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ABSTRACTS

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FIRST PAPER SESSION

SESSION: Architectures of Waiting in the City

Henriette Steiner, University of Copenhagen

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

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

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

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

Samantha Martin-McAuliffe,
University College Dublin

“What has happened, Socrates, to make you leave your usual haunts in the Lyceum and pass your time here by the Stoa Basileios? Surely you are not prosecuting anyone before the Archon Basileios as I am?” (Plato, *Euthyphro* 2a). This opening exchange in Plato’s *Euthyphro* is momentous because it broadcasts Socrates’ indictment in charges of impiety and the corruption of Athenian youth. Yet this dialogue indirectly reveals other significant information that is routinely overlooked in modern scholarship: The identification of two architectural settings – the Lyceum and the Stoa Basileios – and more specifically, the allusion to how Socrates occupied these particular places, have the potential to enhance our understanding of Classical Greek urbanism.

In other words, by reading between the lines of ancient testimonia, we can begin to trace the ways by which civic spaces accommodated, and even fostered, the act of waiting.

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

Stoas play a supporting role in several dialogues and speeches that are set in the Agora, often as locations of happenstance encounters. In antiquity these buildings were so common as conversational settings and

places for waiting or passing time that an ancient audience would have understood their spatial characteristics implicitly. Yet it is precisely this typicality that makes such situations ripe for further study. Through a close re-reading of texts, and with the aid of digital reconstructions, this paper shows how the Greek stoa was instrumental to the ways civic space was perceived, shared and structured in antiquity. Ultimately, it argues that the act of waiting in the Greek city was understood as something more than customary or casually presumed: rather than 'merely happening', it was considered a useful and intentionally planned aspect of urban order.

While You Walk: Waiting on the Pavements

Philip Schauss, The New School

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

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

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

Stop Motion. Slussen, Stockholm

Tim Antsey, Oslo School of Architecture and Design/KTH School of Architecture

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

Slussen is often understood as an evolutionary ancestor of the multi-lane high-speed traffic interchange (structures like the Santa Monica/San Diego Freeways circulatory that Reyner Banham would later Love in Los Angeles). However although it may look like a monument to uninterrupted flow, Slussen was conceived equally as a *station* – a point of hiatus between one kind of journey and another. It housed three transport termini – for trams, trains and a subway – and the apparatus was intended to choreograph transitions between all of these by foot, as well as journeys by car, truck, barrow, bicycle boat and – not unimportantly, lift. The design revolved very definitely around the experience of the single passenger as the quantum that made such journeys meaningful. As the documents concerning its inception show, the experience of time, waiting, spectating and transition were crucial concerns. While dedicated to movement, Slussen provided an experience of the city as intense momentary stasis.

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

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

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

In 1922, Siegfried Kracauer publishes an essay entitled 'Those Who Wait'. He

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

What would happen if these metaphors were taken at face value almost hundred years later? What kind of architecture can be imagined today that corresponds with the modern ways of life that Kracauer presents? And what are contemporary citizens really waiting for? The first sentence of Kracauer's essay goes like this: 'There are a lot of people these days who, although unaware of each other, are nevertheless linked by a common fate.' The first task of architecture, as for example the *Communal Villa* from 2015 by Dogma and Realism Working Group shows, may be to bring these people together, and to make them conscious of their common waiting.

Shadowy Figures and Strange Interiors: the optician's waiting room

Susan Hedges, Auckland University of Technology

The waiting room can be imagined as a frequently visited place, a place to loiter, sit or perhaps stand, walk and converse. A

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

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

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

SESSION: Modern Nature: The Architecture of Gardens and Landscapes

Imke van Hellemond, VU University Amsterdam; *Bruno Notteboom*, University of Antwerp

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

Also (landscape) architects themselves handled the nature-culture relationship in various ways, especially in the heyday of modernism. Le Corbusier, for example, conceived landscape in the first place as nature, an arcadian landscape as a setting for the white box on *pilotis*. A more architectural way of intervening was propagated by landscape architects who defined themselves as modernist, such as the

Canadian Christopher Tunnard and the Belgian Jean Canneel-Claes. In 1937 they founding the Association Internationale d'Architectes de Jardins Modernistes (AIAJM) whose program adhered to the form follows function credo and the use of geometrical forms. However, a third position can be discerned in the work of landscape architects, such as Mijge or the Dutch Jan Bijhouwer and Wim Boer, who considered gardens and landscapes as the outcome of a more ecocentric design attitude and the integration of nature and culture.

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

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

Nature Worship or effective landscape planning? Reconsidering the narrative of Swedish Modernist landscape Architecture

Catherine Nolan, Stockholm University

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

The nature-culture relation in Swedish Modernist landscape architecture is contradictory. The landscape architecture is often described as very homogenous and very Swedish, inspired by Swedish nature and natural sceneries. Nature is regarded as an antithesis to artificial, but also as a Swedish ideology. How does this narrative of the concept "Swedish" rhyme with the narrative of Sweden as a progressive and modern country? Although they were meticulously planned and partly artificially

constructed, Bodorff's landscapes are today perceived as either cultural landscapes or pure nature. I am interested in discussing the validity of this canonical narrative. Is Swedish Modernist landscape architecture a result of introspection, nature worship and landscape architects working in a vacuum as has been underlined in historiography? Are there ideological and political reasons for this homogenous narrative and is it possible to analyse the nature-culture discourse in a more multifaceted and complex web?

The Architectural versus the Natural: The Birth of Modernist Landscape Design Theory in Hungary

Luca Csepley-Knorr, Manchester School of Architecture

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

The main question of the debate seemed only to be about the scope of professional duties; however, arguments were much more complex. Landscape gardeners with a horticultural background aimed at creating a shift by turning away from the use of exotic plants towards a more ecological and informal way of planting, deriving from the natural flora of the country. Architects, on the other hand, believed in the modernization of landscape design theory through formal solutions and in the

introduction of strictly architectural layouts, not putting much emphasis on plants.

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

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

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

Sophie Hochhäusl, Boston University

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

The idea of holism for example – the unity of mind, body, and landscape – had been a major objective of turn-of-the-century life reform movements, which culminated in design discourse in the 1920s. Put forth by the German landscape architect Leberecht Migge as "natural architecture," the concept stipulated that garden settlements could "grow" from their surroundings and through the labor of their inhabitants over time. In Vienna, Adolf Loos and Grete Lihotzky, were major proponents of "natural architecture." But in contrast to Schuster's post-war notion of the "environment," which was planned by the architect as sole ordering-entity, Loos's and Lihotzky's ideas on "natural architecture" incorporated inhabitant participation and non-human agency in the building process.

In the proposed paper, I will thus link 1920s settlement debates on "natural

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

"Empathetic modernism": Hermann Mattern's new naturalism and the modernisation of German landscape architecture around 1930

Lars Hopstock, Technical University of Munich

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

German scholars sometimes describe landscape architecture as an inherently conservative profession, stating that modernist expression was limited to few examples and cut short by the rise of National Socialism. The avant-garde has also been largely defined in formal terms: as geometric. Designers of non-geometrical organic spatial concepts were often suspected of an anti-democratic longing for natural order and 'organic' social systems—a perspective defined by historicism during the 1960s. However, the widespread belief during the early 20th century in a typically German sense of nature, superior to an alleged 'Latin' ratio, is only part of the picture. In the 1920s, a second, progressive naturalism developed. Its two best-known proponents were Herta Hammerbacher (1900-1985) and Hermann Mattern (1902-1971). Mattern was personally connected to the art scene and the Bauhaus, and his organicist maxim did not contradict an

affirmative stance towards the modernization of an increasingly urbanized society.

Around 1930, new scientific findings, above all from phyto-sociology (*Pflanzensoziologie*), influenced the work of many leading garden designers. However, 'ecological' guidelines were not considered

mandatory but used as a catalyst for design ideas. Mattern's and Hammbacher's biographies reveal a distinct aestheticism and spiritual leanings. Thus, for an understanding of modernist naturalism it is important not to underestimate the idealist dimension.

ROUNDTABLE: Cities, Preservation and Violence
Alona Nitzan-Shifan, Technion; Heghnar Watempaugh,
University of California Davis

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

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

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

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

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

Emily Bereskin, Technical University Berlin

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

Cultivating more-inclusive narratives is an essential part of post-conflict reconciliation, and heritage plays a vital role in that process. Conflicts over heritage sites are essentially conflicts over competing group narratives. What's more, the highly

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

Cyprus provides a positive example of the importance for social practice to be integrated with physical preservation. For over forty years, bicomunal teams have meticulously restored sensitive sites

destroyed in the conflict, and yet few on the island are even aware of their work. Widespread interest in cultural heritage has instead only arisen in the past three years as a result of urban photography groups and local walking tours. These practices, through an exploration of built heritage, have radically encouraged young people to explore their identities, question divisive state narratives and acknowledge multiple interpretations of the conflict.

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

A Prison for an Armenian Past. Serp Astvadsadsin Church in Gaziantep

Gül Cephaneçigil, Istanbul Technical University

During the years of I. World War and followed by the period of British and French occupations, the city of Aintab – today's Gaziantep in southeastern Turkey - was not only the place of a war against the allied forces, but also witnessed the confrontation between its Armenian and Turkish communities, the two main ethnic constituents of the population of the city. After this period, which resulted in the removal of the Armenian population, both the religious buildings and the neighborhoods inhabited by the Armenians lost their former users. Houses were confiscated and sold to new residents. Churches were given different functions such as warehouse, movie-theater or school dormitory, or destroyed in the fires. The American College that served mainly to the Armenian students, remained in ruined conditions until the mid 20th century, and was used as a store of building materials, though it was one of the landmarks of the cityscape at the turnover of the century. When, in 1932-39 an urban development plan was prepared by Herman Jansen, a new "government quarter" was proposed partly on the Armenian neighborhoods. In this context, the main Armenian Gregorian church of the city – Surp Astvadsadsin - was transformed into a prison. It kept this unusual function for a church until 1988 when it was transformed into a mosque. As a registered cultural entity the building is currently under legal protection and its physical integrity is being "preserved" with

restoration works. However, its original cultural context is neglected both in legal and social grounds and its Armenian past is not included in the notion of "heritage" on which the bureaucratic preservationist practices are based. This paper aims to examine the transformation/adaptation processes of Surp Astvadsadsin church/ Kurtuluş Mosque as a case study, to discuss the heritage policies of the nation-state and its impact on the Armenian heritage of the city.

Heritage as a Battlefield. Diffuse and Direct Patrimonial Violence

Celia Ghyka, Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urban Planning Bucharest

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

Bucharest in the 80s has suffered dramatic changes in its formal substance - under the name of totalitarian communist ideology. The 90s, and especially the two last decades have been marked by a more diffuse and subtle, yet constant aggression against built heritage. A continuous change of legislation, as well as the inheritance of a disputed ownership landscape - due to retrocession of previously confiscated houses - lead to an extremely conflicted situation of the architectural heritage. Abandon and destruction of monuments or historical buildings have been a recurrent strategy for investors, in order to clear the land and build anew. The pressure of corporate real-estate investments, as well as large infrastructure projects of the Municipality (resulting in the demolition of 8ha of the historical city) have further complicated this already fragile context, especially at the end of the 2010. The local administration's difficulties in implementing the existing laws of heritage protection have contributed to this rather grim perspective. Recently (September 2015), changes in the construction laws propose ambiguous modifications to the status of the historical monuments and the historical areas. Moreover, a tragic fire occurring in October 2015 revealed the extent of corruption in municipal offices that issue construction permits and triggered a series of extraordinary legislative measures, that resulted in the immediate closing of most of the public facilities in the city centre, neglected for over 25 years for the imminent seismic danger. Many of these are situated

in historical buildings, and are privately owned. The economic incapacity of the owners to renovate the buildings will further contribute to the decay of the architectural heritage.

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

A Difficult Heritage: The legacy of fascism in contemporary Italy

Lucy Maulsby, Northeastern University

This paper considers the legacy of fascism in Italy through the example of Fascist Party

headquarters or *case del fascio*, relatively modest buildings that served as centers for the party's operations in cities and towns throughout Italy. Following fascism's collapse most of these buildings were adapted to serve as military or police outposts (a function that maintained their association with state power and control) while others were demolished, abandoned, turned into community centers, or used as government offices. In most cases iconographic programs were left intact, as were distinctive formal elements (namely towers and balconies) thus allowing them to serve as a reminder, intentional or otherwise, of a discredited regime. The recent effort to make the ex-Fascist Party Headquarters in Predappio, the town identified with Mussolini's birth and a center for neo-fascist pilgrimages, a national museum about Italian fascism has brought to the fore some of the challenges of remembering a difficult history and of preserving its physical remains. It also raises questions about the degree to which the silence and decay that characterizes many of these buildings might be used to challenge the continued allure of fascism's myths.

SESSION: Exploring Regionality in the Architecture of the Late Medieval Tower House

Andrew Tierney, Dublin

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

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

The Southern Tower House in Portugal

João Vieira Caldas, Universidade de Lisboa

Almost all the tower houses that remain in Portugal are late medieval or even early

modern. There is evidence in written documents that they have existed since the beginning of the Portuguese nationality (12th century), but most of the identified tower houses were built or rebuilt in the 15th century, despite being located in the old North of the country. Situated mainly in a rural context, they were built in the oldest

estate of the family whose name and noble lineage were born there. Only a few noblemen were allowed to build tower houses and under express Royal permission.

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

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

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

A Mediterranean Late-medieval Network: The Defensive Towers of Puglia

Angelo Maggi, Università IUAV di Venezia

From the late Middle Ages and throughout the sixteenth century, Puglia, a region of Italy situated at the heart of the Mediterranean sea, was open to attack by invaders of many different kinds. Hundreds of towers, from different periods, remain as witness of the constant struggle of inhabitants in the heel of Italy against many dangers that threatened their land. Almost half of the towers are found along the coast, the others are scattered within the hinterland. From an historical and architectural point of view the maritime and inland towers are completely different. The first were built under Spanish domination as a line of surveillance towers to defend the region against raids by pirates. The internal ones served instead as a protection for the small villages that once surrounded them while others were built as fortified places of retreat – secure country-houses – into which noble families could withdraw when the shift of power within a city, or the rise of an opposing faction, made it necessary to do so. The towers of Puglia provided observation points linked together. Aided by the men and women who lived there, towers could communicate with each other warning

of any attacks from the coast by smoke signals during the day and by fire at night. The aim of my paper is to focus on this architectural typology, shifting attention from the analysis of these buildings primarily as autonomous formal objects, to see them – through the change from cylindrical to rectangular plans, and to rectangular plans on a pyramidal base - as an evolving structural type adjusting to changes in methods of attack and the progress of and development of artillery.

The *Kulla* or Tower House, in Kosovo: Is it a Specific Ottoman House or a "Classical" Tower House Implanted in the Balkan Peninsula?

Valérie Maire, Paris-Est University

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

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

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

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

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

Between Residential Tower and Military Fortification: the example of Torre Caracciolo (c. 1500)

Paolo Sanvito, DIARC University Federico II Naples

The case study is an example which presents extreme features from multiple points of view. In fact, the *torre* is syncretic between an actual castle (it is still surrounded by a

moat) and an average border controlling tower; it has sometimes been considered a watchtower, because of its position at the extreme northern end of the plateau protecting the northern entrance to Naples. On the other hand, it is also evidently residential, possessing huge kitchens and opening itself to pergolas for feasts and receptions of large amounts of guests. A military origin of *Torre Caracciolo* cannot therefore be excluded, as it finds itself on a spot overlooking the entire coast from Cape Circeo at its northern end (ca. 120 Km distance) to Capri in the south. Comparisons with the Catalan watchtowers system are self-evident, originating from the much greater urgency of defending a northern Spanish coast which had been constantly attacked through the 1500s. One possible model among others is the earlier Castell de la Trinitat, at the border between Roussillon and Catalunya /Spain, a spot which has been continuously pillaged despite its distance from Africa.

The tower is also located in the middle of a huge hunting park, which had already

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

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

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

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

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

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

Over six hundred miles from the coastal towns and cities of colonial British America, at the end of the Wilderness Road blazed across the Appalachians by Daniel Boone in 1775, the British built a town: Bardstown,

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

The Elephant in the Room: Irish Palladianism in British architectural histories

Conor Lucey, Trinity College Dublin

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

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

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

Americans, "Georgians," and Colonials, c. 1898

Leslie Herman Klein, Columbia University

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

Further complicating matters, that year's Spanish-American War introduced "Georgian-style" *political* architecture into the United States through the acquisition of

new territorial “possessions” in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. This in turn provoked the Scottish-American Andrew Carnegie, just settled into his newly purchased ancient Scottish castle, to frame the crucial question facing the United States as one of “Americanism versus Imperialism.” Yet while Carnegie ultimately sought to foster closer British-American ties, New Yorker Thomas Addis Emmet, descendent of famed United Irishmen Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, published a memoir commemorating the centenary of the failed Irish Rebellion of 1798 and a century of Irish-American relations. In fact it would be the “Irish Question,” and Emmet’s trans-Atlantic audience, that potentially constituted the greatest stumbling block to a British-American alliance. Locating 1898 as a pivotal point amid myriad intersecting interests, this paper will examine the various architectures linking Georgians, Colonials and Americans.

Hardy Wilson, Georgian Revival and Race in 20th-century Australia

Deborah van der Plaats, University of Queensland

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

The aim of this paper is to look at the value of Georgian architecture and its revival in twentieth-century Australia not from the perspective of Wilson’s audience but the architect himself. It will be argued that the Georgian architecture of penal Australia represented for the locally born architect the peak of Anglo culture in colonial Australia but one, that from the point of settlement, was in dramatic decline. For architecture to develop and thrive in Australia the continent had to look to new and nearby influences, and specifically China. It will be argued that Wilson’s thesis has its origins in a theory of civilisation and its progress common to the eighteenth century that identified geographical properties (including climate) as the determinant of racial character and

appropriate architectural form. It will also be argued that Wilson’s turn to the Georgian must be seen as a response to a biological theory of race and its growing influence in national policy (the White Australia policies), architecture, and the careful exclusion of Asia in both.

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

Jacqueline Naismith, Massey University

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

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

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

SECOND PAPER SESSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

James Graham, Columbia University

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

Such was the promise of Hugo Münsterberg's invention of "psychotechnics"

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

The psychotechnical impulse was to create data from phenomena and human capacities that had previously resisted quantification. This data largely took the form of single-sheet tables, easily filed as research notes, guides for the creation of space, or even architectural report cards of a sort. This paper will offer a short history of the "tabulated designer" as architecture became understood as a form of labor itself. Whether in the case of Nikolai Ladovsky's

Psychotechnical Laboratory of Architecture, Erwin Gackstatter's charts and tables, or László Moholy-Nagy's "tactile charts" at the School of Design in Chicago, these new methods of measurement demonstrate one possible trajectory for understanding the influence of labor theory on architectural modernity.

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

Ross K. Elfline, Carleton College

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

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

This reading of Superstudio's stance as anarchic provocation has dominated the literature on the group. Beyond situating this act of refusal, then, I propose looking at one series of designed objects—their group of so-called *Histograms* produced in 1971—as an optimistic form of design work that privileges the autonomy of the user, who becomes an active participant, or player, in the design process. Designed as open-ended architectural models, the *Histograms* are ambiguous geometric forms, the

ultimate use for which was left to the user who playfully deployed them as he or she saw fit. Thus, just as the Italian Workerist writers advocated for the fundamental autonomy of the worker to guide his or her own productive life, so too does Superstudio develop an open-ended system that cedes authority to the individual to design his or her own surroundings. Such dynamic and engaging play with form is posited against the rigidity and systematization of repetitive work. Finally, though, while the mute abstraction of Superstudio's works may permit consumer play, one must also consider, as did the Autonomist writer Maurizio Lazzarato, how our so-called "immaterial labor"—including the productive capacity of our creativity—can be incorporated so readily into the capitalist system. Have yesterday's *Histograms* become today's customizable smart devices?

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

Athanasίου Geolas, Cornell University

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

The canonization of Shaker space valorizes a labor practice, which misrepresents the Shaker's devotion to daily labor and transcendental authorship. Moreover, the very process by which the room itself was constructed seems to contradict the labor ideology it purports to display; and thus, perhaps challenges the capacity of an architectural object to embody a single ideological agenda. The American Wing's archive exposes the many different kinds of labor that produced the "Shaker Retiring Room" including the physical labor of hired specialists, the intellectual labor of researchers and administrators, and the role of non-human actors in the form of books, logistical details, material attributes, and the bureaucratic

documentation itself. Analyzing this story uncovers models of architectural labor that challenge traditional notions of craft in both the historiography of American architectural Modernism, and the role of the professional architect today. Period rooms are ambiguous architectural objects, which consequently expose the lines of power running between an institution, a technology of representation, and public opinion, and in which the architect, historian, and visitor participate.

The Missing Unions of Architectural Labor *Peggy Deamer, Yale University*

This paper will examine past examples of unions in the architectural profession, examining the inherent tension between professional organizations and unions. This tension is not meant to emphasize the basic incompatibility of unions within the profession of architecture or professions in general; rather, it illuminates the reasons why white collar professions have for the most part successfully elided discussions of labor altogether and thereby devalued architectural work altogether. The relationship between this devaluation of work and the identity of what is considered the “work” of architecture – the contracts that deem architectural work to be “piece-work” (the design of and pay for individual buildings) – will also be examined.

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

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

The paper hopes to reveal that our architectural assumption that unionization demeans the creative process - by seemingly creating an unfortunate divide between management and labor, limiting flexibility of hiring and firing, and Taylorizing invention -

not only is ideologically manufactured but also, ironically, diminishes the possibility of flexible, inclusive, and “creative” environments of architectural work.

50 Cents a Foot, 80,000 Buckets: Efficiency at Work in Concrete Shell Construction *María González Pendás, Columbia University*

In the 1950s and 1960s, hundreds of concrete shell roof structures rose across Mexico for buildings that ranged from churches and pavilions to warehouses and markets. Signed by architect Félix Candela, these large span lyrical structures quickly became the “pride of Mexico” and symbols of the country’s so-called miracle period of development. The success of Candela’s shells relied on low construction costs as much as on remarkable aesthetics. Efficiency was their driving concept, a structural and material efficiency based on geometries whereby concrete worked solely under compressive stress and was thus of minimum thickness. The system allowed building for as little as 50 cents per square foot, as significant a factor for their expanse as basis for Candela’s opposition to the material and technological excess proper of capitalism. Yet shell building mobilized enormous amounts of workers; more specifically, of low skilled, underpaid, and under protected workers. The labor excess of shell construction was perhaps made more evident in the building of the Palmira chapel in 1959, when the structure collapsed and was swiftly rebuilt. Through a closer look at this episode, this paper sets Candela’s ideas on efficiency against the complex labor relations that made the shells possible. On the one hand, it was the historical blindness towards the capital value of labor what provided for the surplus that made them so appealing at the point in time. In fact, shell construction virtually ended once the minimum wage was established in the mid 1960s. On the other hand, Candela and shell promoters openly acknowledged the reliance on labor—and even placed workers at the center of the cultural forces of modernization the shells summoned. This paper will discuss the simultaneous neglect and celebration of work dynamics around shell building and in relation to the convoluted history of Mexican labor law, while exposing the excesses implied in Candela’s imaginary of efficiency.

