fiorentini del Rinascimento*. Florence: Polistampa, 2008; BRUSCHI, Arnaldo - "Brunelleschi e la nuova architettura fiorentina". In FIORE, Francesco Paolo, edited by - *Storia dell'architettura: Il Quattrocento*. Milan: Electa, 1998, 38-113; RESTUCCI, Amerigo, edited by - *L'architettura civile in Toscana: Il Rinascimento*. Siena: Monte dei Paschi di Siena, 1997; BECCATINI, Massimo - *Palazzi di Firenze*. Florence: Vallecchi, 1971-1973.

¹⁵ CHERUBINI, Giovanni, FANELLI, Giovanni - *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*. Florence: Giunti, 1990; BULST, Wolfger - *L'originaria suddivisione interna di palazzo Medici a Firenze*, Firenze, 1986.

¹⁶ BRUSCHI, Arnaldo - *Brunelleschi e la nuova architettura fiorentina... cit.*, p. 105.

¹⁷ CARPO, Mario - "How Do You Imitate a Building That You Have Never Seen? Printed Images, Ancient Models, and Handmade Drawings in Renaissance Architectural Theory". *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*. München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverl, 2, 2001, 223-233.

¹⁸ FIORE, Francesco Paolo, "Leon Battista Alberti, palazzi e città". In BULGARELLI, Massimo et. al., edited by - *Leon Battista Alberti e l'architettura*. Cinisello Balsamo (MI): Silvana, 2006, 99.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

These were the principles that Alberti, Fancelli²⁰ and the other Florentines active in Mantua brought with them from the city of the Medici and, given the work completed, survived in great part in the Gonzaga city even when at the beginning of the 1500s the Fra Giocondo (Venice, 1511)²¹ and Cesare Cesariano (Como, 1521)²² editions interpreted the logic of the all'antica inhabitations in the Tuscan tradition and Albertian intuitions differently.²³

These principles were integrated into the tradition of the world of the medieval court that expected an itinerary that finished in the audience chamber, where the prince held his court. After the grand hall, hidden from direct view, there were the private rooms, which were usually inaccessible. The characteristics of this layout, examined by the historiography above all for the baroque era,²⁴ have, in reality, a long history that appears to already be consolidated in medieval times as demonstrated, for example, by the studies on the original nucleus of Palazzo Apostolico in Rome.²⁵ The renaissance palaces do not show, therefore, any significant novelties regarding the overall planning of the distribution and functions of the rooms. Compared to previous medieval residences, the 15th century palaces required only a few simple innovations and cultural references to radically transform the meaning of the spaces. For example, the route from the entrance which led the audience chamber became a ceremonial route which gave the opportunity of putting into practice the Vitruvian principles of the house all'antica.

An analysis of the fundamental morphological characteristics of the main projects in the Gonzaga era from the second half of the 1400s and early 1500s seems to confirm this interpretive model. Atrium, arcaded courtyard, stairs and hall still characterise today the Palace of Revere (the 'House on the Po' cited by Filarete),²⁶ among the first palaces built on the wishes of Ludovico II, in which references to Florentine houses are interpreted in the light of the political and artistic ideals of the marquis: the courtyard, for example, from being a lightwell at Palazzo Medici in Florence, has grown to become a public space for court life. A similar distributive model characterises the Villa Ghirardina,²⁷ another palace of Ludovico, where the system of accesses becomes a symbolical progression and whose entrance hall leads immediately to a stairway taking the visitor to the hanging courtyard, the 'heart' of the residence. Even the modernisation of the Saint George Castel was based around the insertion of a new renaissance courtyard,²⁸ from which a stairway leads to the state rooms and from these to the private apartments. Recent studies tell us that the Domus Nova²⁹ of Federico I, which remained unfinished, was directly inspired by the Ducal Palace at Urbino³⁰ (of which the marquis managed to obtain a copy of the plans) and which should have been laid out around a courtyard and characterised by a ceremonial route leading to the audience chamber. Even marquis Francesco II adopted similar

²⁰ BULGARELLI, Massimo – "Mantova: 1470 e dintorni; Alberti, Fancelli, Mantegna". In BULGARELLI, Massimo et. al., edited by - *Leon Battista Alberti e l'architettura* Bulgarelli... cit., 20-147; CARPEGGIANI, Paolo – "Luca Fancelli e la scultura decorativa nel contado gonzaghese". In MONICELLI, Francesco, edited by - *Scultura in villa nella Terraferma Veneta, nelle Terre dei Gonzaga e nella Marca Anconetana*. San Giovanni Lupatoto (VR): Arsenale, 2004, 216-247; LORENZONI, Anna Maria – "Il principe e l'architetto: Luca Fancelli al servizio di Ludovico II Gonzaga". In MOZZARELLI, Cesare, et al., edited by - *La corte di Mantova nell'età di Andrea Mantegna...* cit., 235-242; CARPEGGIANI, Paolo – "Luca Fancelli architetto civile nel contado Gonzaghese". *Arte lombarda*. Cesano Maderno: Istituto per la Storia dell'Arte Lombarda, 16, 1971, 37-44.

²¹ FONTANA, Vincenzo - *Fra' Giovanni Giocondo: Architetto 1433 c. 1515*. Vicenza: Pozza, 1988 and cited literature.

²² ROVETTA, Alessandro, et al. - *Cesare Cesariano e il Rinascimento a Reggio Emilia*. Cinisello Balsamo (MI): Silvana, 2008 and cited literature.

²³ PELLECCCHIA, Linda – "Architects Read Vitruvius: Renaissance Interpretations of the Atrium of the Ancient House". *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Chicago: Society of Architectural Historians, 4, 1992, 377-416.

²⁴ WADDY, Patricia - *Seventeenth-century Roman palaces: Use and the art of the plan*. New York: Cambridge, MIT Press, 1990.

²⁵ REDIG DE CAMPOS, Deocleio - *I Palazzi Vaticani*. Rocca San Casciano (BO): Cappelli, 1967, 28.

²⁶ LAWSON, James - *The building history of the Gonzaga palace at Revere. Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*. Florence: Max-Planck-Institut, 2/3, 1985, 197-228 and cited literature.

²⁷ PALVARINI GOBIO CASALI, Maria Rosa – "La Ghirardina di Motteggiana ovvero la 'Casa di Saviola' del Marchese Ludovico II Gonzaga". *Civiltà mantovana*. Modena: Il Bulino, 11, 1986, 5-34 and cited literature.

²⁸ L'OCCASO, Stefano – "...questi logiamenti de castello siano forniti ed adaptati...: Trasformazioni e interventi in castello all'epoca del Mantegna". In TREVISANI, Filippo, edited by - *Andrea Mantegna e i Gonzaga*. Milan: Electa, 2006, 20-35. TOGLIANI, Carlo - "L'architettura da Fancelli a Giulio Romano". In ALGERI, Giuliana, edited by - *Il Palazzo Ducale di Mantova*. Mantua: Sometti, 2003, 89-116.

²⁹ TOGLIANI, Carlo - "L'architettura da Fancelli a Giulio Romano"... cit. Some ancient drawings housed at the State Archive in Turin are really important: CARPEGGIANI, Paolo, "I progetto del Palazzo Ducale (1549 - 1587)". In MORSELLI, Raffaella, edited by - *Gonzaga: La Celeste Galleria*. Milan: Skira, 2002, 479-544, nn. 189.1, 189.2, 194.2, 196.1, 196.3, 196.4.

³⁰ FROMMEL, Christoph Luitpold – "Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino e la nascita della residenza principesca del Rinascimento". In FIORE, Francesco Paolo, edited by - *Francesco di Giorgio alla corte di Federico da Montefeltro*. Florence: Olschki, 2004, 167-196 and cited literature.

distribution formulas when he had Saint Sebastian Palace built.³¹ In this case the courtyard is replaced by a garden, but even here a stairway from the loggia leads directly to the hall and from there to the private apartments.

The Gonzaga's palaces served as models for the new ruling classes in Mantua and private houses³² emulated on a smaller scale these guidelines.³³ The principle theme of a house all'antica was the 'ceremonial progression' from the entrance to the audience chamber. Once through the door, in most new houses or those thoroughly renovated in the 1400s and 1500s, there is the entrance hall which then opens out. In some of these cases, usually those most archaic³⁴ the second room off the entrance hall is a wider quadrangular room looking onto the courtyard. In the most interesting and architecturally most complete cases this space becomes an open loggia onto the courtyard. Often the entrance opened half-way along the loggia,³⁵ but in many cases, nevertheless, the entrance did not open out onto a loggia but opened out laterally.³⁶ The atrium that opens centrally is, however, that which seems the most widely used solution, or at least that which was fully codified in the 1500s when, from a certain point of view, the variety of typologies reduced and an ideal model became crystallised.³⁷

It should be stated that the new Florentine conception of the courtyard arcaded on all four sides as the heart of a house so that 'rather than houses, the first edifices all'antica of the 1400s were palaces'³⁸ whose central courtyard required the building to be much wider than the narrow and deep houses that faced onto the medieval city streets. This model is without doubt the source of inspiration for the most important Mantuan renaissance palaces that, however, with their reduced dimensions due to the building lots available, had loggias only in the counter - façade. In this case it is therefore evident that we are dealing with a reference model applied to a real situation.

The ceremonial progression continued with the main stairway, usually (but not always) located in direct communication with the entrance hall, and in every case immediately accessible from the courtyard. The stairway would normally lead to the state room. In most cases however, the stairway led to a landing with the door towards the state room in a lateral position.³⁹ The hall on the piano nobile is the heart of the house, the heir of the multi purpose room of the middle ages, the fulcrum of daily life. At the same time the hall is the main reception room and is therefore also a space dedicated to public life. The combination of different functions is therefore the principal characteristic regarding the use of the vast renaissance rooms.⁴⁰ In origin the great audience

³¹ BOURNE, Molly - *Francesco Il Gonzaga: The soldier-prince as patron*. Rome: Bulzoni, 2008; CERATI, Claudia - *I Trionfi di Cesare di Andrea Mantegna e il Palazzo di San Sebastiano in Mantova*. Mantua: Tipografia Commerciale Cooperativa, 1989.

³² GIRONDI, Giulio - *L'evoluzione delle invarianti formali: Residenze mantovane dal XV al XIX secolo*. Degree dissertation: Politecnico di Milano, Facoltà di Architettura e Società, 2006/2007; CALDANA, Claudio - *L'architettura residenziale minore nel secolo XV a Mantova: Studio della tipologia fancelliana*. Degree dissertation: IUAV, 1980/1981; MARANI, Ercolano, AMADEI, Giuseppe - *Antiche dimore mantovane*. Mantua: CITEM, 1977; MARANI, Ercolano, PERINA, Chiara - *Mantova: Le arti...* cit., 162-166.

³³ It should also be pointed out that up to the end of the 16th century and even beyond, some forms of medieval design continued to be used. This was especially true for the entrance hall which passes through the length of the building and for rooms which served more than one purpose. Two examples are the Andreasi palace (79, Via Cavour) and the Rizzini palace (8, Via Guerrieri Gonzaga).

³⁴ As an example we should consider the house of the Beata Osanna Andreasi at 9, Via Frattini: FIASCONARO, Nicola - *La casa della Beata Osanna degli Andreasi in Mantova*. Mantova: Tipografia Grassi, 2002; MARANI, Ercolano, AMADEI, E. Marani, AMADEI, Giuseppe - *Antiche dimore mantovane...* cit., 60-71.

³⁵ Loggias could be composed of three arches, as in the cases of 20, Via Mazzini and 58, Via Fernelli, or of five arches such as the Nizzola palace (20, Via Arrivabene). These examples are difficult to date but are, however, referable to the late 1400s/early 1500s. It is easier to date the renaissance nucleus of Arrivabene palace (18, Via Fratelli Bandiera) to the 1480s which presents a five-arch loggia. According to ancient surveys, before its impressive neo-classical renovation the Guidi di Bagno palace (32, Via Principe Amedeo) of 16th century origin had the same type of configuration.

³⁶ For example we should consider the Petrozzani palace (16, Via Mazzini), whose renaissance nucleus is, again, not easy to date: FERRARI, Daniela - "Nota archivistica: L'inventario dei beni di Tullo Petrozzani". *Quaderni di Palazzo Te*. Modena: Panini, 4, 1986, 29-36.

³⁷ For example, we should consider the Aldegatti palace (20, Via Chiassi), dating back to the late 1500s, whose plans before the radical transformations of the beginning of the 20th century are housed in the "Archivio Storico del Comune di Mantova" (titolo V, 3.1. b. 32). In addition to this we should mention the Valenti palace at 7, Via Frattini (rebuilt in the Baroque period but with an atrium and loggia that can be dated to the first half of the 16th century: GIRONDI, Giulio, *Abitare nella Mantova barocca*. Mantua: Sometti, 2009, 13.) and the Soardi palace at 58, Via Frattini, referable to the 1500s, where the atrium is practically reduced to a splay within the thick walls.

³⁸ FIORE, Francesco Paolo - "Leon Battista Alberti, palazzi e città". In BULGARELLI, Massimo, et al., edited by - *Leon Battista Alberti e l'architettura...* cit., p. 99.

³⁹ For example we should consider the Valenti palace (7, Via Frattini) and the palace at 3, Piazza San Giovanni. Recent restoration has shown that originally, before the 18th century modifications, the Andreasi palace (79, Via Cavour) also had a stairway of this type. There are, however, some early cases in which already in the 16th century the door to the state room is in line with the stairway (for example we should mention the Soardi palace) and these seem to be the cases in which the reference models are cited with the greatest exactness.

⁴⁰ SCOTTI, Aurora, edited by - *Aspetti dell'abitare in Italia tra XV e XVI secolo...* cit.

chambers characterised the palaces of the sovereign and the edifices of the local institutions. In the renaissance the idea of the great hall spread to the residences of the princes, and the decoration all'antica and the classical imprint of all the palace contributed to affirm the power of the seigneur and his search for legitimisation through antiquity. In Mantua one of the most significant examples of the Renaissance is the vast double height hall in the Palazzo di San Sebastiano, built at the wishes of Marques Francesco II. In this case too one sees the diffusion of this type of space in the private residences of subjects which seems linked to the process of emulation of the prince and of the culture of his court by the renaissance aristocracy, especially those who owed their family's fortune to their seigneur.⁴¹

Around the state room (the dominant element in the layout of rooms on the piano nobile) the rest is, for the most part, rather disordered. Often the position of the great hall corresponds with atrium of the entrance⁴² but this is not, however, the rule.⁴³ Normally, however, from the first examples on the great hall is found near to the stairway. This fact is clearly related to motives tied to the need for accessibility for guests for rooms destined for public affairs. From the Renaissance on the great hall is, in more than one case, the only room from which one can accede to from the stairway.

⁴¹ For example we should consider the two gigantic salons one in the Andreasi palace (79, Via Cavour) the other at 3, piazza San Giovanni, both with decorations dating from the first half of the 1500s. One cannot but cite the vast hall of the Dalla Valle house, today part of the museum of Palazzo D'Arco, with its rich astrological decorations carried out in the 1530s by Falconetto: SIGNORINI, Rodolfo - *La dimora dei conti D'Arco in Mantova*. Mantua: Sometti, 2000, 215-256.

⁴² We could take as example the Petrozzani palace (16, Via Mazzini).

⁴³ The salon of the palace at 3, Piazza San Giovanni is in fact located in a different place; it faces onto the adjacent Via Finzi.

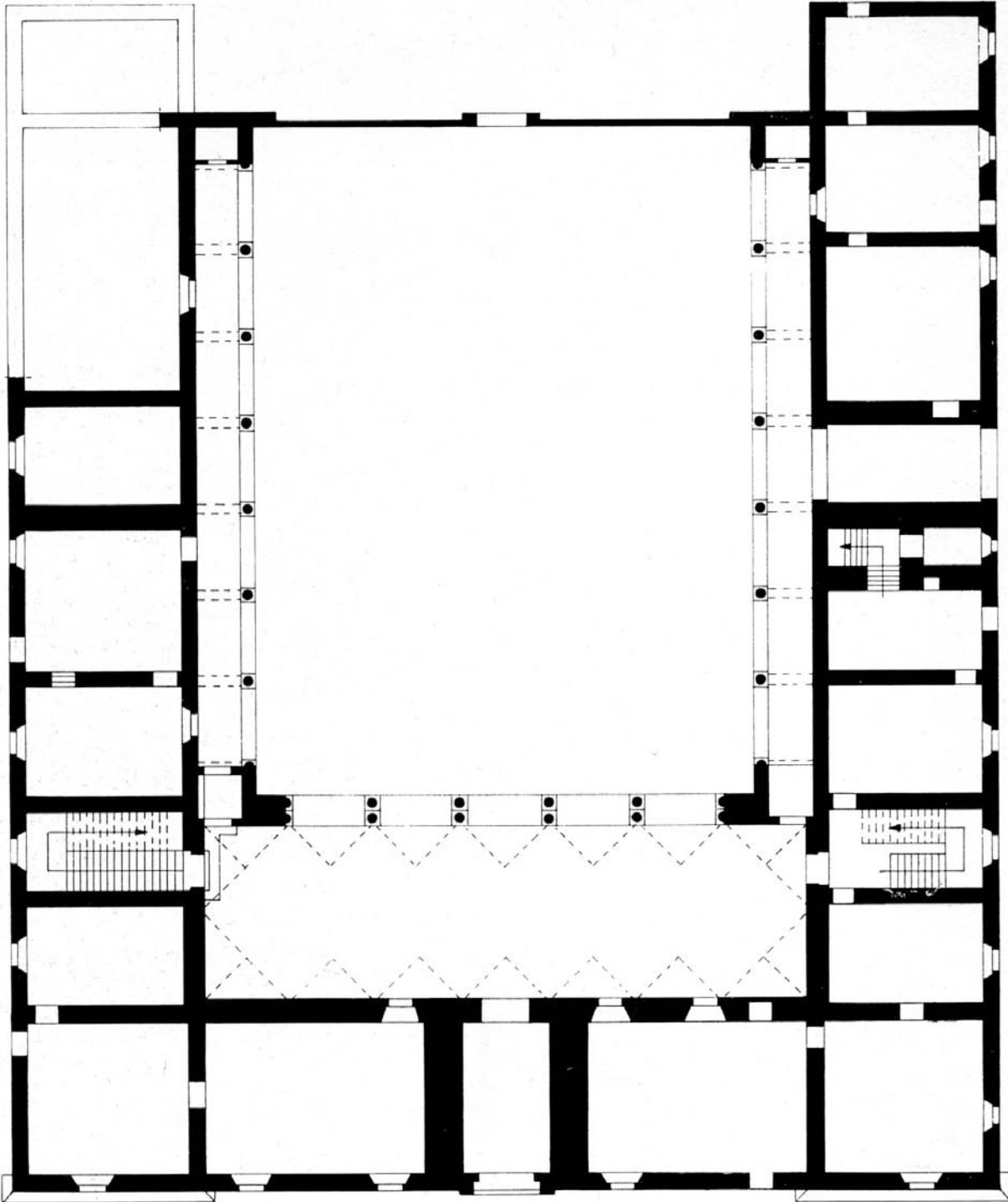


Fig1: Luca Fancelli, Palace of Ludovico II Gonzaga, plan f the ground floor, Revere (MN), Second half of the 15th century.

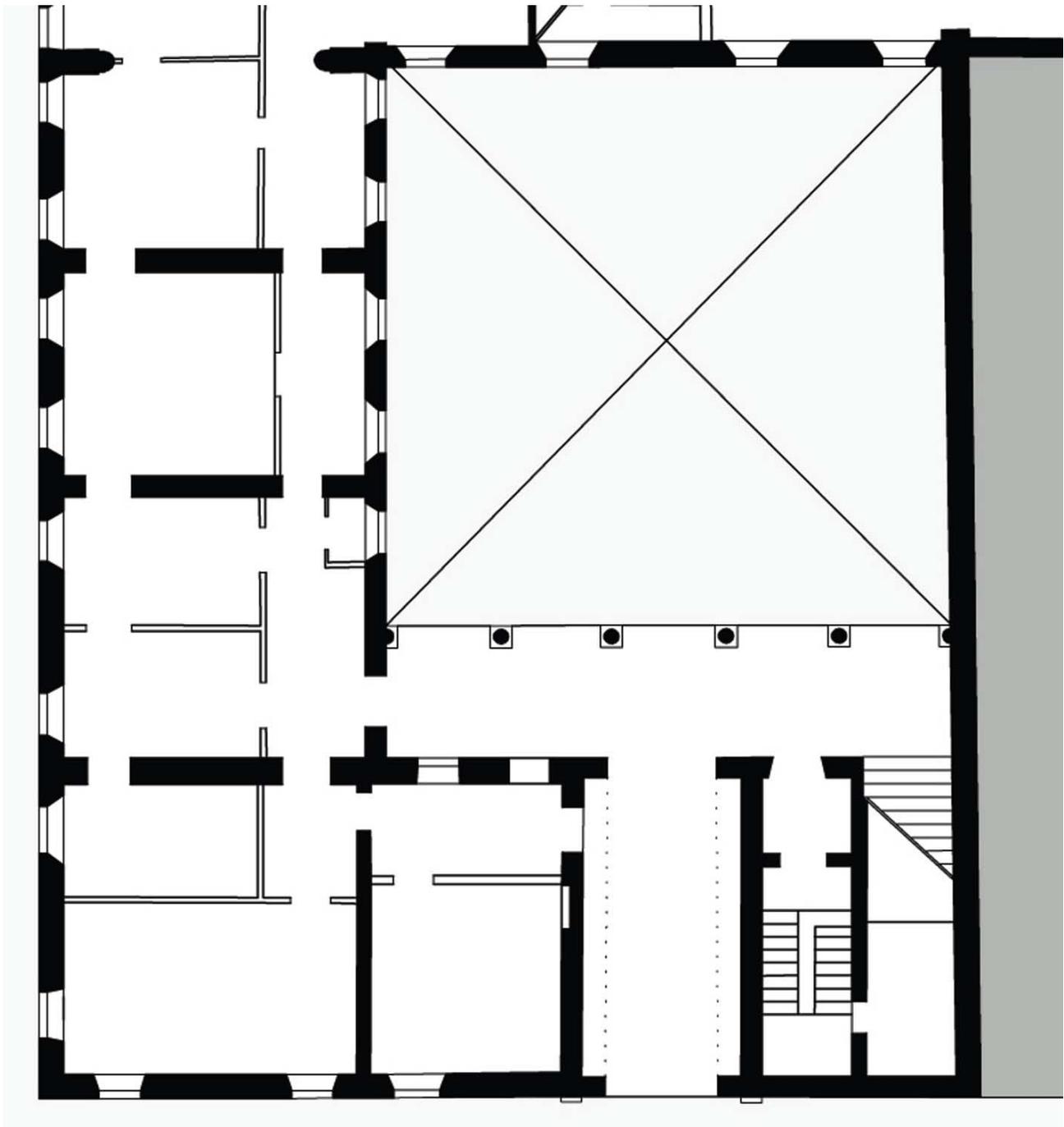


Fig.2: Luca Fancelli, attributed, Palace of Giovanni Arrivabene, plan of the ground floor (after the baroque restoration), detail, Mantua, 1481.

