

EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY NETWORK ______ EDINBURGH 2021

6th International Meeting Conference Proceedings

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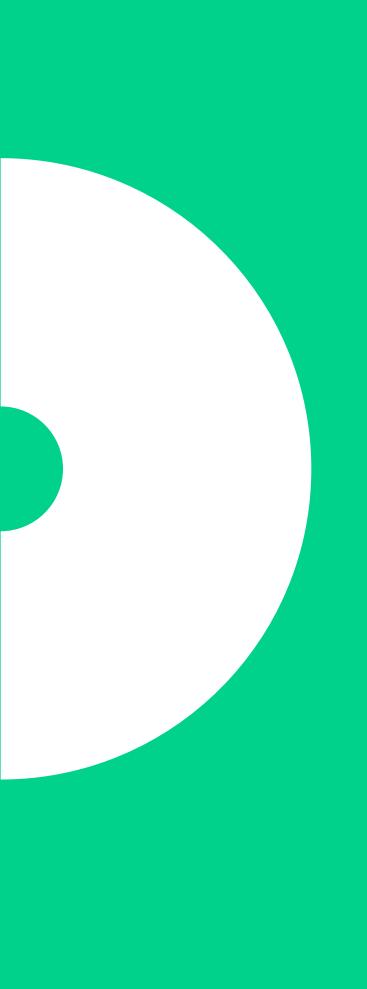
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Preface

The publication you are reading is a record of the EAHN2021 International Conference, hosted by the University of Edinburgh. The abstracts and papers included in this publication offer a perspective on the themes and questions that are driving architectural history today. The labour that has contributed to this event by the scientific and organising committees, session chairs, speakers, and support staff has been enormous, and we are proud to be able to offer this record of the event.

Like all EAHN International Conferences, EAHN2021 was structured according to thematic tracks, which identify shared concerns across paper sessions. The themed tracks for EAHN2021 are:

DESIGN AND MATERIALITY

IDENTITIES AND CULTURES

MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND THE PUBLIC

MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION OF IDEAS

PLANNING, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND THE COLLECTIVE

WELFARE, HEALTH, AND INSTITUTIONS

We thank you for your interest in EAHN2021, and we hope this document will serve as an index of a very specific moment in the history of architectural history.

Richard Anderson & Richard Williams EAHN2021 Co-Chairs

Sessions and Papers

Session 01

P 23 Decolonizing Architectural History: Research, Pedagogy and Practice

Neal Shasore, *University of Oxford*Nick Beech, *University of Westminster*



DESIGN AND MATERIALITY

Roundtable, Session co-sponsored by the SAHGB

Panellists:

Charne Lavery, *University of Pretoria*Kelly Greenop, *University of Queensland*Ikem Okoye, *University of Delaware*Tara Inniss, *University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados*

Session 02

P 25 Split Cultures/New Dialogues: Research in Architectural History and Theory

Brigitte Sölch, Heidelberg University
Carsten Ruhl, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main



IDENTITIES AND CULTURES

Roundtable

Theory in Disguise: A Trans-Tasman Perspective on Critical versus Documentary History

Macarena De La Vega De Leon, University of Melbourne

Putting Architecture in the Museum: Discussing the Effects of Architecture Museums on the Split between Art History and Architectural Theory

Christina Pech, KTH Royal Institute of Technology

Architectural Theory around 1970: Opening and Closing the Field

Christa Kamleithner, BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg

The Rise and Fall of the Architectural Theoretician?—1968 and the Aftermath

Ole W. Fischer, University of Utah

The Death and Life of 'Operative' History: Dialogues between the Historiography and Theory of Architecture and Urbanism in Contemporary Italy

Pedro Paulo Palazzo, University of Brasilia

Vitruvius: happy-go-lucky!

André Tavares, University of Porto

Impurities and Collisions: Pushing Architecture Thinking Forward

Lara Schrijver, University of Antwerp

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Empires of Heritage: World Monuments before UNESCO

Michael Falser, *University of Heidelberg* David Sadighian, *Harvard University*



Heritage Ahead of the Times: Palazzo Te in Mantua

Ludovica Cappelletti, Politecnico di Milano

Baltic Architecture as World Heritage: Finding a Place for Oneself in the Global Narratives

Kristina Jõekalda, Estonian Academy of Arts

Modern Traditions, Heritage Protection and Cultural Identity in Meiji Japan (1868-1912)