SESSION: "Big Data" in Architectural Historiography

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

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

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

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

Colonial Public Works: A (Large) Heterogeneous System across Geographies

Alice Caldeira Cabral Santiago Faria, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

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

Following these views, this presentation will look into 19th century Public Works Departments in the oriental provinces of the Portuguese empire—Mozambique, Macao, India, and East Timor. Public Works provided the frame for circulation and mobility at a global scale; interconnecting empires, people, ideas, technology and disciplines. Combining a heterogeneous system of actors interacting in different ways. It will be grounded on an on-going postdoctoral research that aims to

understand how this part of the colonial administration has helped shape the built environment by paying attention to the daily and most common interactions, or with the "reassembling of the collective" (Latour 2005). Thus, it works with a vast range of primary sources and a large heterogeneous data set that is, *a priori*, inclusive of all data. It uses a digital tool (Nodegoat), which combines relational analysis with spatial and chronological contextualization and visualization. This presentation will examine the benefits and problems of such a framework, addressing also some of the questions purposed, such as: is this data, "big data"? What kinds of actors, data or topics are revealed/privileged,--or not—in such a frame of analysis? Aiming to show that we always have something to gain in looking at "a bigger picture."

The Use of Planning Agreements in the Historic Centre of Milan in the Second Post-war Period: Big Data Questioning a Consolidated Historiographical Perspective

Nicole De Togni, Politecnico di Milano

This proposal deals with the contribution of big data in discussing the consolidated

historiographic perspective on the use of planning agreements in the historical centre of Milan (Italy), with specific reference to the General Plan of 1953.

The matter of the large use of planning agreements between public administration and private actors was often addressed in the second post-war period, but it was never systematically investigated: the long-lasting interpretive clichés promoted by the coeval specialized literature concerning Milan are called here into question.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The use of 'big data' in architectural historiography poses a number of methodological challenges. First is the issue of 'close' versus 'distant' reading in

historiography itself, and we find ourselves lodged somewhere between the carefully crafted micronarratives of Carlo Ginzburg and the *longue duree* of the *Annales* historians. Second is the access to relevant digital information – the data set. Even if we look beyond the limited availability of digitised material that faithfully represents architectural information, there is still the need to contend with the bias of previous interpretations. Third is the motivation of the historiographical project itself; whether it is content with being investigative, recognising the opportunity that the data set affords to ask questions we haven't yet begun to formulate, or whether the historiographical project must contend itself with utilitarian or pedagogical imperatives.

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

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

Ana Miljački, MIT; *Michael Kubo*, MIT

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

as possible in order to accurately reflect the multiple narratives—the good, the bad, and the ugly—of U.S. offices and their implication in a global context.

Culled from an investigation of over 2,300 projects built by U.S. firms abroad, the final selection of 675 projects in the Repository (and the 169 offices that produced them) required both data-intensive and rather manual research methods, including a significant reliance on the historian's toolkit in following footnotes, compiling excel sheets, checking sources, and combing physical and virtual archives for names, biographies, articles, and images. Yet the emphasis on producing a vast map upon which further research could be constructed inevitably precluded more art-historical approaches at the finer grain of the historical phenomena being examined. This paper will present the research methods that underlay the massive scale of the OfficeUS Repository and discuss the questions these raised about the exhibition as a site of knowledge production, the techniques required to curate and display large bodies of archival material, and the boundaries between the related—but distinct—practices of the curator and the historian.

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

David Theodore, McGill University, Montreal

This paper discusses new approaches to the production of digital data explicitly for use in architectural history. It examines methods that differ from two dominant ways data is made and made available: the visual database, modeled on the once ubiquitous

slide library, and the textual database. Instead, this paper argues that digital archives should be created that make data amenable to the qualitative, object-centred methods of architectural history, in which analysis attends to the *punctum*, the singularity, of individual buildings, cityscapes, drawings, and images.

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

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

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

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

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

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

As impacts of the Industrial Revolution, both new, efficient building materials and construction methods were introduced; furthermore the significant growth of cities in Europe causes the development of urbanism as an independent academic discipline. Irrespective of any national discussion, those phenomena lead to an intensive exchange of ideas and mutual, cross-border interferences. Unfortunately due to mostly

national dominated architectural historiographies, those interferences were ignored so far, only the German-French border region and the Rhine-Meuse region were investigated recently. However, it becomes more and more evident, that mainly the border regions played a key role for those interferences.

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

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

Czernowitz to Chernivtsi by Cernaui: A multicultural townscape as heritage of a plural society

Paolo Cornaglia, Turin Polytechnic

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

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

Political Changes and 'National Style': Architecture and Town Planning in Poznań in the 20th century

Piotr Marciniak, Poznań University of Technology

The twentieth century was a period of intensive architectural exploration situated, in general, between the poles of historicism and modernism. Poznań, with its

metropolitan provincialism and an architectural milieu featuring representatives of different academic backgrounds, was a place where 'middle ground architecture' was designed. As a result, the city provides a good example for the study of all the trends that were generally approved and popular in the particular periods, as well as their respective architectural priorities.

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

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

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

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

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

Fabio Campolongo, Autonomous Province of Trent; Cristiana Volpi, University of Trent

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

This paper aims to analyse the changes that concerned the city of Trento from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th, pointing out as a significant area of study Largo Porta Nuova, an urban Central European corner that developed along the layout of the Medieval city walls. Here, in the 30s, an elegant bourgeois building that had been completed a few years before, was replaced by the Casa del Fascio, which was one of the most celebrated and representative building, even at a typological level, among those with which the Fascist government used to 'mark' Italy. Having become an administrative seat under the Nazi occupation during WW2, the building later underwent a reconversion in order to try to defuse its strictly celebratory

character. However, an important urban reconfiguration involved the entire area and saw emerge, in addition to the *Casa del Fascio*, a working-class building complex promoted by National Insurance Institute (I.N.A.) and completed on a plan by Adalberto Libera. The opposite parade ground, used since the 1800s for military training exercises, was transformed into a large park for sports and pastimes. The Fascist symbols still present, like the *Torre Littoria* and the legionnaire's statue, were flanked by a monument to Alcide De Gasperi, president of the Council of Ministers of the Italian government during the post-war reconstruction years and amongst the main advocates of the European Union.

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

Alexandre Kostka, University of Strasbourg; *Christiane Weber*, Leopold Franzens University of Innsbruck

During the nineteenth and twentieth century, Alsace changed nationality four times. The region, and especially the city of Strasbourg, therefore became an emblematic place where cultural interferences between France and Germany became highly visible. It is during that period that Alsatian cities were extended and modernized, at a time when urbanism started to become an independent

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

SESSION: Housing: Representing Finance

Anne Kockelkorn, ETH; *Susanne Schindler*, Columbia University

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

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

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

Of particular interest are the years between the First and Second World Wars, when architects, planners, and policy makers actively experimented with various real-estate models in historic constellations where land was not yet definitively considered to be an entity for private ownership. Martin Wagner's cooperative settlements in Berlin or Ernst May's work for municipal housing corporations in Frankfurt and

later the Soviet Union are well-known; less known are both the financial underpinnings that made these projects feasible and the discursive settings that made certain design choices possible.

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

Religious financing of affordable housing in Lebanon

Elie Michel Harfouche, Lebanese American University

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

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

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

The paper focuses on the specificity of the model of the Maronite affordable housing schemes. Particularly, it is argued that the demonstrated shift from charitable social housing provision to profit-free/sub-

market rate affordable housing challenges the distancing of clergy from direct money or occupier contact, an uneasy inbuilt paradox that animates this institutional-financial mode of production.

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

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

Nilüfer Baturayoglu Yöney, Abdullah Gül University

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

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

This paper aims to discuss the bank's housing finance model, focusing on the

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

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

*Dana Vais, Technical University of
Cluj-Napoca*

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

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

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

Housing for All vs. Housing for the Market: The Transformation of the Yugoslav housing model post-1991

Dubravka Sekulić, ETH Zürich

The type of socialism practiced in Yugoslavia, worker's self-management, was characterized by the continuous dynamics between the plan and the market, in which from 1974 the market elements were dominating. Already being under the process of transformation towards liberal market, the idea that an apartment is a right and not the commodity has stood at the core of Yugoslav state since the inception of its socialism in 1945, with the right to housing being "the core right of the working man" and a guiding principle to the organization of production of housing, and apartments. Most of the housing stock was in the societal property and the even though the increasing presence of the market was changing the structures of financing (introduction of different credits, in special cases also available to the individuals through their places of work), the focus was on the production of the high quality, efficiently organized apartment with the constant improvements in the organization, which slows down only in 1980s during the implementation of the International Monetary Fund lead structural adjustment program, and austerity measures that targeted socialist redistribution. The shift towards solely market-based society was completed with the passing of the Laws of privatization of the societally owned housing stock.

In this paper, I will focus both on the transformation of the structural framework of housing production as it was becoming increasingly market driven (the financial structures especially), and on the actual built space, in particular the apartment. Using exemplary flats from the several New Belgrade blocks (19, 22, 23 and 28) from various time periods, both during socialism and capitalism, I will look into how the organization of the apartments changed. Additionally, I will also look at the changes surrounding financing and decision-making processes, and the impact on the increasing inequality in the access to housing those transformations geared.

Securitizing the *Demos*: Constructing the first U.S. Real Estate Financial Index, 1975- 1983

*Manuel Shvartzberg, Columbia
University*

This paper seeks to understand the relation between finance and housing from the perspective of the socio-technical tools that

made these distinct realms commensurable, calculable, and therefore governable, by exploring the making of the first public real estate financial index in the United States. Toward the end of the 1960s, the U.S. economy began a process of 'financialization' which involved systemic deregulation, debt-fueled consumerism, and intensified global capital flows. Chief among these historical shifts was the securitization of the housing market, turning homes into highly speculative financial products by uprooting their concrete locality as 'hard assets' and trading them as securities on secondary markets. In the mid-1970s a number of U.S. real estate organizations began attempts to capitalize on the securitization of housing and other forms of urban property. To do so they required a singular instrument or 'grip' that would allow them to represent—to themselves and their clients—both the industry's performance as a whole, and metrics of particular properties,

real estate sectors, and managing firms. They created such a grip by making a real estate 'rate of return' index. This paper explores the history of how they created this index, analyzing the institutional arrangements and technical innovations that it required. Pooling their resources and bringing together real estate academics, computer scientists, industry lobbies, and others, they established the baselines and logics, still in use today, to measure the productivity of the real estate market. The result was a powerful tool that made the industry vastly larger and more competitive, but also configured housing into an object evermore susceptible to the dynamics of financial capitalism. This financial power raises critical questions around the technocratization of democracy, and of the role of architecture as a key mediating device forging the connections between housing, the *demos*, and the state.

SESSION: A Question of "Shared Culture" or of "(Selective) Borrowing(s)"? Twentieth-century Colonial Public Works Departments seen from a Transnational Perspective

Johan Lagae, Ghent University; Ana Vaz Milheiro, University of Lisbon

Respondent: *Professor Peter Carleton Scriver, University of Adelaide*

Despite Peter Scriver's seminal early research on the Public Works Department (PWD) in British India (1994/2007), whose role he aptly described as the "scaffolding of empire," scholarship on colonial architecture has remained restricted for a long time to the more prestigious buildings authored by individual architects. In recent years, a growing number of inquiries have nevertheless been conducted on the often mundane built productions in various territories designed by the more anonymous technicians within these particular branches of colonial administrations. These range from primarily documentary studies to more theoretically engaged investigations providing a postcolonial critique of PWD architecture as an instrument of what Michel Foucault termed "governmentality". Yet, in contrast with studies on colonial urban planning where a global approach has long since been introduced, even the more substantial scholarship on the topic, in particular focusing on the 20th century, most often remains confined by the boundaries of one particular colony or empire and rarely goes beyond a mere metropole-colony framework.

By organizing this session, we argue that it is timely to engage with the links that also during these decades existed between the ideals, models and practices underlying PWD architecture in a variety of locales. Belgian officials, for instance, looked carefully at the design of labor camps in South Africa when modeling new housing accommodations for the workers in the mining cities of Katanga or took inspiration from sanitary facilities introduced in the Dutch Indies when trying to tackle issues of urban hygiene in the Congo. Similarly, recent research has provided ample indications that the technical branches of the colonial administrations in the Portuguese Empire, which stretched out across three continents, were looking across the borders to shape their own building policies, at times even to create a "progressive image".

We invite papers dealing with such transfers of building expertise across colonies and empires, taking into account the politics involved. This may include, for instance, transfers in terms of building regulations, building typologies and design, or the mode of production of buildings, including the management of building sites and 'indigenous labor'. Contributions that highlight particular vectors of such transfer (conferences, specific publications, professional associations, education, study trips, etc.) are also welcomed. By bringing together new research on the this topic, this session seeks to investigate to what extent this phenomenon should be understood in terms of a "shared (techno-scientific) culture" among colonial powers, or rather, as a particular form of "(selective) borrowing(s)", to refer to Stephen Ward's model for describing the mechanisms underlying the international diffusion of urban planning ideas and practices.

Shared Culture versus Exclusive Culture: The Architecture of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Hospitals, 1870s-1940s *Sara Ebrahimi, University College Dublin*

The plan of the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) hospital in Mosul, Iraq was designed in a manner similar to the CMS hospital in Isfahan, Iran. However, the two hospitals were different in their appearance, in the visual characteristic of their façades, material application and building construction. The same can be said when comparing others CMS hospitals from China to India, Africa to the Middle East. While there were significant parallels in the overall design of these many hospitals, it is important to look beyond their similarities and see their differences, to consider a deeper point of argument, which has to do with specific political and cultural organization of the CMS.

The CMS was founded in 1799 in London. One hundred years after its foundation, this small voluntary society was one of the largest protestant mission in terms of resources, personnel and influence. The CMS built a large number of hospitals in different geographical areas: Asia, Africa and the Middle East from the 1870s to the 1940s. Apart from Michelle Renshaw's research on the missionary hospitals in China (Renshaw. 2005), the architecture of the missionary hospitals in general and the CMS hospitals in particular has been largely ignored.

In this paper, I discuss the role of the CMS hospitals architecture in the "British World-System" (Drawin. 2009). Through examining the architecture of these hospitals, I consider existing link among ideas across British colonies and thus the transfer of building expertise only to examine what did not necessarily transfer? Accordingly, this study offers an alternative perspective on the notion of shared culture versus selective borrowing: shared culture versus exclusive culture. I cross-examine the architecture of the CMS hospitals, arguing that they ultimately were designed in different ways to reflect patients' desires in order to win their trust. Establishing trust was a point at which, in the words of Dr. Ernest F Neve, a CMS medical missionary in Kashmir, "politics and missionary activity touched". Furthermore, according to Neve medical missions acted as "leaven".

Far Away from Berlin? A Comparative Interpretation of School and Hospital *Christoph Schnoor, Unitec Institute of Technology*

This paper investigates the architecture in the seven different German colonies – with today's names: Togo, Cameroun, Tanzania, Namibia, Tsingtao, New-Guinea and Samoa. Although notable work has been done in recent years on the architecture in single colonies such as Namibia or Tsingtao, and while the author has contributed to research on Samoa, no comparison has yet been made between the architecture in the various German colonies – apart from the author's first attempt in an exhibition in Wismar, Germany in 2010.

Therefore, this paper seeks to compare the architecture in the German colonies – first of all within the context of German jurisdiction, but tentatively in comparison with British PWDs – to establish the strong sense of variety that the architecture of all these seven colonies displays, and to investigate the reasons for and implications of this diversity.

To focus the research, two typologies have been chosen for this investigation: schools and hospitals. This choice allows to highlight racial relationships. Segregation of the indigenous population versus the colonists' attempts at co-educating respectively co-treating them in hospital very drastically show widely varying approaches to questions of race between the seven German colonies. This approach also allows for a comparison of the German colonies and the British.

Another aspect is the style of the respective architecture: even if the typologies are comparable, there is no one "German" style of colonial architecture but a number of varying approaches, almost as many as there were colonies. From German-style building in Namibia and Tsingtao to hybrid buildings, also in Tsingtao and in Tanzania, to pragmatic and British-influenced colonial architecture in New-Guinea and Samoa, every approach was present.

French Planning Bureaucrats in Algeria: De Gaulle's Mass Housing Regulations, 1959-1963

Samia Henni, ETH Zurich

The French military coup of 13 may 1958 in Algiers, during the turmoil of the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962), provoked the collapse of the French Fourth Republic and the return of General Charles de Gaulle to power. In an attempt to keep Algerians and Algiers under French colonial

rule, de Gaulle launched on 3 October 1958 a five-year-socio-economic development plan in Algeria that included the construction of housing units for one million Algerians. De Gaulle and his new team of planning bureaucrats promptly transferred French housing typologies and policies designed for the reconstruction of France in the aftermath of the Second World War from France to Algeria; yet with a few peculiar revisions.

This paper investigates the dissimilarities between war-housing directives and typologies in colonial Algeria and post-war housing regulations and design in France. Two specific examples will be explored in depth. The first case consists in the different schemes of the so-called Logécos (*Logement Economique et Familial*) and the Habitat Million, whereas the second considers the invention of the ZUP (*Zone à Urbaniser par Priorité*) in Algeria and its consequent exportation to France. These spatial strategies were enforced by Paul Delouvrier, who served as Delegat General of the French Government in Algeria between 1958 and 1960 and then as Delegate General of the District of Paris from 1961 to 1969.

Based on archival sources, this paper aims at highlighting the intimate relationship between France and “its” Algerian territory that was neither a colony nor a protectorate. Algeria was deemed a French Department. The French authorities, in particular de Gaulle’s planning bureaucrats, saw no particular restrictions in exchanging housing regulations, programmes and industries between the two sides of the Mediterranean Sea.

“Let the People know how and where to Build”: Architecture and (In)dependence in Burma, 1948-1962

Jeffrey Cody, Getty Conservation Institute

Three years after World War II, the United Kingdom granted independence to the colony of Burma, which embarked on a treacherous economic-social path in the context of global political tensions between “Communist” (Red) China and smaller, “non-aligned” countries in Southeast Asia. Occupied by the Japanese and bombed by Allied forces during the War, Burma’s architectural and planning needs were dramatic, but meeting those needs proved to be a formidable challenge. The fractured new country had no formal programs in either architecture or planning; “modern resources” (e.g., steel and concrete) were scarce; building regulations were outdated; colonial overseers were technically gone, but they were still available for consultation, as was the case in India and elsewhere.

However, the so-called “Colombo Plan” to promote economic development throughout Southeast Asia also involved countries outside the British Commonwealth, notably the USA. Meanwhile, both the USSR and China were interested in providing technical assistance, where it was desirable and possible.

This paper will provide a relevant sense of this macro-level context, but it will also focus on more micro-level decisions about how and what Burma built during the brief time window that closed abruptly in 1962, when powerful military generals assumed control. During that 1948-1962 period, Rangoon (Yangon) was clearly in need of “modernization”, but what did being “modern” suggest in this post-colonial maelstrom? What kind of planning and architectural design resulted in other towns of the new country of Burma (now called Myanmar)? Archival evidence about these fascinating changes is (so far) relatively scant. However, extant architectural examples in both Yangon and in secondary cities (e.g., Prome/Pyay) provide useful indications of contemporary actions, as do microfilmed newspapers of the period, which I am using as an intriguing barometer of contemporary architectural and planning changes.

Therefore, Burma is an intriguing case for exploring questions about “shared culture”, “selective borrowing” and “mid-20th century modernization” in a transnational context. Although Burma “shared” the trappings of British colonialism (since at least 1885, with a requisite PWD), the country’s theoretically non-aligned status after WWII facilitated its “borrowing” from more established planning traditions, as it sought a place among “modern” nations of the region, such as Malaya, Cambodia and India. The paper, therefore, shares insights about these key questions from a country that is only now emerging from a long period of architectural stasis.

Sharing or Borrowing?

Respondent: *Peter Carleton Scriver, University of Adelaide,*

This response will draw upon an in-depth understanding of the public works system of British India, which was not only one of the most prolific and powerful building organizations in the world by the late nineteenth century, but a model for the technocratic production and management of the built environment throughout much of the rest of the expanding British colonial world.

The discussion will consider how robust and reproducible such systems were, and the modes of design-reasoning that they sustained. Apart from the often prosaic typologies they produced, the response will also seek to articulate some of the other

purposes that such design technocracies could serve. Taking into account, therefore, the potentially profound particularities of any specific colonial situation, the usefulness of the British Indian case must also be questioned as a putative paradigm for research on other colonial contexts and their built legacies.

With regard to the range of colonial and late-colonial cases examined in the four papers, the different conceptions of 'the problem' of architecture as a technocratic undertaking in these various culturally and geographically distinct contexts is important. The question of 'sharing' or 'borrowing' in architectural matters was evidently construed quite differently within the 'national spaces' of emerging postcolonial states and their public works systems by comparison to the conceptual spaces of global colonial and institutional empires.

FRIDAY: 3 JUNE 2016

THIRD PAPER SESSION

SESSION: Time Travel I

Mari Lending, Oslo School of Architecture and Design, Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, Yale University

Upon his arrival in Pompeii, Stendhal stated that he felt “transporté dans l’antiquité”, and that by studying the ruins of Pompeii first-hand “one immediately knows more than a scholar.” The ruins and rubble induced a feeling of time travel, and the place revealed a feeling of history of a sort that he obviously found more profound than scholarly, written history. By experience, the history of the place came alive, so to speak. At the same time, in 1818 Quatremère de Quincy travelled to London to inspect the Elgin marbles. Exposed to the massively dismembered building parts as installed in a provisory gallery adjacent to the British Museum under construction, he felt as if propelled back to their moment of creation, to the Athenian construction site or the studio, “you are confounded at the quantity of work and speed of execution that were required to carry off such an enterprise at once so quickly and so perfectly.” Respect for such architectural time travel waned by the end of the century when the idea that art and architecture are products of a particular period and place, promoted by art historians like Heinrich Wölfflin, took hold. After Friedrich Nietzsche condemned the study of history as a dubious pursuit, looking forward, rather than looking backward, became the mantra of modern architecture.

Alternative approaches to time and change emerged in the mid 20th century, when architects and historians became increasingly interested in establishing historical continuities. For example, the exhibition “La Mostra di Studi sulle Proporzioni” at the 1951 Milian Triennale displayed photographic reproductions of buildings from different eras on a three-dimensional lattice, which allowed the eye to trace analogies without a particular chronology. Similarly, Sigfried Giedion saw the baroque in a similar vein as a timeless synthetic impulse. Yet, despite this sea change in historical imagination, the idea that architecture should be in sync with its time prevailed. When Eero Saarinen later in the 1950s mimicked a medieval Italian hilltown for his Morse and Stiles Colleges at Yale University, Reyner Banham deemed the outcome a mere stage set, suggesting that such travel belongs to theatre, not to architecture.

Art historian George Kubler can be credited for revealing the methodological shortcomings of modern historiography, demonstrating in his landmark *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (1962) how formal motifs get transmitted through time and space. Kubler stated that “even architecture . . . is guided from one utterance to the next by the images of the admired buildings of the past, both far and near in time.” Yet, insistence on the periodization and obsession with newness still dominated how we think of architecture’s relationship to time. This session investigates conflating or competing temporalities, beyond the mere chronological schemes that have governed modern historiography. We invite papers that discuss convoluted constellations of architecture and time drawing on documents and monuments, images, landscapes, or cities.