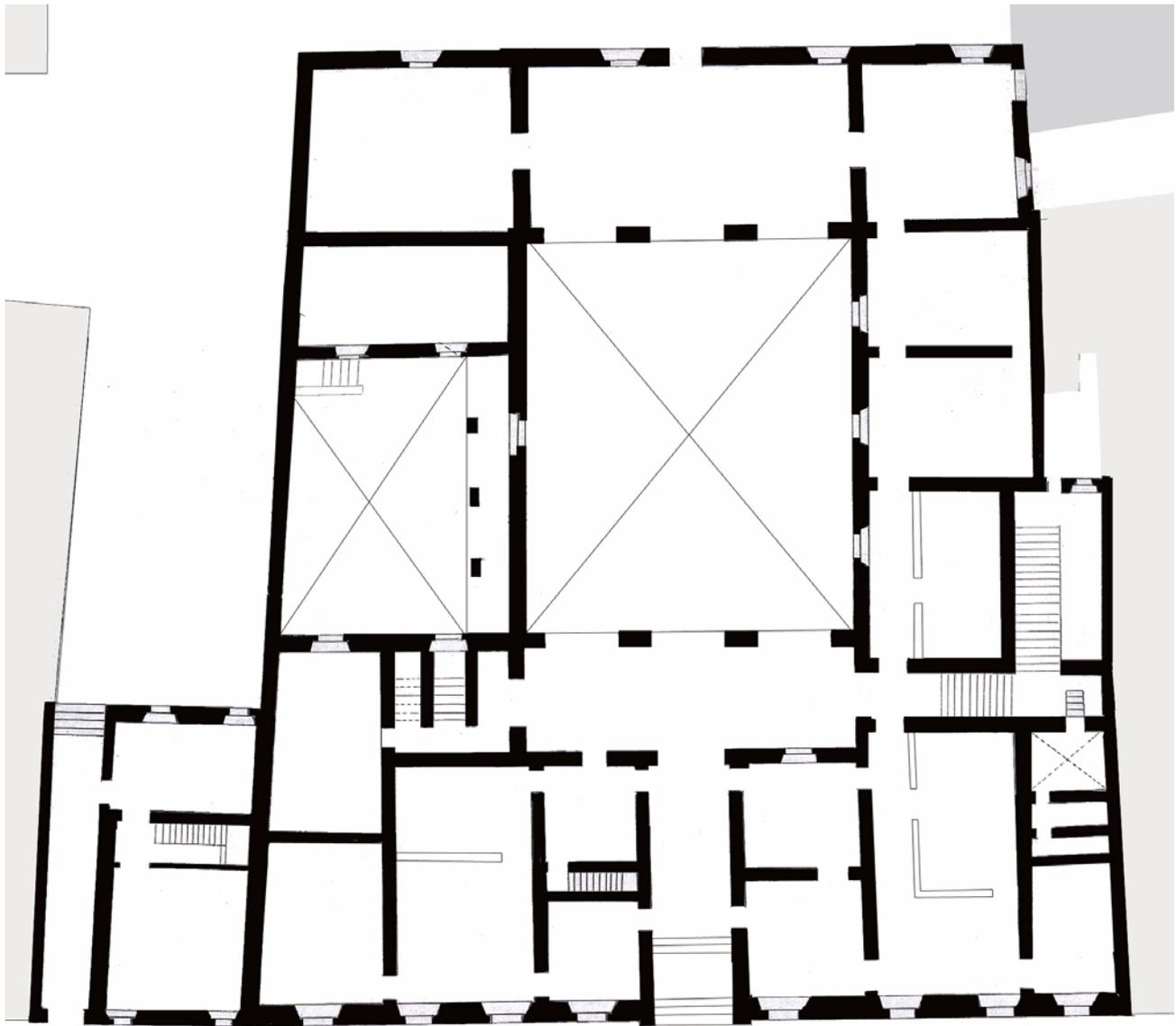


Fig.3: Aldegatti palace, plan of the ground floor (before the restoration of the beginning of the 20th century), Mantua, second half of the 16th century.

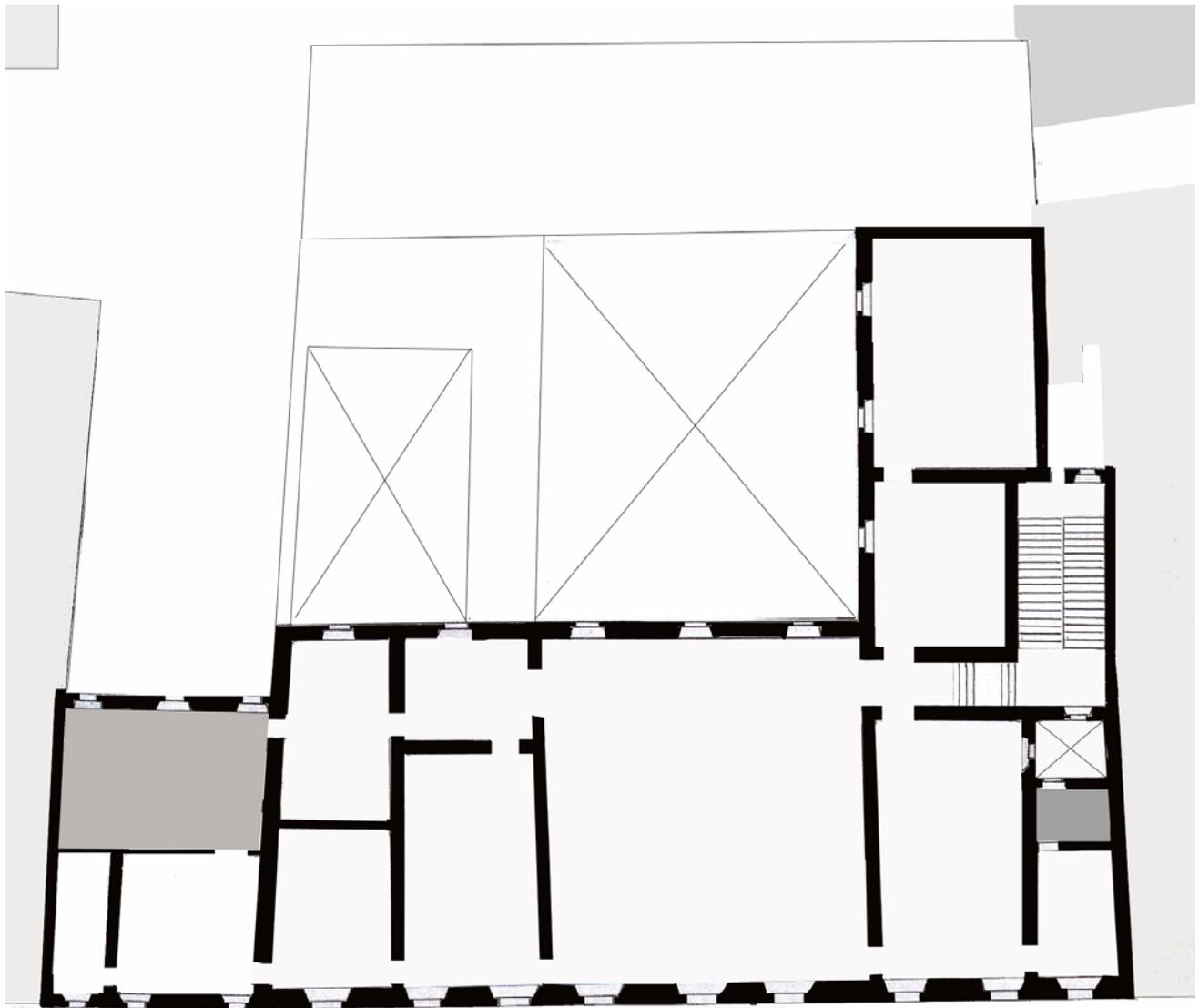


Fig.4: Aldegatti palace, plan of the 'piano nobile' (before the restoration of the beginning of the 20th century), Mantua, second half of the 16th century.

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Small “Houses”, Large Palaces: Carpi and the Renaissance Courts

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Between 1400 and 1500, in the Central and Northern Italian territory there was a wide diffusion of minor Courts. They were capitals of small dynastic states, seats of small Lords' courts, depending on the protection of more powerful nearby rulers. The so called “Padana” area, marked by the Po river and by the via Emilia root, was an area characterized by an unsteady political balance. Therefore several political figures give life to small territorial states, with their own “capital” cities (Carpi was the feud of the Pios; Mirandola of the Picos; Novellara of the Gonzagas, and also Guastalla and Sabbioneta). Starting from the last decade of the 15th Century, many of these centers witnessed a period of urban renewal that clearly modified the settlement's structure: by means of their ability to co-ordinate different initiatives, the individual lords aimed at transforming their residential palaces into a space, organized according to the parameters which characterized full-scale Cities (a phase that might be characterized as ‘from castle to *civitas*').

A first aspect I would like to emphasise concerns the interaction between major and minor Courts in terms of artistic taste. Local lords played an important role in promoting the circulation of artists, architectural and artistic models and technical expertise. The capital cities of the larger geographical states (like Mantua, Ferrara, Urbino and Milan) represented a sort of refined cultural capitals, in the eyes of the “minor” lords, i.e. the rulers/princes dominating the small courts.

We could say the artistic taste was conditioned by fashion development and, above all, by the political alliances. As well, quoting André Chastel, we should say the history of architecture is intertwined continually with the history of political passions.

This is demonstrated by the case of Carpi. The Lord of Carpi, Alberto Pio [Fig. 1] started his career as ambassador, representing the Marquis of Mantua in front of more powerful states (at the court of Luis XII King of France). Later (starting from 1510) he became ambassador of the Emperor Maximilian I, resident in Rome; from this moment he changed his artistic taste, in order to renew the “*imago urbis*” of Carpi according to the most up-to-date Roman models. He wanted to give a unitary “design” to his town, which he hoped to transform into a real “Capital City”. He could see what the architects and artists in the service of Leo X were designing and he asked them for models to be transplanted from Rome to his small town.

Even more significant, as regards the relationships between this small court and Rome, are the analogies between the projects for the Basilica of St. Peter (by Bramante/Raffaello) and the Duomo of Carpi; or between the loggias of palazzi Vaticani (by Raffaello) and those of the palazzo dei Pio at Carpi; or the façade of the parish church of Roccaverano (by Bramante) and the one of the Sagra at Carpi (by Peruzzi).

Many projects came to Carpi via Rome between 1514 and 1522: probably this is an exceptional case, but it's not the only one. Archive records testify to a large circulation of drawings and models, but they do not survive now. I recognized just one of these in a copy of a project given by Baldassarre Peruzzi to Alberto Pio in order to restore the church of San Francesco at Carpi. Lords could show drawings and models to very important visitors, in order to improve their prestige. Everyone could see the Carpi Duomo model by Peruzzi which dates from 1515: it was conserved in the sacristy. It was possible, as well, to compare the status of the building site with the original working plan as the model testified.

I would like to stress this point: no documentary evidence is available as regards the project of the Prince palace as a whole, in terms of some unitarian schemes to be realized in a unique step for a monumental complex. Nonetheless, it is necessary to

analyze the development of the Palace in relation to the urban structure and image. First of all the relationships between the new church (later called Duomo) and the Prince residence (now "palazzo dei Pio") [Fig. 2].

The first step planned by Alberto Pio, the Lord of Carpi from the beginning of the 16th Century to 1525, was the transformation of the pre-existing castle into a palace. He wanted a large courtyard inside and a new façade towards the huge space outside the borders of the castle. A new church (later called Duomo), was established by Alberto Pio at the bottom this space, destined to become the main monumental square.

The space is huge ("piazza grande"), especially in relation to the size of this center. The chronicle written at Carpi in 1626 told us that the actual "piazza dei Martiri", regarding its dimensions competed ("garrisce") with piazza Navona in Rome. The comparison is not casual: piazza Navona was one of the most studied spaces by the Renaissance architects under the patronage of Leo X; more precisely some drawings were made with the aim of enclosing the square with an imposing palace (its main façade is 103 metres long as the more famous palazzo della Cancelleria at Rome, similar in its 'weight' as regards the surrounding urban space).

Let us take a look to the development of the Palace in relation to the political career of the Prince of Carpi. The building with its massive aspect represents the ambition of the Prince of Carpi. At the beginning of his career (1495) his cousin (Giberto Pio) described him as a "small mouse". Giberto gave this warning to Ludovico il Moro: "signore mio, sogliono qualche fiata i topi fare ruinare de' grandi palazzo" (my lord, sometimes the mice are able to demolish large palaces). There is no doubt that in this phase the political and diplomatic connections of Alberto Pio were growing.

It is difficult to imagine exactly what the residence must have looked like before this age. Some buildings pre-existed: the Passerino Tower is thought to have been built around 1320. The Pio dynasty started governing Carpi from 1327; however the situation only became a little clearer from the end of the century and particularly from 1383, when the feud of Carpi was split between Giberto and Marsilio.

A legal document dating from 1383 mentions a "Rocham...domini Gyberti", which has been identified as the northern part of the complex, and was later incorporated into the Rocca Nuova or New Fortress. Contrary to its name, the New Fortress constitutes, or rather incorporates, the earliest nucleus of the Palazzo dei Pio complex. A similar construction process probably occurred in the southern part of today's building, where the Galasso Tower was built. The building, which was erected between 1440 and 1450, uniting two earlier towers, is a large rectangular-based turret with a characteristic vertical structure, broken down into various storeys with rooms with sumptuously frescoed cross vaults.

Between about 1430 and 1480, the residence (better: the residences of the different Lords) saw a series of alterations and integrations to the pre-existent structures that gave the castle the more palatial character that was later finalised by Alberto Pio. The last work to be performed before Alberto Pio's time was the construction of two small cylindrical corner towers on the citadel's western side, near the area now occupied by the square, which represent the last significant contribution to its fortification and of which only one, known as the Aviary or Uccelleria, still stands. They were erected by Marco Pio II in 1480.

The development performed under the orders of Alberto Pio shows a new perspective and new cultural directions that transformed the Pio family's medieval fortress, even in the eye of the people of the time, into a residential Palace [Fig. 3]. The fundamental characteristic of the work performed by Alberto Pio is the change in the building's role and function (from a fortress to a *palatium*: see the advice by Leon Battista Alberti in this regard). The Prince of Carpi preferred to update the decorations and incorporate and transform buildings and functions rather than destroying whole areas of the palace. However, starting from 1512, we can see the use of more up-to-date architectural and artistic models (in the work performed by Baldassare Peruzzi and the decoration of the two apartments) than those used by his predecessors.

Some examples: the low round building erected in 1480 originally served as a corner turret hemmed by the canal. In the early 1500s, Alberto Pio III transformed it into a *nymphaeum* with a secret garden behind it and an aviary on the roof for his collection of rare birds, hence the name.

The central body of the building overlooking the square is occupied by the majestic façade, with its chiaroscuro effect of windows and niches housing multicoloured frescoes of ancient inspiration depicting statues of Roman Emperors. The architecture features clear references to classical styles of Roman derivation.

The centre of the Pio complex is the Great Courtyard. It gave the palace a new image and in fact is not merely a connection between the various parts of the building, but also represents the first impression that one forms on entering the palace. The courtyard, which is made up of a rectangular loggia with marble columns forming a portico with rounded arches, topped by two upper loggias closed on the upper floors, reveals the influence of Urbino and Roman models. The courtyard is similar to that of the Ducal Palace at Urbino: together with Mantua, Urbino was one of the most admired courts during the first Renaissance age. However, looking at the architectural details we cannot find no analogies (see the capitals).

The most prestigious residential area of Palazzo dei Pio is the area of the New Fortress: two apartments on the mezzanine (the lower one) and first floors (the upper one).

The core of the two apartments connected by a staircase is the so-called "Moors' Room", which is thought to have been the "grandiose upper room" for receiving guests as early as 1470 ("sala magna"): it was built in its current form in the early 1500s, under the orders of Alberto Pio. The decorations by Giovanni del Sega are inspired by models favouring a taste for the ancient that was fashionable in Roman circles at that time. The walls open up with a scenic function onto open spaces through the false prospective loggia topped by ancient statues, including a copy of Prassitele's *Venus de Cnido*. The upper band is decorated by a grotesque frieze with medallions featuring busts of ancient Roman emperors [Fig. 4].

Writing a letter to Alberto Pio (1520), the humanist Giovan Battista Spinelli could say about the Palace of Carpi: "sarà palazzo romano" (it will be a roman palace).



Fig. 1: Bernardino Loschi, Portrait of Alberto Pio da Carpi, 1512, Londra, National Gallery.

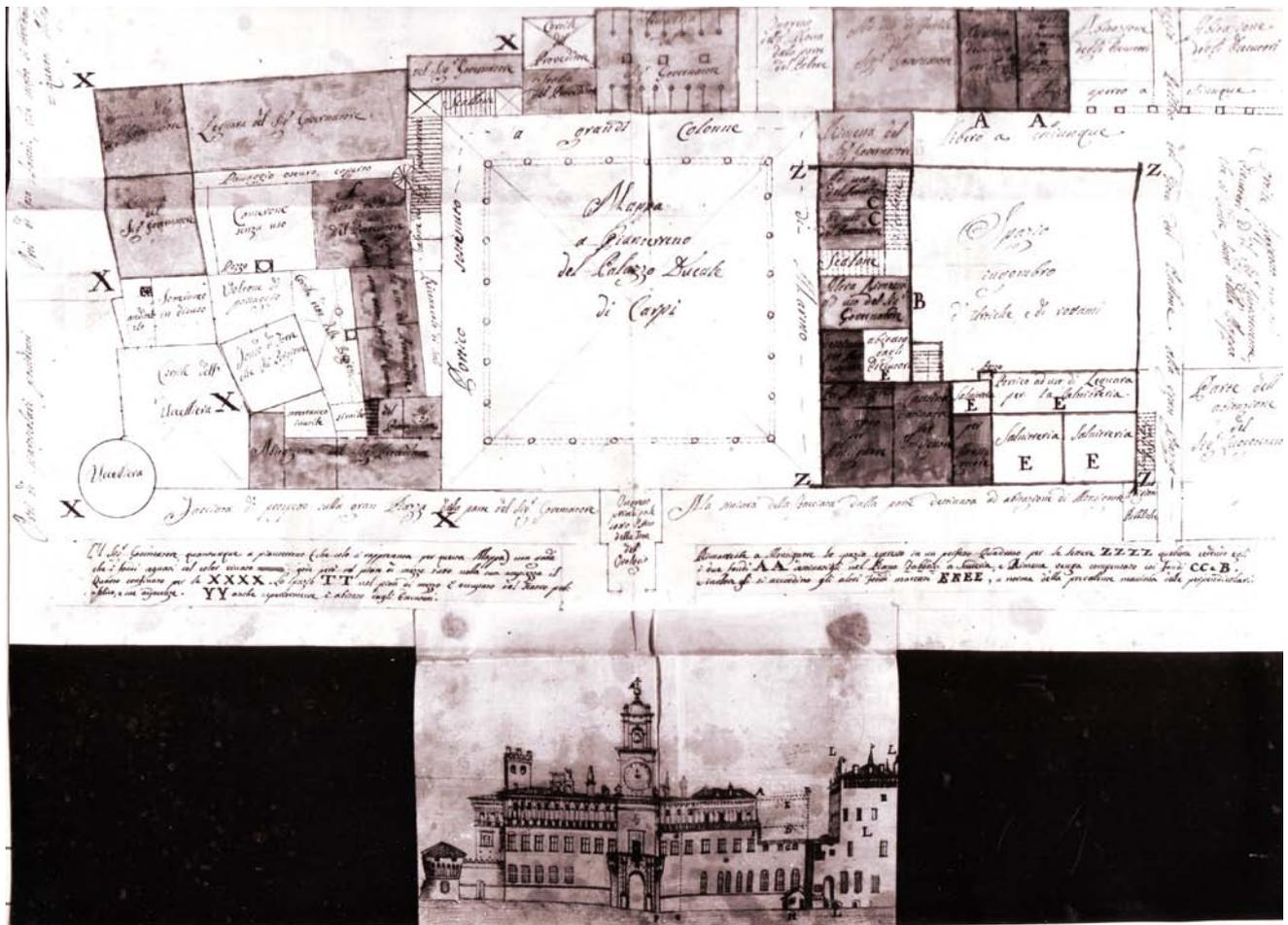


Fig. 3: Mappa a pianterreno del Palazzo Ducale di Carpi, 1779, Archivio di Stato di Modena Cassa Segreta Nuova, b. 748, n. 38147.



Fig. 4: Carpi, Palazzo dei Pio, the "Moors' Room", west side.

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Urban Design and Architecture of Power in Imola during the Signoria of Girolamo Riario (1473 – 1488)

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In 1473 the Pope Sisto IV according with Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, gave the dominio on the Romagna city of Imola and its territory to the young nephew count Girolamo Riario (1443 ca. – 1488) wedding Caterina Sforza daughter of the Duke. This was the first step toward the constitution of a new *Principate*, implemented in 1480 with the annexation of the city of Forlì. During the short era of Riario's government Imola became subject of a wide and accelerated process of urban improvement that modified the city structure in line with the Renaissance attitude. The focus of the programme of urban renovation was the *Piazza Maggiore*, the centre of the city. The Piazza had to become a place of power's display, a tangible representation of the *Dignitas* and power of the *Princeps*. Girolamo Riario, for himself and the court, converted the former 'Palazzo Comunale' and, in the same, time along the east side of the square was built a long new palace with porticoes that had to contain the offices of the State. The renovation of the principal square of Imola, however not completely finished, was a paradigmatic and earlier case of Renaissance urban design. [Fig. 1]

Medieval Imola

Imola is located along *via Aemilia* on East of Bologna and in origin it was a city of Roman foundation named *Forum Cornellii*. The centre of medieval town was the *Platea communis*, Piazza del Comune (or Piazza Maggiore) that was in the middle of the city near the ancient site of the roman forum. It was slowly organised as civic and market place during the XII-XIV centuries, on the East side of the Church of San Lorenzo that in the early time was also room of civic reunion. Only at the beginning of the XIII century it was built the Palazzo del Comune along the West side near the cross - road between *via Aemilia* and *via Appia*. Other little spaces with specific functions like the *Campo delle Beccarie* and the *Piazzetta* were connected to the principal piazza. Before the Riario's *Signoria* the form of the Piazza Maggiore was irregular and occupied with some buildings and the cemetery of San Lorenzo's Church. [Fig. 2]

In the last decades of the XIVth century the Communal Palace was deeply transformed and adapted to changing political conditions. With the advent of a *Signoral* regime - the Alidosi first, then the Manfredi - the building was enlarged to accommodate also the residence of the Lord. To free space of the old structure was built to connect a face to the west a series of spaces located across the street. The internal organization of the Public palace, however, maintained a profound functional mixture. Documentary traces of the mid-fifteenth century give evidence of spaces richly decorated as, for example, the *Camara de imperaduri*. A building where, according to a chronicler of the time, 'le camare et sale ... al vero sono numero infinito'.

Politics and the city during the Riario's Signoria

The programme of urban transformation didn't begin immediately, but only when Girolamo Riario's role in politics and diplomacy became more defined and autonomous, in stark comparison to the initial Milanese control. In this sense, the fact that in August 1480 the Pope bestowed the apostolic vicariate in the city of Forlì to his nephew constitutes a turning-point. The expansion of the dominion gave to Riario more substantial weight in the political geography. However, the apprehension over pope Sisto's health, who had in his hands the power and the economic rent of Girolamo, increased. Under these circumstances, the belief in the necessity of contributing fully within the limitations of their influence and dominion evolved, gathering resources for the purpose of laying the foundation to form a true and proper court.

Girolamo Riario, a “foreign ruler” who had interests elsewhere and whose office in the organisation of the papal state constrained him to Rome, set out to become a *resident* lord. Finding himself in the position of having to take on different, more concrete duties he became much more involved in, and essential to, the administration of the Romagna State. The *renovatio* of the city followed a more profound change in the structure of ownership and primary financial resources, which became much more concentrated in fewer hands. The intrusion of the Riario’s private affairs in the economic and social structure of the town was also accompanied by the assumption of control over the majority of the beneficial clerics, who were assigned, in great part, to Girolamo’s nephew Raffaele Riario.

Triumphal entry (1481)

The first visit of Girolamo Riario and his court to the land of the State dates back to 1481. With the triumphal entry, the feasts and the accompanying ceremonies, such an event took on a programmatic value. To celebrate the occasion, coins were minted and distributed during the stately entry. The selected motto expresses precise ideological predisposition: one side presented the profile of Philip of Macedon; while on the other was the heraldic shield of the Riario held up by angels accompanied by the motto *Innata Liberalitas*.