The Helix, Schinkel’s Time Machine

Steven Lauritano, Yale University

In 1787 Robert Barker patented his design for a structure that would soon become the most popular time travel device of the nineteenth century: the panorama. Prussian architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel quickly mastered the representational techniques behind the panorama’s transporting illusionism. Yet he also came to recognize the device’s limitations, especially in its possible role as a medium for understanding architectural history. By creating immersive, virtual realities, panoramas necessarily seal off visitors from the world, confining them to a single moment in time. Schinkel was more interested in the journey, in all its temporal unfolding. Unlike those revivalists who used a combination of ruins and imagination to

project themselves backward, into the past, Schinkel contemplated the forward temporal trajectory of material remnants - those architectural fragments that leave their sites of origin and cycle through time, surfacing periodically, “as if just having left the artist’s hand.” To work successfully with these elements, Schinkel argued, one must recognize their “history as movement.” This paper examines a body of evidence, drawn from Schinkel’s oeuvre, which shows his increasing identification of this “movement” with a specific geometrical figure: the helix. From Schinkel’s first independent commission, to his late (unrealized) design for a Berlin library, he used the helix as both a mental diagram and a concrete architectural device that informed circulation patterns in his buildings, choreographing users’ encounters with an eclectic array of historicist components. Though

homologous to other helical models of history, from *Vico's corsi and ricorsi*, to Hegel's dialectical spiraling, Schinkel's helix emerged as a distinct historiographical insight. His was a vision of the perpetual material dissemination of architectural knowledge in a continuous stream, like water, up an Archimedean screw. As the paper demonstrates, tapping into this stream, learning, "how to bring something new into the existing circle," constituted the crux of his architectural enterprise.

'We are identified with time': Intersections of architecture, history and experience in Royal Academy Lectures

Sigrid de Jong, Leiden University

'Architecture belongs to history. With her a hundred years are but a day. Calculated for endurance to the future she must be founded on the principles of the past,' declared Charles Robert Cockerell, British architect, archaeologist and professor of Architecture at the London Royal Academy of Arts, in a 1843 lecture. He famously visualized the idea in *The Professor's Dream* (1849) that showed world architectural history compressed into one comprehensive watercolor. After 18th-century French architects Dumont and Leroy had produced comparative diagrams, his predecessor at the Royal Academy John Soane had disseminated pre-historical architectural surveys, and three-dimensional model collections of monuments that had been exhibited to the London and Paris public, Cockerell's approach was entirely different in that he eloquently developed in his lectures a multi-layered notion of time, in which the use of time travel played a key role.

His Royal Academy Lecture series (1841-56), still in manuscript, are little studied. My paper aims to demonstrate that they unveil how Cockerell stimulated the historical imagination of his students, for example with Stonehenge they carried him back into 'the dark and primitive ages of mankind long before history began.' Evoking his feelings at the spot, as well as employing historical experience as a rhetorical device for his audience, he aimed at inscribing contemporary architectural practice in history: 'We are identified with time; we ourselves become a part of history.' I will argue that Cockerell's lectures are the very expression of how architects in the mid-19th century navigated between the sensations of time travelling that a specific historical building produced *in situ*, and the urge to compress time into a vision of world history in order to design contemporary architecture. These intersections of architecture, history and experience ultimately produced architecture as the expression of a desire to mark time.

Ornamental Extinctions: Soane and Gandy's Endangered Neoclassicism

Markikka Trotter, Harvard University

In 1824, the Knight's Quarterly magazine published an article that lampooned Sir John Soane's idiosyncratic approach to architectural ornament. For the authors, Soane's "Boeotian order" was a disorder that, rather than upholding the purity of architectural language, infected it with absurd references to foreign sciences. "Is he a geologist?" they asked. He "uses an interminable joint, which copies successfully the grand appearances of nature in the stratification of rocks." This paper explores the relationship between John Soane and Joseph Gandy's novel approach to architecture -- and particularly architectural ornament -- and the catastrophist theory of the celebrated French paleontologist Georges Cuvier. In the new context of an old earth, the real extent of geological time suddenly eclipsed the importance of Greco-Roman antiquity, and along with it, the cultural authority it had bestowed on architecture. As even the most ancient aspects of human culture were revealed to be chronologically recent compared to the vast duration of the planet, architecture seemed poised to become an exercise in proleptic ruination due to inevitable natural disasters. At the same time, it became a privileged model for geology -- particularly for Cuvier and his rival, Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. This paper considers the cultural reciprocity between these two discourses and begins to document the extensive connections between Georgian architects and the founders of the earth sciences in Britain.

Truth and Time: The Lantern Slide Shows of Frederick H. Evans

Dervla MacManus, University College
Dublin

On Tuesday, December 5th, 1899, British photographer Frederick Henry Evans (1853–1943) gave a lantern slide lecture on Lincoln Cathedral to the Royal Photographic Society. In what may be considered a form of architectural time travel, Evans's audience was transported the gothic cathedral—'aloof', as he recounted, 'from the current and contemporary'. The glass slide with its projected image transmitted through the air was, for him, the ultimate medium to convey 'the illusion of actuality' he desired—an illusion so vividly rendered that 'armoured knights might go clanking musically across'. This paper will examine the temporal constellations configured through Evans's

lantern-slide lecture, its subject, its medium and its cultural context.

The subject of Evans's lecture—a gothic cathedral—places this event within a plethora contemporary discourses concerning historical truth, and the idea that architecture should reflect its time. Further the camera, as a 'clock for seeing'—to borrow Barthes's phrase—may be considered as part of 'the new ability to see rather than intuit the inner workings of nature' identified by Bergdoll (2007) as one of the reasons for nineteenth-century theorists' interest in natural history. (An ability exemplified in Evans's own photomicrographs of natural subjects.)

Returning to the medium, this paper will consider photography's paradoxical relationship to time: on the one hand it promises instantaneity, a record of the here and now, while on the other, what is captured is already past. In this case the relationship is further complicated; as the buildings portrayed are from an earlier era, the photograph must now act in another way, bringing that period back to life. Hence, the photograph simultaneously makes the present seem like the past, and the past seem like the present. This effect, enhanced by the projection of the image, may be considered to have induced a state of reverie (itself a form of time travel); an atmosphere of that which is past, by recalling that which was once present.

The Anachronistic in Architecture

Anne Bordeleau, University of Waterloo

Over the past century, a number of historians have sought to recast the anachronistic in a positive light, challenging the historicists' strict periodization as well as

the linear progression of a singular time. An anachronism is "anything done or existing out of date; hence, anything which was proper to a former age, but is, or, if it existed, would be, out of harmony with the present" (*OED*). For the art historian Georges Didi-Huberman, the temporal disruption inherent to the anachronism can open unforeseen lines of plural temporalities and enable the creation of new theoretical thresholds within the discipline. In a late-modern context characterized by a sense of acceleration, this paper is interested in the critical and disruptive potential of anachronistic approaches. Looking to transcend historicist categorizations on the one hand, and to move beyond the reductive arrow of time on the other hand, the paper will begin with defining the anachronistic as a theoretical position. First, learning from thinkers such as Aby Warburg, Walter Benjamin and Giorgio Agamben, we will delineate a form of constructive anachronism that values transmissions over permutations, aiming to move beyond historical objectivism and relativism. Second, we will turn to its potential implementation in practice, documenting writings, drawings and buildings from different times. Looking at varied examples such as Michael Gottlieb Bidensboll's Thorsvalden museum, Aldo Rossi's Cemetery of San Cataldo, and Peter Zumthor's Protective Housing for Roman Archaeological Excavations, we will foreground different ways in which historians, artists and architects can significantly claim the anachronistic. Our intention is to identify modes of emancipatory practices that can offer resistance to the alienating speed and singular direction of our neo-liberal regime of accelerated time.

SESSION: Architecture exhibition and the emergence of public debate on architecture, cities and the public good in the 18th and early 19th centuries

Barry Bergdoll, Columbia University

"All the world is now writing and speaking about architecture . . .," the press noted when a competition was announced for a new Royal Exchange to be erected in Dublin in 1768. The competition results were put on public exhibition. This was, it would seem, an almost unprecedented act, and one that recalls a practice that seems largely to have lapsed since the famed display of designs from the bronze doors to the Florence Baptistery in 1410. Although the Jesuits had been forced to quell public opinion by displaying designs for the Chapel of St. Ignatius in the Church of Il Gesù in Rome in 1709, this was an isolated event with intent to curtail gossip rather than elicit debate. The Dublin exhibition then would seem to be a seminal event, one that deserves much greater recognition for its novelty and a greater place in the history of modern architecture and its publics. In the wake of Richard Wittman's important study of the periodical press and public debate on architecture in mid-18th century, study has begun of the emergence of architecture's contribution in relationship to the debated emergence of the public sphere (R. Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, Routledge, 2007).

This session invites contributions to an emerging history of the role of public exhibition of architectural designs in the creation of a public discourse on architecture, and in particular papers on the emergence of the architectural exhibition before 1851 on both sides of the Atlantic. The exhibition of architecture is associated primarily with the rise of World's Fairs in the mid-19th century and the episodic attempts of creating an architecture museum from Lenoir in Paris to Cottingham and Soane in London. These were largely historical repositories. Less attention has been paid to the entry of architecture into public venues for the display of art in Europe and the Americas in the 18th and early 19th century or the role of the exhibition in relationship to the modern renaissance of the architectural competition as means, supposedly democratic, for selecting a design and a designer, for a public building. While the use of exhibitions in academies of art and architecture is of interest, it is the self-conscious seeking of a public, and a public discussion, which remains the main focus of the invitation to propose new evidence of the origins of a practice that had, by the mid-19th century, become an established culture.

The Public's Creation of the "Tableau d'Architecture": Transformation of the Aesthetic of Architectural Drawing at the end of the 18th century

Basile Baudez, University of Paris-Sorbonne

In a letter of 1794 Anne-Louise Brogniart reported to her husband, "Faites comme le citoyen Boullée à qui le génie commande de faire de superbes choses [...] le plus bel ornement de sa maison est fait de ses tableaux." Their impact was so overwhelming that Madame Brogniart was made, "sentir la chair de poule en les regardant." Written at a turning point in the history of architectural representation, Boullée's "tableaux" were, of course, not paintings but massive, highly finished drawings that by their scale, technique and presentation through matting, framing and place on the wall addressed their viewers through modes more familiar to works in oil on canvas. While only a few architect-members of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, including Charles De Wailly, were permitted to exhibit at the Salon before 1793, with the suppression of the academies in that year architects found a new public. I propose that the "tableaux d'architecture" that developed in the 1790s responded to this new context by deliberately engaging with pictorial language and the public discourse on painting that itself had only recently emerged in France. As Thomas Crow and Andrew McClelland have amply demonstrated for painters, public exhibition culture effectively generated new kinds of painting, culminating in the *machines* of Jacques-Louis David. How might architects have fit into this history, self-consciously manipulating an existing language of both representation and public discourse around painting?

The drastic change in architectural drawing in this period provides the foundation for my research but this material is also framed by the writing of critics, whose suspicion of architects' departure from their proper realm was noted in the press well

into the next century. In his review of the Salon of 1841, for example, César Daly asked if architects' imbrication in this painterly language risked undermining the nature of architectural representation itself: "Les dessins d'architecture sont souvent dispersés pêle-mêle avec les aquarelles et même avec les tableaux à l'huile. Les architectes, pour ne pas être entièrement écrasés par ces vigoureux voisins, versent de la couleur à grands flots sur leur papier ; si cela se pouvait, ils y mêleraient même les métaux les plus éclatants pour éviter l'effet terne et froid qui fait détourner les yeux du public." But, he warned, "Aussi par cela même qu'il s'agit de se rendre le public plus favorable, l'architecte devient-il peintre avant tout, et, dans le fini de ses aquarelles, oublie-t-il un peu trop qu'il est architecte."

Exhibiting the Consulate: The Competition of the year IX for the Château-Trompette in Bordeaux

Christina Contandriopoulos, UQAM University

On November 22, 1800, in the Apollo gallery of the Louvre, a major exhibition presented 28 proposals for a monument celebrating the Revolutionary army on the site of the Château-Trompette in Bordeaux. In the words of the journalist Détournelle, "Il n'y avait [jamais] eu de mémoire d'artiste, une exposition d'architecture aussi imposante!" Indeed, the lively event marked the culminating episode in a series of open competitions which solidified public interest in architecture after the French Revolution. The Château-Trompette competition was organized by Napoleon under the Consulate, and as such, was also part of a new transparency. Despite these efforts, this competition triggered unprecedented protest. My objective is to show how this highly mediatized event transformed the architectural discipline and participated in the emergence of architectural criticism as a new field that would become a vital but contentious concept for architects.

The competition for the Château-Trompette has been studied recently

(Bergdoll, Lipstadt, Szambien, Taillard) yet its particular contribution to print culture (Saboya, Taws, Wittman) has not yet been the focus of attention. The coverage of the competition in the popular press and nascent specialized press provides a detailed view of the exhibition and presents the important debates that helped catalyze public reception of the event. Using these sources and the original proposals kept at the *Archives Nationales*, my paper reconstitutes the contents of the exhibition. I will also draw attention to the way in which the press and the exhibition worked together to create a new public sphere of information that changed the status of unbuilt projects, elevating them into works of art. This paper is part of a larger project on the emergence of architectural criticism in the popular press (1785-1805) focusing on the role of Athanase Détournelle, Léon Dufourny and Jacques-Antoine Dulaure.

The Pope, Public Opinion and Architecture in Rome (1823-25)

Richard Wittman, University of California at Santa Barbara

On the night of 15 July 1823 a fire largely destroyed San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, the best preserved Early Christian basilica in the city and, as the marker of Saint Paul's burial place, one of the most important churches in Christendom. A year later the First Class architectural section of the Academy of Saint Luke's Concorso Clemintino invited projects for a "magnificent temple" to replace the burned San Paolo. Six entries were received, exhibited publicly on the Campidoglio, and written about in the anodyne Roman art press.

The exhibition—which was visited by Schinkel, among others—quickly became the fulcrum of an unexpectedly heated debate about whether San Paolo should be rebuilt in a contemporary classical idiom or reconstituted as a factitious fifth-century basilica. Both positions were freighted with political significance and identified with particular factions in the Curia. As the debate unfolded in published texts, academic discourses, and behind-the-scenes lobbying, the figure of the exhibition public surprisingly emerged as a key rhetorical figure for both sides, with the purported judgments of that public repeatedly presented as morally binding on the authorities. Such arguments, which would have been normal in contemporary Paris or London, were completely alien to the closed public life of papal Rome, whose highly particular socio-political structure had preserved Roman public life from the kinds of structural transformations recently witnessed in other European capitals. This paper will explore the contradictions and

possible significance of these tentative invocations of the moral authority of the exhibition public, and consider their connection to the decision ultimately taken by the archconservative Pope Leo XII in 1825 to pursue the reconstruction of San Paolo as one of the first great historicist revivals of nineteenth-century European architecture.

To 'preclude all . . . circumbeindibuses': Making Public the Competition for the Houses of Parliament, 1835-36 *Anne Hultsch*, Oslo School of Architecture and Design

After a fire had destroyed most of the old Houses of Parliament in October 1834 the press, rather than lamenting its catastrophic loss, quickly began to look at the opportunity thus granted. The *Spectator* called for 'a monument of the greatness of the nation, its wealth and resources, and the advancement of the arts' (25 October 1834). To achieve this, many authors demanded a competition, which was eventually launched by the government in June 1835, after it had withdrawn a direct commission to Robert Smirke. Winners were announced on 31 January in the following year but the public was to see the submitted designs only months later when they were exhibited in the National Gallery and printed in a catalogue, again as a direct result of a widespread press campaign. This debate in the public realm of newspapers and magazines quickly turned from aesthetic matters of style to what one would now call the transparency of the 'competition system'. How would the public be able to follow, and judge, its process and outcome? How could 'zigzag, tortuous modes of proceeding and circumbendibuses' be prevented (*Architectural Magazine*, January 1836)?

This paper focuses on the dominating response given to such concerns in the contemporary press: by making public, through printing and exhibiting, the public could become part of the system that had so far consisted of architect and client only. It investigates the coverage of the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue both in general-interest titles, such as *The Times*, *The Morning Chronicle* and *The Spectator*, as well as in special-interest papers, such as John Loudon's *Architectural Magazine*, the *Transactions* of the Royal Institute of British Architects and the *Mechanic's Magazine*. This paper argues that it was through a combination of printing and exhibiting, of words and images on the gallery wall as well as on the printed page, that architecture took over a new, more dynamic role within the civic society of the Victorian age.

Developing Public Taste, Mobilizing the Public: The Architecture Exhibitions of the MBB and A et A

Sergio Miguel Figueiredo, Technical
University Eindhoven

In the 19th century, continued reforms and the industrialization of Dutch economy resulted in substantial economic prosperity. With such improved economic outlook, the Dutch government undertook a structural reorganization of the arts with direct implications for the production of architecture. Most notably, it established and appointed the first College of Government Advisors for Historical and Artistic Monuments (*College Rijksadvieers voor de Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*), which was mandated to elaborate policies in the preservation of historical monuments and the construction of new governmental buildings.

Architects, however, were noticeably marginalized from the process, since the College of Advisors was entirely composed by non-architects. As such, both the past and the future of the discipline were to be determined by a restrict group of laymen and antiquarians, as they decided on the

merits of historical monuments and entries to invited architectural competitions for new state buildings. With the very future of Dutch architecture at stake – and powerless in the decisions of this body – the Amsterdam architecture societies increased their efforts to broaden public discourse on architecture by actively engaging with a general public.

Accordingly, this paper will both argue and demonstrate how the public exhibition of architecture was approached as a fundamental instrument for developing public taste in order to elicit public debate on architecture in the Netherlands. Specifically, it will be claimed that both the *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst* (Society for the Promotion of Architecture) and the *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia* (Society Architecture and Friendship) instrumentalized architecture exhibitions to educate the public on the issues, processes, and ambitions of architecture, ultimately, to mobilize its support. These exhibitions in which architecture was presented in its artistic-cultural and technical-practical dimensions became the frontline for architecture, shaping public taste and eliciting an inclusive, informed debate that the state hierarchy simply could not ignore.

SESSION: Beyond Constructivism: Soviet Early-Modernist Architecture Revisited

Alla Vronskaya, ETH Zurich; *Tijana Vujosevic*, University of Western Australia
Respondent: *Professor Danilo Udovicki-Selb*, University of Texas at Austin

Architectural production of the two decades after the October Revolution is often from the perspective of a Western architectural historian, neatly divided into two eras: that of “Constructivism” in the 1920s and that of “Socialist Realism” in the 1930s. However, this periodization might be considered too neat. The dichotomy of Constructivism and Socialist Realism is based on an assumption that the course of Soviet architecture directly mirrored the changes in the political regime—an assumption that simplifies the complex and complicated character of early Soviet architectural theory. For example, whereas Classicism and Expressionism enjoyed a noticeable presence in Soviet architecture during the 1920s, in the subsequent decade, the former avant-gardists created prominent experimental works that offered their vision of the new Soviet architecture.

Moreover, in subsuming all avant-garde production under the notion of “Constructivism,” architectural history follows a tradition developed by art historians, who singled out a movement that, as it seemed, presaged the forms of post-Second World War American art. In fact, however, apart from the work of the Constructivist OSA group, Soviet architectural avant-garde entailed a variety of non-Constructivist movements and practices, such as Nikolai Ladovskii’s Rationalism, Il’ia Golosov and Konstantin Mel’nikov’s neo-Expressionist fascination with form, or Iakov Chernikov’s architectural fantasies. By challenging reductive periodization, architectural historians can better grasp the complexity of Soviet early-modernist architectural landscape, stylistic overlaps, and the diversity of practices and theories that constituted it.

The aim of this panel is to go beyond the notion of Constructivism as a style-based label for the Soviet avant-garde and to present to the public academic work on the rich and stylistically and ideologically dissonant field of architectural innovation in design education, visual repertoires, politics of artistic production, and design for everyday life. We welcome papers that present alternative accounts of Soviet interwar modernity and its relationship to institutions of power and the scientific, artistic, political discourses of the time.

An Enthusiasm for Architecture: The Masses and the Palace of the Soviets Competition

Tatiana Efrussi, University of Kassel

The competitions for the never realised Palace of the Soviets, which were held in the 1930s, are associated by Peter Lizon, Jean-Louis Cohen and other scholars with the turn in Soviet architecture from modernism to Stalinist eclecticism, and to Party's domination in the field.

While recent scholarship, such as Danilo Udovički-Selb's *Between Modernism and Socialist Realism*, 2009 has recognised the stylistic complexity of the winning project by Boris Iofan, such texts still approach the analysis of the process only from the perspective of the Party's dictatorship and its members' individual tastes.

Utilizing previously unpublished archival sources, this paper will focus on a large number of questionnaires, completed by students, workers, foreign guests and other visitors to the Palace of the Soviets exhibition in 1931-32, in order to address the problem of mass participation in the competition process.

This approach does not question the Party's influence on the decision-making, but puts a new emerging subject of architecture - the non-alienated masses - in the centre of analysis. Contemporary theorists such as Nikolai Bekker acknowledged, that the volunteer mass participation belonged to most impressive and unexpected results of the competitions.

The Other Avant-Garde: Konstantin Melnikov's Diagonal

*Masha Panteleyeva, Princeton
University*

"The Diagonal Lines saves my projects," Melnikov wrote in his memoir in 1971, placing himself outside of what he referred to as the dogmatic "Epoch of Architectural Style" that dominated twentieth-century architecture. Indeed, the lateral movement of architectural elements, both in planar and three-dimensional space inspired a particular form of architectural dynamism characteristic of the Russian avant-garde work and can be considered one of its main contributions to Western architectural thought. However, the notion of the Diagonal, especially as a particular instrument in the construction of space, is often overlooked in the architectural history scholarship surrounding the Russian avant-garde.

In this paper I redefine these abstract notions of dynamism through a set of particular design principles outlined in Melnikov's writing, such as the "Endless Elasticity of a Diagonal" and the "Symmetry without Symmetries", using these elements

to analyze a series of his experimental projects designed between 1924 and 1929. I argue that Melnikov, who in 1937 was accused of formalism by the Union of Soviet Architects, was not simply fascinated with form as the driving force in architecture but operated within a particular system of dualism and symbiosis of the physical (technology and function) and spiritual (form and materiality) in architecture. In many aspects his understanding of form was defined by the Russian nineteenth-century philosophical intellectual tradition (with influences such as Nikolay Fedorov, Sigmund Freud and Pavel Florensky) and his fascination with immortality and sleep, both as a restorative treatment for the body and an imaginative element of the human psyche. This paper explores the existence of an alternative spatial hierarchy in Melnikov's work, where the vertical is no longer straight but infinitely gravitates towards the horizontal plane defining the architecture of perpetual motion, and its significance for the architectural avant-garde at large.

The Quasi-Experimental Arrangement of the Society

*Anna Weichsel, University of
Pennsylvania*

The Russian Avant-garde of the early 20th century put tremendous energy into expanding the boundaries of what could be termed 'culture' beyond all recognition. This meant not just redefining the traditional arts but the invention of new dimensions of verbal, visual, and spatial language flexible enough to express the range of experiences in the coming century of mobility, information, and scientific advances. In order to disclose the disciplinary redefining of architecture I suggest a discussion of the working method of experimentation as it developed within the artistic and architectural production in the beginning of the 20th century.

The involvement of the Russian artistic practice with scientific methods of experimental psychology led not only to the cultural moment when art and science were not sharply distinguished academic subjects but led to an understanding of the society as a quasi-experimental arrangement. I suggest a comparative study of space-oriented theories such as Malevich's 'space of energy', Ginzburg's space of 'dynamic movement' and Dokushaev's/ Ladovskii's 'psychotechnical space creation' that investigates the architectural principles as well the development of the working method of experimentation. Architecture was understood not so much as an aesthetic object but rather as functioning apparatus, as biological process which was not based on objectivity but rather on operationalization, not on reflection but on

the manipulation of perception. I will argue that the different approaches, based either on the testing of peoples' perception of forms under different conditions of vision and movement, or based on the organization of forms by examining effects of rhythmicity of elements and their relations in space, or based on concepts of spatial infinity, had one mutual goal: to generate an activating impact on the observer through spatial experience in order to unleash creative process in everyday behavior.

What mattered besides style? On the example of buildings for public food supply in Petrograd/Leningrad, 1918- 1932

Diana Zitzman, Berlin

Topic: The development of *khlebozovody* (bread bakeries) and *fabriki kukhni* (huge dining halls) on the examples of Petrograd/Leningrad. *Khlebozovody* were designed and built shortly after the revolution, in the middle of the 1920s and in the beginning of the 1930s. That is why it is possible to compare them and to describe the development in their architecture. *Fabriki kukhni* were designed and built especially during the Cultural Revolution of 1929-31. The organization responsible for these buildings was LSPO, the Consumer Association of the Leningrad Region.

Method: First the plans/buildings and their construction history are examined. What is typical for each of the projects, what is different among projects for the same building type before and afterwards, what is different about the same building type from those in other Soviet cities, and are there significant differences from other building types carried out at the same time and in the

same city. The differences that are examined exclude questions of style and architectural theory. They include elaborations on the client and operation, especially during the New Economic Policy. As a next step, explanations for the characteristic features of the buildings are sought. Therefore the development of LSPO and cultural discourses are examined, for instance articles about the function and the aim of the buildings.

Proposed interpretation: The changes in architecture correspond to significant changes in Soviet policy. Very roughly Soviet architecture between 1917 and 1932 can be divided into four phases:

- 1) Experiences with revolution and war during the War Communism (1918-1921)
- 2) Symbolic buildings during the New Economic Policy (NEP) (1923-27)
- 3) "New ideas now" during the Cultural Revolution (1929-31)
- 4) Mass architecture during the end of the second half of the first Five Year Plan (1931-32)

For instance, the buildings around 1925 are characterized by a high degree of planning care and expressiveness and a balance in the importance of design, hygienic and economic requirements. During these years there existed quite a lot of freedom to choose the way to build. During the NEP, the regional organizations had the greatest impact on the buildings – that means not the party or central heads of organizations in Moscow. The new bakery building serves as advertisement for its client LSPO. Because of the contrast between the NEP reality and the promises of the party the new buildings played an important role as symbolic fulfillment of the proclaimed values.

SESSION: Housing and the Grassroots: Rethinking Production and Agency in the Architecture of Dwelling

Tom Avermaete, Delft University of Technology; Nelson Mota, Delft University of Technology

In the introduction to *The City and the Grassroots*, published in 1983, Manuel Castells pointed out that there was an increasing gap between urban research and urban problems. According to Castells, this gap resulted from an intellectual failure to account for the spatial agencies of citizens, social movements and community organizations. The last three decades of architectural discourse have further emphasized the need to reconceptualize architecture and urban design as "relational" disciplines, as Nicholas Bourriard put it.

Throughout the last century there have been many initiatives to promote architecture as part of the social fabric, calling for a socially engaged and democratic architecture. Citizens' participation has been praised as part and parcel of the rituals, pleasures and politics of co-operation as Richard Sennett put it in *Together* (2012). Housing has been arguably the prime site for the definition and redefinition of the states of encounter between the agency of the architect and that of the inhabitants.

In the context of these attempts to define inter-subjectivity as the substratum of architecture, this session welcomes papers that address the relation between architectural expertise and the grassroots as co-producers of housing. The session aims to contribute to bridge the gap between urban research and urban problems, examining concepts, perspective and approaches that were developed to re-articulate the ways of

doing of the architect. Among these, we would like to focus especially, but not exclusively, on processes related to citizens' participation in the production of dwelling spaces, particularly those exploring concepts such as assisted self-help, open form, and incremental housing.

Arne Korsmo and "Hjemmets Mekano"

Espen Johnsen, University of Oslo

The term "Hjemmets Mekano" (Meccano for the Home) appeared in 1952 in a special issue of the architectural periodical *Byggekunst*, edited by the recently established Norwegian CIAM group called PAGON. It is assumed that the articles – "Bolig?" ("Dwelling?") and "Hjemmets Mekano" – were written by architect Arne Korsmo. "HM" is described as a "working method and an analysis of the resident, the home and the house" that would "give the individual, the family and the environment a chance to free themselves from passivity and become consciously active in dwelling and building". The primary objective was to create an enriching spatial experience in which people themselves actively created and controlled their dwelling space. The architect should no longer act as a "specialist", but more like an "agent" offering the prospective residents apartments with a flexible and constantly changeable system of choices. This paper attempts a close reading of these two articles followed by a discussion of the subject in a wider architectural historical context. The aim is to show how "HM" synthesized impulses and ideas that interested Korsmo, and his attempt to build a bridge between the modernism of the inter-war period and ideas he had picked up after the war in the United States, at CIAM meetings and congresses, and disciplines such as psychology and perceptual psychology. The paper will also relate these ideas to subsequent CIAM projects, exhibitions and buildings by Korsmo and other PAGON members like J.Utzon, C. Norberg-Schulz, S. Fehn and G.Grung. The relevance of the question to relational aesthetics will be discussed in the second part of the paper when we ask whether an "HM" method can be interpreted as a form of "inter-space", how Korsmo revised his attitude to the "curatorship" of domestic buildings, and the way he and his wife partly played a performative role on photographs.

Knowledge Formation by Architects and Workers in Assisted Self-help: Recalling the Fractured History of Portuguese Experiments from the Dictatorships to Political Democracy, 1950-1980

*Tiago Castela, University of Coimbra;
José António Bandeirinha*

In late 20th-century Portugal, the deployment of the postwar development techniques of assisted self-help and participation for the creation of workers' housing contributed to contrasting assemblages of architectural knowledge and political order: from a foregrounding of technical expertise for social harmony during the last decades of the dictatorships of Salazar and Caetano until 1974, to the facilitation of collective deliberation through the SAAL program during the beginnings of political democratization. A valuable literature thoroughly addresses the SAAL program and its antecedents, notably in South America. However, the specificity of the self-help element of SAAL can be more fully understood if we recall how it was preceded in Portugal by two experiments in self-help promoted by the social Catholic industrialists' association: the 1950s MONAC movement, focused on creating housing nuclei through self-help techniques in Coimbra, and the 1960s public-private partnership PRODAC in Lisbon. Their impact on architectural knowledge on housing, and in particular on how architects involved in SAAL conceived knowledge production in contrast to a legacy of technocratic self-help, has not been researched. In addition, we do not know to what extent MONAC and PRODAC drew from an earlier grassroots tradition of social Catholic trade unionism, in dialogue both with postwar self-help housing movements such as the French Castors, as well as with broader debates on social Catholicism in northwestern Europe. This paper draws on the results of observation and archival research in Portugal, and focuses on interrogating the ways in which workers involved with organizations such as MONAC and PRODAC, as well as with the SAAL program, contributed to the formation of contemporary architectural knowledge on housing. The paper contributes to a prospective reflection on architectural knowledge that acknowledges its own plural formation, and fosters properly political decisions on housing.

Berlin's Building Groups—A Bottom-Up Initiative in a highly Professionalized Environment *Florian Urban, Glasgow School of Art*

In the 1990s and 2000s Berlin saw the formation of so-called Baugruppen (building

groups) – associations of small-scale investors who joined their modest capital to commission an architect and construct a multi-storey building in which they would own and occupy a flat. They were often united by a belief in community values and neighbourly contact as well as the qualities of urban life. Several Baugruppen buildings were awarded prizes for both innovative design and cutting-edge technology.

My paper will present the Baugruppen as an example of the intricacies of bottom-up initiatives in an industrialized Western country. The groups had to rely on professional architects and project managers to realize their dreams of unconventional homeownership. Their design choices were influenced by the availability of state subsidies as well as by Germany's complex building legislation. In some cases the Baugruppen managed to resolve these challenges and commissioned convincing, creative design. In other cases they succumbed to the tensions among the different members, and too many cooks spoiled the broth.

The paper will also look at the contradictory political goals connected to these initiatives. Most Baugruppen members were middle-class professionals with young children who cherished left-leaning political views and an ecological awareness. Some were former squatters and radicals sympathizing with the idea of a non-commercial, self-organized urban life. Mainstream media tended to portray them as "good investors", because they built for themselves, the speculative element in their investment was comparably small, and their activities aligned with the declared goal to keep well-to-do families in the inner cities.

At the same time they contributed to a conservative political agenda. They furthered home ownership in a city where the tenant majority had come under pressure from eroding tenant protection laws. They belonged to a highly educated and comparable affluent minority. And they stood on the winning side of Berlin's enhancing gentrification cycles that increasingly priced less wealthy residents out of the central neighbourhoods.

My paper will show that both design process and political strategies of the Baugruppen are emblematic for the contradictions of bottom-up agency in a highly professionalised architectural environment.

Architecture in Utopia? Agencies of design in Zurich's alternative housing

Irinia Davidovici, ETH Zurich

Since the first housing cooperative was established in Zurich in 1892, such alliances of city resources and inhabitants' interests

have grown to provide about a quarter of all available dwellings. Within this powerful historical and economic model, alternative approaches to collective living are quickly establishing their own social and political topos. Grounded in the utopian environmentalist proposals of the 1980s squatter movements, more recent housing cooperatives, like Kraftwerk I, Kalkbreite or mehr als wohnen illustrate principles of self-governance, affordable residential and business mixes, shared facilities and stringent environmental credentials in construction and use. Their experimentation with unconventional apartment types departs from bourgeois, nuclear-family layouts and enables various scenarios for collective living, including informal communes, patchwork families, single and elderly accommodation.

If in a line with Castells (1983) we consider urban social movements those popular actions that change city structures, Zurich's alternative housing cooperatives qualify through their activist origins, as well as their impact on peripheral and inner city working-class districts. However, the architectural and urban quality of such developments often falls short of the clients' ideological and environmental activism.

Through the examination of practical case studies as well as their theoretical fundamentals, this paper investigates how the agency of architecture fares in the ideological framework of Zurich's alternative housing cooperatives. How are aspects of design, from plans to fabrication methods, predetermined or influenced by their collective clients? How do the results differ typologically or morphologically from commercially procured developments, and what is their impact on the existing city? How does architecture mediate between alternative social environmental agendas and surrounding neighborhoods? This questioning illuminates a more general issue, architecture's capacity to articulate new models of urban living without enforcing the creation of social enclaves.

The Battle for the City: 1970s architects between *luttés* *urbanines* and *rénovation* *urbaine*

*Isabelle Doucet, University of
Manchester*

The *luttés urbaines* (urban struggles/activism) of the Atelier de Recherche et d'Action Urbaines (ARAU), the Archives d'Architecture Moderne (AAM) and the radical architectural education of La Cambre, formed Brussels' quasi-literal response to Henri Lefebvre's *The Right to the City* and Manuel Castells' *The Urban Question*. In the wake of 1968, architects

were to negotiate not just the democratic consultation of citizens with radical solutions for enhancing the social responsibility of architecture, but also a growing sensitivity to urban renovation (catalysed by the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year). These ambitions were moreover played out amidst a challenging economic climate (1973 Oil Crisis); the preparations for a new, more democratic, regional planning instrument for Brussels (*Plan Secteur*, approved in 1979); and the ARAU's tireless fight against functionalist urbanism (e.g. through counter-projects). Throughout the 1970s, these *luttés urbaines* morphed into a more reactionary *rénovation urbaine*, characterised by a growing elitism and architectural conservatism (privatisation,

façadism, pastiche). Starting from two collective housing schemes in Brussels by architect Marc Wolff (*L'Abreuvoir*, 1972-1973 and *Rue aux Laines* 1975-1978), this paper studies how radical responses to the urban question coincided with the wider debates regarding appropriate aesthetics for the architectural outcomes of urban struggles. How, for example, were the urban struggles matched against debates regarding the (new) responsibilities of architects and the emergent appreciation of the historic city? Together, these projects epitomise architecture's struggle to manoeuvre between different, and at times contradicting, solutions for the democratic city.

SESSION: Architecture of the Antipodes (SAHANZ-supported session)

Antony Moulis, University of Queensland; *Robin Skinner*, University of Victoria of Wellington

This session invites papers that investigate ways in which an exchange between Europe and South Pacific 'antipodes' have shaped the production of architecture in Australia and New Zealand as well as Europe from the 18th century to the present. The session will reconsider theories of architectural ideas and the mechanisms by which they circulated and had an impact in architectural production and debate. In what ways did the architecture of Australia and New Zealand come to participate in the construction of that alternative 'antipodean' world imagined by Europeans as its southern hemisphere opposite? And equally, in what terms was the idea of a distant European architecture for the antipodes resisted? Australia and New Zealand might be seen as brought together by the term 'antipodean,' but this is not the case for their architectural histories, which remain national. Proposals are also invited that consider the commonalities or tensions that put these separate histories into productive conversation, especially regarding the reception and representation of European ideas and indeed, of the antipodes in Europe, and the way in which they affected architecture in both contexts. We welcome proposals treating any moment in the history of this exchange including, but by no means limited to, colonial cases, examples of reception and mobility among Australian and New Zealand architects, the success of postwar émigré culture, all of which have each in their own way fostered a diversity of architectural knowledge of Europe's 'antipodes.'

Deep shade in Australia: Investing the verandah's universal utility with local character

Pedro Guedes, University of Queensland

This paper focuses on how verandahs entered formal languages of permanent architecture in the principal façades of public buildings in European colonial outposts. There, splendid buildings with Imperial pretensions required adaptations to warm climates opening the way for later compositional approaches, including the brise-soleil and other buffering devices.

Mid-to-Late 19th Century Public buildings at the peripheries of Empire represent a major and outward looking cosmopolitan phase of European colonial architecture. In the colonies they reassured whoever saw them that a permanent and bountiful future lay ahead. Celebrating

confidence through the use of generously embellished durable masonry they observed the latest ideas of design and proportion derived from Metropolitan centers. However, they were fashioned with an important concession to the climate; the verandah.

Verandahs offered many pragmatic advantages, all of them long accepted and understood as beneficial to building in hot humid countries where they mitigated the harsh effects of heat and glare. At the same time verandahs provided circulation space in buildings with ever-larger collections of rooms, delivered protected areas sanctioned by medical opinion and allowed for informal gatherings during tropical downpours. They provided a recipe for conceiving of and planning all manner of buildings, a formula for clothing utility with presence and sometimes grandeur easily understood by designers ranging from public servants to exalted architects. These broad and

universal strategies were tempered with nuance and detail that invested buildings with local character.

The study draws upon buildings erected in the British Empire from India to Australia, with parallels in French Indochina and Algeria. In each outpost, notions of local character were grafted onto the broadly accepted approach. As paragons of this genre, several structures in Queensland, including Brisbane's Treasury and Lands buildings and the Rockhampton Post Office, are taken and analyzed as important exemplars with a distinctly Antipodean imprimatur.

"Ciao Australia", postmodern Australian and Italian exchanges, 1978-1991: from *Domus* to the Venice Biennale
Karen Burns, University of Melbourne; Paul Walker, University of Melbourne

In July 1985 the Milanese architecture and design journal *Domus* published an Australia themed issue. The front cover was emblazoned with a black stencil-print kangaroo, jumping amidst a swirl of rock art motifs. A detail of a swatch of silk-screened Australian dress fabric by an unnamed designer, it also featured stylised opera houses and boomerangs dancing across a fluorescent spray paint background. Combining globalised tribal and graffiti chic references with the banner headline "Ciao Australia Coast to Coast: The Last Wave", the cover art suggested all of the challenges involved in depicting a distinctive national identity within global international design markets in the mid-1980s. The reference to Peter Weir's highly regarded film *The Last Wave*, of 1977, also pointed to the challenges that such assertions of identity entailed. The *Domus* issue was one of four Australia themed international architectural magazines sponsored by Australia's federal arts funding body in the early to mid-1980s. The Australia Council's forays into curating Australian architecture for local and international markets were increasingly governed by a pluralistic, 'soft' critical regionalism. From 1978 to 1988 two architectural designs for Australia's Venice Biennale Pavilion appeared, a 1978/1979 unbuilt design by Edmond and Corrigan and a completed work by Philip Cox, opened in 1988. At first glance, the stylistic differences between the two designs suggest very different conceptions of Australian identity and its representation in the international territory of the architectural biennale. However both projects worked with local and international references, Edmond and Corrigan offering an Isozaki Baroque and Cox working with international modernism

filtered through the prefabricated woolshed forms of Glen Murcutt. The two designs for the pavilion were examined in detail in *Casabella*, in June 1988. The first exhibition in the new pavilion, of the work of painter Arthur Boyd, also attracted media attention, in European art journals (*Apollo*) and in the English architectural press (*Architect's Journal* and *The Architectural Review*). This paper examines these two projects and the first art and architectural exhibitions displayed in the Australian Biennale pavilion. The building designs and exhibitions will be analysed within the context of transnational architectural media and the demands of the Global North for distinctively local content. In Milan and Venice the Australian Council was happy to comply, as it fulfilled a mandate of 'exporting' Australian architecture and fostering the development of design industries.

Australia in Modern Architecture since 1900
Macarena de la Vega de León,
University of Canberra

Nothing shapes architectural production and debate as the writing of history. Given the process of reception and representation of European ideas in Australia and New Zealand (and vice versa), this paper analyses the case of Australia in *Modern Architecture since 1900* (1982) by William J.R. Curtis. His aim is to present an overall view of the development of modern architecture including the architecture of the non-western world; a subject overlooked by previous histories of modern architecture. Curtis places authenticity at the core of his research and uses it as the criterion of his evaluation. With the full revision, expansion and reorganisation of the content for the third edition of the book, Curtis presented a more 'authentic' account of the development of modern architecture in other parts of the world, still excluding Australia. This paper discusses the absence of Australia as an example of Curtis' understanding of the notion of regionalism. Compared to other post-colonial examples that were modified, there is scant difference in Curtis' account of Australian modern architecture between the first (1982) and the third (1996) editions, based mainly on references to the Sydney Opera House and Harry Seidler. In the years separating both editions, regionalism in architecture was debated and framed by, among others, Paul Rudolf and Kenneth Frampton also disregarding Australia as an example, despite the fact that Australian modern architecture had been featured in international journals such as *Domus*' monographic issue "Ciao Australia" (1985). Analysing Curtis' limited take on Australian architecture, this paper presents a critical overview of what he calls 'authentic

regionalism'. Was there a lack of authenticity in Australia or a lack of understanding about Australia?

Larrikinism in Corrigan's Architectural Theatre

Wouter Van Acker, Université Libre de Bruxelles

Reviewing "Architecture in the Antipodes" in 1984, RIBA journal editor Peter Murray, put Peter Corrigan in a van of Australian architects searching for an architecture that was positively, proudly and distinctively Australian. Besides through his completion of a postgraduate programme at Yale under Charles Moore, and his work experience in the offices of Paul Rudolph, Victor Gruen Associates, and Philip Johnson, Corrigan played a crucial role as an attractor and translator of a postmodernist model of regionalism in Melbourne and Australia in the latter half of the 1970s and well into the 1990s, through various media: journals in which he published or that he co-founded like *Smudges*, discussion groups like *Half-Time*, conferences such as the "Pleasures of Architecture" (1980) conference, and most importantly university lectures and his legendary studio training at RMIT.

While the current literature on Corrigan points especially to his familiarity with the ideas of Venturi and Scott-Brown as the main source for the way in which he celebrates the unique ordinariness of suburbia in his architecture, his long-standing engagement with stage design since his student years seems to have been even more important. Australian identity was also one of the main themes that The New Wave theatre explored, in particular the Australian Performing Group (APG) in which Corrigan was deeply involved intellectually. Following Caspar Neher, he adopted as a stage designer the Brechtian technique of unveiling the constructed nature of the theatrical stage, which rhymed well with the self-parodic stereotyping of larrikinism through performance and gesture in the APG plays. Transferring carnivalesque, grotesque and burlesque design experiments from theatre to the field of architecture, Corrigan forged a unique brand of regionalism that challenged the dualistic centre-periphery model accepted by modernists such as Robin Boyd who assessed Australian suburbia as inhabited by a public that "knows no better, has seen no better design." Corrigan's anti-authoritarianism led him to a subversive postmodernist stance that found in the suburban 'periphery' the material to find a way out of the casting of Australian architecture as peripheral.

FOURTH PAPER SESSION

SESSION: Time Travel II

Mari Lending, Oslo School of Architecture and Design, *Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen*, Yale University

Upon his arrival in Pompeii, Stendhal stated that he felt “transporté dans l’antiquité”, and that by studying the ruins of Pompeii first-hand “one immediately knows more than a scholar.” The ruins and rubble induced a feeling of time travel, and the place revealed a feeling of history of a sort that he obviously found more profound than scholarly, written history. By experience, the history of the place came alive, so to speak. At the same time, in 1818 Quatremère de Quincy travelled to London to inspect the Elgin marbles. Exposed to the massively dismembered building parts as installed in a provisory gallery adjacent to the British Museum under construction, he felt as if propelled back to their moment of creation, to the Athenian construction site or the studio, “you are confounded at the quantity of work and speed of execution that were required to carry off such an enterprise at once so quickly and so perfectly.” Respect for such architectural time travel waned by the end of the century when the idea that art and architecture are products of a particular period and place, promoted by art historians like Heinrich Wölfflin, took hold. After Friedrich Nietzsche condemned the study of history as a dubious pursuit, looking forward, rather than looking backward, became the mantra of modern architecture.

Alternative approaches to time and change emerged in the mid 20th century, when architects and historians became increasingly interested in establishing historical continuities. For example, the exhibition “La Mostra di Studi sulle Proporzioni” at the 1951 Milan Triennale displayed photographic reproductions of buildings from different eras on a three-dimensional lattice, which allowed the eye to trace analogies without a particular chronology. Similarly, Sigfried Giedion saw the baroque in a similar vein as a timeless synthetic impulse. Yet, despite this sea change in historical imagination, the idea that architecture should be in sync with its time prevailed. When Eero Saarinen later in the 1950s mimicked a medieval Italian hilltown for his Morse and Stiles Colleges at Yale University, Reyner Banham deemed the outcome a mere stage set, suggesting that such travel belongs to theatre, not to architecture.

Art historian George Kubler can be credited for revealing the methodological shortcomings of modern historiography, demonstrating in his landmark *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (1962) how formal motifs get transmitted through time and space. Kubler stated that “even architecture . . . is guided from one utterance to the next by the images of the admired buildings of the past, both far and near in time.” Yet, insistence on the periodization and obsession with newness still dominated how we think of architecture’s relationship to time. This session investigates conflating or competing temporalities, beyond the mere chronological schemes that have governed modern historiography. We invite papers that discuss convoluted constellations of architecture and time drawing on documents and monuments, images, landscapes, or cities.

Obsolete in Reverse

Daniel Abramson, Tufts University

“The future is but the obsolete in reverse,” wrote Vladimir Nabokov in a 1952 story about a time-traveling astronaut, “Lance.” Nabokov’s time-twisting axiom, conjoining past and future under the banner of obsolescence, was oft-quoted in the 1960s, a decade itself enthralled with the idea of architectural obsolescence.

One of those most enamored was Cedric Price, who characterized his imaginary Fun Palace as a “short-life toy,” and who projected a grand Potteries Thinkbelt educational network composed of scores of limited-life teaching and residential elements. Price largely embraced the promise of obsolescence, its liberation from the past.