The prince’s virtue determined by the *liberalitas* has precise connotations: it deals with a concept taken from the antiquity, as Martin Warnke has pointed out:

by means of the *liberalitas* the prince tried to show that he doesn’t have excesses of power or wealth accumulated for personal use, that is in a tyrannical way [...]. Included amongst the activities of the *liberalitas*, already from ancient times, and given particular emphasis, was building construction; a bad prince is he, who doesn’t demonstrate his generosity through public architectural work.

Filarete, in his treatise underlined the relationship between the enlightening actions of the Prince and the generosity of the state, perceiving it as the prince’s effort to ‘communicate his assets to many’ by way of construction work.

These are concepts taken from Francesco Patrizi in his *De institutione reipublicae* of 1471, and dedicated to Sisto IV, which most certainly had to be noted by Riario’s *entourage*. It was a text based on the compilation of ancient sources. In particular, books VII and VIII dealt with themes connected to the city and architecture and, above all, contained indications on the role of the Lord in relation to the constructions.

In the context of a State on the way towards formation, Imola perhaps had to discard the task of being a place representative of the *Signoral* identity. A city oriented towards the celebration of its regal governor was displayed as such: yet the edification of a considerable receptive structure (the so called *Albergo Cappello*) during these years did not occur randomly, but it probably served to ascertain hospitality to eligible visitors.

Square and palaces

With a decision that became the breaking point in terms of the small city’s traditions and historical identity, Girolamo Riario gave the order to demolish the church of San Lorenzo, rectifying the western front that imposed itself upon buildings along the same alignment. This made space for the square that would come to be more or less two times its previous size. In the meantime, a building with ample porticoes was to be constructed along the eastern front as large as the entire overrun side. [Fig. 3]

We know for a fact, that the main purchase of real estate in the area, where the palace would later be erected, occurred in two

stages: between September and October of 1481 and then in January and April of 1483. Construction had to proceed quickly and by September the following year, the building was built up to the point of needing only a roof. Later on, however, work was suddenly interrupted due to the abrupt ending of the political career and the financial resources of Girolamo Riario occurring simultaneously with the death of his uncle Sisto IV (August 1484); and then with his own death by assassination (1488 in Forlì).

The condition of the unfinished palace had a bearing on future generations. This made it difficult to define, above all, the purpose it was destined to serve. Further evidence allows us to define with more precision the functions which the construction was meant to serve. The square palace, according to those interviewed during a trial in 1570, was requested by:

'Lord Girolomo [who] ordered the construction so as to house all the magistrates of the territory' ... 'he wanted to place inside it **residence for all the magistrates**, and he demolished the church of San Lorenzo which was previously there, reducing it to a small church'.

The new building was thus labelled as public office and not as head office of the court. Such an indication allows us to focus on the intentions and the aims of the interventions carried out in the city by Girolamo Riario. Examining the function of the architecture and its typology together, we are puzzled as to the purpose it was meant to serve, with ample receptive capacities, workshops on the ground floor (with mezzanine floors for the stockrooms) and offices on the upper floors.

Therefore, it was a building tightly associated to the square of which one entire side was bounded. Without doubt, the type of public edifice that the treatise writers foresaw along the perimeter of a *forum*. However it was already common in medieval cities. C. L. Frommel, approaching the imolese case from the pattern of the ducal palace of Mantua, has spoken of 'synthesis between a palazzo civico and vitruvian *forum*' for which reason it became inspiring for both.

The geometrical form of the new square was near to a rectangular shape (straight towards its southern side), the dimensions of which seem proportionate, more or less, approaching 2:3 (54 metres of width per 80 of length at about the centre line). The proportions set by Vitruvio regarding the dimensions of the forum, even though hypothetical, do not respect the limitations of the perfect alignment at the front.

A space, therefore, to be used collectively and regulated which proposed a vast island made up of 'strongly connected rationalities in the centre of the city's fabric: that of the volume of construction and that of the emptiness complementary to it', according to a definition used by Manfredo Tafuri regarding other cases of intervention on squares.

Even though not explicitly stated by the historical sources, there was certainly the idea to reproduce the scheme of the *forum*. In fact, a poetic, encomiastic composition by the humanist Roberto Orsi of Rimini, celebrated Girolamo Riario as *renovator* of Imola and constructor of *Arces, Fora, Tempia*.

In this sense, the sojourn of Riario at the court of Urbino in 1481, before the visit of his State, takes on a fundamental importance. It is without doubt that the break was the occasion to visit the palace and admire the works constructed by a prince-*condottiero* universally admired and recognised as an authority on the subject of architecture. This could be, perhaps, the moment in which the programmes and the intentions of magnificence pertaining to Imola and Forlì had found an answer in the concrete models. [Fig. 4]

That of Imola, as already said, is an unfinished work, and what was delivered to us is only a fragment of what could have been. We can only try to conjecture the comprehensive articulation of the overall renovation programme. The works since described had probably been only the first stage of a programme that would have been concluded in renovating completely the Communal Palace, always destined to be the *Palazzo del Signore*. Moreover, in 1484, Sisto IV had conceded the authorisation to demolish

the convent of SS. Donato and Paolo, to consent the reorganisation of the spaces placed to the west of the palazzo comunale.

I think that, after the demolitions and the rectification of the western front, it was planned the reconstruction of the San Lorenzo church following the front line imposed by the presence of the communal Palace. It is, in fact, unthinkable, that a church was demolished, not only historically and symbolically important for the city, but also of fundamental importance for proceeds meant for the cardinal of S. Giorgio, Raffaele Riario, who had already since 1477 kept them *in commendam*. This intention is confirmed, indirectly, by the words enclosed in a bull by pope Borgia, who after the end of his Lordship Riario, arranged the reconstruction San Lorenzo. The text pinpoints that the building was ordered to be demolished by Girolamo Riario under the pretext of wanting: *in melius reformare et pro decore dicte platee*. Probably after the reconstruction the new church had to become a 'palatine temple' connected with a new Signoral Palace.

The episode of the Lordship Riario is characterised as a break, with regards to the long-last processes which until that moment had governed, most of all the function and hierarchies, the urban imolese evolution. But in the meantime, it sheds light on some more general characteristics relative to the modality of intervention on the urban structure in the passage from the medieval era to the modern one. It demonstrates that it is the break introduced by an institutional change, that rendered possible the decisive and staggering action to steady traditions.

However, in the case of Girolamo Riario his force depended solely on random unpredictable elements. Machiavelli would have deduced from this fact that: a State which is founded only 'with the aid of the ones in power is preserved with more difficulty than the one which is set up with the assistance of the people'. The political designs and the programmes of urban renovation of the count Riario were doomed to fall through. The strong indication of the square *cut into* the medieval body of the city poses today as an unfillable gap in comparison with the original intentions: in its incompleteness it displays the failure of a peremptory, and perhaps even unrealistic, volition of representation.



Fig. 1: L. Da Vinci, *Plan of Imola*, 1502 ca. (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, 12284).

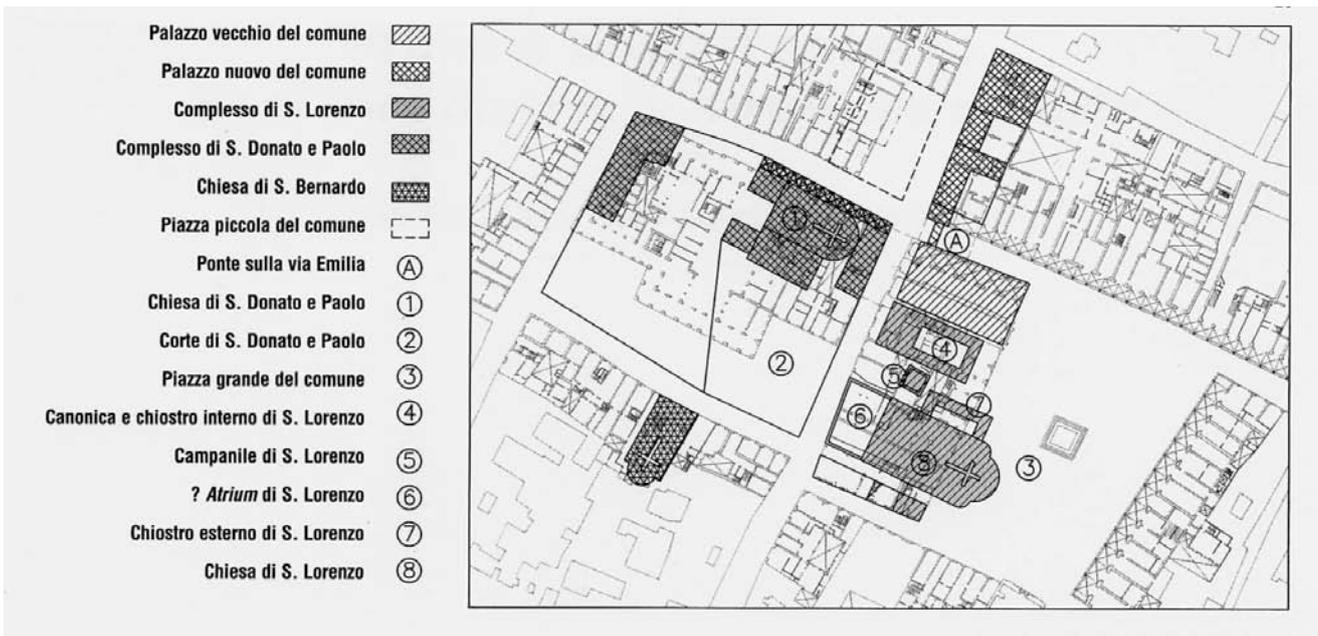


Fig. 2: *Graphic reconstruction of the state of Imola's Piazza Maggiore in medieval age*, (from: *Imola, il Comune, le piazze*, Imola 2004).

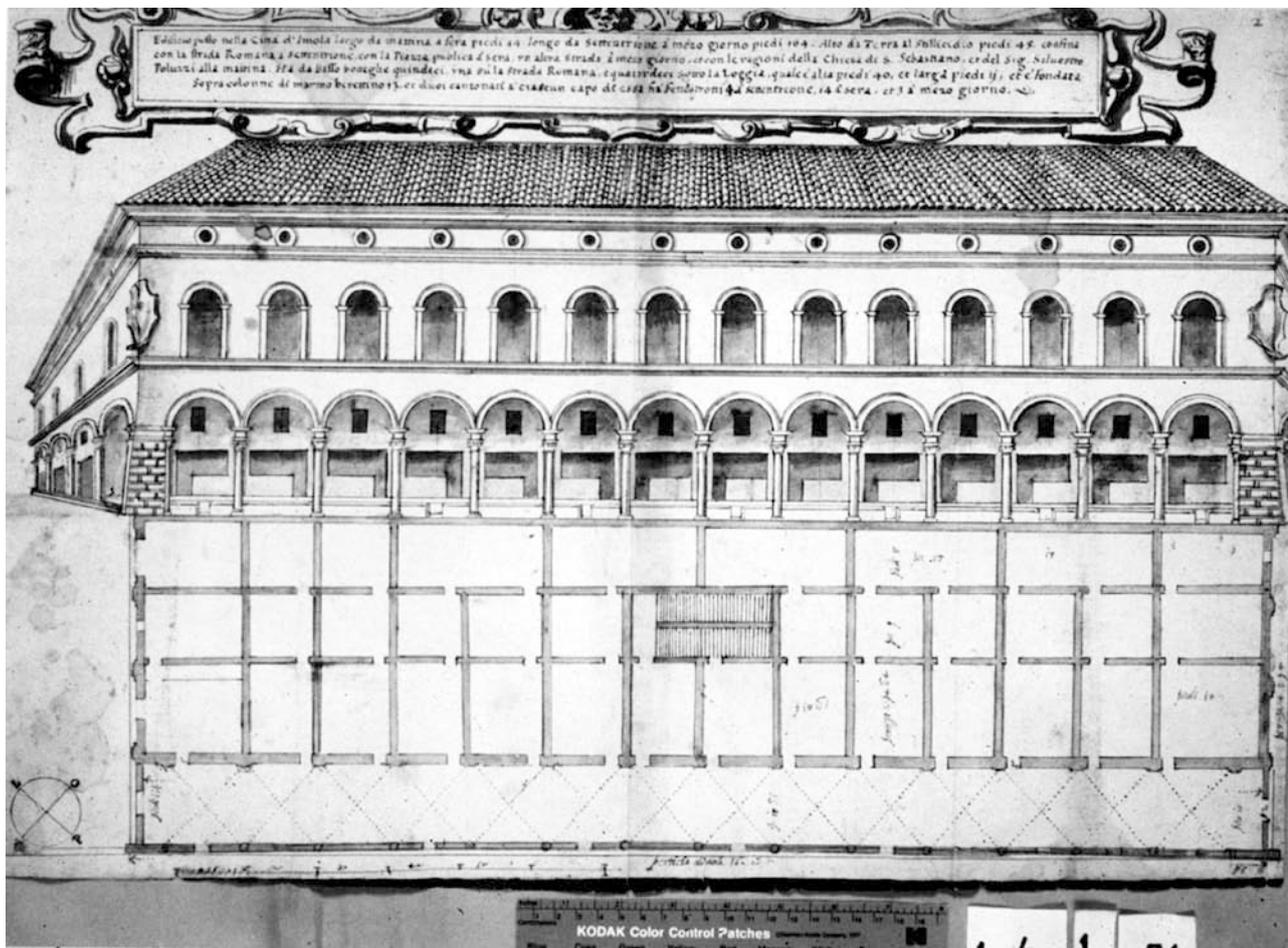


Fig. 3: G. Della Torre, *View of the Riario's Palace built in the eastern side of Piazza Maggiore of Imola, 1616* (Biblioteca Civica di Imola).



Fig. 4: *View of the Riario's Palace in Imola.*

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Roma EUR: The Completion of a Fascist Building Project in Post-War Italy

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In Italian cities, a sense of continuity with the past can always be felt. Whether in Rome, Florence or Venice, the Italians live in structures dating from former centuries. Interestingly enough this includes architecture commissioned by the fascist regime. Many Italian railway stations and schools have been built under fascist rule and are still appreciated. Considering that the state patronage of Mussolini extended to many movements and included the most important Italian architects of the time,¹ this is not so odd as it may seem. However, it is noteworthy that the E42 project in Rome, originally planned as a highly representative event for the fascist regime, was taken up in the postwar period and is still in function today as a business and residential district under the name EUR. Since the Esposizione Universale of 1942 (E42) was not only planned as an exhibition but also as a new fascist city centre for the capital, it was the biggest landmark in the history of architecture commissioned by the fascist regime. This paper examines the origins of EUR and tries to clarify the reasons for its continued existence.

It was Giuseppe Bottai, the mayor of Rome, who proposed the idea of a universal exposition to Mussolini in 1935. Originally planned for 1941, the year set by six-year intervals established for these events, the Duce decided that the exhibition would take place in 1942 instead, to let it coincide with the twentieth anniversary of the fascist regime. The E42 would mark the transition from a fascist state to a fascist empire after the military victory in Ethiopia (1936), and enable Italy to demonstrate its supremacy in the cultural field. Mussolini felt this need especially towards Nazi-Germany, an upcoming power by which Italy had been defeated during the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. The motto of the 1942 exhibition was thus the 'Olimpiade delle civiltà,' a cultural contest between the nations, of which fascist Italy was to emerge as a winner. After the exhibition, E42 would be the centre of a new, Mussolinian Rome. The chosen site lay south of Rome, in the direction of Ostia. This had a symbolic meaning, as it was the direction of the Mediterranean Sea, *mare nostrum*, to which Rome held historic claims. Most Italian architects wanted to contribute to such a prestigious project, hoping to acquire recognition (and, subsequently, state commissions) from the regime.

An independent body, the Ente EUR (Esposizione Universale di Roma), was set up to coordinate the organization and construction of the event. Cipriano Efesio Oppo, in charge of the architectural and artistic part, chose a team of five architects to design the master plan, consisting of Giuseppe Pagano, Marcello Piacentini, Luigi Piccinato, Ettore Rossi and Luigi Vietti. Piacentini played a key-role in the decision making process. Not only did he in 1938 become the official leader of the group, but he also ultimately decided on the most important architecture competitions. On earlier occasions, most notably during the construction of the University City of Rome, Piacentini had collaborated with younger rationalist architects and declared himself to be in favour of modern architecture. Therefore it was hoped by many that he would allow progressive architecture for E42. In terms of style, the 1935 plan rather vaguely refers to a 'style of the year XX' which according to the 1937 plan would have to be grandiose and monumental, although 'bold and futuristic solutions' were allowed for the temporary pavilions.² The architecture competitions for the four most important buildings (Palazzo della Civiltà italiana, Palazzo dei Congressi, Piazza Imperiale and the buildings for the Forze Armate) required a 'classic and monumental' style from the participating architects, even when use was made of 'modern and functional forms.'³

¹ See for example STONE, Marla - *The Patron State*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998 and GHIRARDO, Dianne Yvonne - "Italian architects and Fascist Politics: An Evaluation of the Rationalist's Role in Regime Building". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. 39/2 (1980) 109-127.

² 'Per i padiglioni temporanei gli artisti potranno tentare soluzioni ardite et anche avveniristiche'. *E42 - Programma di massima*, June 1937.

³ 'Il sentimento classico e monumentale, nel puro senso di atteggiamento dello spirito (...) dovrà essere, pur nelle più moderne e funzionali forme, il fondamento dell'ispirazione architettonica.' Bando di concorso, articolo IV, 1937.

By 1939, Piacentini had reduced the master plan for the site to a rigid symmetrical structure with a main road and crossing streets, similar to that of ancient Roman cities [Fig. 1]. The outcomes of the architecture competitions left a classical impression, as the buildings were dominated by columns or pillars. Piacentini had in 1938 started a controversy on the issue of autarchy in architecture, and excused an abundant use of elements of classical construction partially on grounds of economical necessity.⁴ Sanctions imposed on Italy by the League of Nations after its conquest of Ethiopia had led to a rise in the cost of steel and glass, and so Piacentini encouraged the use of Italian materials such as marble and travertine. Only for projects considered of less importance, like the post office, more daring solutions were allowed. The designs for the most prominent building of the exhibition, the Palazzo della Civiltà italiana [Fig. 2], were adapted several times at the request of the Ente EUR. Many rationalist architects who had in vain participated in the competitions were frustrated by their outcome. Pagano, who felt set apart in the leading team of five, even became one of E42's most ardent critics.

Due to the war, building activities on the site slowed down and eventually stopped in 1942. By that time, the four monumental structures mentioned above were almost finished, as were the church, the post office, the Museo della Civiltà Romana and the office of the Ente EUR. After the war, the site lay abandoned and was looted by constructors, who illegally collected the materials left there. Destruction of the quarter, interestingly enough, has never been a matter of discussion. A proposal to use the buildings for the festivities tied to the Holy Year of 1950 was eventually abandoned. The name of the project changed from E42 to EUR (still an acronym of Esposizione Universale di Roma), and the organizational structure was maintained. In 1951 Giulio Andreotti, at the time Secretary of the Council of Ministers, placed Virgilio Testa at the head of the Ente EUR. Testa was a professor in urban law, and an expert from the Roman administration. Having lost its significance as an expression of fascist power, Testa placed the emphasis on EUR's urban qualities. He sold separate void lots to private constructors in order to develop buildings there under very strict conditions. This kind of controlled development was unheard of in Rome, and on the whole it functioned quite well.

Testa however also had to find a purpose for the monumental buildings from the fascist era. For the post office and the church the solution was obvious, but for more emblematic structures, notably the Palazzo della Civiltà, it was a delicate matter. This was the most visible structure of E42, nicknamed also 'colosseo quadrato.' After using it in 1953 to host the Esposizione dell'Agricoltura, in 1956 the Federazione Nazionale dei Cavalieri del Lavoro d'Italia, an independent organization of entrepreneurs, moved to the building. With regard to its decoration, a large inscription quoting Mussolini ('A people of poets, of artists, of heroes, of saints, of thinkers, of scientists, of sailors, of emigrants')⁵ remained in place. The State archives were stored in the buildings formerly destined for the Forze Armate, and various museums moved to EUR's monumental structures (respectively to the buildings intended for the exhibitions on popular arts and traditions and the science exhibition). The office of the Ente EUR continued to function as such, with its Mussolinian quote, reading 'The third Rome will extend over other hills along the coast of the holy river until the shore of the Tyrrhenian Sea'.⁶ A statue of a boy performing the fascist salute entitled 'Il genio del fascismo' was however transformed into 'Il genio dello sport' by adding a boxing glove and new lettering on the base. Next to one of the entrances, a relief representing Roman building history which ends with a triumphant Mussolini on horseback [Fig. 3] was partly covered by Testa to protect it from the angry crowds. His successor brought it again to daylight in the 1970s, the time of the famous 'svolta storiografica.'

In the course of the 1950s the government decided that, together with the former Foro Mussolini, EUR would be the site for the Olympic Games of 1960. The choice for these two locations planned under fascist rule was inevitable, since Rome lacked other

⁴ PIACENTINI, Marcello – "I. Bilancio del razionalismo" [13-07-1938], "II. Nuova rinascita" [15-07-1938], "III. Riforme concrete" [17-07-1938]. *Il Giornale d'Italia* (1938).

⁵ 'Un popolo di poeti di artisti di eroi di santi di pensatori di scienziati di navigatori di trasmigratori.' Mussolini said this in a speech dated October 26, 1935, when he declared war to Ethiopia.

⁶ 'La terza Roma si dilaterà sopra altri colli lungo le rive del fiume sacro sino alle sponde del Tirreno.' Mussolini said this in a speech dated December 31, 1925, when he inaugurated the mayor of Rome.

suitable lots at the time. Immediately after the war, the name of the Foro Mussolini had been changed to Foro Italico. Along its main avenue, paved with black-and-white mosaics with fascist images, three marble plaques were added to the existing sequence to commemorate respectively the fall of fascism, the institutional referendum of 1946 and the republican constitution of 1948. Other plaques were moved as to reduce their political significance.⁷ In view of the 1960 Olympics, the debate concerning the fascist messages at the Foro Italico sports complex was reopened, which resulted in the removal of a mosaic containing the fascist oath and the covering of an inscription disapproving the economic sanctions, although the obelisk with the inscription MUSSOLINI DUX at the entrance of the site remained unaltered.⁸ And so only the most explicit references to fascism were removed, while the allusions to fascism in combination with antiquity were allowed to remain in place.

The Olympic committee (CONI) planned in EUR the construction of an Olympic swimming pool, a velodrome and the Palazzo dello Sport, a new building that closed the quarter in the south. Since left-wing professors at the faculties of architecture considered EUR an outdated and outmoded project, architectural reviews were rather silent on the developments and only discussed the competition for the new velodrome. In particular Bruno Zevi, one of the most prominent Italian architects in postwar Italy, was critical. Zevi was a Jew who fled from Italy in 1938 following Mussolini's racial laws. One of his comments was that 'after the war (...) Eur became the visual document of a tragedy, masked by a pathetic touch.'⁹ In general the architectural elite ignored EUR, perhaps in a wishful attempt to forget that it existed at all, while it continued to grow in practice.¹⁰ In fact, in 1962 a new master plan for the capital was approved, which anticipated developments along the 'Asse Attrezzato' that went from EUR (in the south) to Pietralata (in the east) and Centocelle (in the north). EUR had not been included in the last master plan, which dated back to 1931, and thus in 1962 the project was finally recognized in terms of urban planning.

Apparently, EUR's arches and columns did not raise so much moral objections that they could not be adapted to postwar needs. That would have been much more difficult if more explicit political symbols had been used and transformed into architectural forms. When architecture competitions took place in the late 1930s, FIAT had indeed proposed to raise an immense *fascio littorio* to close the quarter in the south. The Ente EUR rejected this proposal in favour of a more classical monumental arch, which eventually was never constructed. EUR's most important buildings breathe a Roman spirit as a result of the frequent use of arches, columns and pillars and materials like marble. This does not mean that the E42 was not a fascist project, since its ideological background clearly demonstrates that its main aim was political in nature. The outcome of the architecture competitions was meant to represent a style of the year XX, a fascist style whose monumentality intended to highlight the continuity between the fascist empire and the ancient Roman empire. The fascism of E42 is thus more hidden, classical, than it might have been, and is most explicitly expressed in its decoration.