But others in the same period recoiled at obsolescence’s waste and ephemerality, and tried to reverse its logic. Thus emerged sustainability in its various guises, from adaptive reuse to ecological design: the

conservation rather than expendability of existing resources, natural and human-made.

This paper will sketch the history of the concept of obsolescence as it evolved in twentieth-century architecture and urbanism, from its initial use in early-century American real estate, and subsequent application to whole cities, to postwar architects’ engagement worldwide across a spectrum from acceptance to repulsion.

The paper further argues that design itself proffers subtle meditations upon obsolescence’s tangled temporalities of use and value, past and future. Temporal estrangement is the crux of Nabokov’s axiom, for example: a similar alienation infuses Price’s Potteries Thinkbelt imagery. The paper concludes by looking at the presentation of buildings, time, and mortality in Ridley Scott’s futuristic 1982 film *Blade Runner*, a particularly vivid conjunction of the themes of obsolescence.

The paper’s overall purpose is to elucidate obsolescence’s manifold implications for understanding architecture’s

complex relationships to time, from both historical and philosophical perspectives.

Family of Minds: Plain Arts *Eliana Sousa Santos, Coimbra University*

Human families of minds: experimental, classic, refined and baroque minds exist in every generation and seek one another out across time. (George Kubler, Note, GK Papers)

The art historian George Kubler, had many different research interests and most of them were connected: he paid attention to the *plain character* in pre-columbian art and architecture, in the colonial architecture of New Mexico, and in Spain and Portugal. This network of research topics allowed him to write the revolutionary *The Shape of Time* (1962), a book where he proposed a radical philosophy of art history as the history of things, as a great universe of many constellations, a great network of series of objects.

The book was very influential in the art history field, and mostly also in the field of art itself. As Pamela Lee noted, artists like Robert Morris, Robert Smithson, Ad Reinhardt and John Baldessari, quoted Kubler in their writings and artworks. In a sense, *The Shape of Time* opened the way for an expansion in the fields of architecture and art in the mid 1960s.

Kubler also wrote specifically about Portugal, *Portuguese Plain Architecture: Between Spices and Diamonds, 1521-1706* (1972), where he described that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, supposedly a period of crisis, witnessed the development of a kind of architecture that was simple, austere, sparse — modernist in a sense. Shortly after the book was published there was a political revolution in Portugal. The country had been for many years very closed to the outside world, so Kubler's book provided a conceptual framework for a new tradition: Plain Architecture.

In a sense these two moments bear a *Kublerian* quality - 1960s American art and post-1970s Portuguese architecture - sharing the some of their essential qualities, they belong to the same family of minds, of *plain arts*.

Planetarium in Reverse: Reconstructions of the Future in 1930s Moscow *Juliet Koss, Scripps College*

To live in Moscow in the 1930s, surrounded by reconstruction on a massive scale, was to experience temporal confusion – a kind of urban time travel – on a daily basis. Soviet construction narratives had been built on the utopian promise of a better tomorrow, yet

this unidirectional approach soon gave way to a more complex sense of time, with five-year plans completed in four years and an architectural future that relied on stylistic historicism. How might such convoluted temporality be represented?

This talk explores three examples of architectural time travel in 1930s Moscow as laid out by the artists Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova and the writers Viktor Shklovsky and Sergei Tret'iakov. In a 1932 article in *Pravda*, Tret'iakov announced plans for the "Moskvarii," a building to house architectural models depicting historical Moscow along with the present-day and future city. He described the venue in science fiction terms ("the balcony provides not only a bird's-eye view; it is also a time machine, like the one described by [H. G.] Wells"); in approving the project the Mossovet chose, as its designer, Rodchenko, who further conflated time and space by labeling the project a "planetarium in reverse." Soviet constructions were depicted more famously in *USSR in Construction*, with twelve issues designed by Rodchenko between 1933 and 1941, eleven of these in collaboration with Stepanova. And in 1938, these two artists worked with Shklovsky to create *Moskva Rekonstruiruetsia* [Moscow reconstructs itself], an album showcasing the city's development using competing visual registers – diagrams, foldouts, varied photographic styles – to produce a dizzying conflation of temporal frameworks. In each case, photography and design not only helped document and promote the construction process but also offered visual parallels for the temporal confusion of Soviet urban experience.

Terragni's Casa de Fascio and its Afterlife *Romy Golan, CUNY Graduate Center*

This paper will focus on Giuseppe Terragni's 1936 Casa del Fascio in Como and its afterlife in *Riflessione*, an installation by the architect Mario Di Salvo and the conceptual artist Carlo Ferrari. *Riflessione* was staged at a one day event, *Campo Urbano: interventi estetici nella dimensione collettiva urbana* an artistic occupation of the city by forty artists, joined by musicians, architects, art critics, local firemen, electricians, and the public, who took over Como, as well as part of its lake on September 21, 1969.

Di Salvo and Ferrari lined a up a series of mirrors at the foot of the Duomo effectively unhinging the edifice via myriad reflections, forcing locals to rethink their relation to the town's iconic historical monument. Already Terragni used glass on the main façade of the Casa to reflect the medieval and Renaissance Duomo creating a superimposition (or ghosting) of the older building onto its Rationalist, Fascist

successor. At the same time, and understandably enough, in the agitated, post-68, climate of the Autunno Caldo of 1969 the authors of *Riflessione* sought, in reverse, to eclipse Como's most famous modernist building. Through their combinations of flashback and eclipse, both the Casa and *Riflessione* function as a devices: as 'memory-machines.'

All of these maneuvers were best captured by the camera. My talk will thus revolve around photographs. Those shot by Ico Parisi which appeared in two monographic issues on the Casa del Fascio in journals with the apposite titles of *Quadrante* and *Quadrante Lariano* in 1936 and in 1968 (the latter with a text by Di Salvo on the fraught legacy of Terragni) and the splendid photobook of *Campo Urbano* produced by the designer Ugo Mulas and the photographer Bruno Munari.

Highway Historicities: How Architecture Shaped Developmentalist Time *Lucia Allais, Princeton University*

The highway was arguably the most iconic planning device of the development decades. Between 1950 and 1970 motorized bands of asphalt were threaded across vast stretches of territory. In the global South, highways often funded through international aid were built to open new markets for tourism, cultivation, and urbanization. While theories about the effects of this motorized episteme on architectural perception are well-known, from Lynch's *Image of the City* to Doxiadis's *Architecture in Transition*, the temporal aspect of infrastructural modernization, and the role played by historic architecture in its rise and triumph, haven't been fully explored. To be sure, new travel networks often brought with them the simplistic hypothesis, central to what Johannes Fabian calls "typological time",

that some places and people need to "catch up" to others. But a more complex reflection of how the development paradigm affected the reception and design of the built environment can be detected in the work of experts who travelled along this new infrastructure with a vested interest in time—heritage planners, architectural historians and preservation architects. This paper investigates how their involvement in development projects affected their "shaping of time" through historic architecture.

Focusing on architectural missions sent by Paris-based UNESCO and Rome-based ICCROM and ICR to the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Latin America, the paper reveals a shift in international preservation theory and practice: from the expression of temporal ruptures to a conception of time where continuity is paramount. In contrast to the before-and-after logic of postwar European reconstruction, decolonizing or post-colonial missions proliferated strategies for selecting and restoring historic sites along a continuum, and designing fragments into sequences, patterns and overlaps.

These projects invented manifold and competing new ways to map time onto space. Ringroads in the historic cities of Syria and Lebanon were to be edged by a continuous urban-historical "profile". In the holy sites of Pakistan, a cardiogram-like graphic system would designate points of "concentrated" historicity. In the monumental destinations of Turkey, Morocco and Egypt, Franco Minissi tried to suspend time by encapsulating visitors and objects together in glass prisms, concrete canopes, or envelopes of light. And in Cuzco, Peru, the aftermath of an earthquake brought George Kubler himself, later the theorist of the "shape of time", to help re-shape the temporal experience of the city through a materialist re-zoning of modern voids and historic solids.

ROUNDTABLE: Pre-modern Architecture and the Shift of Historiography *Christian Freigang, Free University, Berlin*

For several years now, architectural historians have seemed increasingly to concentrate on the history theory and philosophy of the 20th and 21st centuries. It is evident that scholarly interest, teaching and professional discourses focus on modern architecture. In contrast, Early Modern and Medieval topics are understood as dwelling in a dark past, researched by apparently specialized circles and expert associations. Without any doubt there is a discernable shift in the self-consciousness and the choice of subjects by architectural historians that may be described as a crisis; the impact of this limited focus on the study of modernism on educational canons, social identities and teaching curricula is considerable. The possible reasons are multilayered: In a globalized world, pre-modern architecture tends to be seen as the expression of regional, even provincial identities, used moreover to create tourist clichés within a consumerist economy. Taking a more philosophical view, the loss of "big narratives" in favor of a constructed and fragmented notion of history has profoundly modified our understandings of continuity and relevance across scholarship in history and art history. At the same time, however, the public shows great interest in historic settings, as can be seen by the success of historic film sets as well as medieval fairs and plays and, not least, the

historicist reconstructions of city centers. The round table seeks contributors who can take a broad view in discussing these phenomena, their causes, and their contexts. In lieu of mourning or being scandalized, specific insights into new notions of temporalities, chronologies, and historiographies are sought that enrich our understanding of writing architectural history.

Problem? No Problem

*Maarten Delbeke, Ghent University;
Andrew Leach, Griffith University*

We test the assumptions of this roundtable by reflecting on what we will position as an artificial if useful distinction: between those disciplinary habits and norms of architectural historians focussed on pre-modern epochs and those working primarily with the modern age. Despite appearances there is not a dearth of historiographical studies in pre-modernist architecture, but its attention to history's mechanisms is instead played out on two registers. The first is of architectural history as a product of the long twentieth century itself, where its histories function as modern artefacts—even when they concern subjects that might be cast as medieval, renaissance, baroque or neoclassical. The studies of the histories of these eras, we claim, use the proximity of modern knowledge to enter the mediated worlds of a deeper history, and to approach those worlds by understanding the nature and circumstances of their mediation. This, we argue, is the study of historiography to better understand the modern era and its legacy, and in a way compounds the problem identified by the chair. The second register relates to the rise over the later twentieth century of a professional art (and architectural) history that draws no operating distinction between the world of ideas and that of artistic and architectural production—and in which attention to the fine grain demands attention, too, to the treatment of that fine grain within the discipline to date, and in which, therefore, historiography is processed as a matter of course within histories of the epochs under review. Both historiographical registers, we argue, ultimately speak to twentieth-century disciplinary legacies and to an increasingly demonstrable capacity to consciously attend to the interplay of architecture and history—across history, for a range of disciplinary audiences—in which history itself, in all its guises, functions as an artefact while its historian confront the complications of contemporaneity.

Shift-Return

Kyle Dugdale, Yale University

I will argue, from recent experience, that the much-advertised interdisciplinary nature of emerging scholarship has the capacity to transform architectural history's self-consciousness—transforming, not least, its relationship to pre-modern material, and

rendering a narrow focus on the 20th and 21st centuries increasingly untenable.

I will argue, in this instance, from an engagement of architectural history with the concerns of critical biography and of theology, offering an assessment of why these ostensibly disparate disciplines are especially pertinent to a rethinking of architectural history's commitments. I am prepared to argue the case from a number of (geographically and temporally) distinct and seemingly unrelated standing-points, which render patently implausible, in each case, any bracketed conception of contemporary modernity's valid frame of reference.

Drawing on my own research, these profligate starting points could include the complex architectural-historical narratives surrounding the 2003 occupation by the American Marines of the site of ancient Babylon, the curiously medieval cover illustration to a 1918 novel by Josef Ponten, the latterday theoretical genealogies of the crane that for five hundred years symbolized the unfinished construction of Cologne Cathedral, or the beginnings of a more ambitious long-term project that aims to weave into a coherent fabric the various architectural, book-historical and theological threads that connect conceptions of architectural history to the trajectory of biblical architectures—and, more broadly, to the parallel course of *Heilsgeschichte*, which, ejected from its native discipline along with other “big narratives”, find a promising afterlife in the Elysian fields of contemporary architectural discourse.

In an overwhelmingly optimistic register, I will argue that this approach offers not a hard break with recent writings, but rather a soft return to older histories in search of new beginnings.

A Byzantinist with an interest in architecture or an architectural historian specializing in “things” Byzantine?

Iuliana Gavril, Anglia Ruskin University

The point of departure for this position paper is a personal reflection on the dilemma I encounter every single time I sought to introduce myself. While it is very clear what I am doing, that is, investigating Byzantine architecture, when I say this to a group of practicing architects, or to colleagues in a school of architecture, it suddenly lacks in clarity and purpose. This

dilemma encapsulates the tensions inherent in teaching and researching Pre-modern architectural history in schools of architecture, which favor largely a 'usefulness' approach to architectural history. By focusing on both the history and historiography of Byzantine architecture, this paper seeks to contribute to the present roundtable by stressing what is gained and lost when this 'usefulness' for architecture approach is embraced. The paper will specifically highlight the Byzantine practice of writing about architecture, and it will briefly point out how this practice was subsequently used in the grand narratives of architectural history, and how it could be a subject of inquiry in itself benefitting us all, not only the architecture profession.

Pre-modern architecture and the shift of Historiography

Bernd Nicolai, University of Bern

It is a commonplace that architectural history, especially as taught in architecture schools, has mainly focused on the modern era since the Enlightenment. The lack of former times was philosophically coated with the postmodern slogan that history has come to an end, with the consequence to life an eternal present. Important contributions of architects to the understanding of earlier epochs, such as Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966) or Aldo Rossi's *Architettura della Città* (1966), were concerned with patterns of Mannerism to claim a new plurality in architecture or argued with a structural and semiotic approach for a holistic city conception with archetypes of the city fabric, like streets, squares and architectural signs. In both cases, history became a vehicle for their own agenda. On another level this can also be asserted with the position of Rem Koolhaas (Content 2005), where history is displayed and deconstructed according to the principles of a neo-liberal globalized information society.

If, on the other hand, the announcement has stated a vital public interest in historic settings and sites, we have to ask what are the tasks of contemporary architectural history in order to bridge the gap to pre-modern epochs. From the perspective of an architectural historian who trained as an art historian in the humanities, we have to emphasize long term cultural issues, such as cultural transfer, migration, city culture and multiplicity. One of the most fruitful attempts to gain attention on a long term historical processes and development are global networks since antiquity, especially in the Mediterranean area (exchange of Arabic, Byzantine and European cultures) as well as the mundialization in the early modern age

where the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch took agency. This allows further to discuss architecture in a wider process of cultural production.

A second aspect is a critical re-reading of national historiographies to contrast these approaches with a transnational architectural history. One of its pioneers was Arthur Kingsley Porter with his construct of the Pilgrimage roads to Santiago de Compostela. More recent research concentrated, for examples, on the art and architecture of the Hanseatic League, or on the International Gothic of the 14th and 15th century as a European phenomenon. Something similar has been done with baroque court culture (Da Costa Kaufman).

In addressing such topics the precondition for our present culture gets much more obvious and with it the meaning of architecture.

Fictive (his)stories:

Daria Ricchi, Princeton University

In 1954, the historian Delio Cantimori stated that "it is no longer time for general histories, but only particular stories." But 1959 was the seminal year for 'historicism', when history and stories seemed to fill the pages of many magazines such as *Casabella Continuità*, *L'architettura Cronache e storia* and the *Architectural Review*. In the latter, Reyner Banham accused the Italian architects of retreating to history in his infamous article "The Italian Retreat from Modern Architecture." Banham, on the hand, was also a good storyteller. My claim is that historicism and *fantasia* or in other words the fictive component, the creative side, are two sides of the same phenomenon. The late fifties marked a return to more conventional writing styles in history, but also to more creative ones. In a period of disillusion and skepticism, the solutions seemed to be either a retreat to the past or an escape into fiction.

This double approach is clear in the work of the Italian art historian Giulio Carlo Argan, and I will use Argan and his texts to build the argument. Argan exemplified the interest for a distant past; he wrote extensively about Medieval, Paleochristian, and Gothic art. However, in his 1965 text "Progetto e Destino", Argan distinguished between project, one's freedom of expression—*fantasia*, and destiny could not unfold and critical texts could not be written. *Storia*, which in Italian synthesizes both story and history, is essentially untranslatable and undistinguishable. In other words, the fictive and the historical in writing are inseparable.

Early Modern Architecture Now *Freek Schmidt, VU University Amsterdam*

I have never understood why paradigmatic shifts that long ago have shaped periodizations of history, have so eagerly been embraced and transposed to try and make sense of something as fluid and whimsical as architecture. Why do we assume that some acts of building cease to be of interest because they predate others? Has this been caused by a persistent craving for modernist aesthetics, the success of the author-genius notion, a focus on design rather than process, or holding on to positivist interpretations of building and technology?

Not that pre-modernists cannot be equally narrow-minded where unconventional thinking and interpretations are needed. But this often happens out of conviction rather than ignorance. Unlike the much larger community of their colleagues

working on 20th-century topics, most scholars of early modern architecture work alone, and are very persistent, but in rather less dogmatic or predictable ways. Despite often being marginalised and outnumbered at conferences and roundtables and in the scholarly press, the depth, variety and creativity of scholars working on early modern topics, architecture and source materials should incite the study of modern architecture - as was suggested at the EAHN conference résumé in Turin two years ago.

Rather than continue turf wars or focus on mutual short sightedness, however, we need an open dialogue and share thematic approaches to stories of architecture and building that go beyond questions of initial design and intention. These turbulent times in Europe may inspire a focus on alienation, on appropriation of the exotic and on uses after completion, in order to stretch established notions of historicity and authenticity, while keeping predictable debates on heritage at a safe distance.

ROUNDTABLE: Architecture and the Changing Construction of National Identity

Gary Boyd, Queens University; Hugh Campbell, University College Dublin

This roundtable session considers the various roles played by architecture in the creation and propagation of modern national identity. The production of a particular national identity can be thought of as a series of discourses cohering to form a consistent narrative. While this may have origins in a shared language, its development often extends to the cultural appropriation of physical and built space as much as to the production of new architecture. Such acts of collection and curation serve to confer order upon the messiness of territorial histories, producing consistencies rather than revealing disruption. Selected topological or architectural fragments become physical synecdoches for culturally constructed narratives.

Whereas national identity might be explicitly reflected in new monumental, religious, civic and governmental buildings, it might also be inferred through more ephemeral types of architecture deployed to celebrate a particular event, or through a country's more anonymous and ubiquitous institutional, domestic and industrial architecture. Architecture's embedding of national identity is necessarily complex. Histories are mediated and disseminated through built artefacts themselves (as they are restored, reused, become monuments and so on) but also through publication, exhibition and depiction. What architecture can signify as medium is often immediately dependent on its dissemination through other forms of broadcast media. Thus, the construction of such histories becomes bound up in the discourse of media as well as the discourses of identity, of nation-formation etc.

These narratives, in turn, tend to become sites of contestation and interpretation, to be periodically revisited and revised. Recognising that nations evolved different spatial and architectural strategies to define themselves over time, this roundtable hopes to convene a conversation across epochs and geographies: between the emergent nations of the 19th century; those whose collective history is much longer; and other, 20th-century nations for whom the language of modernism often promised a positive break from an inherited or imposed history. Within this, the focus is particularly on the processes through which meaning is contested and revised, exploring the means by which buildings themselves, as well as the images and texts which accrue around them, become the bearers of different sets of cultural meanings.

Contributions are invited from those involved in the historical study and critique of the theme as well as those who continue to explore the relationship of architecture and national identity through exhibition, publication and other media.

Building the Nation before Nationalism: The Cosmopolitan Historicism of mid 19th-century Europe

Mari Hvattum, Oslo School of Architecture and Design

The Napoleonic wars may have been the beginning of the modern, European nation state, yet early to mid 19th century Europe was a cosmopolitan place. Professional groups such as craftsmen, academics, physicians, and not least architects, studied, worked, and married across national boundaries with astonishing ease, contributing to a mobile and cosmopolitan culture that was characterized by a rapid exchange of ideas and models.

Looking at examples of this mobility (for instance the German architect Heinrich Ernst Schirmer (1814-1888) who worked in Norway between 1838 and 1882, when a pronounced nationalist turn in Norway forced him to return to Germany), this round table paper explores the notion of a national architecture prior to national romanticism. I am particularly interested in the way the cosmopolitan historicism of the early to mid nineteenth century attempted to merge the universal and the national by means of architectural style. Schirmer and his generation were sensitive to local cultural conditions, but insisted nevertheless in translating the local into a universally legible idiom. They thus transcended the local and indigenous, seeing the nation state as part of a cultural commonwealth. In an increasingly multi-cultural world, it may be that the fluid notion of identity, encountered in early nineteenth-century Europe has something to teach us.

Straddling the National Divide: Appropriated Pasts, Inverted Archaeologies, and Byzantine Architecture in Europe, 1878-1939

Aleksandar Ignjatović, University of Belgrade

When in 1898 Emile Zola named the Basilica of Sacre Coeur in Paris a "citadel of the absurd", his designation did not refer only to the church's aura of religiosity and monarchism in the midst of the secular Third Republic. The chalky white edifice on the top of Montmartre also recalled the absurdity of the "French Byzantine architecture", which was methodically invented by nineteenth-century historians to distinguish the French from other European nations. Paradoxically, it was exactly the same nexus between the appropriation of the Byzantine Style and national exceptionalism that marked many

other nations' architectural representation of identity at the time. From Russians and Christian nations of the Balkans, to Germans, Catalans and British Catholics, a number of European nations were simultaneously employing the tropes of Byzantine cultural succession as a symbol of national identity while erecting modern religious edifices and rewriting national architectural histories. While national architectural histories were being produced, creating a linkage between national styles and Byzantine architecture, new Neo-Byzantine edifices were springing up throughout modern European capitals to represent a kind of "inverted archaeology"—from Christ the Savior in Moscow (1860-83) and Westminster Cathedral in London (1895-1903), to St.-Esprit in Paris (1928-35). Thus, a heritage that was, and still is, usually thought of as a symbol of the East-West divide, represented a common cultural treasury for creating architectural imageries of national identity and cultural exceptionalism.

However, this simultaneity and interdependency of historical writing and the construction of modern national monuments is a telling example of a phenomenon that outstrips the question of the comparable (and competing) national appropriations of the "Byzantine Style". Namely, the outrageous insularity of these Neo-Byzantine edifices, which were constructed as islands of apparent architectural archaism in their increasingly modernizing urban settings, testifies to the duality of national identity that Homi Bhabha has called the tension between the "pedagogical" and "performative". It is this duality of nation as a historical object and subject of representation that can be traced in various architectural medievalisms—both built and written—across Europe in the critical moment of nation building between the Congress of Berlin and WWII.

Our Building Ourselves: How Architectural Photography Shapes National Identity

Shelley Hornstein, York University

While Europe braces for how to contend with the refugee crisis, its real challenge is not housing and jobs but the hierarchical and buried episteme of Eurocentrism and its modelling of the world that places European privilege as the central cartographic and regulatory agent. "The intellectually debilitating effects of the Eurocentric legacy," as Ella Shohat and Robert Stam describe it, are "...indispensable for comprehending not only contemporary media representations but...subjectivities..."¹

¹ Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, Routledge, Second Edition, 2014, 1.

How does architectural photography participate in shaping and driving the narratives of nationhood in a time of modern identity formation and shifting borders? Recent media images of demolished archeological sites in Syria (Palmyra) visually communicate the power of nationhood (ISIS) and its fragility (Byzantines, Rashiduns, Abbasids, Mamluks...). My contribution takes modernism's innovative, experimental, yet racist and colonialist starting point to ponder the question of nationhood seen or constructed through the lens of architecture. I will discuss the Archives of the Planet by French Banker, Albert Kahn. This project aimed to photograph cultures and geographies -- now a collection of 72,000 colour autochromes -- before would they would "disappear". Such systems for mapping and cataloguing the world crack open traditional readings of place shifting our eye to alternative forms of representation or non-linear practices of organizing culturally porous space and hence engagement across cultural, racial and geographic borders. Yet with the aftershocks from the Dreyfus Affair reverberating across France (and even palpable today with the Charlie Hebdo attack, among others), I want to demonstrate how this innocent project foregrounds social media and photojournalism when it attempted to enable a new heuristic practice of "seeing" and undoing fixed notions that often paralyze the ability for citizens to speak to each other across identities.

Constructing the every-day: infrastructure as national identity in Berlin 1871-1920

Laila Seewang, ETH Zurich

Conquering natural resources by technological means and harnessing the associated enthusiasm for such projects has often had symbolic importance for a nation: Tulla's straightening of the Rhine in the eighteenth-century, Roosevelt's dedication of the Hoover Dam, Garibaldi's sketches for canals after the 1870 flood of Rome, and Hitler's opening of the Autobahn were also political narratives in the service of a national project. Yet so often the function of infrastructural projects outweighs their role as symbolic architecture.

The creation of a cosmopolitan city was a driving concern for Berlin after its promotion to national capital in 1871. Motivated to represent a modern German nation, a number of municipal infrastructural developments began to radically re-structure the city. It can be argued that urban modernity was effected at multiple scales through this infrastructure, particularly the water projects which created enormous impact beyond that of the network itself:

from significant environmental change at the fringes of the city to the architectural identity of the pumping stations within the city, and finally the newly privitised, every-day rituals of the modern, bourgeois bathroom.

Like any of the new monuments erected in the new Germany, Berlin's municipal infrastructures were constructed as cultural artifacts and were heavily debated in periodicals of the time; they represented its past (all of the network's buildings were built in red brick neogothic architecture as symbols of a collective medieval history), its future (the waterworks adapted the latest scientific technology from Britain, France and within Germany to a modern concept of a democratic municipality) and linked it to its landscape (which had a long tradition in the drive towards German nationhood). In these years, however, the narrative of a Romantic landscape was confronting that of a scientific resource, and the dream of a technological future rivaled a Gothic past in the search for a new German capital.

Depicting Dreams and Facts the Role of Photography in the (im)Possible Construction of Postwar Spanish National Identity

Iñaki Bergera, University of Zaragoza

Spain, maybe like no other country in Western Europe and up to date, is a country of countries, a nation of nations, that has constantly been struggling to shape an impossible collective narrative of itself. Deeply linked and in debt to its unique history, tradition and culture, the prewar avant-garde, linked to the political shift, made a first attempt to transform the image of the country leaving behind the weight of history. The Civil War, an international rehearsal of the 2nd World War, meant the bloody expression of the internal fracture and division.

The postwar Franco Regime imposed the construction of a unique national identity, in which architecture played a significant role. After the autarchic decade, the 'official' monumentality gave way in the fifties to an authentic and coherent modern architecture, born from within. Photography served as the right platform to disseminate and build, for internal and external consumption, the image of a modern country. The visual power of the landscape, the richness of vernacular architecture or the strength of the artistic impulse, served to set up a collective picture of a dreamed nation.

Nevertheless and as the landmark photo essay "Spanish Village" published by Eugene Smith in *Life Magazine* in 1951 clearly revealed the paradigmatic external vision of Spain is always that of an arcane,

folkloric and mysterious country. Separated by the Pyrenees from Europe and sunk on the vestiges of orientalism, Spain couldn't get rid of its own clichéd portrait. This contribution to the roundtable will address the significant and paradigmatic role that the photographic depiction —and its media dissemination— of Spanish architecture and society had in the failed construction of its modern national identity. Beyond reviewing the learned uses and abuses of photography, assessing this issue under new perspectives, could contribute to enrich a collective discussion.

'Le passé est tantôt l'envers du présent, tantôt sa façade.'

Portugal's National Identity Puzzle, c. 1940

Ricardo Agarez, Department of Architecture, KU Leuven

The commemoration of Portugal's multiple centenaries in 1940 (eighth of nationhood, third of regained independence) was an unmissable opportunity for dictator Salazar to reassert the regime's strength, both within borders and in the increasingly convoluted international scene. Looking at the country's history, staging it to produce 'a synthesis of our civilising action' and its 'traces around the globe' (his words) provided both scope and material for a top-down reordering of national-identity defining traits, blending erudite and folk, imperial, metropolitan and regional, spiritual and material motifs, under a particular 'Unity in Diversity' banner. Assisted by propaganda mastermind António Ferro and the country's foremost urban planners, architects and artists – and

its historians, ethnographers, cinematographers – the regime used the moment to impel its most noticeable policies, from public works to elementary schooling; as the centrepiece, an ambitious 'Portuguese World' exposition in Belém, Lisbon, where fifteenth-century ships ostensibly sailed from and symbolic monuments could be both re-presented and erected anew.

The 1940 events became one awkward episode in a world at war – Lisbon navel-gazing in forceful (expensive) celebratory mood while incredulous Central European refugees filled the city *en route* to America – and, in post-1974 Revolution collective conscience, another vivid example of Estado Novo's anachronism and conservativeness. Yet together with the images and texts with which the regime sought to prepare and extend the reach of the (temporary) exhibit, the 1940 monuments – stonework- or plasterboard-built – illustrate the apparent paradox of Portugal's identity construct, in which modernism required a place alongside historicism: the past was 'sometimes the present's reverse, sometimes its façade.' Using visual records of the exposition and coeval internationally-circulated material conveying other aspects of the regime's strategy, I will reconsider the cultural and political meanings of both the identity construct and the efforts to disseminate it, and broaden the analysis of an uncomfortable moment in Portuguese history to encompass its reception and assimilation in latter-day, EU-membership-proud Portugal.

SESSION: The Modern Village

Neta Feniger, Technion, *Ayala Levin*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Although the village has been an important object of modernization, architectural history has mostly focused on the city as the locus of modernity. Yet throughout the 20th century the production of rural space was subject to much debate and research. Situated at a more complex intersection of modernity and tradition, the village presented specific challenges of modernization, as well as national-territorial opportunities. Various modernization schemes used the village as a strategic tool to naturalize colonization, often entailing displacement and coerced resettlement, as in the case of the Nazi plans to resettle and Germanize the occupied East, Italian settlements of southern farmers in its North African colonies and resettlement projects within Italy and Zionist rural settlements in Palestine.

The modern village was not only a nostalgic symbol of national, regional or vernacular identity. Especially since the 1930s, in regional projects inspired by the Tennessee Valley Authority, it served as a symbol of progress, and was subjected to rationalization and industrial reform. By the mid 20th century, the village became a global concern, and served as a means for active political and economic intervention. The increasing pace of urbanization, specifically in post-colonial nations, as well as the threat of social unrest, intensified village planning endeavors. As part of the Cold War development race, rural planning expanded from national to international institutions, primarily the UN. One of the problems governments and planners faced was how to reformulate the village as an attractive alternative to the lure and paying jobs of the modern city. African governments, for example, often in cooperation with international agencies, initiated agricultural resettlement projects to control urban migration. These projects served various national political

goals, as in the case of the Iranian Shah's White Revolution, whose agrarian reform served to legitimize the regime.

This panel calls for papers that deal with the modern village and village planning, not as an isolated unit but as part of various scales: regional, national and transnational. Papers dealing with post-war and post-colonial development plans are especially welcome. The range of topics may include but is not limited to demonstration units (as in agricultural universities, farms or laboratories); rural planning and regional planning vis à vis urban centres; the work of international agencies (UN, OECD, USAID, Ford Foundation, Peace Corps, etc.) with national governments; humanitarian relief and resettlement projects.

Against the Migrant Tide: The Prussian Settlement Commission, from Posen to Togo, 1886 to 1924

Hollyamber Kennedy, Columbia University

In 1893, in a paper addressed to his colleagues at the Verein für Sozialpolitik, Max Weber advocated for an expansion of the Prussian Settlement Commission's program of "internal colonization," an anti-migrant land-use policy of settlement and forced displacement established by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1886. The program sought to settle German farmers in predominately Polish areas in the eastern provinces of the Empire. "It is not possible," Weber wrote, "to allow two nations with different bodily constitutions—differently constructed stomachs—to compete freely as workers in the same area." This paper will examine the planned communities, described as 'modern village estates', built by the Settlement Commission between 1886 and 1924, and their coercive financial structures in the form of binding tenancy contracts. The villages functioned as a governmental tool that sought to politically and economically regulate both the lives of the settlers, and the Polish and East Slavic migrants they displaced. The settlements were much discussed and adapted by a wide range of planners, from German colonial architects, in the wake of the Congo conference of 1885, to advocates of modern housing reform such as Martin Wagner and Bruno Sites. In the modernist "White Cities" of Wagner and his planning colleagues, I argue, we see material traces of the villages and border-politics of the Settlement Commission. The aim of this paper is two-fold: first, to demonstrate the central role that the village as housing colony—a cultural technology managed by social-scientific experts and bound up in forced mortgages—played in regulating the relationship between the body of the laborer, the landscape, and the state. And secondly, to observe, in the *longue durée*, how the typology of the village has functioned historically as a flexible mediator of power in the context of state (and supra-state) planning interventions.

Le Corbusier's Proposal for World War II Refugees: Le 'Murondins'

Mary McLeod, Columbia University

Most architects and scholars associate Le Corbusier with his large-scale, abstract urban schemes, such as the Ville Contemporaine and Plan Voisin. However, from 1933 to the end of World War II, he was deeply engaged with rural issues, resulting in part from his participation in a small political movement, regional syndicalism. Besides his unbuilt projects for a Ferme Radieuse (1933) and Village Coopératif (1934-38), he and Pierre Jeanneret designed in 1940 Les "Murondins", a little-known project for provisional housing and villages (including a school, club and youth center), which was intended for war refugees. He proposed that these structures would be built by local youths using *pisé* (mud), trunks, branches, and other readily available materials. Beyond housing those in need, Le Corbusier hoped that these new settlements would be the foundation of a new grassroots, regional culture that would revitalize the French countryside. During 1941-42, he actively promoted the "Murondins" project to the Vichy government (unsuccessfully) as a means of mobilizing rural youth; and after France's liberation, he campaigned for it again. Nor did he abandon it in subsequent decades. In 1955, he proposed it to Abbé Pierre's *Faim et Soif* as a solution for sheltering the homeless; and in 1963, he offered it as a means of housing Algerian Muslims fleeing to France after the Algerian war.

In this paper, I hope to elucidate the complex political trajectory of Le Corbusier's "Murondins" project, and to show how it embodies a significant transformation in both his social orientation and formal ideas. More generally, I hope this case study will join a growing body of scholarship that has challenged artificial divisions in 20th-century architectural theory into prewar and postwar periods, as well as sweeping characterizations of all modern architecture as universalist, technologically progressive, and embracing a machine-age aesthetic.

The *La Martella* Village in Matera. Rural Modernity in Postwar Southern Italy

Michele Tenzon, The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London

After World War II the city of Matera became known as the capital of peasant civilization and as the symbol of the cultural and economic backwardness of Southern Italy.

The *Sassi* neighborhoods were the most ancient part of the city and were formed by houses created by digging sections out of the rock. In the 1940s, 15,000 people lived in this *city of caves* in precarious hygienic conditions.

In 1951 Umra-Casas, the Italian branch of the international relief agency (part of the UN and prominent actor for the Marshall Plan action), established a committee to examine the physical and social organization of the *Sassi*. The aim was to develop guidelines for the *La Martella* village, a new semi-rural housing project to be constructed outside Matera where to resettle people from the *Sassi* and that was part of a wider project of reorganization at regional scale.

The village, whose form drew upon the theory of the neighborhood unit, consisted of about 200 houses and various public buildings and was conceived as a model for the development of the Italian countryside since it aimed at merging the instances of modernity with the legacy of vernacular architecture and tradition.

The village, completed in 1953, was structured as a modernized version of those aggregations forms—both social and physical—that were individual in the *Sassi* community and that were reformed so as to fit better with the requirements for a modern lifestyle.

Reminiscent of the experiences of ruralization as a means of facilitating social control during Fascism but widely influenced by the transatlantic exchange that characterized the post-war architectural debate, the *La Martella* project played a relevant role in the construction of the Italian approach to modernism.

‘Emerging’ Rural Networks and Planned Communities in Postcolonial Zambia

Petros Phokaides, National Technical University of Athens

The paper focuses on the planning of sixteen rural settlements by the Athens-based firm Doxiadis Associates, a key project for the socioeconomic development of rural Zambia in the mid-1960s. In line with postcolonial discourses of modernization, Doxiadis Associates employed the scientific and rational framework of ‘central place

theory’ developed by geographer Walter Christaller in 1933, which became a major influence in Doxiadis’ Ekistics theory and practice. The firm utilised the theory’s abstract hexagonal geometrical model as a tool to organise different-sized settlements within a single spatial system, incorporating existing rural settlements and developing new ones into a hierarchical network. The establishment of such an all-encompassing network over rural areas of Zambia was consistent with Doxiadis Associates’ practice for a cross-scale approach on human settlements and it was aligned to the government’s ambitious decolonization and nation-building efforts.

On another level, the planning of middle-size settlements was seen as a strategy to alleviating rural-urban migration and managing the rising tensions between urban centres and rural areas. Aiming to address these dynamics, the firm promoted the standardisation and reformulation of existing sociospatial patterns, aspiring to introduce the rural population, as active participants/agents, in the networks of the monetary economy and community life patterns. However, the firm’s encounter with rural Zambia and politics demanded its response to a whole new set of planning challenges. Consequently, large-scale visions for ‘urbanizing’ rural areas were questioned, thereby contemplating more cautious responses to the realities on the ground.

Modeling the Global Village *Olga Touloumi*, Bard College

In 1953, the Indian Government and the United Nations invited Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, the town planner and educator, to organize the United Nations Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in New Delhi. As an active and core member of the CIAM meetings, Marshall McLuhan’s collaborator in the Communication and Culture seminars at the University of Toronto, and a UN consultant, Tyrwhitt operated in intellectual and institutional circles debating the role of design and technology in an increasingly globalized world. For the UN Seminar, she proposed an exhibition to illustrate different planning-models for the developing world. Her work set the tone for future UN efforts to address the habitat and human settlements. Among the exhibits laid the “Model Village,” which attempted to respond with design to Jawaharlal Nehru’s call for land and agrarian reform. The aim was to modernize villages, expand agricultural activity, and establish farming cooperatives. In doing so, the exhibition brought CIAM’s debates on planning to the outskirts of New Delhi, while also constructing a model for future UN efforts to address the habitat of the developing world.

This presentation will examine the United Nations Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement against the backdrop of post-World War II efforts to institutionally reorganize the world. The seminar and exhibition partook in intellectual and diplomatic debates over an emergent Third-World of non-aligned nations and their role within the increasingly globalizing realities of the postwar period, displacing processes of decolonization from the urban to the rural environments and bringing urban

planning internationalism in dialogue with third world ideologies. In the years to follow, McLuhan would employ Tyrwhitt's "village" as a metaphor to discuss processes of globalization, radically decontextualizing the term from its historical and political framework. This displacement and decontextualization, I argue, was not only instrumental in the myth-making of the "global village," but it also produced the village as a core concept in the postwar discourse on globalization at large.

SESSION: Asia at Play: Ideas of Leisure and the Emergence of Modernist Recreational Landscapes, 1900-1970

Cecilia Chu, University of Hong Kong; *Dorothy Tang*, University of Hong Kong

Play spaces have historically functioned as temporary ideal worlds, not complete utopias but imagined perfect worlds in which people find momentary escape from everyday reality. Research on the histories of recreation in Europe and America has shown that the emergence of modernist "playscapes" in the early 20th century, such as amusement parks, expositions, theme parks and fun fairs, etc., was part and parcel of the advent of industrialization and concomitant social reform movements that sought to introduce new "free time" and collective leisure activities to the working class. While these processes helped generate new relations between work and leisure and gave new meanings to collective social life, some of these spaces also worked to reinforce existing social and cultural hierarchies and perpetuate social stratification. Meanwhile, the provision of recreational landscapes was incorporated into practices of planning, landscape architecture and real estate, where a multitude of experts, institutions and other agents participated in their development, with varied implications for the ongoing reshaping of urban forms as well as the connection between city centres and suburban territories.

Although developed under very different conditions, a variety of modernist recreational spaces emerged in major metropolises in East and Southeast Asia in the early and mid 20th century and provided mass entertainment to Chinese audiences in Shanghai, the zoos and amusement parks constructed by private railway companies in Japan to facilitate suburban expansion, and the new spectator sports venues such as baseball fields in Taiwan and racecourses in other cities that were adapted from earlier colonial models. While these and other play spaces have been studied by historians, research to date has tended to approach them as discrete entities with little connection either to accelerating capitalist development in the region or the larger network of experts, entrepreneurs and other institutional players that participated in their conception and development. Papers in this session will explore the diverse agendas, strategies and transnational exchange of knowledge in the production of recreational landscapes in East and Southeast Asia from the 1900s up to the 1970s. Of particular interest are the changing roles of recreation and their impacts on spatial relations, the adaptation of foreign planning and design models and their implications for local urban forms, the commercialization of leisure and their links with new consumption practices, and the relations between formal and informal recreational spaces.

Invisible Utopia: Civilizing the Recreational Spaces of early 20th-century Bangkok Cinemas *Lawrence Chua*, Syracuse University

While the images projected on the screens of early 20th-century Bangkok cinemas gave audiences glimpses of an ideal modern world, the timber-framed theaters themselves were contested arenas where the senses of wealthy audiences were routinely offended not only by the real smells, sounds, and touch of lower-class patrons but by acts of political disobedience. This paper examines the transformation of Bangkok cinemas from heterotopic counter-cultural spaces into places where audiences could

experience the pleasures of modern life in the imagined community of the nation. Siam's nascent architectural profession played a key role in this "civilizing" process when the absolutist state attempted to re-brand itself during the global economic and political turbulence of the 1930s by commissioning the design of Bangkok's first modern cinema, the Sala Chaloem Krung (M.L. Samaichaloem Kridakon, Bangkok, 1932-1933). This paper argues that the cinema's infrastructural innovations worked in tandem with the hierarchies of both the theater's Beaux-Arts influenced plan and the symbols of royal authority that ornamented its facades. Air-conditioning purchased from the Carrier Corporation of Syracuse and installed in the steel-framed concrete cinema

drew on a transnational network of expertise and knowledge to create a commercial environment that sought to suppress many of the unpleasant sensory reminders of Bangkok's class and racial differences with limited success. Using a series of letters in the Thai-language press that debated the primitive design and phenomenological experience of the early cinema in distinctly class-biased and racialized terms, correspondence between Siam's last absolute monarch and his architects, as well as photographs, drawings, and newspaper accounts, this paper excavates the importance of the invisible networks that underwrote modern spaces of leisure and recreation in 20th-century Southeast Asia and created new experiential environments for their consumption.

Modernity and Urban Space: Beijing's First Public Park (1914 - the 1970s)

Paul Clark, University of Auckland

Beijing's first modern public park was situated in the heart of the city, ironically under the walls of the Forbidden City in an old imperial temple and garden. Yet from 1914 Central Park (so named in an echo of New York) became a site for the display and consumption of modern spaces, attitudes and behaviours. Using ideas about the social construction of urban space of Lefebvre and their contemporary elaboration by Edward Soja, this paper will trace how the citizens of Beijing made this park their own as they engaged with the novelty of modernity.

Across the transition to the Communist regime in 1949 and in three subsequent decades under Mao, Zhongshan Park (re-named in 1925) remained a space for innovation and the promotion of modern ideas to China's citizens. The development of the park reflected evolving notions about leisure in a rapidly modernizing nation. Before 1949 most park users were middle-class Beijingers, with the means and time to enjoy the sights and diversions that the park offered. The new regime after 1949 earnestly promoted the democratization of leisure and recreational spaces, constructing new sites in the park for that purpose.

But throughout the twentieth century Zhongshan Park was viewed by its designers and users as a utopian space where women, for example, could try out new, public roles and young people could experiment with the new concept of dating. Exotic foods – ice-cream, coffee, curries – could be consumed while enjoying the zoo, new-style Chinese versions of hot-houses for foreign plants, a children's playground and other sporting spaces. From the 1950s the park saw more organized, collective recreation, though private citizens could still pursue

their own interests in both its public and more intimate spaces, beside Tian'anmen Square.

Extending a current study of leisure spaces in Beijing from the 1940s to the present, this paper uses archival, published and observational materials to map the changing patterns of modern recreation in twentieth-century China.

The Recreational Landscape of Weltevreden before Indonesian Nationalism

Evawani Elissa, Universitas Indonesia

Dutch colonial rule lasted for almost three hundred and fifty years across Batavia and other parts of Indonesia from 1618 to 1945. By the rise of the Dutch colonial city in the mid-19th century, Batavia was divided into the old town of Batavia Centrum and new town of Weltevreden. At the time, the changing perception of the settlement's distance from Europe and growing number of women immigrants affected the colonial urban culture, forming new social groups that sought to articulate their lifestyles in the Dutch manner. Batavia's society also became increasingly multicultural as city dwellers became more diverse in terms of profession, gender and nationalities.

As in many colonial cities, the landscapes of Weltevreden were divided by class; with a minority of Europeans, Indo-Europeans and wealthy Asians, who gained access to the best lands and urban facilities, and a majority of indigenous people who were confined to unplanned areas known as *Kampung*s. Its public spaces were not only key sites to promote civic and cultural values, but also places for people to show off their disposable wealth and availability of leisure time. A visitor to Batavia in 1862 reported that in the city square of Waterlooplein, during the afternoon, gentlemen paraded around on horsebacks in elegant dresses, while ladies with the most beautiful gowns exhibited their charms.

This paper explores the formulation of recreational landscapes in Weltevreden, focusing on individual agency and human experiences over the span of the colonial legacy. The recreational landscapes featured expressions of a colonial society through modern urban design and architectural morphology that responded to the tropical climate and indigenous culture. As the form of the city was mainly dictated by planning decisions made by aristocrats, private companies and wealthy individuals rather than officials of town planning departments, prototypical public spaces in Weltevreden were discriminatorily accessible to the public and sporadically provided.

**Animals in the Palace:
Changyeonggung Palace and
the Introduction of Modern
Domestic Space in Korea
during the Japanese
Occupation (1910-1945)**

Hyun-Tae Jung, Lehigh University

The Japanese colonizers introduced the first modern recreational park to Korea around 1910. After the destruction of ancient buildings and the reorganization of the spatial layout, a zoo, a botanical garden, and a museum were built inside an old royal palace. The Japanese employed modern recreational facilities as a political apparatus to expedite the forceful annexation of Korea.

The fourth ruler of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897), King Sejong (r.1418-50), built a house for his retiring father, King Taejong (1400-18). The house was first named *Suganggung* and later served as residential quarters for queens and concubines. During the reign of King Seongjong (1457-94), the house was expanded and renovated. It was then renamed to *Changgyeonggung*, and would become one of the five royal palaces of the dynasty for centuries.