When the Ente EUR took up the project after the war, it was considered sufficient to cover the most blatant fascist marks in EUR's decoration, leaving the monumental structures intact. This was not an actual form of active preservation and rehabilitation, nor of redemption, but of resignation towards the recent past. It was also unnecessary to destroy these buildings, since the monumental references to antiquity, emptied of fascist political intentions, were not so offensive that they posed a threat or a reminder too uncomfortable to bear. These structures are like bizarre white skeletons from another era, mute but present, unable to communicate the message that they were made to express. They have become harmless. One of the professors I interviewed remarked about EUR that immediately after the war, it looked like an elephant cemetery.¹¹ And that is

⁷ Likewise, a marble plaque along the Via dell'Impero, which had become the Via dei fori imperiali, was removed after the war. It was the fifth of four maps remembering the expansion of the Roman empire, which highlighted Mussolini's conquests in Africa and the aspirations of extending the fascist empire.

⁸ VIDOTTO, Vittorio – 'I luoghi del fascismo a Roma'. Text written in relation to the conference *Urbs: Concepts and Realities of Public Space* held at the Dutch Institute in Rome, 2-4 april 2003.

⁹ 'Dopo la guerra (...) l'Eur divenne il documento visuale di una tragedia velata da un tocco patetico.' ZEVI, Bruno – "Forbito nel tragicomico" [12-07-1959]. In: ZEVI, Bruno - *Cronache di architettura*. Parte 6: 1959/1960. Bari: Laterza, 1970, 346-349.

¹⁰ Interview with Giorgio Piccinato, Direttore Dipartimento di Studi Urbani, Università Roma 3, November 26, 2008.

¹¹ Interview with Mario Manieri Elía, Professore emerito Università Roma 3. November 13, 2008.

still quite an adequate metaphor. The monumental structures are reminders of a distant era. The fall of Mussolini left them as empty containers in a more contemporary setting.

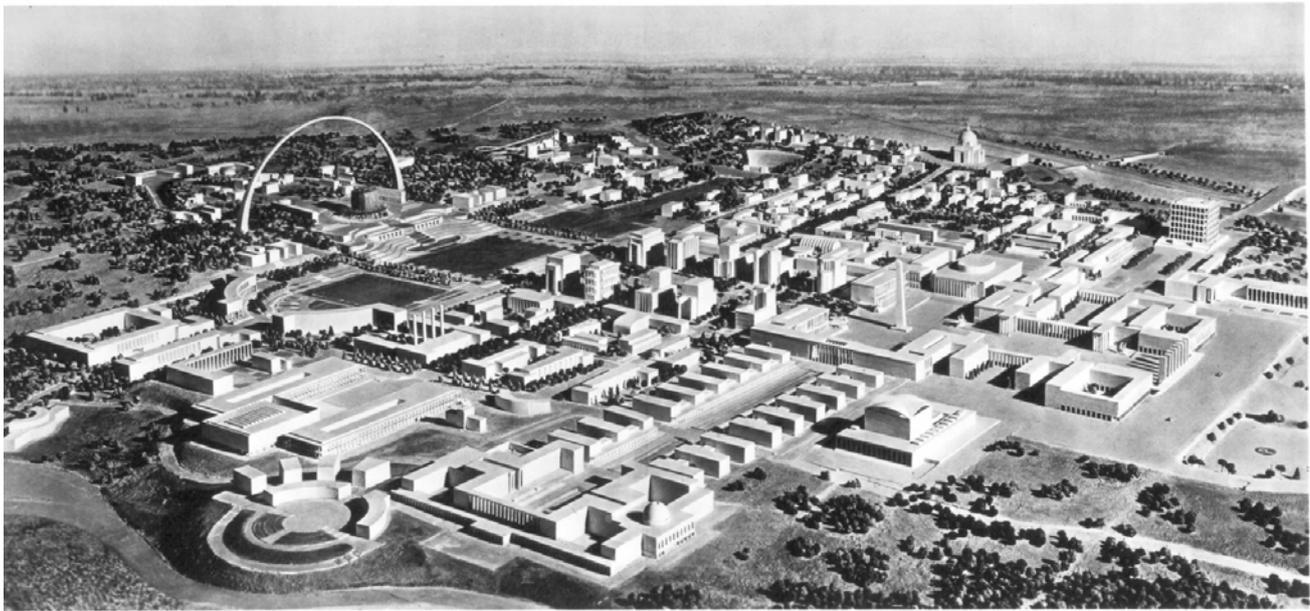


Fig. 1: Marcello Piacentini, *Master plan E42, Rome, 1939.*

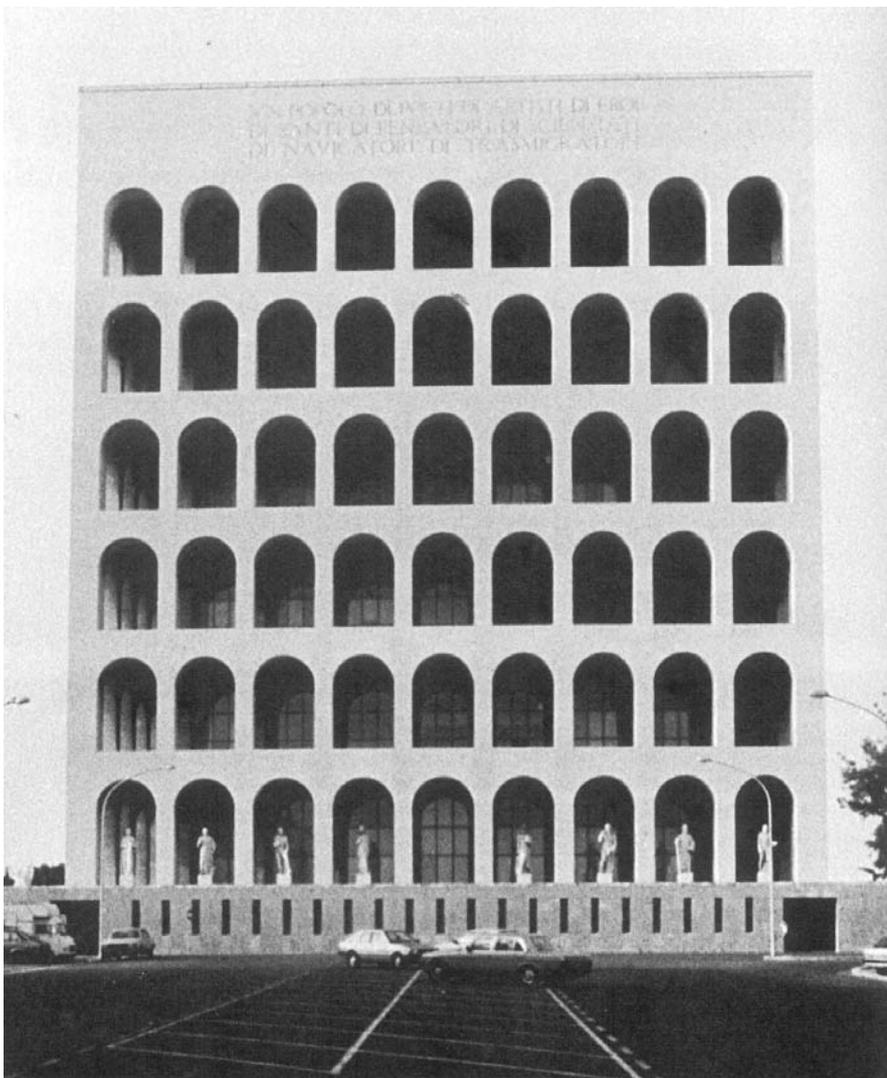


Fig. 2: La Padula, Guerrini and Romano, *Palazzo della Civiltà italiana, Rome, 1938-1940.*



Fig. 3: Publio Morbiducci, *La storia di Roma attraverso le opere edilizie (detail)*, Palazzo degli uffici dell'Ente EUR, Rome, 1937-1939.

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Traces of a Questionable Totalitarianism: Urban Politics and Architecture during and after the Greek Dictatorship

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Introduction

This paper is part of ongoing research attempting to trace the interrelations between sociopolitical change and its spatial reflections in modern Greece. Our particular interest is set on the period of the Greek Dictatorship (1967-1974), which has not been sufficiently studied yet.

We study space as a field of social, political and economic relations with historical, ideological and aesthetical dimensions and not just as a technical construction. We follow an interdisciplinary approach, drawing elements from various disciplines, such as history, social and political sciences, economic and urban studies.

In addition, we study space without separating it in the technical scales used by planning and design. This connects with the particularities concerning the production of space in Greece, a country that never had a strong planning tradition (Leontidou: 1990). We approach space as a continuous field emphasizing the relations among architectural, urban and regional scale.

Concerning the handling of historical time, our analysis is based on the notions of continuity and discontinuity. The Greek dictatorship is considered as a discontinuity in the state level but, at the same time, as a continuity regarding the political, economic and social practices (Rigos, Seferiades, Hatzivasileiou: 2008). We find this theoretical schema the most appropriate for placing the regime in its historical context and understanding its complexity. It also provides the analytical tools for contemplating the period of the Transition¹ and the management of the dictatorial legacy.

We start by describing some specific characteristics of the regime, in order to comprehend the distinctiveness of the space produced during that period.

Spatial traces of a questionable totalitarianism

The Greek Dictatorship (1967-1974) was a particular form of oppressive regime. Many scholars even question its totalitarian dimension and underline its military and oppressive character, as well as its ideological contradictions (Sakellaropoulos: 1998). Its ideological premises were mainly shaped by post-war, Greek-orthodox nationalism and a vague idea of economic modernization (Athanasatou, Rigos, Seferiades: 1999). Its political practices were the climax of the two-decade period that followed the civil war: a period of political instability and polarization on one hand, while on the other, of rapid economic growth (Nikolakopoulos: 2003). From this point of view, the seven-year period shares elements of continuity with the past, despite the violent political change.

¹ The term describes the period after the dictatorship that involved the process of democratic consolidation.

The dictatorial regime maintained the existing social divisions and relations and did not attempt to overthrow them in favor of a different social system, as fascism did. Nor did it take the form of a fascist regime, supported by a relative political party, a youth sector and an influential ideology and culture (Poulantzas: 2006). Consequently, it did not establish a representative architecture. No single architect or group created a distinctive 'dictatorial' architecture, as did Speer in the case of Hitler's Germany or Piacentini in that of Mussolini's Italy.

In Greece, instead of comparable monumental public buildings, monuments or statues, we can find just a few marginal examples of a weak 'neo-Hellenic classicism' (Lavvas: 1975). Such rare examples are the 'Passa' Museum [Fig.1], which was never completed and was finally demolished, Piraeus Town Hall and the Greek Pavilion in the International Exposition of Osaka in 1970.

This kind of historicism, characterized by gigantism, megalomania and monumentality, was also a prerequisite in the majority of architectural competitions announced by the regime. Nevertheless, all proposals seemed to ignore the terms and followed the modern movement tradition, already dominant since the '30s.

Despite the absence of representative architecture, the Dictatorship influenced in various ways the identity of Greek cities, their built and cultural environment. So, where should we search for signs of its spatial policies and what architectural forms of that period are connected with collective memory? We can turn to the dynamics that had been transforming the modern Greek city and the ways in which the dictatorship handled them.

In the early '50s, the country entered a period of unprecedented economic development and intense urbanization. As a result, cities -particularly Athens- became the main field of capital accumulation and sociopolitical change. During this period of time, urban space was mainly produced by medium size capital through informal practices, without central urban planning. In this process the construction sector gained a major role, seeking investment opportunities in the expanding housing market and public infrastructure sectors (Iordanoglou: 2003, Stathakis: 2000).

As many scholars point out, the dictatorial regime adjusted rapidly to this framework, integrating the state apparatus and incorporating the basic economic principles that all post-war governments had followed (Philippides: 1990). There was, however, a substantial shift towards private capital and its role in the development process. An overproduction of legislative regulations promoting the loosening of public control encouraged the intensification of investments of small and large capital in land and construction. Cities expanded, densified, building heights increased, industrial complexes and huge hotel buildings rose in ecologically sensitive areas of the country. Regarding urban space, the most important legislative rearrangement was the one concerning building heights. According to act 395/68 the Floor Area Ratio (FAR) would increase from 25% to 40%, adding more stories to existing buildings and increasing the height of new constructions. According to the General Building Regulation in some cases there would be no limitation to building heights. This resulted in the erection of the first skyscrapers, which appeared as the new landmarks in the previously continuous and uniform Athenian landscape.

The 'Athenian towers': an emblematic and ambiguous architecture

The construction of the first skyscraper was announced just three months after the establishment of act 395/68. It was the 'Tower of Athens', a private office building located in a key position of the developing Mesogeion Avenue [Fig.2]. Reaching the height of 103 meters, with 25 stories it still remains the tallest building in the country. Its design imitates American prototypes, combining elements of a Hellenic neohistoricism. According to its designer, architect I. Vikelas, the 'first Hellenic skyscraper' was to be a diachronic symbol for the capital city, reflecting its internationality as well as a discrete sense of locality and history.² Following the Tower of Athens, new skyscrapers rose in the Athenian landscape during the period of the dictatorship, and quite a lot were completed in the first years of the Transition. There are 25 buildings from 35 to 103 meters high in Athens today, all built between 1968 and 1980. They vary from office to residential towers and from governmental buildings to hotels.

² Presentation of the project, in the studio's web page. <http://www.vikelas.gr>.

Most of them are located in the northeastern part of the city in the main economic axis of Kifisias avenue, one of the faster developing areas from the 70's onwards. We will give a general idea of this variety, regarding their uses and architectural design, by mentioning some distinctive examples.

The construction of a second important office building began in 1972 in another emblematic spot of the city, the port of Piraeus. Also designed by I. Vikelas, the 'Tower of Piraeus' was destined to replace the 'dirty' Old Market with a municipal maritime and commercial center [Fig. 3]. The project expressed the regime's obsession with the 'purification' of urban space and the facilitation of large capital investments but it was never completed for a variety of reasons.

The new legislative framework also allowed the construction of governmental buildings on a scale that had not existed in the Greek city before. Characteristic examples are the Ministry of Public Order and the 'House of Telecommunication Organization'. These giants were meant to be the symbols of a powerful centralized and innovative state.

Residential towers, on the other hand, reflected new trends in the housing market as well as experimentation by well-known architects with the typical form of housing in modern Greek cities, the block of flats. Apollo Tower [Fig.4] and Difros Tower -the latter built by architect A. Tombazis- are two characteristic examples.

Finally, apart from the projects that were actually constructed, there was an excessive production of designs for towers or complexes of tall buildings. In some cases these plans concerned the redevelopment of whole areas, such as the coastal front of Athens in Faliro bay. Although these plans were never implemented, they remain as 'monuments' of visions and ideas of the time.

At this point we can make some general remarks via the methodological schema of continuity-discontinuity. The fact that all these projects started so shortly after the coup d'état is clear evidence that the regime's legislative rearrangements were in accordance with existing dynamics in Greek society and the interests of certain economic groups, including the construction sector and the new uprising urban economy of services and tourism. The *discontinuity* is related to the regime's nature and its pressing need for political legitimation: in order to gain support from economic elites, the colonels adopted an idea of *laissez-faire* that led to the rise of arbitrariness and speculation on land. Skyscrapers became emblems of this turn.

But, as mentioned before, it was a turn that involved the city as a whole and led to a significant deterioration of natural and urban environments, involving social infrastructures, public space and architectural heritage. Therefore, during the Transition, the redemption of the dictatorship's spatial heritage took the form of a wide public debate on the city as a whole.

The redemption of former rule in the built environment

After the restoration of democracy, new policies in urban planning put the emphasis on public control over the production of space and environmental protection. In the new Constitution of 1974, a turning point in modern Greek democracy, Article 24 set the general context for the protection of the country's natural, architectural and cultural environment. The reform was promoted by two other important acts (947/79 and 1337/83) which introduced, for the first time, an organized framework for urban space production. This reformative program was an important stance against all previous arbitrary policies and, mainly, against the ones of the recent dictatorship.

Even though the political change of 1974 is generally considered as a total rupture with the dictatorial past, we will insist on the schema of continuity-discontinuity. At this point, the emblematic and ambiguous example of the Athenian towers constitutes a revealing spatial metaphor; not only because their construction went on until the early '80s, but mainly because they continued to reflect existing social and economic dynamics. From our point of view, they were the outcome of a synergy between the state, since it was the dictatorial regulations that made their construction possible, and the private sector that designed, built and continued to own and run the majority of them. Therefore, their management posed two questions: one, concerning central planning and the issue of regulating building heights; and another, concerning the management and perspective of the existing towers.

The first one arose as a central question in debates about the Greek city and was incorporated in the new legislative regulations. In particular, according to the General Building Regulation of 1985, building heights were limited to 27 meters, in an effort to restrain land speculation and avoid the reemergence of extremely tall buildings. Furthermore, in the case of Athens the polemic against high buildings was connected with the increasing interest in its historical landscape and the maintenance of the Acropolis as a unique and outstanding landmark.

Concerning the existing skyscrapers, their management varied depending on their state of ownership and their use. Private residential and office buildings continued to be used as such: the Tower of Athens is still considered a privileged business place, housing today a prominent insurance company, while Apollo and Difros Towers never lost their attractiveness as apartment buildings. Public buildings also maintained their former use, even in the case of the notorious Ministry of Public Order, which was directly connected with the oppressive practices of the dictatorial regime. Concerning private buildings, the management depended on the dynamics of market economy. In the case of public ones, it was a political choice indicating that the state's functional needs were more important than negative historical symbolisms.

The Tower of Piraeus is a particular case that stands in between the examples above, since it was built as a trade center even though it was public property. As described before, the building was never used for its original purpose. Only the concrete frame and the first two floors were completed. The rest remained an empty shell, opening an ongoing discussion about the building's role and the possible scenarios for its future utilization. Each episode in this forty-year story drew from the spirit of its time. During the '80s and '90s, the Tower of Piraeus housed actual but heterogeneous needs, including shops, public services and even a school with its schoolyard in the eleventh floor, in the spirit of 'everything goes'. In the late '90s, interest in the building was revived as new development dynamics appeared in the Greek economy. In 2003, in the face of the forthcoming Olympic Games, the municipality of Piraeus reintroduced the idea of a Maritime and Business Center. This new treatment, as expressed by the authorities' argumentation, the media and the press, demonstrates that all while the memories of the dictatorial past were fading, the symbolism surrounding its economic dynamic was becoming dominant. Even though the specific project never went ahead, it formed a new agenda for the building in the years that followed.

Today, the restoration and reuse of the Tower of Piraeus has been brought once again into the spotlight through a synergy of public and private initiative. The municipality included the project in its strategic plan for the development of the port area. At the same time, a current architectural competition aims to 'awaken' the technologically innovative 'sleeping giant' that 'was never loved' by the citizens of Piraeus (Barka: 2010).

Conclusion

We have given a general framework of the Greek dictatorship's spatial policies (1967-1974) in relation to the transformative dynamics of modern Greek society. By emphasizing the continuity of space, time and space *in time*, we wish to show that the management of the dictatorial regime's spatial legacy is a complex and ongoing process, connected respectively to the ambiguity and dynamism of collective memory itself.

We deliberately avoided the most highlighted examples of spaces connected with anti-dictatorial resistance (like the historical building of the Polytechnic School) or identified with the regime's violence (like the places of exile, imprisonment and torture). Instead, our interest is focused on practices and choices that produced less distinctive but yet significantly influential spatial traces. In this sense, the example of the Athenian towers is revealing of the multiple perceptions of urban space and architectural constructions. These perceptions vary today from their understanding as 'dictatorial vampires' to their treatment as symbols of economic power in the neoliberal context. Finally, their utilization remains always an open question whose answer depends on the struggle between different approaches and perspectives.

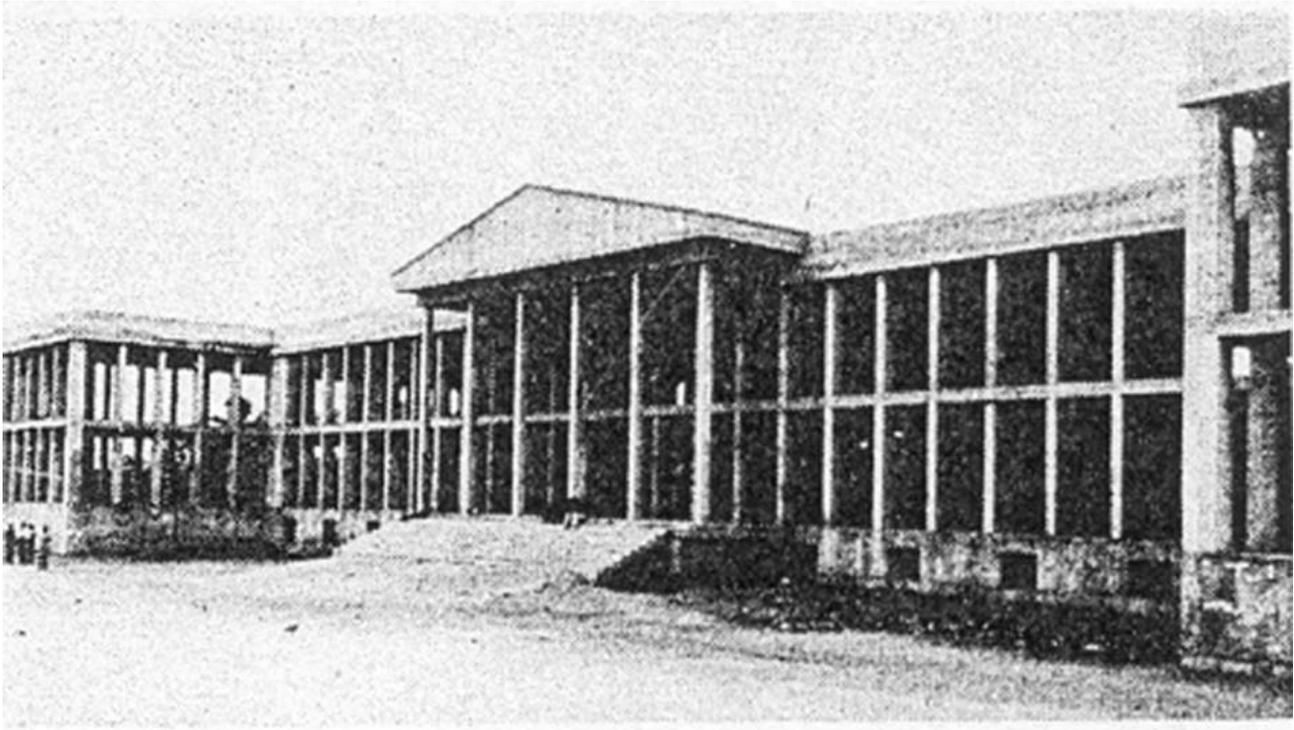


Fig. 1: The Passa Museum, Athens, it was demolished before completion (source: LAVVAS, G. (in Greek) – "The architecture of revolutions and dictatorships: Morphology of hope and memory". *Architectural Issues*. Athens: 9 (1975) 45).

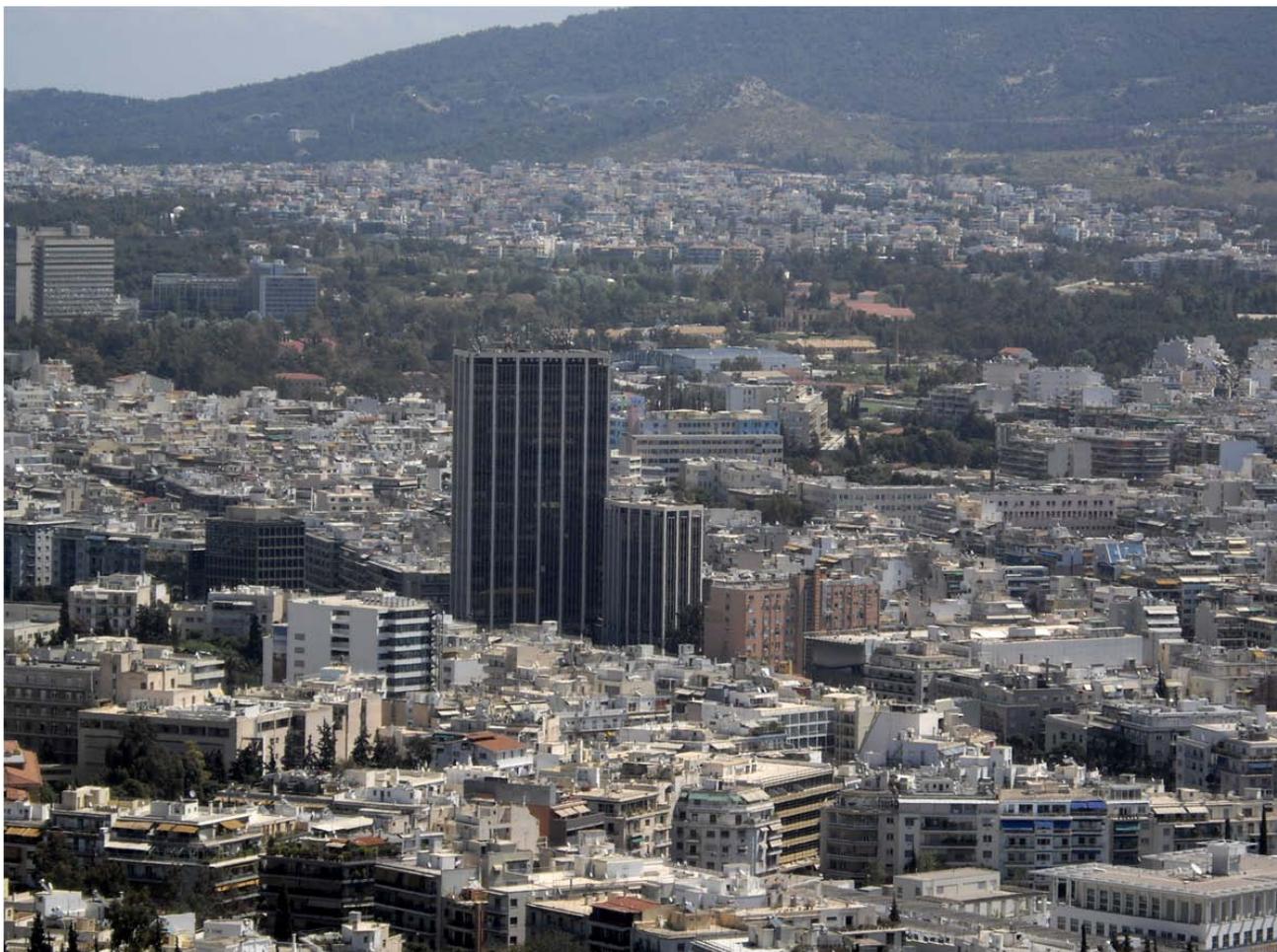


Fig. 2: I. Vikelas, The Tower of Athens, 1968 (source: personal archive).



Fig. 3: I. Vikelas, The Tower of Piraeus, 1972 (source: personal archive).



Fig. 4: The Apollo Tower, 1973 (source: personal archive).

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A Multi-Author Palimpsest: The Contested Site and Imagery of Berlin's Palace of the Republic

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The process of redemption is an ambiguous one. On the one hand it suggests the reestablishment of something – one's reputation, or innocence, while it means the annihilation of something, such as a misstep or a wrong decision, on the other. Thus, redemption involves the taking off of a burden, a kind of resolve, a coming to terms with, which is triggered by reestablishing or annihilating an issue of the past. Both these sides of redemption are virulent when looking at the complex layers of material manifestations of former political governance in Berlin. Here, as in few other German cities, traces of Prussian, Fascist, and post-WW2 socialist rule, dominate the urban experience. They are spread across town as in a mosaic, some prominently displayed and directly addressing their origin, others intentionally hidden or simply forgotten.

It is therefore not a surprise that post-reunification Berlin has been described as a palimpsest, a manuscript page from a scroll or book that has been scraped off and inscribed with new text repeatedly.¹ The analogy is easy to make in the urban fabric, but history shows the important supporting role of the *urban image* in behaving as a palimpsest itself.

Rarely has an urban site undergone as many re-incarnations, and seen such fervently fought debates over its meaning, as the one that these days displays an enormous void in the center of the German capital. Located adjacent to the Spree river, the site of this hole, more than six hundred years ago, had been chosen to house a fortress; followed by a castle ("Stadtschloss") that was originally built in Renaissance and later in Baroque style for the Prussian kings.² This castle, while not destroyed during the bombings of World War II, was however removed in 1950 by the now socialist government of the German Democratic Republic as a symbol for Germany's absolutist and imperialist history. Between 1973-76, the so-called Palast der Republik (Palace of the Republic) was erected on the site. It housed the state assembly of the GDR and several gastronomical and other entertainment businesses. The Palace then became highly contested after Germany's reunification in 1989 and it was decided that it was to be removed and replaced by a reconstruction of the imperial castle it once replaced. This decision was the result of a long, vigorously fought debate over Berlin's new identity as capital of the reunified country: The proponents for reconstruction claimed that the castle would create a bridge to Berlin's history as a coherent urban structure originating in its Imperial era; the opponents, however, found that reasoning to be the manifestation of a kind of selective memory that denies the city a contemporary, forwardlooking, architectural solution for its center.

The developments here reveal the inconsistencies in how Germany has dealt with its different pasts. What is maintained in the city and what is overwritten? What is redeemed, translated through images and use to transcend prior associations, and what is somehow – culturally, programmatically, even financially - unredeemable? Two photographic series, one done in 1896 on the site of the castle, the other one 110 years later of the ruin of the Palace of the Republic, elucidate such issues in striking clarity.

¹ See Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts. Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 2003.

² Fortress, founded in 1443; Renaissance castle built in the 16th century; 1699: Andreas Schlüter begins to expand the castle into a large protestant Baroque building; followed by Johann Eosander von Göthe (Eosanderportal); castle's dome built by Friedrich August Stüler and Albert Dietrich Schadow between 1845 and 1853; following a design by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Following the fall of the German monarchies in 1918 the castle became a museum. It was damaged by Allied bombing in World War II, but not too severely to prevent being preserved. Nevertheless, in 1950 the East German leader Walter Ulbricht proclaimed the planned destruction of the damaged castle. While it would have been expensive to preserve and reconstruct it, the actual reason for its destruction was not fiscal or structural but ideological. The pride of the German Empire in 1871, the castle was the socialist government's eyesore as a symbol of Prussian feudalism, monarchy and extravagance. The erection of the Palace of the Republic more than 20 years later thus was not a coincidence.

The seventeen years that culminated with the Palace of the Republic's removal – but as yet no replacement³ – were attended by artistic voices on the *Palast's* meaning and value. Fine art photographer **Thomas Florschuetz'** 2006 images of the disassembled interior of the Palace of the Republic have now been published, an elegy of sorts during the last stages of the building's process of disassembly. Florschuetz, a former East German who fled the country in the mid-1980s, expresses a sadness and affection for the place, capturing the ruin in large, aesthetically stunning color photographs. But his own process was preceded by a technically ambitious undertaking, a series of **photogrammetric images** (*Messbilder*), made of the *Stadtschloss'* west wing by the Royal Prussian Measuring Image Association in 1896. That series served in its own way to preserve the nearby baroque castle by documenting just how it might be rebuilt accurately. Its actual subject matter was however the erection of a sculptural monument in front of the castle commemorating the grandfather of the emperor, Wilhelm I. Unlike his grandson, Wilhelm I was a widely admired head of state who was responsible for Germany's first unification in 1871.

The photogrammetric or "measuring images" were precise tools that speak a clear language of preservation and the desire to maintain the photographed building forever. The German Kaiser Wilhelm II, who commissioned this series, was known to be eager to redeem the past of the Holy Roman Empire and to connect his own reign to the ancient forefathers and his grandfather's.

Florschuetz' series of photographs on the other hand, were self-initiated, personal, revealing a great ambivalence about redeeming history, and a desire to detach oneself from the past. In both series we find comment on the past through the process of photographic representation, a process that Roland Barthes described as capturing "Time, the lacerating emphasis of the *noeme* ("that-has-been"), its pure representation⁴".

The Palimpsest

Both Florschuetz' photographs and the photogrammetry series address three core issues with respect to the castle's and the Palace of the Republic's site, which can be broadly labeled, *time/history*, *space/layering*, and *identity*. These issues also find a common denominator in the concept of the palimpsest, which can be applied to both the images and their site in order to elucidate the message both image series hold for an understanding of the site, and its concomitant meaning for a sense of German identity.

History and Time

❶-❷ One unusually panoramic image of Florschuetz's lets us gaze beyond the water puddles that have accumulated on one of the Palace of the Republic's floors through its mighty steel frame onto Schinkel's Friedrichswerdersche Kirche. Next to the church to the left is the mock façade of Schinkel's building academy, another building that, just like the city castle and with similar arguments, was demolished by the socialist government and is being considered for reconstruction⁵. Florschuetz is reciprocating here the photogrammetrist's gaze as he is pointing his camera exactly at the spot from where the castle and the

³ Today the site is a void in Berlin's center, occupied by a temporary Kunsthalle that currently displays on its facades an artwork reconstructing the façade of the Palace of the Republic in photographs. An ongoing debate is however in full swing whether – not the socialist palace but rather – the imperial castle should be reconstructed. An architectural competition seemed to have sealed the decision for the reconstruction by the German parliament; but the competition was put into question in the spring of 2009 due to procedural irregularities putting any construction in the site on hold.

⁴ Barthes uses this idea of photography depicting time in conjunction with his concept of the *punctum*, which is an element in a picture that "punctuates" and triggers intense associations in the viewer's mind. See Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang 1980, p. 96.

⁵ Damaged during World War II, the Bauakademie was then partially restored, but in 1962 the building was demolished to make room for the future Ministry of Foreign Affairs of East Germany. In 1995, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of East Germany was demolished in order to recreate the Werderscher Markt area. Since then, proposals are being discussed with city and Federal authorities to rebuild Schinkel's Bauakademie. The Werderscher Markt area has already been partially recreated by the Bertelsmann-funded reconstruction of the Alte Kommandantur. As for the Bauakademie, between 2000 and 2001 students erected a temporary structure to give an impression of the volume and form of the building. Current proposals under consideration intend to use a reconstructed Bauakademie to accommodate an architecture museum as well as a Mercedes-Benz research institute about the future of automobile. [wikipedia] To date, the reconstruction planning has however not taken place.

building process of the Wilhelm monument had been photographed one hundred and ten years earlier. But Florschuetz, unlike the Royal Photogrammetric Institute, does not choose his subject matter as “topic;” rather, his images result from a chain of coincidences. This is detectable in the choice of angle and point of view and their lack of a systematic documentary trajectory. Florschuetz could have meant these photographs as a political or personal statement, particularly since his own biography is a manifestation of German-German history.

But both series, Florschuetz’ and the photogrammetric images, are about more than a representation for the sole purpose of documentation: In the latter, a selective photographic capture of the past helped to ease the uncertainty of national identity in the present. With its historical evidence, city photography not only reflected the existence of the past but was also subject to the projections of national history, which was to underpin future goals. It was believed that by means of this “invented tradition” the creation of a unity, a secured identity of the people, was possible. The historical, often unpleasant reality was markedly different here from the visions for the nation’s future. A paraded presentation of historical consciousness was at risk – in photography as well – of becoming nothing but a construct of national ideology, even a utopia.⁶ Florschuetz’ images dismantle this kind of glorious vision. He, in the words of art historian Ulf Erdmann Ziegler, studied the palace not attempting to generate a new sense of national identity, but rather revealing the palace,

“reduced to a skeleton and skin, as a picture of history; as a Prussian organized retreat from a rusty order, while the Museum island’s facades peek through almost completely blinded windows. As an industrial monument in the process of being demolished the building looks like “Gründerzeit” (Founder Epoch⁷ [a period of rapid economical growth in the late 19th century that has come to be associated with blatancy and the rise of the nouveau riche.]), photographic time illegible without signage.”⁸

History that had been recovered and paired with its grand witness in the photogrammetric images of the castle and the erection of a monument to Wilhelm I, was turned into a footnote, empty rhetoric in Florschuetz’ photographs. We get a glimpse of Berlin’s historical buildings at a distance – some of them original, some in the process of historical reconstruction – but what prevails is a great physical and mental distance from that past as it is filtered through the rusty beams of the Palace of the Republic. While the Wilhelmine Era seems to have had a natural affinity to redeeming its imperial history, the early 21st century-city dweller rather forsakes the socialist slice of her/his history.

Space, Layers, and Narrative

③-④ Another of Florschuetz’ works demonstrates his fascination with the multiple layers of an image and his strong sense of spatiality. A view through the dim, scratched and spray-painted window onto the museum island’s classicist facades is starkly contrasted by the abstraction of the square of a blackened window on the right and a silver-foil-clad, rectangular object that is leaning against that black. In unison with a stark steel I-beam that is cutting through the image on the left, the image gives a

⁶ Gunter Rambow (ed.), *“...das sind eben alles Bilder der Straße”. Die Fotoaktion als sozialer Eingriff. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt/Main 1979, p. 153.

See also: Moritz Csáky, “Geschichtlichkeit und Stilpluralität. Die sozialen und intellektuellen Voraussetzungen des Historismus”, in: Fillitz, Hermann (ed.): *Der Traum vom Glück. Die Kunst des Historismus in Europa. Band I, Beiträge. 24. Europarat Ausstellung. Redaktion Werner Telesko. Beiträge Künstlerhaus Akad. d. Bild. Künste, Wien 1996/1997*, p. 27–31.

⁷ “Gründerzeit” (“Foundation Era” or “Founder Epoch”) refers to the economically prosperous period in German history that abruptly ended with the great stock market crash of 1873. It marks the second wave of European industrialization, which had started in the 1820s in England.

⁸ “Seine Studien vom Ausbau des Neuen Museums sind kaum zu verstehen ohne die vorausgehenden zum „Palast“. Erichs Lampenladen, nur noch Skelett und Haut, hatte Florschuetz als Geschichtsbild studiert, als preußisch organisierten Rückzug aus einer verrosteten Ordnung, die Fassaden der Museumsinsel durch fast erblindete Fenster hineinschauend. Als industrielles Monument im Rückbau sieht das Gebäude aus wie Gründerzeit, die fotografische Zeit ohne Richtungsschild unlesbar. Wenn man die Fotografien ausgestellt sieht, übermannshoch, kann man sich berauschen an der Ordnung des Rückbaus. Die Mehrzahl zeitgenössischer Fotografien spielt mit der Idee des Bildverlusts, der Entleerung, der Abstraktion. Florschuetz hat das schon durchkonjugiert und marschiert nun in die Gegenrichtung: Selbst da, wo fast nichts ist, ruft er ein elementares Bild auf, nach dem Prinzip, das sein Dichterfreund Durs Grünbein so gefasst hat: „Manche Brücken erscheinen erst im Wasser gespiegelt stabil.“ (Ulf Erdmann-Ziegler, Thomas Florschuetz – enclosure – Neues Museum, in: *Monopol* Nr. 10/2009, pp.84-94 <http://www.monopol-magazin.com/magazine/2009/10/portfolio-thomas-florschuetz>). My translation.

sense of stability. Classical geometry in its modernist incarnation in the Palaces' framework is echoed in Schinkel's neo-classical museum outside. But instead of negotiating a dialogue, Florschuetz' image composition expresses a standstill, a state in which it is not sure whether the palace will prevail or not. Durs Grünbein suggests that these images

"gesture toward the noble silence of the unchangeable; stations of a demontage; the stoicism of rusty steel beams, the steadfastness of concrete. German "Wertarbeit" (workmanship⁹) even whilst in decline: for years they fought with asbestos in the walls, then came the demolition in microscopic steps. The images, however, and that is uncanny, don't really reveal where the time-travel is going – excavation, demolition or reconstruction."¹⁰

While Florschuetz' images seen together seem to stagger in static explorations of space in a state of shock, the series of photogrammetric images thrive as a chronological narrative. Time – as a sequence, as a reference to history, as invocation of the memory of a glorious past – is celebrated in the documentation of the monument's erection while the motif of the Palace ruin makes such a comforting prospect and resolution impossible. Florschuetz considers particularly important the spatiality of his images. Beyond being "windows to the world," Florschuetz understands his photographs as *defining space*.¹¹ Even an image such as this that plays as much with form through mondrianesque arrangements of the square in form of beams, windows, and blinded glass plates demonstrates this sense of space. It becomes fully apparent when we consider his curatorial choreography when he exhibits this series. The photographs take on their own life and now engage in a similarly intense dialogue to the one we observe in the photogrammetric series. This is an active process of redemption that takes its strength not from a supposedly more glorious past, but from within the images and from the creation of an extra-urban space within the gallery. Here, however, the spatio-temporal narrative is not linear and affirmative as in the photogrammetric images, but tentative, concentrating on one perspective at a time. We can almost picture a pensive and deeply skeptical observer like Caspar David Friedrich's "Wanderer". A stringent narrative is undermined by Florschuetz' quest for the image that undermines a particular image form; that is more complexly working against the photographic image and the superficial belief in it.¹² In this respect, even though they appear to be more static than the photogrammetric images, Florschuetz' Palast images reveal through their particular visual language, conceptual layout, and display, a flexibility, a thick layer of meaning, that the older series of images cannot provide.

Abstraction and Search for Identity

⑤-⑥ Another pairing of a Florschuetz photo and a photogrammetric image is further evidence of the contrary movement of these two photo series. Florschuetz photographed the emptied abstraction of the metal frame of the former GDR coat of arms. Originally placed in the center of the palace's façade, the coat of arms, a hammer and a circle, was removed soon after 1989. What remained was an empty abstract; a hexagon inscribed into two circles that frame it. While the last image of the photogrammetric series is the depiction of the finished monument, the culmination of the royal photogrammetric institute's endeavor (turning the camera this time at the equestrian Wilhelm I, while before looking at the back side of the monument), Florschuetz' photograph can be read as the final goodbye to a "finished" state, a finished system and ideology. It is remarkable how an image of such Spartan simplicity and abstraction bears so much symbolic baggage. More than his other photographs,

⁹ "Deutsche Wertarbeit" (German workmanship or craftsmanship) is an ambiguous term connoting both the successful rebuilding of Germany after WWII thanks to a strong and positive work ethic and the propagandistic rhetoric and isolationistic politics of the Nazis, which claimed a higher value of German craftsmanship, compared to anyone else.

¹⁰ "Sie zeigen die erhabene Ruhe des Unabänderlichen, Stationen einer Demontage, den Stoizismus rostiger Stahlträger, die Unerschütterlichkeit des Betons. Deutsche Wertarbeit noch im Untergang: über Jahre kämpften sie mit dem Asbest in den Wänden, dann kam der Präzisionsabbruch. Doch die Bilder, und das ist das Unheimliche, verraten nicht wirklich, wohin die Zeitreise geht - Ausgrabung, Demolition oder Rekonstruktion." Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 02.10.2006, Nr. 229 / p. 39 (my translation).

¹¹ Interview, 6/23/09.

¹² Further manifestation of Florschuetz' great concern for space is his careful choreography of the Palast photographs in exhibition. He makes sure to create meaningful relationships between the photographs in a respective room generating references that help experience the photographs spatially rather than as flat surfaces.

this one can indeed be read as an “obituary for a state” (Grünbein in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*). And even if Florschuetz himself cannot be found to have any attachment to the system the emblem stood for, this image mixes both an emotional and a formally rigid narrative.

Looking at these images, we come back to the palimpsest, which Jan Assmann refers to in discussing the built structure of a city. Culture, Assmann points out,

“resembles individual memory, for which one of Sigmund Freud’s favorite metaphors was the city of Rome. For Rome is not just a vast open-air museum in which the past is preserved and exhibited, but an inextricable tangle of old and new, of obstructed and buried material, of detritus that has been reused or rejected..”¹³

What Jan Assmann called “obstructed and buried material” of cultural memory in his observations about culture as palimpsest is what the historic castle as well as the Palace of the Republic have now become. They are the rejected and potentially reused detritus of German history, which, now and when reactivated in another future incarnation will contribute to the shape of German cultural identity. And they reflect layers of consciousness, as Assmann’s reference to Freud asserts. In the case of Berlin’s central historical site, it remains to be seen whether official hopes for the reconstruction of the city castle prevail and with it a reconstruction of a very particular, pre-democratic slice of German history.

All this is suggestive of a very particular means of dealing with architectural monuments of government in Berlin. In this case, we see the important role of the image in supporting both the demolition and construction processes; and with it, the development of imaging technologies in tandem with building technologies. The city is not only a built but also an imaged palimpsest, a hybrid.

And yet, as an open footnote of sorts, it would need acknowledging that the overwriting process has great exceptions. In these cases, the collaboration of buildings and their evolving presence in society with the support of the arts and popular imagery effectively redeem the structure. Here we might consider Norman Foster’s renovations of the *Reichstag*, with Christo and Jean-Claude’s important wrapping beforehand; or the sustained vitality of the TV Tower on the skyline, and in tourist itineraries and literature. With just these two cases in mind, the logic and policy of the palimpsest turns messier still, and can only be understood as a case-by-case result of diverse authors and histories, in which German history is handled differently depending on the site and the segment of history addressed. The redemption of former totalitarian rule, be it imperial, fascist, or socialist in Berlin, thus remains at times unfulfilled; at times, as in the case of Nazism, not considered; but it is sometimes realized despite great opposition or with overwhelming public approval.

¹³ Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*. Stanford University Press, 2006 (original published in German in 2000), p. 25.

Writing on the Wall: Memorializing the Franco Regime

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In 2007, the Spanish government passed the Law of Historical Memory (*Ley de Memoria Histórica*), which marked the first formal condemnation of Franco's rule in Spanish history. Among other provisions, which included an outline of the government's role in the exhumation of Spain's numerous mass graves, the Law orders the removal of Francoist symbols from public spaces. The struggle over the place of the regime's signs and icons in contemporary Spain has largely centered upon the statues of Franco in Spain's streets and plazas. There has been relatively little focus on the plaques and letters that adorn the walls of Spain's churches, listing the dead of the Francoist troops (*Nacionales* or Nationalists) from the Spanish Civil War.¹ These lists of the dead are invariably headed by the name of the founder of the Falange, José Antonio Primo de Rivera.

This paper focuses, in part, on the ambiguous presence of a carving of Primo de Rivera's name in the Praza da Quintana, a destination for tourists and pilgrims in Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain. I say "ambiguous" because it is in a highly visible location in one of the most visited plazas in Compostela and perhaps Spain, but it seems to have merged seamlessly into the cityscape. Tour guides who describe the history of the cathedral's architecture and the plazas' buildings make no mention of it. City residents often assert that it has become a "natural" part of the urban environment. In this paper, I consider this idea of the naturalized remnant of fascist architecture, juxtaposing this process of naturalization to a different kind of writing on the city walls, namely, the graffiti of Santiago de Compostela's radicalized Galician nationalists who, however ephemerally, carve out a different relationship of the city's monumental architecture to the processes of memorialization and forgetting. I contend that this graffiti both denaturalizes and re-politicizes the built environment of Compostela's medieval city center. At the same time, such graffiti often preserves the traces of a sacrificial ideology already inscribed on the city walls – in the form of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera's name. In this sense, the nationalist graffiti works as an imperfect, partial redemption of the sentiments expressed in the carving of that name: it opens up a space – but one subject to closure – for different forms of memory and political action in the present.