During the Japanese Occupation of Korea (1910-1945), the palace was converted into a public park with a zoo, a botanical garden, and a museum. In order to do this, the Japanese colonial administration demolished about 20 structures and added new Japanese style buildings. In 1911, its name changed from *Changgyeonggung* (palace) to *Changgyeongwon* (park or garden). In 1922, the colonial administration planted thousands of Japanese cherry trees and began the festival of the cherry blossoms in 1924. Once sacred and most authoritative, the palace became a place for public entertainment and spectacle.

Through these measures, the Japanese destroyed ancient structures and thus the sanctity of the place, and then superimposed a new order with a large recreational park. An old home for a king now became one for exotic animals, plants and mass entertainment. The old (the Joseon Dynasty) and the new (Japan) were juxtaposed to illustrate the superiority of the latter. The new Korean public, which was clearly distinguished as secondary to the superior citizens from Japan, participated in modern recreation with the complicated reactions of fascination, buoyance, and deep humiliation.

FIFTH PAPER SESSION

SESSION: Formalizations of Ambience since the Eighteenth Century

Joseph Clarke, University of Toronto

In recent decades, renewed scholarly attention to the space of everyday life, critiques of the ocularcentrism of architectural discourse, and technologies for visualizing and stimulating otherwise unseen spatial processes have marked the ambient environment as an important field of research. This session situates architectural efforts to conceptualize the ambient within the larger historical trajectory of modernity, by focusing on cases over the past 250 years in which designers have found intangible characteristics of their physical surroundings to possess an "architecture" of their own.

If the nebulous shadows of Giambattista Piranesi's *Carceri* etchings suggested an incipient desire to bring the atmospheric environment within the scope of architectural thought, Enlightenment advances in optics, pneumatic chemistry, and acoustics were already pointing the way toward a project of managing ambient characteristics of space. Miasma and airborne disease soon became issues of particularly urgent concern, both in densifying European capitals and in the less familiar environments of colonial lands, but other invisible spatial phenomena, such as the ringing of bells, proved no less politically contentious. By the time Karl Marx declared, "all that is solid melts into air," the landscape was beginning to be defined as much by new patterns of light, sound and foul air as by monumental buildings. These new ways of conceiving the physical environment—and the architectural techniques associated with their amelioration—set the stage for more recent critical interventions ranging from Guy Debord's psychogeographic mappings of *ambiance* to R. Murray Schafer's systematic documentation of "soundscapes." At the scale of the building interior, too, the circulation of air, odors, and acoustic and luminous energy has been the object of increasing efforts at representation and control.

This session focuses on the modeling techniques, design procedures, and formulas that have been posited in order to make architectural sense of such intangible spatial factors. Speakers are invited to analyze projects of visualizing, diagramming, manipulating, and otherwise formalizing ambient or atmospheric phenomena, particularly those at the juncture of aesthetic and scientific interest, and to consider the role of these practices with respect to broader conceptions of architectural modernity. At stake in the session is how elusive spatial effects ordinarily thought to be experienced on a prereflective level become objects of critical architectural reflection.

Architecture as the Production of Atmospheres: The Early Contribution of Richard Lucae (1829-1877)

Jasper Cegl, Hochschule Anhalt, Dessau

"When talk comes to spaces, one so often hears it said that they were cosy or unc cosy, serene or solemn, unhome ly, stately, ceremonious, or the like. Our feeling leaves it at that impression and, with justice, does not ask, in the instant of excitation, out of which moments the latter is assembled." Thus begins Richard Lucae's lecture "On the Power of Space in Architecture", held in Berlin in February 1869. Lucae sets out to describe the immediate impressions we have in the different kinds of spaces architects can produce, in a range from "the ridiculous to the sublime". He tries to explain how spaces instantaneously influence the mood of the beholder, and his mental state. Ultimately, his intention is to foster a systematic approach that will make architects aware of the means they have at their disposal to provide spaces with the appropriate

atmosphere. In order to do so, he proposes a system of spatial factors that could describe spaces without reference to style: form and light, scale and colour. He argues for an approach to form in which the spatial imagination of the architect has supremacy over the questions of construction. With his highly innovative and comprehensive take on the problem of space, Lucae's approach foreshadows 20th century endeavours into the phenomenology of architecture.

Drawing on previously unknown archival material, the paper will shed light on Lucae's arguments and his sources. It will show that Lucae could only develop his approach because he was deeply involved in intellectual and academic circles in Berlin, which made him aware of the latest advances in philosophy and psychology, and broadened his sphere of influence beyond professional discourse. The paper will also situate his approach within the further development of discourse on atmosphere in architecture, highlighting his novel understanding of form.

The Ambience of Commerce: A 19th-century Utopian Marketplace

Irene Cheng, California College of the Arts

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the American Spiritualist John Murray Spear and his associates presented several visions of what they called a "heavenized" architecture, transmitted from an association of divine spirits that included Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. The Spiritualist designs included a series of Harmonial Homes and an institution of equitable commerce. Under the influence of the French utopian Charles Fourier, the American Spiritualists imagined that in the new commercial structure, springs, a "whispering gallery," and other technologies of transmission would transform commerce into a tranquil, quasi-aesthetic experience.

It is tempting to read these architectural proposals—and mid-century American Spiritualism in general—as naïve, evasive response to the conflicts and contradictions of antebellum American society. The circular Institution of Equitable Commerce and the Homes of Harmony could be seen as utopian in the worst sense: vaporous fantasies of a post-revolutionary world, with little realistic sense of how to arrive there beyond divine intercession. My paper develops an alternative reading of the Spiritualists' commercial structure in particular, arguing that by creating a temple-like environment with elevated platforms, special odors, ritual dress, and infrastructural networks facilitating the frictionless transmission of goods and information, the Spiritualists were imagining an ambience of seamless movement and communication, where economic exchanges could be reimagined as primal social encounters. This was an environment imagined as an alternative to the contemporary capitalist marketplace, with its predations, deceptions, frictions, and relentless instrumentalizing rationality.

Through the Network of Wires: Two Projects by Richard Lippold

Alice Friedman, Wellesley College

My paper considers two projects by Richard Lippold as multisensory aesthetic and spiritual experiences. In these wire installations, Lippold -- a sculptor who occupied an uneasy position between the New York avant garde and the his many corporate clients in the postwar decades -- went beyond artistic metaphors to imagine large-scale representations of time, presence, movement and chance. In a 1957 lecture entitled "Experimental Music",

Lippold's friend and collaborator John Cage noted that, as with his own work and "the glass houses of Mies van der Rohe, "in the constructions in wire of the sculptor Richard Lippold it is inevitable that one will see other things, and people too, if they happen to be there at the same time, through the network of wires. There is no such thing as empty space or empty time...In fact, try as we may to make silence, we cannot." Since 1944, when Lippold's wife Louise had begun dancing with Merce Cunningham, "chance operations" and the tension between seen and unseen had shaped these artists' work: living in close proximity in New York and at Black Mountain College, and strongly influenced by Zen philosophy, Cage, Cunningham and the Lippolds had collaborated on a number of projects, including dance, film, and a wire installation --with random motion-sensor generated sound by Cage --in the lobby of Gropius and Belluschi's Pan Am Building (1960-63) in New York City. Entitled "Flight," the work uses unplanned visual and aural experience to disrupt the ritualized movements of passing commuters, while at the same time including a conventional representation that appealed to the corporate clients.

Lippold's "Flight" is the focus of one half of my paper. The other half considers an extraordinary project for the Chapel at the Portsmouth Abbey School in Portsmouth, Rhode Island (1960) also by Pietro Belluschi. Commissioned by the Benedictine Prior Dom Aelred Graham, author of *Zen Catholicism* (1963), Lippold's installation was intended to enhance the meditative experience of changing light, sound, and embodied multisensory stimuli: here again Lippold brought Cage's ideas to bear on his work, as well as his own spiritualized phenomenology, imbricating transparency, sound, and silence in a "distributed array" of stretched wire in the chancel.

Refractions Reflected in a Ripple Tank, Reconsidered (1951)

Sabine von Fischer, École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne

The visual representations of sound waves in water can be traced back to Vitruvius' architectural treatises and to naval engineering in the nineteenth century. This case study, however, focuses on a late appropriation of the techniques. In 1951, Swiss acoustician Anselm Lauber conducted elaborate experiments in photograph sound in ripple tanks at the PTT laboratories in Bern. With a fairly simple technique of illuminating moving water in a water-filled basin of a particular geometry, the reflections of light on the water's surface created astounding patterns—even an ambience in the sense of visual magic. The

purpose of the experiment, however, was to study the propagation of sound, especially phenomena of diffraction.

Among the questions addressed by this paper is why mid-20th century scientists decided to go back to far older techniques even though modern, electroacoustic methods offered much more precise results to the investigation of sound reflection, refraction, and diffusion. What was the role of the ripple tank experiments both for acoustical research by experts and for the communication of the results to a lay public? The study also suggests the obsolescence of distinguishing high-tech from low-tech practices, since in the same laboratory the same experts conducted water-wave experiments side by side with electroacoustic measurements. By analyzing the foregrounding or concealment of scientific explanations, this paper scrutinizes the rhetoric of modernity, which, as the regression to ripple-tank experiments in 1951 shows, had already undergone multiple crises by this point.

In addition, a comparison with research now ongoing at the SINLAB experimental laboratory in Lausanne, Switzerland, highlights the issue of “old” versus “new” media in architectural research, asking what we expect from these media that materialize invisible phenomena—phenomena that are far from being “ineffable,” as claimed by modernism, but cast light on a range of changing scientific explanations.

**Barefoot in January:
Temperature, Sensation, and
the Visualization of Energy**
Albert Narath, University of
California, Santa Cruz

In a full-page ad for the American Gas Association published in *Life Magazine*, a nearly naked toddler stares through a living room window to a blustery winter scene outside. As curtains, cushions, and a fake flower arrangement bloom with artificial profusion above a large heating vent, the ad’s text declares going “barefoot in January” and “even warmth” as American

imperatives. In the highly engineered yet impalpable ambience of room temperature—the product of decades of research within biometeorology, applied ergonomics, and mechanical engineering as well as a vast physical infrastructure of pumps, pipes, and vents—, the modernist fantasy of visual interpenetration between inside and outside is sustained by a technology of sensory deprivation.

What is remarkable about the ad is not just its distillation of an HVAC utopia, but also its appearance in 1973, at the height of the oil crisis in the United States. In this paper, I will explore how the spatial concept of room temperature became a point of crucial debate in the early 1970s about the relationship between energy and sensation. Following a brief historical sketch of the expansive regiment of sensory experimentation that assured room temperature’s indiscernibility, my paper will focus on an influential critique of room temperature formulated by Murray Milne, a pioneer in computer aided design and environmental control during his tenure at Yale University and UCLA. Milne’s research was centered on cataloguing, visualizing, and modeling the invisible energy forces that shaped interior space. Inspired by the psychologist James J. Gibson’s writings on the senses and Christian Norberg-Schultz’s attention to undervalued aesthetic categories such as sound, smell, and radioactivity, Milne contended that architecture only existed as the manipulation of “palpable energy” brought to physiological perception through conduction, convection, or radiation. Ultimately, I will argue that his redefinition of architecture around energy exchange—and his related replacement of an idealized universalized subject with a perceiving body—represented a broader political polemic reflected in President Carter’s pleas for homeowners to turn down their thermostats and put on sweaters. More than a strategy for resource conservation, it equated sensation with agency in an attempt to loosen the control of environmental control.

**SESSION: Ornament and the Renewal of Architecture in the 19th
century**

Ralph Ghoche, Columbia University; *Martin Bressani*, McGill University

During the 19th century, the call to renew the decorative surface of architecture was heard far and wide, and from voices in diverse artistic fields. French author and critic Théophile Gautier, for instance, published an impassioned plea in 1848 decrying “old and ancient emblems ... now empty of meaning” and calling for a “whole new, vast system of symbols” to be “invented to answer the new needs of our time.” Gautier appealed to artists and ornamentalists to collectively transform the “nudity of Parisian edifices” and “envelop them with resplendent garments” made up of decorative murals and surface ornamentation.

The call to renew ornament, however, was primarily championed by architects, many believing that experimentation in ornament would be the most expedient way of arriving at a new architecture. The thought may seem paradoxical today, especially in light of the modernist debasement of ornament by the early 20th-century avant-garde, but architects such as Owen Jones in Britain and Victor Ruprich-Robert in France, among many others, were explicit in their belief that ornament could engender a wholly rejuvenated architectural form and expression. In *Grammar of Ornament*, for instance, Jones proposed that a new style of ornament would be “one of the readiest means of arriving at a new style” of architecture.

This session will examine the production and theorization of ornament as it relates to a renewal of architecture. We seek papers that consider the role that ornament played in catalyzing a reassessment of architecture in the nineteenth century. Rather than treat ornament as a vestige of pre-modern impulses, this session is premised on the understanding that ornament in the 19th century was the privileged terrain where the issue of the “modern” was being waged. As such, we seek papers that provide new ways of narrating the history of architectural modernism, countering the canonic view that the shedding of ornament is its most conspicuous characteristic.

19th-century utopian movements, architecture and ornament

Antoine Picon, Harvard University

The architecture advocated by utopian movements such as Saint-Simonianism has been often interpreted as a brand of the rationalist creed epitomized by the work of Viollet-le-Duc. A closer look at their theoretical writings on the arts and architecture reveals a different orientation. On the question of ornament, the Saint-Simonians are for instance very far away from the ambition to interpret it as an offspring of structure, as a logical development of its main articulations. What appears instead is an ornament partially free of structural constraints, an ornament the spiritual function of which is not without analogy with Ruskin's approach to the problem.

Using sources like Emil Barrault's *Appel aux Artistes* or the *Livre Nouveau des Saint-Simoniens* the presentation will analyze the contribution of utopian thought, of Saint-Simonism in particular, to the rich nineteenth-century debate regarding architectural ornament. Traces of the Saint-Simonian attitude can still be found in the quarrel that opposes Michel Chevalier and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in the early 1850s on the use of iron in religious buildings.

From Herbal to Grammar: Theorizing Ornament

Estelle Thibault, École d'architecture Paris Belleville

“The grammar of a language is something different, as is a chrestomathy, nor should we confuse a theory of botany with a flora or a garden.”

This excerpt from the ‘essential notices to the reader’ which opens Jules Bourgoïn's *Grammaire élémentaire de l'ornement* (1880) expresses the idea of a break with a cumulative historicist approach represented by the collection of ornaments in favor of an analytical one. Fourteen years earlier, Owen

Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* had been judged insufficiently ‘grammatical’ by Victor Ruprich-Robert, who found the geometrical analyses unconvincing and its classification excessively bound to chronology. In the introduction to his *Flore ornementale* (1866), he declared that he had abandoned ‘history’ in order to establish a thoroughgoing ‘grammar of ornament’ and that his teaching on the subject predated the Englishman's book. However, he used the grammatical metaphor to comment on a morphological approach drawing primarily on that of the botanists: the ‘artistic herbal’ that arranged plant-derived motifs according to their formal characteristics.

With a secondary consideration for Ruprich-Robert, the grammatical analogy came to dominate Bourgoïn's thinking, relegating botany to the background. Must we, though, read these quotations as more than mere metaphors – as an indication of more far-reaching methodological borrowings?

This paper will try to explain why both analogies—naturalist and grammatical—seemed relevant to those architects, whose reflections were oriented towards the prospect of a renewal.

Ornamental Crises: Architecture and Modern Subjectivity in Victorian Britain

Alex Bremner, University of Edinburgh

With the destruction of the Houses of Parliament by fire in 1836 came calls for a new kind of architecture in Britain—one that would, as Charles Eastlake put it, “inspire the citizens with loyalty, patriotism, and enterprise.” By the mid-1850s this call had amplified, with architects insisting that architecture in Britain not only reform but become ‘modern’.

The term ‘modern’ had specific connotations for Victorian architects, not only as a means of distancing contemporary practice from what many considered to be the vacuous inanity of pre-industrial

tradition, but also to signify a type of architecture enabled by industrial technology. As Britain had changed so radically by 1850—in terms of population size, industrial development and global power—many were demanding that this be reflected in its architecture. Something of a crisis had arisen; ornament was suddenly no longer about taste and refinement but invigorated with notions of purpose, character and identity.

Inspired by the literary and religious sensibilities of the age, architecture was now encumbered with a sense of moral agency—buildings were, as Ruskin had famously quipped, ‘sermons in stone’. Ornament was considered central to this agenda. In ‘speaking’ through decoration, architecture could impart ‘lessons’. But this decoration needed to be ‘phonetic’, G. G. Scott insisted—that is, ‘factual’ rather than esoteric or ‘sentimental’ (i.e. allegorical). Only an architecture that ‘spoke’ directly to its age could be truly ‘modern’.

This paper will unpack the enunciative and didactic capacities that lay at the heart of attitudes towards the ‘new ornament’ in Victorian architecture, couching these in relation to perceptions of the ‘modern’ and modernity in the Victorian imagination. It will consider how this change in attitude occurred, and argue that, in Britain at least, modernity in architecture was a form of political economy concerned with the paternalist democratization of ornament.

The study of ornament and the shaping of a new architecture in 19th-century Belgium

Daniela Prina, University of Liege

Didactic courses focused on the analysis of ornament with the attempt to modernize and develop architectural training were among the innovative practices introduced in Belgian academies and design schools during the second half of the 19th century. The study and composition of ornament was indeed considered a crucial part of architectural education by many reformers of the time such as Charles Buls, Louis De Teaye and Jean Baes: the rational and analytical comprehension of the characteristics of different types of ornament, stressing the relationship between form and function, emphasizing the importance of the industrial processes and the rational principles of design, were considered to be a fundamental resource in developing a new style of Belgian architecture. Ornament was indeed not seen as mere decoration form, but an ‘ideal form of art’: it should not deform the surfaces it embellished, but become one with them,” according to T. J. Canneel and I. De Taeye, writing in 1874. The vivacity of the debate subsequently led to the inclusion

of innovative courses related to the possible uses of ornament in the existing architectural training in academies as well as in the newborn design schools in the surroundings of the capital (Ixelles, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode and Molenbeek, after 1860), the Écoles Saint-Luc in Gent (from 1863) and especially the École des Art Décoratifs created in 1886 within the Brussels Académie des Beaux-Arts.

This paper will analyze how the focus on ornament and its didactic and practical applications in these schools shaped and renewed Belgian architecture and represented a progressive field for new methodological and operational possibilities. The professionals who worked on the most important building yards in the second half of the 19th century were indeed trained within the context of this crucial debate that led to remarkable developments in Belgium, contributing to the birth of Art Nouveau.

Directional Decoration: Orientation and Ornamentation in Gottfried Semper and his Followers

Spyros Papapetros, Princeton
University

One of the qualities that distinguishes the use of ornament in late 19th century modernity is its ability to organize and *project* space. Moving beyond the limitation of flat wall decorations, modern ornamentation gradually engages with space not only by establishing correspondences between isolated decorative motifs but also by encompassing three-dimensional artifacts or building elements that demarcate a clear spatial orientation. Motivated by contemporary theories of physics as well as Schopenhauer’s natural philosophy praising the energetic directionality of the “will,” Gottfried Semper invented a novel type of ornament, which he called *Richtungsmuck*—a directional form of bodily and architectural adornment ranging from feathers in male and female hats to acroteria and flags in building decorations. While in their vestigial afterlife, directional ornaments were associated with architectural pageantries and festivals, Semper traced the origins of this type of decoration in implements of “hunting and war,”—artifacts in which ornament had to follow the vital necessities of human survival as well the drive for territorial dominance and expansion (qualities that Semper had recently witnessed in the directional adornments of military horses in battle representations of the Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud exhibited at the British Museum). Unlike the two other categories of ornament distinguished by Semper in his 1856 Zurich lecture on adornment, such as the “ring” that accents

the “microcosmic” proportions between individual body parts, or the “pendant” that underlines the macrocosmic connections between the body and the larger universe, the “directional ornament is the most sociable or even environmentally conscious form of decoration because it connects the adorned body to the bodies and objects of its immediate surroundings. While masking itself as a virtual prosthesis or a mere index of movement, this is a *living* ornament that moves and exists in the physical world while striving to extend the contours of bodies and buildings beyond their material limits. This drive for projection also applies to the history (and historiography) of ornament as a whole, since the “directional authority” of ornament was one of the properties that survived its professed demise from

architectural practice in the beginnings of the twentieth century. This paper investigates the origins and evolutionary trajectory of Semper’s “directional ornament,” as well as its afterlife in the projects and writings of a host of the architect’s followers or unacknowledged readers. Of particular interest is the 1865 French translation of Semper’s 1856 lecture on adornment by the aesthetician and politician Paul Challemeil-Lacour and the employment of that translation in the 1875 book treatment of adornment by French design theorist Charles Blanc, whose publications have often been cited among the sources of education of the young Jeanneret/Le Corbusier.

SESSION: Architecture and the Neoliberal Turn

Kenny Cupers, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; *Helena Mattsson*, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm

Recent scholarship on the postwar period has significantly revised our understanding of architectural modernism by examining the complex role of architecture in the larger historical processes such as the expansion of the welfare state, decolonization and Cold War modernization. In doing so, such scholarship implicitly or explicitly posits the 1970s as a historical break, dually marked by economic restructuring and the advent of a new cultural condition. While innovative studies are currently being pursued on the architecture of this period, analysis continues to be elided by recourse to black-boxed terms such as “postmodernism” and “neoliberalism.” Yet what exactly is the historical relationship between architecture—whether we call it postmodern or not – and the so-called neoliberal turn?

This session aims to answer this question and in doing so, to develop new analytical and methodological approaches to the more recent history of architecture. The changing relationship between state, society and economy during and since the 1970s is often shorthanded with the rubric of neoliberalism. Yet the term itself describes an economic theory whose roots long precede the policies of privatization, deregulation, and market reform of the Thatcher and Reagan era. Rather than to ask what a neoliberal architecture looks like, or how architecture represents neoliberalism, this session aims to examine how architecture has participated in neoliberalization—a historically and geographically specific process rather than a blanket condition.

We are looking for papers that critically deconstruct the term “neoliberalism” by shifting the focus from discourse to the analysis of specific economic or political transformations such as the reorganization of government spending, policies of deregulation, privatization and market reform, the rise of free trade zones, and so on. Of special interest are papers that demonstrate how architectural form and materiality articulate and specify neoliberalization. We ask that papers demonstrate a method for analyzing the role of architecture in such historically and geographically specific processes. While we are primarily interested in papers covering the period since the 1970s, we also welcome approaches that provide a longer historical narrative. Topics could include but are not limited to: public housing and design, the transformation of participatory and community planning, the role of aesthetics in new economic formations such as the “experience economy,” the relationship between private developers and architects, the role of postmodern theory “on the ground,” the changing role of the building industry, and the global economic geography of architectural practice.