Naming Names in the Quintana

I want to begin with a very brief description of the architecture of the early years of the Franco regime in order to situate the carving of Primo de Rivera's name in that context. Early Francoist architecture involved the "monumentalization" of existing public buildings in the wake of the war, through the addition of porticos, grand entrances, new plazas and also through the use of "eternal" materials such as stone, brick, and wood. In this way, architecture was supposed to reflect the essence of united Spain through the cultivation of the appearance of antiquity in public spaces.²

Architecture in the early postwar years was bound up with sacrifice and associated ideas of purification and redemption. For example, purification through sacrifice for Spain's defeated (*vencidos*) was enacted through forced labor, such as that of Republican prisoners who built the Valley of the Fallen, *El Valle de los Caidos*, that colossal mausoleum built into a mountainside outside of Madrid to house the remains of Civil war dead, including Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera and, eventually, Franco himself.³ The Nationalists who died in the war were understood as martyrs and their deaths sacrificial, to be redeemed

¹ The "Nationalists" consist of those supporting the military uprising organized by General Francisco Franco, Emilio Mola, José Sanjurjo, and Gonzalo Queipo de Llano that led to the outbreak of war. Spanish distinguishes between "los Nacionales" (the supporters of the uprising) and "los nacionalistas" which refers to nationalists, generally speaking.

² Emma Dent Coad, "Constructing the Nation: Francoist Architecture," in *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 223-225.

³ See Michael Richard's *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), especially 67-74.

in a perfected future of a united Spain. The lists of Nationalist dead in churches can be understood as the dispersed visual traces of this ideology of martyrdom.

In 1940, Franco declared the old town of Santiago de Compostela to be a “historic-artistic monument” (*monumento historico-artístico*), affording protection and conservation by the state. Certainly, the “Cidade de Pedra”, the City of Stone, as Santiago is sometimes called, would seem to be a key example of the eternal qualities of stone. Moreover, during the Civil War and throughout the dictatorship, promotional materials for the pilgrimage to Compostela reference it as the birthplace of Spanish Catholicism, indeed the origin of *hispanidad*, Spanishness. Compostela’s cathedral holds the relics that ostensibly belong to the Apostle Santiago (St. James, in English), said to have preached the gospel in the far reaches of the Iberian Peninsula before his martyrdom in Jerusalem. In being understood as martyrs, the dead of the Spanish civil war were inserted into the Christian genealogy that extends back to the Apostle, and the sacrificial deaths said to lie at the origins of European Christianity and of Spain itself.

In the Praza da Quintana, the plaza on the east side of the cathedral, is a stone wall that forms one side of a cloistered convent, with its characteristic iron-barred windows and geraniums overflowing the planters on the sills of the occupied rooms.⁴ Approximately halfway down one can make out José Antonio Primo de Rivera’s name etched into the wall, in letters perhaps six inches tall. Son of Miguel Primo de Rivera, dictator of Spain from 1923 to 1930, José Antonio Primo de Rivera founded the Falange, the Spanish Fascist party, in 1933.⁵ Declared a “proto-martyr” of the nationalist movement after his death in Alicante at the hands of Republicans in 1936, he heads every list of the dead from the Nationalist side of the Spanish Civil War. In her analysis of the symbolism of crusaders and martyrs in the war, the historian Mary Vincent notes that when the names of fallen soldiers were called in roll, soldiers were to answer shouting, “Present!” In this way, these dead soldiers avoid the consequences of absence: being rendered subject to forgetting.⁶ Similarly, through the writing of his name, the “absent one,” as José Antonio Primo de Rivera was called, was made present. The carving of his name was made to function as a trace and reminder of the sacrifice of martyrdom.

The inscription hovers between the visible and the invisible: most people do not talk about it and seem not even to see it. It is if it has passed into Santiago de Compostela’s stone landscape, as naturally “there” as a crack between two flagstones. The name of José Antonio Primo de Rivera is not the only fascist insignia that endures in the vicinity of the cathedral. On the façade of the Hostal dos Reis Católicos, a five star hotel in the Praza do Obradoiro on the western side of the cathedral, one can still glimpse an eagle carved in stone, gripping in its talons the yoke and arrows of the Falange. In recent years, new blank stones have replaced part of the stone carving so that now, while the eagle is still fully visible, only the tips of the arrows and part of the curve of the yoke come into view. How do these insignia become naturalized, entering into that liminal space between the visible and invisible, a kind of memorialization of the dictatorship shot-through with oblivion?

Becoming “Natural”

After Franco’s death on November 20, 1975, Spain made a transition to democracy that has generally been lauded as an exceptionally smooth shift from the end of authoritarian government to a constitutional monarchy. One of the most salient events of the so-called Transition was the passage of the Amnesty Law in 1977, which pardoned political crimes carried out during the war and dictatorship itself, a law passed in the name of national reconciliation. Although such a will to forget was expected to ward off the potential repetitive effects of the trauma of war and oppression, the fragmented legacy of this trauma

⁴ The convent mentioned here, the San Paio de Altealtares is one of the few cloistered convents left in Santiago de Compostela. These convents were the subject of an exhibition in the summer of 2006, which was to provide a glimpse into the otherwise inaccessible life of the cloistered nuns.

⁵ See Stanley Payne, *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press: 1967).

Primo de Rivera founded the party in 1933 and it was adopted as Spain’s only political party by Franco when it was merged with the Carlists, although Payne argues that it lost power and direction after de Rivera’s death but “survived, like the regime, because its enemies never could agree among themselves on how to remove it or with what to replace it.”

⁶ See Mary Vincent, “The Martrys and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade.” *History Workshop Journal*, No. 47 (Spring 1999), 68-98.

was, and would continue to be, obsessively and repetitively smoothed over. Joan Ramon Resina has argued that the memory of political consensus during the Transition was contrived or “implanted” in order to naturalize the emergence of a democracy that had not broken with the dictatorship in any substantial way. Yet, Resina suggests, something haunts that implantation process, “unseemly things [that] are deeply buried, marked ever so faintly by a tale-telling ooze” that reveals the dictatorship’s slippery, difficult to grasp, but constitutive presence in Spain’s constitutional monarchy.⁷

In the next section, I want to consider a different sort of writing on the city walls: not rendered in stone but rather in paint: spray paint. I examine leftist Galician nationalist graffiti or *pintadas* as traces of what Regina calls “the loose, fragmentary discourses associated with the peripheral nationalities, the “nationalisms,” as hegemonic discourse calls those ghostly formations.”⁸ For many Galician and other “regional” nationalists in Spain, the state’s stance toward its autonomous communities is one crucial way in which Spanish democracy has not broken with the dictatorship. For nationalists, the continuing emphasis on Spanish unity in the political sphere is the principal way that the dictatorship has left its mark on Spain. In Galicia, the specter of unity is linked, on the one hand, to the presence of religion in the public sphere (notably, in Santiago de Compostela, which continues to be a destination for pilgrims and enjoys a strong presence of Galician nationalists). On the other hand, the specter of unity linked to the Galician language, which, despite that the fact the right to its use is enshrined in the Spanish constitution, continues to lose speakers at an alarming rate. In the next section of this paper, I will illustrate how this graffiti functions to rewrite the built environment of Compostela, an oblique attempt to counter the sentiments of Spanish unity encapsulated in the carvings of Primo de Rivera’s name. It is not, however, an attempt that is completely successful.

Youth Pilgrimage to Santiago 2004

In early August 2004, a large international youth pilgrimage was convened in Santiago de Compostela.⁹ Coinciding with this pilgrimage, graffiti appeared on the walls of the old city, lasting about a day before being painted over. Most of the graffiti I read was some version of the following:

Integrismo católico — FORA! [Catholic fundamentalism — OUT!]

A bandeira espanhola — FORA! [The Spanish flag — OUT!]

And finally:

Integrismo católico-espanhol — FORA! [Catholic-Spanish fundamentalism OUT!]

These *pintadas* at once link Spanish nationalism and Catholicism, and call for its expulsion, doing so through the visual display of Galician language. All the *pintadas* I have seen signed by nationalist leftist associations are written in *galego reintegrado*, a form of written Galician closer in orthography to Portuguese than to Castilian.¹⁰ Language, for example, the use of the *nh* instead of the *ñ*, becomes a sign in itself, meant to open up a breach between *Galiza* and the rest of what nationalists call, not Spain, but rather, *o estado espanhol*, the Spanish state.

⁷ Joan Ramon Resina, “Introduction” in *Dismembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2000), 9.

⁸ Resina, “Introduction,” 12. Resina’s remarks are being made specifically about the peripheral nationalities of Spain. Importantly, the Second Article of the Spanish Constitution refers to these as “nacionalidades” (nationalities) not “naciones” or nations. Resina goes on to argue that this discourse of the nationalities is not inherently nationalistic, precisely because it has to labor to demonstrate that a nation actually exists. It is when “that radical discourse mimics the hegemonic narrative against which it struggles for dear life” (13) that it becomes, as Resina puts it, anachronistic.

⁹ The first, and arguably most important such pilgrimage in the twentieth century took place in 1948.

¹⁰ This way of writing Galician follows the “norma AGAL,” the orthographic rules set forth by the Associação Galega da Língua as opposed to the official Galician of the ILG-RAG, Instituto da Língua Galega-Real Academia Galega. It is the latter that is recognized as the official orthography of the Galician spoken in the autonomous region of Galicia.

This graffiti was signed with two parallel diagonal lines, representing the Galician flag, marked with a star in the center, and the word *Nós*, indicating that the graffiti was the work of the political party *Nós-Unidade Popular*, a leftist nationalist party. Nationalist graffiti not only appears on the walls of Compostela during organized pilgrimages; rather, it is a constant, if fluctuating, presence.

Graffiti, as Susan Stewart has noted, works through replication and replacement; its untoward claim of public space render it an act of defacement. It is meant to be temporary, ephemeral: it calls for its own erasure, bearing witness not to the passage of time but rather to the passage of bodies through the city streets. These *pintadas* are signed, but not individualized. Instead, they are signed with the names of political associations. They are not meant to be aesthetically pleasing, they are meant to create movement in the aura of stone by explicitly politicizing public space.

Martyrdom

I have thus far characterized the *pintadas* as an ephemeral act of defacement, temporarily shifting the aura of the agelessness and naturalized political space of the old city of Compostela. I should mention that *pintadas* almost never appear on stone but rather on whitewashed walls, where they can be easily painted over. Perhaps this is one reason why Primo de Rivera's name has never been defaced. As one nationalist activist told me, "The stone is our heritage too." This comment condenses, I think, much of the vexed relationship between the public space still marked with traces of martyrdom, the desire of the nationalists to literally rewrite this space, but their ultimate failure to address, head-on, the legacies of the dictatorship – in which the remnants of fascist architecture end up being an allegory of the conflicted presence of the dictatorship in contemporary Spain. I want to conclude with an example that illustrates this point. In July 2005, a young man and woman were arrested after the young man left a bomb in the foyer of a bank in the center of Compostela. It exploded and destroyed the façade of the building, which was subsequently tagged by AMI (Assembleia da Mocidade Independentista, or Assembly of Independentista Youth), the political group to which the two young people belonged. Later, posters bearing their images were hung up in nationalist bars, claiming that their actions were carried out in the name of a Free Galicia (*Galiza Ceibe*) and calling for their imminent release. Currently, graffiti in various parts of Compostela reads: *Nom a Audiencia Nazional. Defender a terra nom é delito. Liberdade presos independistas.* (No to Audiencia Nacional [the court in Madrid where terrorism cases are tried]. Defending the land is not a crime. Freedom for *independentista* prisoners.) Radical groups are quick to insert their militant members into a discourse of sacrifice and redemption that historically in Spain has been wedded to totalitarian politics. In this sense, leftist nationalist graffiti preserves Francoist sentiments regarding sacrifice and martyrdom through its memorialization and indeed, idealization of violence. However, such graffiti has redemptive potential. It could shed light on Spain's incommunicado detention practices, especially in terrorism related cases -- which do violate international human rights law, according to Amnesty International. This would potentially be a way to shift the collective memory of the dictatorship, making possible a sharper examination of its legacies in the present. Currently, however, the writing on the city walls, both in the carvings of Primo de Rivera's name and the leftist nationalist graffiti, largely goes unread. If we bother to read them, we may find that both serve as a reminder of the extent to more frontal engagements with the naturalized remnants of the dictatorship within and without the built environment are still necessary, and still to come.

Parisian Common Houses, 1650-1790. Typology and Functions According to Written & Illustrated Archival Sources

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The common house was a familiar structure in *Ancien Régime* Paris that the city administration tried to supervise through building restrictions and regulations for both aesthetic but also safety reasons,¹ controlled by the sworn master masons. The written and sometimes illustrated reports of the sworn master masons responsible for enforcing these codes give detailed descriptions of Parisian buildings from the 17th and 18th centuries. Archival research² of more than 600 common houses during a key period in the urban development of Paris³ offers realistic insights into this architecture that included not only new constructions but also of sometimes very old composite structures. Even if the printed models influences are difficult to decipher, a study alongside the associated treatises⁴ is revealing as together they summarize contemporary building traditions and technics.

While many treatises discuss foremost the importance of the choice of the site and the orientation of the building; common houses, intended to be rental and not a sign of social status, were built in narrow, noisy and dirty streets with a lack of light and air.

As our study puts in to light a broad diversity of scale (surface and height), it is more appropriate to define Parisian common houses through their quality, function and interior composition. Often rental properties, three quarters of these buildings combined professional activities⁵ with dwellings for the *bourgeois* as well as for the "people"⁶. Some were partially occupied and/or rented out directly by the owner, though many were leased by a principal tenant. Descriptive documents having to do with the owners or principal tenants residing in the house confirm that these people rarely occupied the first floor (as it is commonly assumed) but more often rented it out. A systematical classification of the information about the interior spaces reveals a repetition of rooms and it is mainly the vocabulary of the secondary spaces that changes: *cabinet*, *garde-robe*, *bouge*, etc. Our documents also report not or very spartan or minimally ornate interiors: white washed walls, red ocre tile floors, wood and some black iron works. The staircase was an essential but costly element often installed in a wing to serve two or more buildings.

An analysis of the street facade is insufficient in estimating the size of a common house or in determining its layout. In order to clarify this issue we gathered 65 houses for which an iconographical or accurate measurement data had been catalogued, and classified them into 42 groups according to the width of their street facades that ranged from 3,3 m to 34 m. While some floor plans show broad facades hiding quite narrow plots of land [fig. 1] others suggest the presence of larger plots behind relatively narrower façades. For example, among five houses with 5,3 m wide street façades, parcel size varies from 33 m² to 546 m². Another urban characteristic evidenced through this cataloguing is the irregularity of the land parcels: upper floors wider than

¹ *Us et Coutumes de Paris* and ordinances.

² French National Archives *sous série Z1j 256* to *Z1j 1222*. Our analysis is based upon a systematical examination of the documents for 15 years during a period of 150 years (every ten years: 420 houses in between 1650 and 1700 and 215 houses from 1710 to 1790).

³ The city is then growing from about 500 000 inhabitants on 1 100 hectares to about 600 000 - 700 000 inhabitants on 3 350 hectares.

⁴ LE MUET, Pierre - *Manière de bâtir pour toutes sortes de personnes*, Paris : 1623, reprinted in 1647, 1663, 1666 and 1681. *L'Architecture Moderne ou l'art de bien bâtir pour toutes sortes de personnes tant pour les maisons des particuliers que pour les palais*. The first edition from 1728 is often attributed to Briseaux but the autor was Gilles Tiercelet (see HERMANN « The Author of the *Architecture Moderne* of 1728 », *Journal of the society of architectural historians*, vol. 18, no. 2, mai 1959, pp. 60-62). It was republished by the editor Ch.A. Jombert in 1764, this edition is reorganised and includes a supplementary chapter about stairs and 50 added illustrations. NEUFFORGES, *Recueil Élémentaire d'Architecture*, vol. 3, 1757-80. BULLET, Pierre - *Architecture pratique*, 1691, republished in 1741, 1755, 1762, 1768, 1774, 1780. LE CAMUS DE MEZIERES, *Le guide de ceux qui veulent bâtir*, 1781 republished in 1786.

⁵ 74 % in our study: 69 % of the analysed houses includes one or several shops, 1 % a notary office, 0,5 % a craft-shop and 3,5 % a warehouse.

⁶ According to J.P. Babelon in the mid 17th century the only obligation was to live in Paris for one year an one day, that the personne did pay taxes and a rent of a least 200 livres (BABELON, Jean Pierre - *Demeures parisiennes sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, Paris: Hazan, 1991). See studies by L. Croq and R. Descimon. The meaning of the French word "peuple" is even more vast and unprecise, and can be summarized as all those that were not bourgeois.

the lower levels whose overhangings extended over courtyards, streets or even into neighbouring houses. Curiously, only some theoreticians mention this aspect.

According to Le Muet (1623) the smallest surface that can be built measures about 26,5 m², contrasting the smallest proposal in *l'Architecture Moderne* (1728) of 47,5 m², thus suggesting that the size of common house increased over the course of the 18th century. This hypothesis has been supported by several studies of "newly built" Parisian houses⁷. Though it is difficult to follow the chronology of this development through our study, because most of the houses are not datable, more than 60 % of the buildings for which the surface is known measure less than 190 m². Blueprints of the smallest houses (24,5 to 38 m²) date from the second half of the 17th century⁸, two thirds of the houses measuring between 38 and 114 m² correspond to documents from the 18th century; we identified about the same number of structures measuring between 114 and 190 m² for both centuries. Those houses having a surface area of less than 380 m² are mainly described in documents from the 18th century, whilst the largest compositions (up to 2 791,5 m²) are equal in number for both centuries.

Often displaying only two buildings for one house, the printed models of the common house are more consistent than the corresponding reports by the sworn master masons that included anywhere between one to eight buildings. One-unit houses account for 44%⁹ of our sources, a third of our corpus counts two buildings¹⁰ and 12,5 % three buildings. The more buildings there are on a plot of land, the more complicated its organization will be as courtyards and gardens will be duplicated. In our corpus 6 % of the houses count four buildings and about 3 % five to eight buildings of different sizes; two thirds of these reports date from the 17th century.

The sworn master masons systematically report the number of floors but rarely their height. If our study does reveal a notable increase of the height on the street line, we can also state that over 40 % of the building patterns are rarely, if ever, represented in the printed models. Buildings with only a ground level and those with more than five floors are extremely rare. Houses with one or five floors are somewhat more common while those with four floors increasingly so accounting for 20 % of common house construction from the second half of the 17th century through the 18th century¹¹. Meanwhile buildings with two or three floors decrease in number over this same period. The increase in height is illustrated through reconstructions of houses from the middle of the 18th century, with two floor houses replaced by four floor houses.

The architectural grammar of Parisian common houses is a contrast of openings and walls, as evidenced by the size and spacing of the doors and windows whose height progressively increased in the upper levels. The reports often specify the number of the bays facing the street but rarely their dimensions (a bay is not a measure). In the mid 18th century, a new generation of houses was characterised by more openings and fewer walls. Four-bay façades gradually replaced the two-bay ones often without any increase in size. This development corresponds to the advances in glass production from the second half of the 17th century, with the introduction of wooden framed square glass panels. Recent and uniform models are thus reported in the street façades, as is the re-use of old and often mixed windows for the secondary façades (filled with paper, textile, glass in lead pannels and/or modern square glass pannels in wood). Our study counts houses with between one and seven street-facing bays, of which about a third were two-bay façades measuring 5 to 9,6 m. Other houses with a façade of similar dimensions were divided into three, four or even six bays; the broader façades, measuring 10 to 34 m, were divided into

⁷ LORRAIN, Anne - *Les immeubles de rapport à Paris 1700-1750*, master degree, Université de Paris IV Sorbonne, directed by J. Thuillier, 1978. CHANGEUX, Françoise, *La maison parisienne au XVIII^e siècle*, master degree, Paris-VII, UER géographie et sciences de la société, 1978, directed by D. Roche. BOUDRIOT, Pierre Denis - *La construction locative parisienne sous Louis XV, de l'inerte à l'animé*, doctors degree thesis directed by Pierre Chaunu, Université de Paris IV, 1981.

⁸ Two houses on the bridge *Marie* built before 1635, with 3 and 4 m broad and 6,5 m deep plots of land (Arch. Nat., Z1j 346, August 1679). In the market district the average size of the plots of land was 50 to 100 m², with some on only 10 to 12 m² (BOUDON, CHASTEL, COUZY, HAMON 1977, p. 75).

⁹ A percentage that can be compared to the result of Y. Carbonniers analysis of houses in the center of the city in the last decades of the 18th century with 60 % one unit houses (p. 184).

¹⁰ 36 % in Carbonniers analysis op. cit. p. 184.

¹¹ Through a comparison of archive sources from the thirty last years of Ancient Regime and the Bretez or Turgot map (second half of the 1730's) Y. Carbonnier also states this "raising to the skyline", in fact he deduces that the number of two floor houses decrease from 21,4 % to 15,8 %, three floor houses from 47 % to 38,1 %, as four floor houses increase from 24,2 % to 33,4 % (p. 152-153).

three to seven bays. According to our written sources single bay façades seem to have been more common inside the plots of land.

Although the design of the façades largely followed a tripartite formula comprised of a ground level, "floors" and a roof, the balance of the composition often depended upon the organization of the ground level that was distinguished by the door, shop/s and often an *entresol* (a half-floor) [fig. 2]. The entrance door was traditionally placed on one side of the façade and opened onto a corridor leading to the stairs and a courtyard. Several drawings reveal an attempt to hide this asymmetry [fig. 3]. The entrance door, frequently maintained when the house was reconstructed, was a prestigious element of the structure and its size or category allows for classification of the house: *piétonne*, *bâtarde* or *bourgeoise*, *charretière* or carriage door. The central space consisted of two to four floors, divided into regular, sometimes false bays that were often contrasted by horizontal mouldings. Since additional ornamentation increased the price of construction and any overhanging required explicit, administrative authorisation and thus an extra cost for the builder¹², only some newly built houses from the second half of the 18th century reveal the use of more elaborate doric ornaments. Black iron works, brackets, keys, masks and mouldings were more common. For the upper level our period corresponds to the progressive abandon of the gable for the gutterwall on the street line, through which the broken Mansart roof became a classical feature of Parisian common houses. Adorned with dormer windows these roofs enhance the overall aesthetical design of the common house. The slope of the roof facing the street was sometimes covered with slate and the dormer windows either crowned the bays or were placed intermittently between them should there be fewer windows than bays. They could be supported by the entablature or sunk into the roof and their framing, in stone or wood, could be more or less elaborate (rounded, square, with a pediment or doubled).

The materials also added to the aesthetical aspect of a composition. Most of the houses were covered with yellow-ocre plaster and the roof line with red tile roofs. Less frequently were they built with limestone and/or black slate. The secondary façades inside the plots of land seem to have been even more plain in their design.

The architecture of Parisian *Ancien Régime* common houses thus demonstrated a simplified yet wider array of designs and scales than the printed models suggest. Though the typology is far from being consistent, we can distinguish two main groups according to scale and interior organisation, as suggested by François Loyer¹³: shared houses, buildings with a superposition and a juxtaposition of unspecialized rooms that might also be defined as primitive houses; and bigger rental houses including a succession of horizontal "apartments" opening on a common staircase. The development of the latter was recently studied by J.-F. Cabestan.

Oriented on a rectangular plot of land with the shorter side facing the street and one or more somewhat identical buildings inside, the simple primitive house was the basic feature of the Parisian common house. The ground floor was divided into an entrance corridor with one or two rooms on either side that opened onto a court-yard with a stair-case leading to a superposition of rooms. The juxtaposition of two primitive houses behind one façade created a twin house [fig. 3] that was common in Paris throughout modern times. This model was regularly used in larger urban programs and corresponds to the floor plan of many houses built during the 18th century. A third feature, not represented among the printed models, was the double-twin house [fig. 4]. This category of house, for which we can establish three manners of use, evolved over time: those clearly divided on all the height of the house, those with a single apartment on each floor and those with open planning possibilities. Those houses built on a larger scale could otherwise be classified as a "pre-apartment house". A fourth feature of the primitive house was a split layout with a succession of composite primitive houses on a bigger plot of land.

¹² See HAROUEL, Jean-Louis - « De l'influence des règles d'urbanisme sur l'architecture des édifices privés », *Cahiers du CREPIF*, no. 18, mars 1987, p. 24. and GALLET-GUERNE & GERBAUD - *Les alignements d'encoignures à Paris. Permis délivrés par le Châtelet de 1668 à 1789 (Y 9505 A à 9507 B)*, inventaire, Paris : Archives Nationales, 1979.

¹³ LOYER François - *Paris XIXe siècle, l'immeuble et la rue*, Paris : Hazan 1987.

Our catalogue displays eighteen larger rental houses, in a intermediate size category relative to the primitive house and the appartement house. The first, larger-scale common houses present a juxtaposition of primitive house plans behind a uniform façade. Other structures include mansion houses that had been divided into bigger rental houses.

Economical, flexible and consistent, were the main characteristics of the *Ancien Régime* Parisian common house. Under these unifying characteristics we can establish how, much like a puzzle, this architecture could be adapted easily through a juxtaposition of dwelling units or rooms and thereby establish a clear connexion between the different layouts of collective housings. In fact the primary difference between a primitive common house and a pre-apartment house is one of scale: going from a vertical to a horizontal composition. We can also state that the primitive house was not replaced by the apartment-house, but rather that their coexistence is obvious all through the *Ancien Régime*.

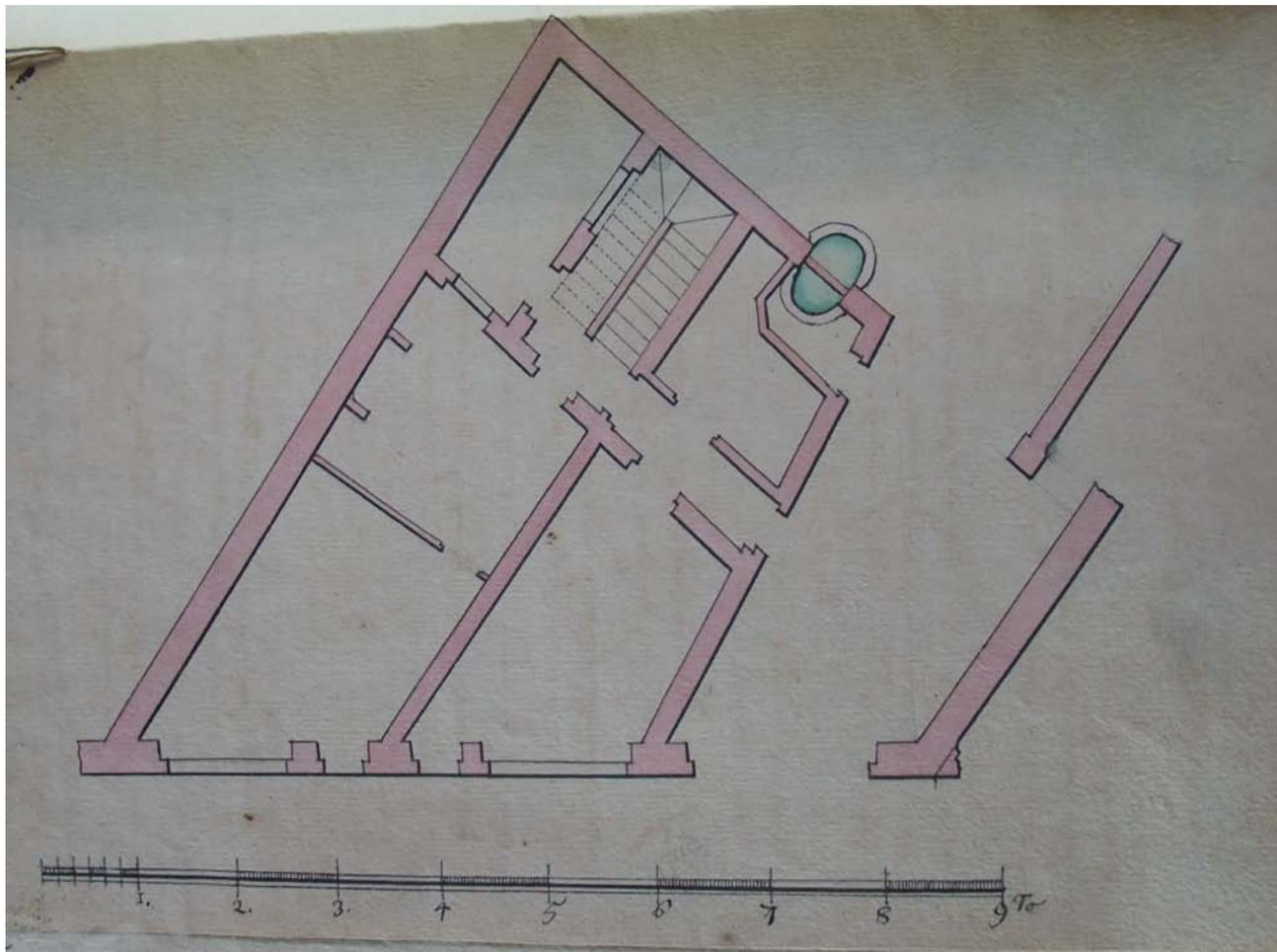


Fig. 1: Ground floor – parcel, grande rue des Porcherons, 1726 (National Archives, Paris, Minutier Central, étude XIII, 229).

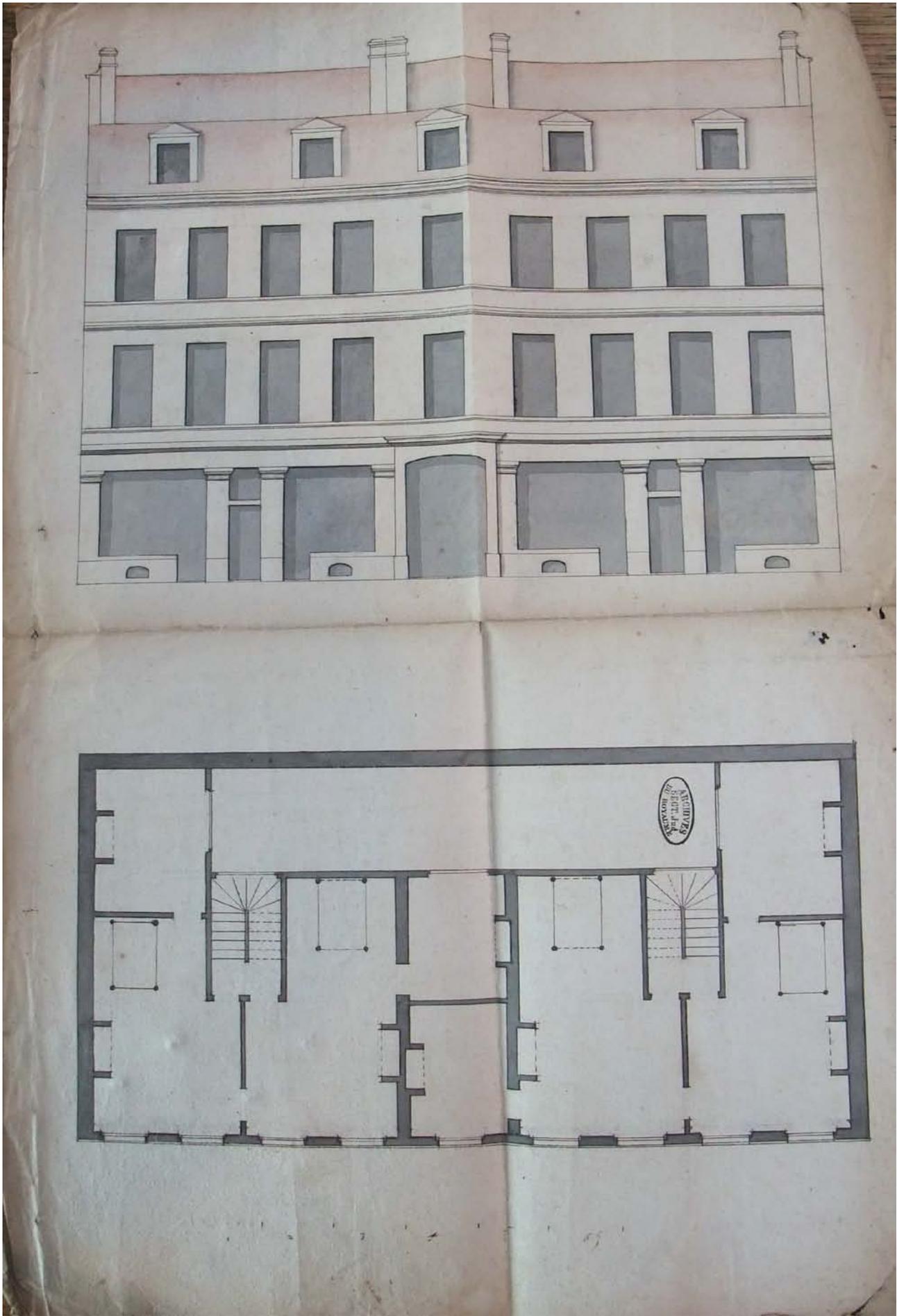


Fig. 2: Facade and floor plan, grande rue faubourg Saint-Antoine, 1687. (National Archives, Paris, Z1j 377).

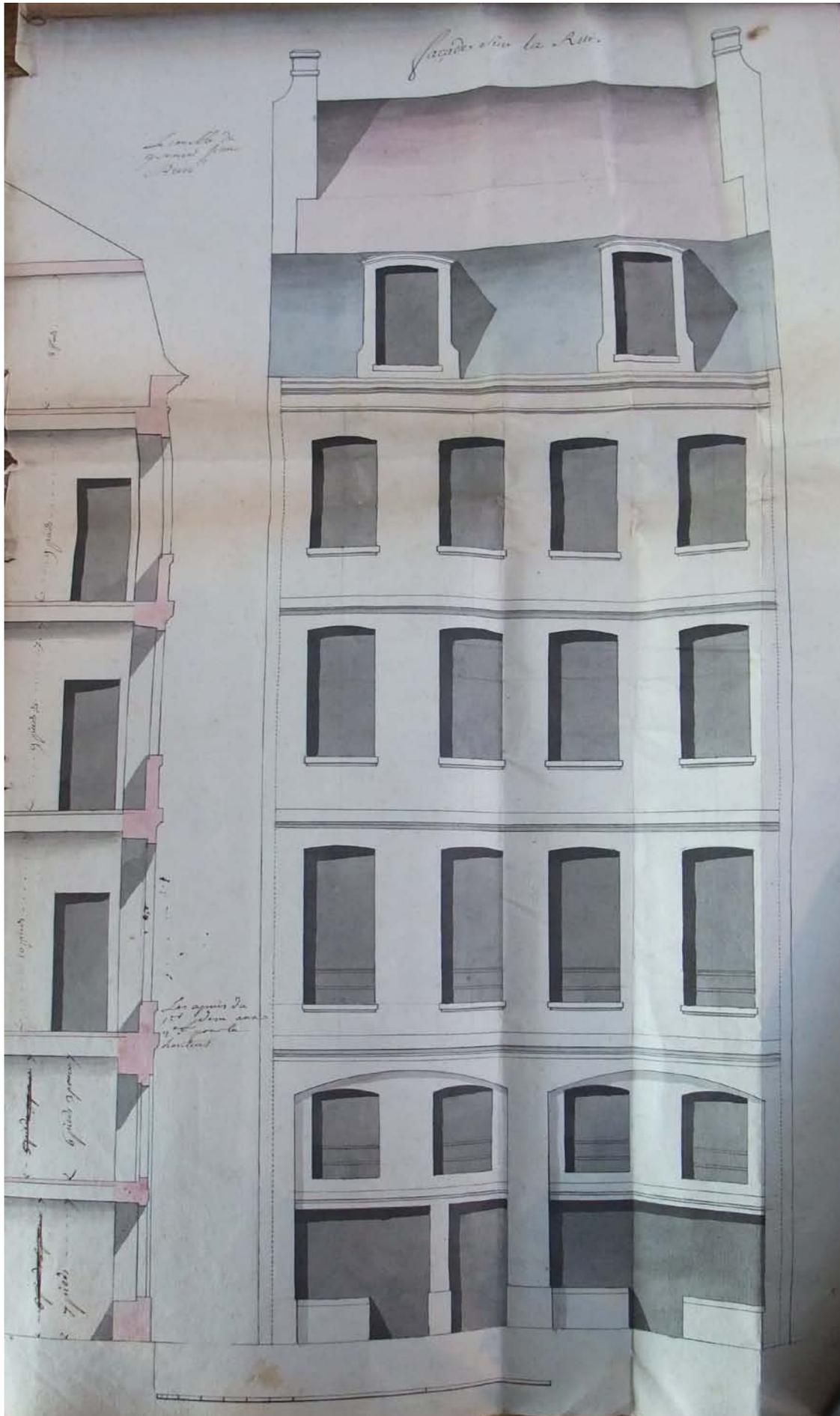


Fig. 3: Facade rue de la Cordonnerie in the market district, *les Halles*, 1742. (National Archives, Paris, Minutier Central, étude XIX, 702).

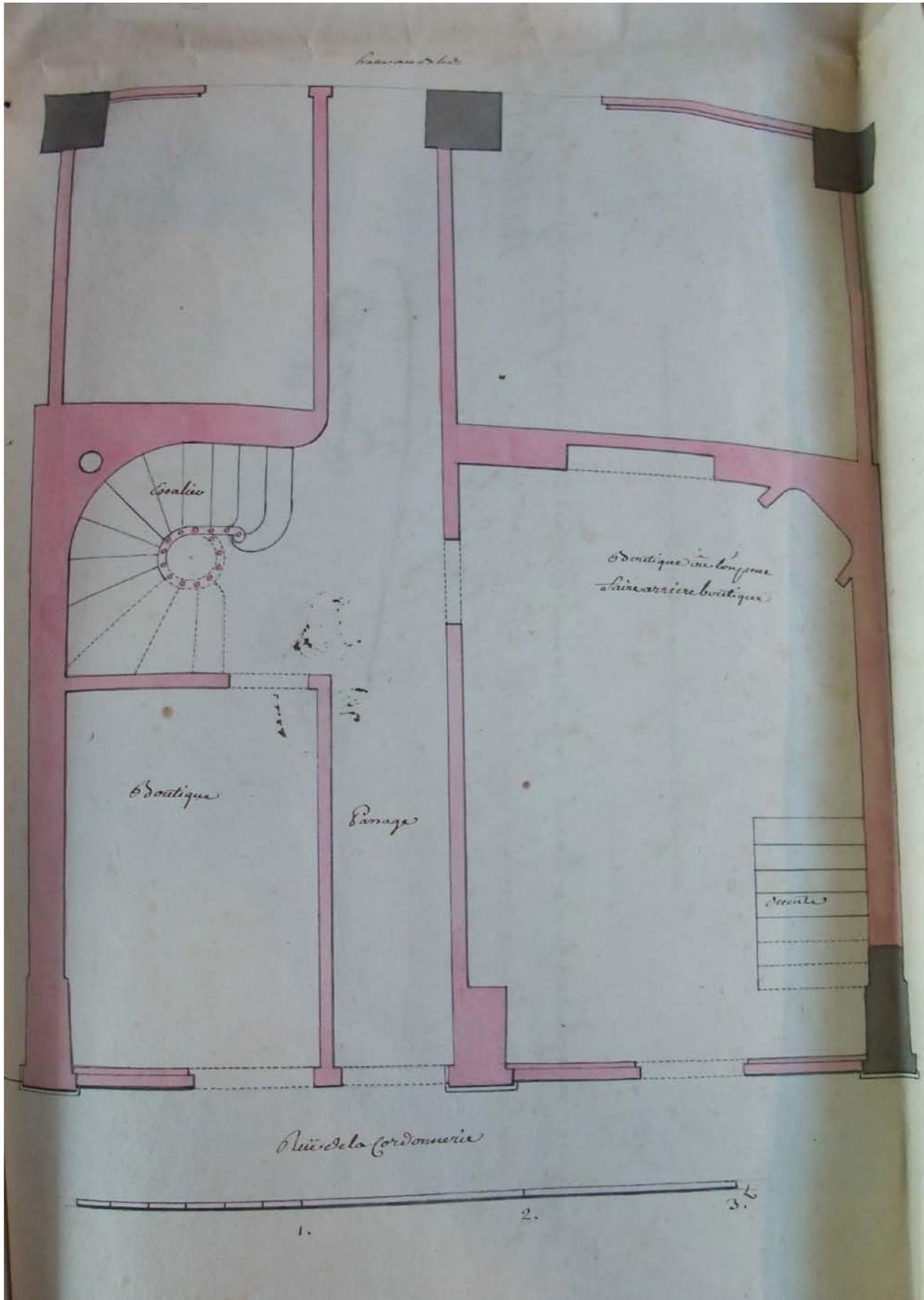


Fig. 4: Ground floor, rue de la Cordonnerie in the market district, *les Halles*, 1742. (National Archives, Paris, Minutier Central, étude XIX, 702).

All photographs taken by Linnéa Rollenhagen Tilly.

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Housing in Montréal, 1820-1850: Between Colonial Ambitions and Compromises

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Between 1825 and 1850, Montreal evolved from a predominantly French colonial town to become the largest commercial centre of British North America. A common residential building type emerged, made of small constructions of two to four storeys, containing between two to eight dwellings, usually accessible directly from the street and the courtyard through individual doors, and common exterior stairways. The municipal records of 1848 suggest that this typology represented about half of the dwelling stock, rising up to 80% by 1944, and still representing today about 60% of existing urban dwellings. (Fig.1)

The narrow time frame aimed at setting a conceptual and methodological framework and a method in order to answer an array of paradoxical observations appraised by previous scholars.¹ Where these houses came from? It could neither be compared to single-family houses commonly adopted by most North American cities, nor with large tenement buildings of New York or continental European cities. (Fig. 2) Such a housing type favoured rental tenure in a continent where post-war housing policies were strongly committed to single-family house and home ownership. How much these differences had cultural basis? Did they reflect a lower level of development as concluded, openly or not, by most scholars?

The study of Montreal housing tradition, and specifically the origins of the residential typology, is an attempt at shifting the discussion about design from the formal analysis and comparative methods based on building appearances towards a more comprehensive apprehension of the different concerns at the nexus of the design process and the production of the built environment.

The presentation is divided into three sections. The first one describes the conceptual framework that integrates and sorts the structural condition behind design choices. The second section presents the building sample and provides a few examples of the concerned design stakes. The final section, rather than concluding on a definitive history of Montreal housing origins and evolution, argues for a shift in the assertion of the design process and objectives.

Rental tenure and dwellings organised as flats were conveniently associated with the industrial revolution, benchmarked to the 1850s in Montreal, and the pauperisation of the middle classes. However, as pointed out by R. Sweeney, notaries' archives and municipal records suggest the importance of both rental tenure and multiple dwelling building accommodation prior to that period, both of which increased after the 1820s.² (Fig.3)

These observations suggest that legal and financial aspects, like the rental tenure, had an impact on typological choice. Typology considers not only the composition in terms of dwelling aggregation and layout, but also its materialisation related to the selected construction system and the spatial configuration connecting the interior and exterior spaces of each dwelling.

These concerns are involved in the building design and production but are further affected by the different scales of design. The pressure on the cost of land and the rental potential of the site relate to its relative accessibility at the urban scale. The site development takes into account the neighbouring properties, while the building footprint adapts to the site geometry and

¹ Choko, M. and R. Harris (1989). *L'évolution du mode d'occupation des logements à Montréal et à Toronto depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle*. Montreal, INRS-urbanisation; Hanna, D. (1986). *Montreal, A City Built by Small Builders, 1867-1880*. PhD thesis, McGill University, Geography; Gilliland, J. (1998). "Claims on Housing Space in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 26(2): 13.

² Sweeney, R. (1995). "Land and People: Property Investment in Late Pre-Industrial Montreal." *Urban History Review, Revue d'histoire urbaine* 24(1): 42-51.

dimensions. The dwelling's interior layout responds to a functional and social programme with specific spaces and critical dimensions that fit into the building footprint and connect with the exterior. (Fig.4)

Design issues (composition, configuration tectonics, legal and financial conditions) and scales (urban, site, building, dwelling) outline a framework of decisions to be made in the building design and production. While each aspect of the theoretical grid is found in every project, their relative importance changes from one project to the other, which largely explains why the building production remains a singular project-based process.

Among the variations, new expressions in design composition, improvements in the construction technology, revised social strategies in the spatial planning of the configuration and changes in the legal obligation or easier access to capital are individual factors that support innovative solutions compared to more tested and reliable conventions. In order to adapt to the specific conditions of the site from the urban to the interior scales, and to perform the necessary design choices and adjustments, each building project integrates conventional solutions and adapts or develops innovative ones.

A building only replicating conventional solutions is likely not taking full advantage of its specific context in space and time. A building attempting to introduce only innovative solutions is doomed to fail as a too unfamiliar endeavour. Therefore, a discussion about design moves from the opposition between convention and innovation, towards an understanding of the balance between these judgements as implemented in the design solutions at different scales and stakes.

Anthony King's essay on colonial cities stresses the relationship between the international trade and the impact on peripheral urban growth.³ This is a part of the necessary sink capital invested to ensure the control, the access and the export of resources in the development of a new town. He later argues for two main categories of colonial project between the "settlement" and the "commercial" colonies defined by the nature of the investment and the planning commitments. The settlement colony intends to reproduce on "virgin" land the social and spatial structures of the mother country. The commercial colony acknowledges the presence of a "native" society, thus restricting the colonial investment to a few key buildings like a fort, a harbour, the custom and trading houses and a "white city" for expatriates dealing with the profitable colonial trade.

Montreal's earlier social and spatial structures have their origins in the French colonial period in North America (1608-1759). Founded as a religious endeavour (1642), an outpost for the conversion of the native population, it became like New France a settlement colony with a relatively disappointing commercial interest. Nevertheless, the city planning and the architecture of the religious, state and domestic buildings displayed a modest reproduction of French provincial models, including a few local adaptations to the severe winter and the abundance of wood.

The British rule, legally established in 1763, had a limited impact for four decades on the urban growth and the architectural practice. The Quebec Act of 1774, in re-instating the French civil law and property rights, confirms the British decision to deal with the Canadian colony as a commercial one with the support of a limited garrison and a merchant class holding the political power and colonial trade. The American Independence marginally increased the interest of such a territory as the division between two provinces, one commercial and inhabited by the French, and the other a settlement colony open to Loyalists and British settlers

The Napoleonic Wars cut the United Kingdom from its traditional Scandinavian wood sources, thus bringing a sudden commercial interest for British North America. The different colonies enjoyed a increase in trade after 1806, followed by a steady flow of immigrants from the British Isles. The growth of Montreal, and the emergence of the "plex" typological tradition

³ King, A. D. (1985). *Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change*. Colonial Cities. R. Ross and G. J. Telkamp. Dordrecht, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

find their sources in the encounter between two building and housing traditions and the ambiguous perspectives of the two nations. The French-speaking majority held its civil liberties and traditions within the tolerance of a “commercial colony” agreement while the newly arriving English-speaking immigrants intended to impose their tastes and models as it was the characteristic of the settlement colony model.

The architecture of the institutions often clearly states the collective ambitions of each national “style”. On the other hand, the housing patterns display a wider range of adaptation between the two cultural traditions. A detailed analysis of building plans extracted from archival sources combines the conventional morphological interest in the plan composition and the construction system with “space syntax” methods that explore the spatial configurations. The cross reading exposes examples of buildings, some faithful to the older French tradition, and others inspired and aspiring to replicate English residential models. But the main finding is the extensive array of dwellings adapting components borrowed from one or the other building practices.