Architecture of Preservation: Toward a critique of neoliberal temporality

Ross Exo Adams, Iowa State
University

This paper contends that, if neoliberalism is to be understood as a meta-economic order, as *living thought* (Hayek), our analysis of its

impact on the practice and conception of architecture must see it as more than simply a passive artifact bearing traces of neoliberal logics, policies and values, but one that actively participates in its unfolding. More specifically, this paper looks at how architecture has, since the recent past, assisted in the construction a new, non-modern temporality, whose corresponding proposals articulate a capacity for

architecture and urbanism to preserve the present conditions of life in a world increasingly characterized by unstoppable change. If modernity invented 'progress' as the device to compress the present toward a teleological future, then this new temporality impoverishes both past and future in the fabrication of a blinding, unending present – a temporality that cuts across and synchronizes the social, political and spatial into a single economic rationality. By revisiting Grimshaw's Eden Project in Cornwall, UK, this paper will speculate on how architecture has begun to participate directly in the production of this new temporal experience of the world. Projects like Eden reveal not only how architectural practice under neoliberalism has overcome the modern distinction between nature and society by inverting it, but how the emerging architectural imaginary that accompanies such practices frame architecture as a problem *restricted to the present*. In this, architecture inscribes a temporality that seems to lack both past and future – history and possibility – in favor of presenting time as continuous, homogeneous and bound to the perpetual management of the present. I call this the *architecture of preservation*. The Eden Project, now a global franchise, paradigmatically reveals that in the theater of neoliberal governmentality and its perpetual production of crisis, it is now the present that is the object of architectural design, and 'design' becomes indistinguishable from the technological management of the world.

In the Shadow of the Slum: Towards a Prehistory of Neoliberalism and Architecture *Sheila Crane, University of Virginia*

According to Mike Davis, "rapid urban growth in the context of structural adjustment, currency devaluation, and state retrenchment has been an inevitable recipe for the mass production of slums" (17). Mega-slums, particularly as they have reconfigured cities across the global south, from Rio to Mumbai and beyond, have thus been identified as a defining architecture of neoliberalism. In Morocco, the state's strategic disinvestment in housing production and the concerted privatization of infrastructure have been defining features of recent projects, including the much-heralded *Ville sans bidonvilles*, or Cities without shantytowns, program, inaugurated shortly after the suicide bombings of May 16, 2003 in Casablanca. This paper reconsiders these recent developments within the longer history of the *bidonville*, a term first coined in the late 1920s to describe an area on the outskirts of Casablanca distinguished by the rapid construction of unauthorized dwellings by

recent rural migrants to the city, and successive proposals for its radical reordering that were articulated in the late stages of the French Protectorate. Here the urban planning proposals developed in the early 1950s under Michel Ecochard, in dialogue with extensive surveys of existing *bidonvilles* and their residents coordinated by Robert Montagne, are particularly revealing. Ecochard's diagrammatic proposal for an "improved" *bidonville* imagined a minimal network of streets and infrastructural services that would be filled in with dwellings constructed and financed by inhabitants. Here the grid became a mechanism for regulated growth with limited state investment, an architectural framework that would be embraced shortly after independence as the template for subsequent attempts to eliminate the *bidonville*. By shifting the vantage point from Davis's emphasis on global trends to historically and geographically specific processes, the defining architectures of neoliberalism might be understood not simply through the lens of dramatic ruptures but also as the redeployment of explicitly colonial strategies of disinvestment and self-help housing.

The Energy Underground: Neoliberalism and Solar Architecture in the 1970s *Daniel Barber, University of Pennsylvania*

Neoliberal forms of governance have increasingly, since World War II, developed new political rationalities that redefine issues of citizenship, democracy, representation and regulation. This presentation will focus on environmental regulatory mechanisms in the 1970s as they applied to architecture, and the delicate resistance to them. The emergence of codes and systems for managing the integration of solar power with existing energy grids—a process that intensified during the oil crisis—represents a crucial moment when ideas and processes generated in architecture encountered the regulatory regimes of the global neoliberal governance.

A group of architects and engineers, led by the architect Malcolm Wells and including the then-well-known solar engineer Steve Baer, formed the "Energy Underground" as a loose collective to offer alternatives to neoliberal regulation on these terms. The presentation will focus on three disparate elements of this dynamic discourse. First, Wells' underground, energy efficient houses and offices will be described as well as his vision of the expansion of below-grade buildings. Second, and in contrast to this anomalous production, mainstream solar building practices in Colorado and New Mexico will reveal how

this anti-regulatory impulse infused the building culture of the period. Third, the proliferation of related experiments will be discussed. Trombe walls in France, earth houses at the Centre for Alternative Technology in Wales, and solar innovations in Germany, all speak to a desire to operate outside of the global regulation of energy systems—to manage one’s own community needs, through architecture.

At stake are the specific tactics that architects adopted in order to integrate their practices into alternative trajectories. At stake as well is the cultural relevance of new building forms, and how the profound absence of the Energy Underground in architectural historiography suggests that designed resistance to regulatory regimes has wilted since this period.

Deregulation and Design in the Financial Centre: The Transformation of Corporate Space in the Post-war City of London

Amy Thomas, University of Chicago

The deregulation of financial services since the 1970s has occurred in tandem with a radical transformation of the financial workplace. Yet the tendency towards abstraction in popular and academic discussions of financial practices has historically precluded a material understanding of its processes. In recent decades, a body of dedicated scholarship in urban studies and economic geography has helped uncover the spatial ramifications of high finance in the material world, but as yet, there have been few critical investigations into how this so-called ‘space of flows’ manifests itself in built, architectural form. Much of the current analysis of the financial marketplace is two-dimensional, with an emphasis on the skyline as symbol of capital accumulations, relegating unceremonious interiors and back-office counterparts to the grey matter of real estate. Such readings not only privilege the visible, but also position the architectural environment as benign container for financial activity rather than an active agent in the process of exchange. Through an analysis of the changing design of office buildings in the post-war City of London (London’s financial centre), this paper aims to unravel the reciprocal relationship between the increasingly deregulated financial system, and the commensurate transformation of the environment in which it operated.

This investigation considers how financial and technological revolutions of the 1970s and 80s were facilitated by changes in the development, design and construction of office buildings in the City of London. The paper argues that the rise of computer

dealing and the growing volatility of deregulated markets created a demand for the commensurately flexible office space that could simultaneously accommodate the new technological infrastructure, necessitating a reconfiguration of the office building from a static object with a singular life-span to a dynamic, temporally-layered form—a kit-of-parts designed to maximize profit for both the occupant and developer. Building on this idea, the paper interrogates the connection between the physical fragmentation of the office building and the changing relationship between architects and developers, arguing that where previously the maximization of floor space and manipulation of planning regulations had been the central concern of the developer’s architect, now their dominant responsibility was to devise an architectural image sellable to the occupant in two-dimensional form.

Building Reform: The Block and the Wall in Late Maoist China, 1974-76

Cole Roskam, University of Hong Kong

This paper examines “hollow block and wall reform” (*kongxin qikuai ji qiangti gaige*) in late Maoist China, a building initiative launched between 1974 and 1976 by a Chinese Communist Party (CCP) torn over the ambiguous trajectory of socialist China’s state-run economy. Broadly conceived and promoted as a series of tectonic gestures designed to improve socialist Chinese building practices, hollow block and wall reform need also be understood in light of the more dramatic economic reforms that followed—an early and important moment of procedural as well as ethical recalibration in the face of Mao Zedong’s imminent demise and the realities of looming fiscal as well as ideological bankruptcy.

My paper attends specifically to the ways in which new variations on the brick or cement building block—two fundamental indices of socialist Chinese architectural production as well as representation—concretized the practical and psychological adjustments taking shape within China following an initial wave of diplomatic liberalization highlighted by Sino-American rapprochement in 1972 and the normalization of China-Japan diplomatic relations in 1973. Chinese-language textual and diagrammatic analysis of the new blocks, which were both cheaper and more efficient to manufacture than their antecedents, reveal a Chinese architectural establishment’s efforts to sublimate the impact of intensified international economic and technological exchange within the socialist design precepts under which the country still operated. As objects designed

to simultaneously condition the country to, and defend it from, the uncertainties of impending political and economic change, China's reformed bricks and blocks evince a nascent and distinctive material

neoliberalization grounded in political struggle over the evident shortcomings of Maoist-era governance and deep ambivalence over its alternatives.

SESSION: Open Session

Sussan Babaie, Courtauld Institute of Art; Ola Uduku, University of Edinburgh

Towards a Narrative of Connected Geographies: Display of Architecture and Transnational History

Marianna Charitonidou, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre Le Défense and National Technical University of Athens

In order to shed light on the ways in which the adoption of a historiographical point of view regarding the construction of national identity can be depicted through the conception of architecture exhibitions we could compare the following two exhibitions: *World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation* National, which took place at the Building Museum in 1994, and *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War*, which took place at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in 2011 and was transferred to the Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine in Paris and to the MAXXI in Rome in 2014. The first exhibition included in its material a range of building projects undertaken during the wartime; its main aspiration was to show how they contributed to technical innovations and social changes concerning postwar architectural production. The catalog that accompanied this exhibition addressed the chronology and architectural, technological, social, military and planning legacy of wartime. The exhibition aimed to show how the materials of wartime building and the visual language of their representation influenced architecture. The focus of the exhibition was centered on the nation, since, as the poster at its entrance reflected, its purpose was to present "how a wartime building change a nation". By contrast, the second exhibition, which treated wartime technological products as components of the puzzle of the interactions of different national contexts, escaped the danger of celebrating economic productivity, political organization, and social consensus within the constraints of a national perspective. This was made possible through the inventive narrative zig-zags of its sequence, which was based on cross-sections that shed light on

the policies undertaken in parallel by the belligerents jumping from one significant place to another, from Los Angeles to London and from Auschwitz to Moscow. In this case, the use of archival material coming from different institutions in different national contexts as well as their historical interpretation played a key role. Its main purpose was to make visible and comprehensible to the spectator that every fragment of the history narrated can take on different meanings if the interpreter adopts a different point of view. The curator based the research and its display on archival material coming from different institutions in order to make explicit the deformations that can take place because of the change of the perspective from which the events are diagnosed. The historical archival research preceding the exhibition was based on material coming from different institutions. Its narrative instead of producing consistencies it aimed to reveal disruptions. My presentation aims to show how architecture exhibitions are able to reveal different sets of cultural meanings through the strategies according to which the artefacts, that constitute their material, are articulated and through the tactics according to which the sequence of their narrative is conceived, functioning as a vehicle of transnational historiographical research.

Criminality and Public Opinion: Architectural Reformation among Parisian Prisons, 1778-1799

Jennifer Ferng, University of Sydney

Between 1768 and 1790, the Académie royale d'architecture called for three distinct competitions for architects to design a public prison. The architectural program not only emphasised the evolution of the status of prisoners but also their relationship to societal reform. Separate premises, for instance, were required to keep civil prisoners apart from incarcerated criminals. Criticism and public opinions of these designs, such as Jacques-Pierre Gisors' 1778 prison in the form of a Greek cross (similar to Ledoux's design at Aix) triggered greater

discussions about the humane treatment of prisoners. Most of these 1778-9 designs never materialized into built form; nevertheless, their discussion and display among intellectual circles brought architecture much closer to the current debates on prison and criminal reform for the public good. This paper takes Gisors' winning entry as a starting point for how prison designs began to circulate in the Parisian public sphere and sparked individual reactions to improve penal conditions. In essence, architecture as a medium empowered critics like Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Cesare Beccaria to become staunch advocates of progressive social policy.

In light of "narrow, ill-contrived, and unwholesome" conditions, dramatist Louis-Sebastien Mercier suggested that "confinement...ought to be rendered as supportable as possible." A few of these suggested improvements in penal reform through the written word inspired greater amendments of prisoner treatment in later *maisons de correction* and *depôts du renfermeries*. Up until the French Revolution, the transformation of the Palais du Luxembourg, the Bastille, and the convents of Les Carmes and Port Royal into civic prisons prompted the rise of public perception as a powerful force for change. Eighteenth-century French prisons evolved into multifaceted institutions in the nineteenth century that eventually embraced shorter prison sentences, solitary confinement, and education for prisoners as methods of reform during the July Monarchy.

Building a National Identity: The Representation of Estado Novo during the Exposicao do Mundo Portugues 1940

Annarita Gori, University of Lisbon

In 1940, while in the rest of Europe was engaging World War II, Portugal hosted its biggest national exposition: the Exposição do Mundo Português. On this occasion Portugal celebrated the 800th anniversary of its foundation (1140), the 300th anniversary of its regained independence from Spain (1640), wanted to propose 1940 as date of the renewed renaissance, and its dictator Salazar as creator of this new period of recovery.

The paper that I'd like to present revolves around three key topics. The first deals with the singularity of Exposição do Mundo Português, designed and conceived as a historical exhibition and not, as usually happened in the panorama of expo, as an industrial, as one of commercial or colonial nature; the second aims at investigating how the History, through the use of ephemeral architecture, has been used to build a sense

of belonging to the nation and to the Estado Novo in an ongoing cross referring of "past and present": in fact, symbols and rituals of Portuguese history were at the center of a re-"invention of tradition" that sometimes was not fully understood by the population. Finally, the paper attempts to explain the uniqueness of propaganda of Salazar Regime at the 1940 Expo in a period in which the country still looked to the forms of fascist propaganda in other countries, namely Italy, but it was already in a phase of detachment from it and consolidation of its own path to fascism and national belonging.

'The most architectural slums in Europe': Patrick Abercrombie's Dublin

Brian Ward, Dublin Institute of Technology/University College Dublin

Patrick Abercrombie had established himself as a leading thinker and propagandist within town planning prior to his winning of the 1914 Dublin Town Planning competition. The editor of *Town Planning Review*, he had recently become the Professor of Civic Design in Liverpool University. However his success was important in consolidating his career as a practitioner. Within his winning entry the spatial implications of ideas being developed in the Liverpool School were overlaid onto an existing city that also helped to form those ideas. At the vanguard of a stylistic shift in British architecture away from medievalism and towards the classical tradition, the Liverpool School had contributed to a renewed interest in the Georgian heritage of Dublin. Through study trips and the publication of survey drawings, the city was appropriated into the School's enterprise of promulgating the classical language as the idiom of modern architecture and town planning.

This synergy results in a competition entry, *Dublin of the Future*, which often looks simultaneously to the past and the future. Abercrombie proposed Dublin's Georgian architecture as an exemplar in his attempt to construct a modern town planning distinct from the Arts and Crafts-inspired approach that had typified much of British town planning in the first decade of the twentieth century. This paper compares the approach to planning being developed by Abercrombie with that proposed by a figure closely associated with the Arts and Crafts movement, CR Ashbee, whose entry into the competition achieved a commendation. In doing so it highlights how, during a time when Dublin was hyper-politicised as a city, its classical architecture was sequestered into the promotion of town planning as a discipline abstracted from social, cultural and political issues.

ROUNDTABLE: What is Europe?

Mark Crinson, University of Manchester

The emergence of new, European-wide architectural history groupings like EAHN and *ABE Journal (Architecture Beyond Europe)* encourage us to think more about the entity – Europe – that underpins them and the way it functions in our discipline. These new groupings and journals may enliven debates about how strongly that entity, whether geographical (Europe as continent) or conceptual (Europe as idea), might be played up as a core element of our work and what the consequences of such moves might be. The potential for Europe to act as either a bulwark against encroachment (in disciplinary terms, a definition of limits) or as a means towards colonization (a license to take in wider areas), will no doubt also loom large. Definitional tightness and definitional looseness both have their problems, while Europe as idea and Europe as geographical referent may not be so easily separated.

Nations and regions, rather than continents, have tended to be used as frameworks in architectural history. Where 'European architecture' framed historical studies it was often a synonym for the classical tradition or for Christian architecture. Perhaps, similarly, in foregrounding Europe again as entity, there may be more than an undertow of the European Union, the sense of an intellectual phenomenon opportunistically emerging alongside contemporary political and economic phenomena.

Thus we might want to reconsider that poorly theorized term 'Eurocentrism' in architectural terms. Might it now be regarded as a local example of a wider cultural phenomenon, or is there really something uniquely European about its centrality? And, in either case, how have the practices and experiences of architecture contributed?

There are many all-too familiar accounts in which European architecture, like European empires, spread by influence or imposition like either a beam of light or a stain across the world. But what happens to 'Europe' during the various phases and forms of that spreading? The edges of the phenomenon may be where its characteristics are most sharply defined and most blurred; it is there that non-European agents claim the phenomenon as their own; there that motley and trans-cultural forms question what was taken for granted; but there, too, that what is universal may come into sharper clarity. Where does European architecture stop beyond Europe?

The Buddha's Europe (or should it be Europe's Buddha?) How 'Europe' Was Transformed through the Study of Buddhist Architecture

Vimalin Rujivacharakul, University of Delaware

Thanks to Edward Said and ensuing generations of postcolonial writers, it is now commonplace knowledge that Europe's modern identity was formed through a dialectical negotiation with the constructed Orient. What we are less aware of is that such a dialectical negotiation is highly fluid. Any change on one side always determines an adjustment of the other. 'Europe' therefore can never exist as a fixed, permanently identified self, for the Oriental construct always changes according to subjective interpretations. And whenever Europe's selfhood is transformed, its dialectical other must also change in tandem. Thus, between Europe and its Oriental other, there is always perpetual tension instigated by change and reform.

In order to examine mutual transformation of the European self and Oriental other, this position paper probes the formation of the history of Buddhist architecture. It examines ways in which the concept of 'Europe' and 'Buddhist' architectural aesthetics concurrently reformed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century owing to growing enthusiasm about Buddhist art and

architecture. Close readings of that period's materials, both in architectural history and museum practices, show multilayered circulations of knowledge—ones that proliferated trans-disciplinary connections between the Vienna school of thought and Buddhist Indology-Sinology, Formalism and Greco-Buddhist art history, as well as between archaeology in Asia Minor and that in Afghanistan and India. With discussions involving James Fergusson, Josef Strykowski, and Alfred Foucher, as well as Itō Chūta and Adanda Coomaraswamy, this paper brings to the fore the perpetual correlation between modern interpretations of the architecture of Europe and those of Buddhist monuments.

Architecture, Migration, and Spaces of Exception in Europe *Itohan Osayimwese, Brown University*

What is Europe at this moment of transformation of its body politic by the largest influx of migrants in recent memory? How do we conceptualize European architecture in this crisis? Over the past two years, a long-simmering problem with irregular migration to Europe has boiled over as a result of political and economic instability in the Middle East and North and West Africa. The ensuing surge of migrants has been interpreted variously as an attack on European civilization, on individual national identities, and on the economic security of Europeans. In response,

European states have developed carceral regimes based on what Giorgio Agamben has described as the state of exception—the expansion of military authority into the civic sphere and suspension of laws protecting individual liberties (Agamben 2005). The architecture community has generally been silent about these developments. Yet irregular migration and the current Mediterranean crisis are imbricated with architecture on several levels: 1) they concern a clash between the anachronistic, territorially-defined order of nation-states and the creeping new configurations of the ‘political community to come’ (Agamben 1995), and 2) a wide variety of spaces and designed and built structures—from the open sea to people-smuggling boats, potato fields fenced in barbed wire, and asylum shelters built in shipping containers—are indispensable to the new carceral regimes. My position is that we must redefine and study European architectures in this context. Questions to be discussed include: How does this present relate to the past? What is the role of the historian and theorist? How do architects design for or against states of exception? I will discuss these questions with reference to the history of migration and multiculturalism in Germany, the rise of the far right, and the German state’s recent about-face regarding ‘immigrant politics’ and its current task of accommodating immigrants.

Provincializing colonial architecture: European architecture seen from modern Egypt

Mercedes Volait, Institut national d’histoire de l’art, Paris

Seemingly-European architecture, whether French Art déco apartment buildings, Bauhaus-style villas or steel-frame construction, in extra-European settings is commonly attributed to colonial agency, and consequently categorized as extra-territorial expressions of metropolitan architecture, i.e. French architecture in Algeria or Italian architecture in Libya. The Egyptian prism invites us to reverse the lens and consider a broader understanding of the mediation and domestication of architecture from Europe outside its original soil. *Afrangi* [Frankish] or *alla franca* architecture reached Egypt in the 19th century from several routes, be it imperial Ottoman channels or Mitteleuropean migration. Autochthonous representations of Egypt as being part of Europe had endurance. From the 1900s onward, Egyptian architects were increasingly educated in Europe and brought back home what they learned and saw while in Liverpool, Paris or Zurich. They joined regional or international professional

networks and were equally exposed to Brazilian modernism through architectural journals in Arabic such as *al-Emara* [Architecture, published 1939-1959]. The architectural outcome was selective borrowing mixed with local constraints, provided by patrons’ requirements or available techniques or materials, may be not ‘pure’ European architecture, rarely avant-garde but in most instances a middling modernism not that different from what was being ordinarily built in the continent. Somehow, the best way to apprehend the imprint of Europe on Egyptian architecture is when it faded away after WW2 due to Americanism and later, Sovietism. Looking at Europe from outside and in global perspective might add another layer to our understanding of what is Europe.

Europe: Post-coffee house, post-museum, into the unknown

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George Steiner wonderfully defines Europe as being ‘made of coffee houses, of cafés.’ From Fernando Pessoa’s favourite café in Lisbon to the coffee houses of Odessa, Copenhagen, or Palermo (but neither in Moscow nor in England), ‘the café’, in Steiner’s view ‘is a place for assignation and conspiracy, for intellectual debate and gossip.’ At the end of the 20th century, however, the museum is the place that redefines Europe in a post-modern, reflexive, popular, mediated way, supplanting the avant-garde and volatile features of the café. From the Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art in Helsinki, designed by Steven Holl or the Serralves Museum in Porto by Álvaro Siza to thousands of institutions large and small across Europe, the museum space has overtaken and absorbed the café space, thus placing all the artistic forms of Europe’s long history into perspective.

My point is that what defines Europe today, more than the café as a saturated, agile, infernal space, and the museum as a refined, heavy and institutional space, it is the movement, without ‘architecture’, of the masses. Be it in the form of tourism or in the form of migrations in their wide range of expressions. We are thus going from an identity established in buildings and stable structures, either informal or institutionalized, to spaces of mobility that are unstable and can only be read through statistics, diagrams, and flows.

The contemporary definition of Europe, following the intellectual debate of the cafés and their institutionalization in museums, has now taken on a spatial dimension that either has no architecture or is defined as an

architecture of the souvenir (in tourism) or of despair (in the migrations).

Europe, Le Corbusier and the Balkans

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The Balkans has been constructed, indeed mythologized as the barbaric outpost of Europe, and the term has become an adjective and a verb, a decontextualised synonym for backward, tribal, and uncivilized. The perception of the Balkans as the 'non-European part of Europe' exploits the edge location against a Europe inscribed as centre of civilization, even if it is geographically part of Europe. Such sentiments have erupted again with the tragedy of Yugoslavia generalized by the West as a Balkan problem. Todorova's seminal publication, *Imagining the Balkans*, dismantles this and points to differences between Balkanism and Orientalism. One key knot is the role of the Ottoman Empire and its departure from the Balkans (and Europe).

This paper addresses this issue from the perspective of Le Corbusier's so-called 'reversed' travel east to Istanbul, rather than to Rome, the grand tour destination. In 1911, one year prior to the 1912-13 Balkan Wars, the architect departed from modern twentieth-century Europe and finished at the Acropolis, its origin; but in between Le Corbusier travelled inland through the Balkans. By highlighting the Oriel principle (Istanbul) and the Parthenon, and only minimally engaging the inland Balkan journey, architectural discourse illustrates the imaginary boundaries of European interest and desire. Yet Le Corbusier's letters as transcribed in *Voyage d'Orient* (1966; Journey to the East, 2007) reveal a charged and erotic language. He was taken by Slavic peasant pottery and purchased several items in villages between Belgrade and Trnovo. But he also felt disappointment and disgust towards the Balkans, especially the cities like Belgrade and Bucharest. His criticism of Europe, at times describing it as the real 'savage' evolves a reflexive attitude to the question 'What is Europe?'. Le Corbusier's journey of self and otherness provides an intertextuality of the sense in which the Balkans is [not] European.