Land subdivision at the urban scale uses French measures and objectives that translated in plots tailored in size to the owner needs and means and only gradually the more regular land subdivision introduced by the British land owners were adapted. Building types include examples of row houses and villas that are effectively large properties of the wealthier classes, but a majority is comprised of multiple-dwelling buildings that accommodate a wider range of dwelling sizes and household means and needs. The interior layout is divided between the adjacent-room pattern and the use of hall and corridor for distribution. The plans’ composition shows asymmetrical room arrangement versus neo-classical objectives of balance and symmetry that find their roots in the evolution of western domestic planning since the Reformation. Details in the construction systems tend to show the prevalence of French methods in the structural position of beams, the use of stone and casement windows, with the gradual introduction of brick in the 1840s as well as sash windows and interior details with the growth of British skilled labour. The “métissage” means that very few building design decisions in their different scales and stakes could be exclusively associated to one building tradition or the other.

The exchange and borrowing from one tradition to the other lead to a more extended and complex level of hybridisation. The formality of hall and corridor distribution could be partly challenged by opening doors among adjacent rooms. Alternative routes in the movement between rooms in the dwelling suggest an emphasis on sharing space and favouring encounters among household members. The high integration value of the kitchen among most dwellings points to its pivotal position in monitoring movement by the family members and visitors, acknowledging a strong role for the women in charge. Both observations contest the image of a strict social order with defined and definitive spatial relationships, instead favouring patterns of spatial solidarity and more egalitarian encounters between households, regardless of their ethnic origins, and between family members beyond the legal inequalities of gender.

While socially and politically, the relationship between the French and British nations has been described as “two solitudes”, the housing stock design characteristics describe an opportunistic cultural flexibility towards residential planning. The integration of bicultural composition principles, tectonics and configuration strategies, illustrates the exploration of a new balance between tradition and innovation.

Colonial architecture is an older version of the globalisation process we are confronting today. The critical misfortune of Montreal's housing in the conventional architectural historian's perspective owes to its peculiar altered version of European references. The stylistic imperfection is less about the objective disappointments of the dwelling in terms of comfort or available space than the political interpretation that colonial relationships support in terms of propriety and class value and its legitimate authority. In essence, the academic and professional assessment reflects very much the class aspirations, both locally and globally of such a social group.

In this respect, a first-world appreciation of colonial architecture may value above all the faithful reproduction of the metropolitan architecture types, from institutions down to housing. However, such a proposal may require extraordinary means in terms of labour and material, which basically provide a tangible expression of colonial exploitation. On the contrary, the Montreal housing tradition, as it was left in the hands of the "natives" may represent a more effective housing type fitting the local resources and traditions in an open ended process.



Fig.1: The "Plex" Building type defines Montreal Housing tradition. Aerial view of a section of the Plateau Mont-Royal Borough (Gouvernement du Québec).



Fig.2: Street view, 1950s, rue de Lorimier (David Hanna).



Fig.3: Examples of stone, brick and wooden multiple dwelling houses in Montreal in 1853. Beaver Hall Hill area, Craig Street in the foreground, Montreal, Quebec. (Public Archives of Canada, Acc. No. 1973-64, Neg. No. C-47354).

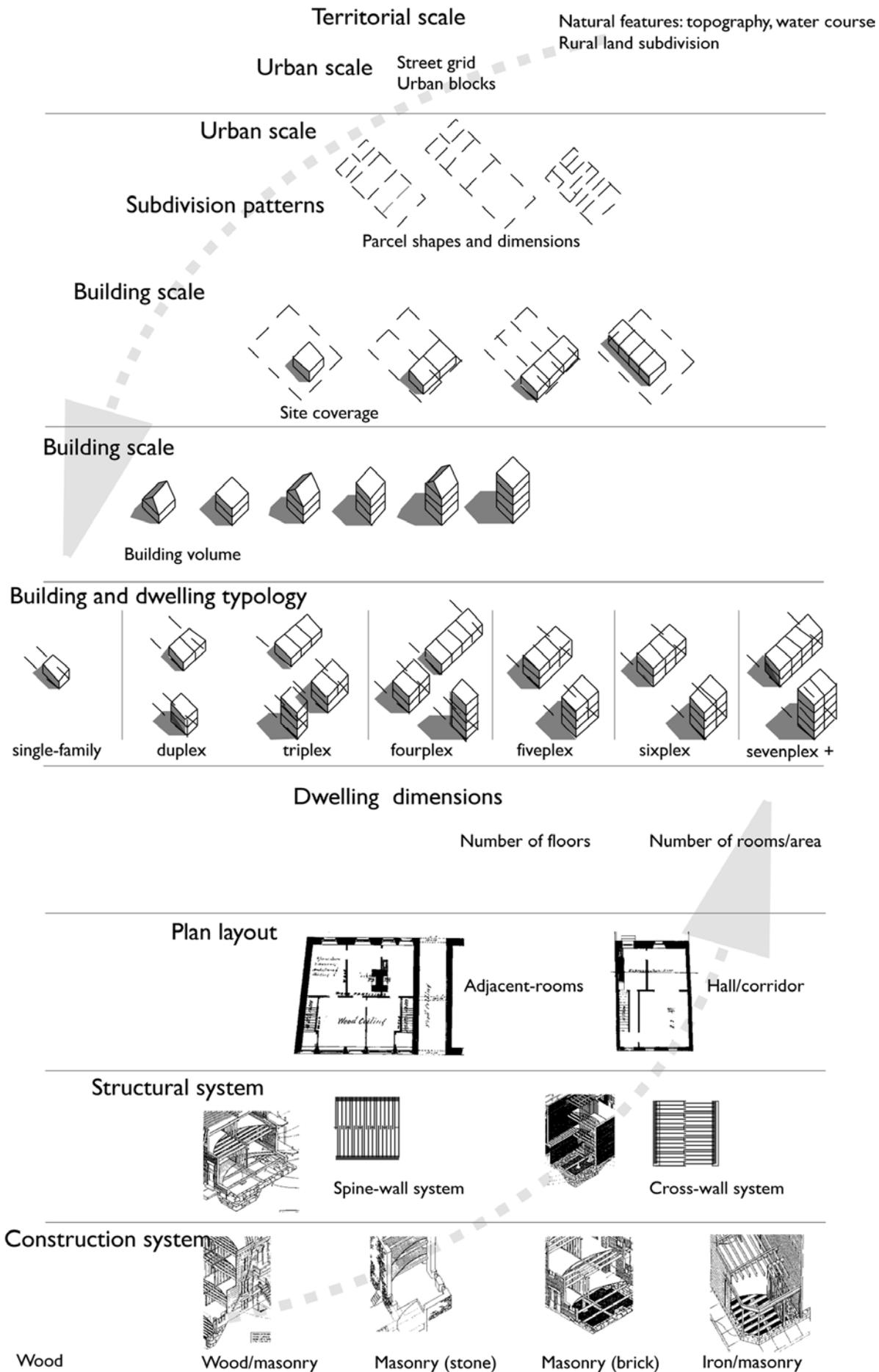


Fig.4: The conceptual framework of the morphological analysis (François Dufaux).

The Pombaline Effect: Lisbon's Dwellings in Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

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This paper starts from the well-established premise that the Reconstruction of Lisbon after the 1755's Earthquake produced a radical transformation of the city image and representations. I will debate this long-term transformation taking common housing as the main focus of my study. This paper is not, therefore, devoted to a comprehensive explanation of Lisbon's Rebuilding Plan, nor is it engaged in clarifying the complex framework of major legal, organizational and constructive issues that range over the Pombaline city and its architecture. Instead, an uncharted "Pombaline effect" over Lisbon's housing panorama will be followed, one that occurred in areas of the city that were not covered by the Reconstruction Plan but were, nevertheless, subjected to an intense densification after the Earthquake. This means we will get into the alteration of Lisbon's dwelling landscape not from the point of view of an erudite-professional repertoire of references, but from a common sense standpoint. In other words, we will see evidence of a global and non-educated (in architectural terms) assimilation of Pombaline architectural principles of regular design. One that was not, I must add, contrived by specific norms or legislation.

Let us begin by clarifying that the profound transformation of the city image and representations produced by the Reconstruction of Lisbon cannot be exclusively attributed to the extraordinary qualities of the 1758's Plan designed by Eugénio dos Santos and Carlos Mardel. In order to thoroughly understand this change one must take into consideration the tremendous effect the erudite-designed bourgeois multi-familiar Pombaline buildings had once they expanded in an unprecedented city-scale – the scale of an entirely new city centre. In fact, the dominant standard of common housing in Lisbon changed beyond recognition in the last decades of the 18th Century. So, besides pondering on the major role attributed by Pombaline architects to the redefinition of common housing standards, we must also consider the public perception of the reconstructed city – made of regular and wider streets and designed residential building blocks – and the profound effect it had in the way the city was conceived, represented, built, and lived throughout the late 18th and 19th Centuries.

*

Our attention has been called to the fact that a thorough understanding of the Reconstruction Plan (1758) implies considering "it was not only meant *for the future*; it was also *against the past*" (Paulo Varela Gomes 1988: 132-133). It might be added that Lisbon's recovery was not only drawn against traditional non-regular ways of city-making, it was also drawn to outshine prevailing vernacular building solutions¹, unfamiliar with architectonic project-value, and thus unfamiliar with the symbolic horizon of regularity that guided the programme undertaken by Manuel da Maia and his architects.

Common housing structures widespread since the 16th Century were usually one, two or three-story high², and they can be easily recognizable by their rather irregular and asymmetrical compositions – at ease alternating wall areas either blind or pierced by a series of small openings corresponding to the interior staircase, and fenestrated ones (whose openings could also be dissimilar) corresponding to residential spaces, or repeatedly admitting gable ends. Conversely, Pombaline residential buildings' façades presented themselves as programmed architecture, and were therefore controlled by projects devised in accordance with basic classical norms (even if simplified and repetitive) and referenced in the most prized apartment buildings

¹ Vernacular means here non-drawn architecture. I do not open the concept to the much wider horizon of potential meanings it has nowadays, not because I have any kind of reserve regarding its expansion (on the contrary), but because this limited significance applies to the specificity of the context I am about to analyse.

² See H. CARITA, *O Bairro Alto: Tipologias e Modos Arquitectónicos*. – Lisboa: CML, 1994 [1993] and *Lisboa Manuelina*. – Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1999. Further reading: Luísa TRINDADE (2002), *A Casa urbana em Coimbra. Dos finais da Idade Média aos inícios da Época Moderna*. – Coimbra: CMC, 2002.

constructed in Lisbon before the Earthquake (*Ourives do Ouro* street)³. In this new erudite context, interior staircases location marks and gable ends on a façade became unthinkable, for regularity takes over the standard four story buildings with balconies on the 1st floor (in the upper hill of Chiado the 2nd floor was also ennobled with balconies) and dormer windows in the 4th – following the social vertical hierarchy of the residential offer within the same building [Fig. 1].

The remarkable aesthetic distance evident on Pombaline residential architecture at the time of its creation and first reception, as it clearly detaches itself from the previous leading vernacular paradigm, was also reinforced by straightforward formal solutions quoted from the realm of aristocratic architecture: the block scale that conceals building units at Baixa, the monumental pilasters set at the corner of each block (deprived of any significant support role), the coupling of portals and balconies of Rossio and Chiado's buildings, and even the dormer windows, came from such an universe of reference⁴.

Moreover, approaching noble architecture and taking specific pre-Earthquake top ranking apartment building formulas as a minimum standard of the qualification intended for the city about to be rebuilt also implied a significant transformation of common housing interiors. Lisbon's reconstructed areas benefited from a housing program providing superimposed apartments with defined boundaries within the same building. We now have multifamily structures organized as a sum of independent and socially multi-targeted dwellings – either one or two per floor – served by well-defined common shares (entries, hallways, landings and stairs). This rational program broke with modes of co-housing enshrined in common housing tradition, applying to multifamily residence a standard of privacy scarcely known beforehand⁵. This rupture was of course being prepared long before the Earthquake, but only the renewal of the entire residential offer could have converted it into a normal city-scale practice. Finally, benefiting from enlarged allotment units held by the Reconstruction program, Pombaline apartments significantly increased interior living areas⁶.

To sum up, it might be said that Pombaline residential structures defined and recaptured the bourgeois habitat by objectifying a regular and standardised architectural program endowed with ennobling references (such as its block scale); promoting privacy between the different apartments; enlarging interior living spaces; and presenting rental buildings destined to different social levels of potential dwellers.

As it was able to anticipate and systematize all these renewal symptoms of bourgeois dwelling, Lisbon's Reconstruction could not have failed to produce a thorough reconfiguration of the *expectations horizon*⁷ of city inhabitants and builders (architects, landlords, owners, politicians, etc). This reconfiguration can be gauged in the continuing expansion and densification of other residential areas in late 18th and 19th centuries because it prompted an increased level of exigency concerning the minimum requisites of common housing, and at the same time it lowered tolerance towards anything that would not dignify the city image (from inappropriate behaviour to inappropriate vernacular solutions in the realm of common architecture, as we will see). This major effect is traceable over a very long span of time, and it concerns not only the prevalence and longevity of the building type

³ Helena MURTEIRA, *Lisboa da Restauração às Luzes* – Lisboa: Presença 1999 [1996]; see also Joana CUNHA LEAL, *Arquitetura Privada, Política e Factos Urbanos em Lisboa: da cidade Pombalina à cidade liberal*. – Lisboa: FCSH-UNL, 2005 (PhD theses).

⁴ See Joana CUNHA LEAL, *Arquitetura Privada, Política e Factos Urbanos em Lisboa...*, 2005 and "Habitar a cidade nova: expectativas e apropriações de primeiro grau", *O Terramoto de 1755: Impactos Históricos* (eds. J.V. Serrão, W. Rossa, N.G. Monteiro, J.L. Cardoso, A.C. Araújo). – Lisboa: Horizonte, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 2007, 395-404.

⁵ There are not many available studies on common housing interiors spaces before the Earthquake. Exception is H. Carita's work on Bairro Alto (1994 [1993]). The plants studied by Carita testify the existence of multifamily housing of two or three floors since the 17th century at least. However, there is no evidence of a clear apartment definition within those buildings. Modes of cohabitation between different hirers were, as is well known, rather common. It must be stressed that both the *Ordenações Manuelinas* and the *Ordenações Filipinas* gave legal protection to all those who wished to undertake a division of their family address. Considering the traditional bourgeois home in Paris until the middle of the 18th century, J.-F. Cabestan also explains that the only divisions with well-defined borders were those that the owner of the building reserved for his family use; see J.-F. CABESTAN, "La naissance de l'immeuble d'appartements à Paris sous le règne de Louis XV", *Paris Capitale des Arts sous Louis XV* (ed. Daniel Rabreau), 1997, 168.

⁶ *Even in the buildings* constructed on narrower unit lots the dimensions of Pombaline apartments tend to double the available living area if compared with traditional common housing spaces; *On unicellular living spaces in 18th century* see N. MADUREIRA, *Cidade: Espaço e Quotidiano (Lisboa 1740- 1830)*. – Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1992. See also Joana CUNHA LEAL, *Arquitetura Privada, Política e Factos Urbanos em Lisboa*, 2005, 157.

⁷ Hans Robert JAUSS, *A literatura como provocação*. – Lisboa: Vega, 1993 [1967].

designed for Lisbon's central areas, but also, and more significantly for my argument, the evident signs of condemnation of vernacular architecture by ordinary citizens and landlords without any architectural education.

Let us move forward pointing out that although the Reconstruction Plan outshined vernacular architecture in the areas it covered, those traditional non-regularized ways of building and city-making expanded in outer parts of the city, where they were to become dominant in the end of the 18th century. A very well known example of this phenomenon was Lapa neighbourhood⁸; another one I have thoroughly analysed was the so-called *bairro Pomba*⁹. Following the Earthquake, these expansion areas offered a vast territory of freer and cheaper building opportunities, away from the rigid norms that ruled the city-centre reconstruction, and were hence covered with barrack-like houses (meaning both wooden and one story houses) and vernacular constructions that perpetuated the pre-Pombaline vernacular housing types ensured by the cohesive knowledge of the builders corporations.

It might therefore be stated, as announced earlier, that the struggle between the construction of a regularized city and the persistence of traditional irregular modes of city-design and city-build continued throughout the 19th Century. In fact, Pombaline buildings' prospective impact in these areas was crucial because the qualified image of the city-centre housing was slowly but surely incorporated as a common sense standard. It became a basic reference for both aesthetic evaluation and basic dwelling requirements, leading to the gradual abandonment, or at least the adjusting, of the preceding vernacular way of building in these outlandish areas.

This prospective impact becomes noticeable when one studies the collection of façade drawings enrolled in the catalogue named *Livro dos Prospectos* (*Arco do Cego* Municipal Archive). This 19th Century original catalogue puts on record the constructions that would have a foreseeable visual impact on the city and had therefore to get a license from Lisbon's City Council Building Department (after 1852 known as *Repartição Técnica*). It runs from October 1845 (when the enrolling of projects became mandatory) to 1874 (when the archive was completely reorganized). The information gathered in this catalogue, along with the existing drawings (corresponding to 2/3 of registered records¹⁰) allows us to locate and date those building licenses, and to get to know the nature of these building interventions in a significant number of cases: entirely new buildings, rebuilding of previous structures, addition of new floors or improvement of existing façades [Fig. 2, 3, 4].

These different types of interventions do not represent absolute categories. On the contrary, they are permeable to multiple contaminations, given the fact that, say, an addition of new floors may also include the adjustment and the ennoblement of a pre-existing façade, while rebuilding can frequently open the occasion for increasing the number of the pre-existing floors. Moreover, none of these categories allows us to fully assess their impact in the city: a completely new construction might be less important than the regularization and embellishment of an existing structure, depending on other factors such as location or the type of building concerned.

Despite all caveats, we are still able to map different appropriations of the city and stress different levels of change in the pre-existing built environment through these data. Besides being a reliable indicator of the dynamics installed in the field of urban construction, and of the vertical densification it implied, this collection of anonymous constructions clearly demonstrates that the value of regularity underpinned by city areas reconstructed under the 1758's Plan was able to reconfigure the Lisboans expectations horizon, appearing as a principle shared by the entire community (inhabitants, landlords and builders). It did so on

⁸ See José Sarmiento de MATOS, *Uma Casa na Lapa*. – Lisboa: Quetzal, 1994.

⁹ See Joana CUNHA LEAL, *Arquitectura Privada, Política e Factos Urbanos em Lisboa*, 2005, 189.

¹⁰ Of the 2299 catalog records, 844 have lost the corresponding design.

terms that would be responsible for raising basic needs standards and creating a critical base in the realm of domestic architecture. We may quote the noteworthy tendency for a much more generous conception of minimum interior spaces to live, but its clearest expression would be the significant flow of elective building projects eager to eliminate the asymmetries and ill-projected solutions of early accepted vernacular constructions and barrack-like houses.

Eventually, what must be stressed here is the fact that such a motion to correct vernacular modes unfamiliar with architectural design primary rules, testify by those 19th century architectural drawings, was not a movement forced by general law, City Council regulations or professional advisements. It was set in motion by the consolidation of an architectural culture nourished by the Reconstruction paradigm of regularity, and therefore globally deplores demonstrations of compositional irregularity, and tries to eliminate them. In so doing it definitely proves that the Pombaline residential standard permeated the whole of the urban territory, appearing both as a structure flexible enough to be (re)interpreted, re-worked and set as a standard for urban common housing.



Fig. 1: Bairro Alto, Lisbon. Trav. dos Inglesinhos nº18-20 (Carita, 1994, 107).

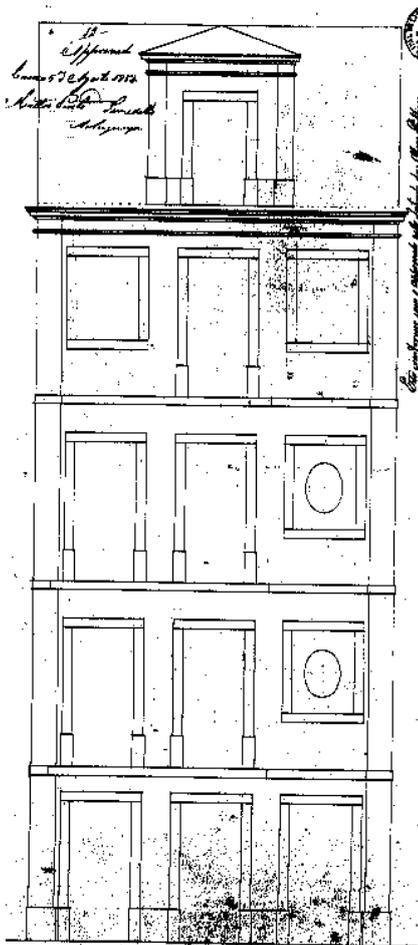


Fig. 2: Alcáçovo 419 (AHCML-AC) de 1854. Rua de S. Bento.

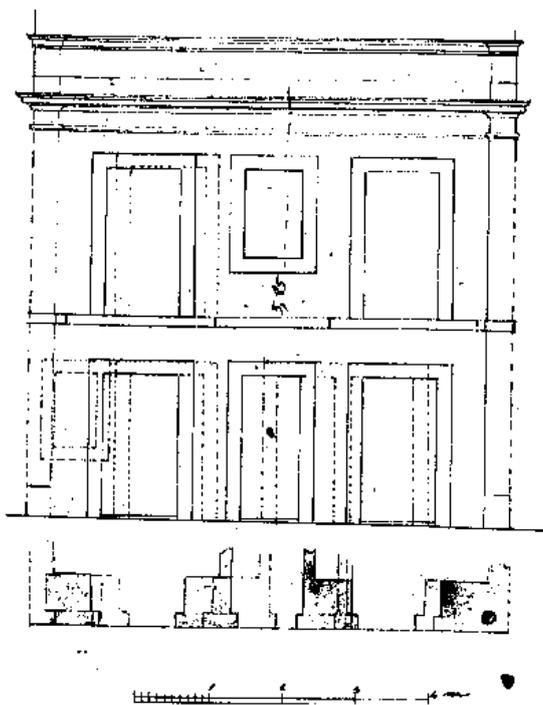


Fig. 3: Alçado 1193 (AHCML-AC) de 1865. Travessa das Flores.

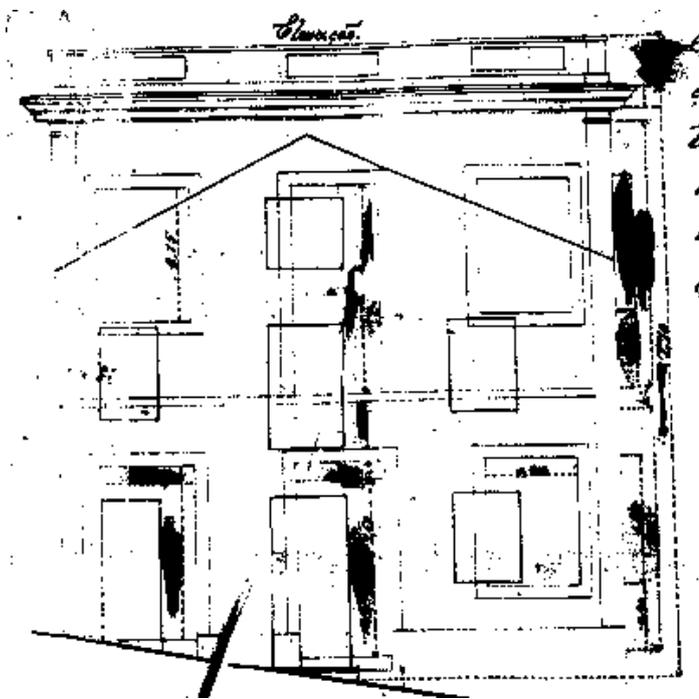


Fig. 4: Alçado 1249 (AHCML-AC) de 1866. Calçada de Stª Ana.

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