Beate Löffler, Technical University of Dortmund

Reinventing Jerusalem - Between the Actual City and its Image

Reut Yarnitsky, University of Pennsylvania

Session 04

Migration and Domesticity in the Long Nineteenth Century

Elena Chestnova, Università della Svizzera Italiana

MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION OF IDEAS

Cultivating *Italianità* in Eritrea: Commodities and Domesticity in the Construction of the Nation-State

Giulia Amoresano, University of California Los Angeles/California State Polytechnic University

'Who is My Neighbour?' New York Italians and Housing Design Reforms in the Late Nineteenth Century

Ignacio Gonzalez Galán, Barnard College, Columbia University

Home 'Improvement': Paradoxical Notions of Domesticity in Bangalore, a Princely Capital (1881-1920)

Sonali Dhanpal, Newcastle University

Settling the Murray

Laila Seewang, Portland State University

P 64 Urban Planning During State Socialism: Global Ambitions, National Ideologies and Local Desires [Panel 1]

Jasna Mariotti, *Queen's University Belfast* Kadri Leetmaa, *University of Tartu*

PLANNING, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND THE COLLECTIVE

New Ecological Planning and Spatial Assessment of Production Sites in Socialist Industrial Yekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk) in the 1960s-80s

Nadezda Gobova, University College London

The Plan for Tselinograd and the Khrushchyovka: The Programmatic Intentions and Legacy of the Virgin Lands Urbanization by Means of a New Typology

Gianni Talamini, City University of Hong Kong

Citizen Participation and Socialism: An Inquiry into International Influences on Urban Planning in Socialist Belgrade

Mina Blagojević, *University of Belgrade* Ana Perić, ETH Zurich, *University of Belgrade*

Session 06

P 78 Cultivating the Child's-Eye View: Childhood and Architectural Education

Elke Couchez, *University of Hasselt*John Macarthur, *University of Queensland*



WELFARE, HEALTH, AND INSTITUTIONS

Session co-sponsored by SAHANZ

Bodies in Motion at the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute for Rhythmic Education Ross Anderson, *University of Sydney*

'From Slightly Above and Mostly Frontal': The Child Perspective in Ulm

Anna-Maria Meister, Technische Universität Darmstadt

Children Shape The Future: Hans Scharoun's Schools as Vehicles for Societal Reform in Post-War Germany

Dan Sudhershan, *University College Dublin* Hugh Campbell, *University College Dublin*

The Anarchist Child: Four Readings of the Child in the City

Isabelle Doucet, Chalmers University of Technology Tahl Kaminer, Cardiff University Simon Sadler, University of California, Davis Timothy Stott, Trinity College Dublin

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Architects do not Make Buildings: A Last call for disegno

Véronique Patteeuw, ENSAP Lille Léa-Catherine Szacka, University of Manchester



The Forgotten Assemblage: A Media Archaeology of the Paste-Up

Craig Buckley, Yale University

Solipsism and Communitas: Disegno in the Work of John Hejduk

Bart Decroos, University of Antwerp

Carlo Aymonino and the Practice of Drawing between Autobiography and Design

Lorenzo Ciccarelli, University of Florence

Dissent Images and Analogue Architecture

Elena Markus, Technische Universität München

Photographs in the Late- and Postmodern Architectural Drawing

Peter Sealy, University of Toronto

Session 08

English as the Academic Lingua Franca?

Petra Brouwer, University of Amsterdam Johan Lagae, Ghent University

IDENTITIES AND CULTURES

Roundtable

Discussants:

James Elkins, School of the Art Institute of Chicago Anat Falbel, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro Andrew Leach, University of Sydney Imran bin Tajudeen, National University of Singapore

Session 09

Ephemerality and Monumentality in Modern Europe (c.1750-1900) [Panel 1]

Richard Wittman, *University of California at Santa Barbara* Taylor van Doorne, *University of California at Santa Barbara*

MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND THE PUBLIC

Paper Ephemera: The Monumental Frontispiece to the *Description de l'Egypte* Eirik Arff Gulseth Bøhn, *Oslo School of Architecture and Design*

In Stone, on Paper: Writings on the walls of eighteenth-century Paris

Katie Scott, Courtauld Institute

Unsettling Ephemerality and Monumentality: The Case of the Eléphant de la Bastille

Ben Vandenput, Ghent University

Infrastructural Ephemerality and Photographic Monumentality in Late-Nineteenth-Century France

Sean Weiss, City College of New York

Session 10

P 105 Southern Exchanges: Relocating Architectural Knowledge Production

Ayala Levin, *University of California, Los Angeles* Rachel Lee, *TU Delft*



'One World' Anxieties and Third World Development in Delos Symposia

Petros Phokaides, National Technical University of Athens

Regional Animators

Felicity D Scott, Columbia University

Core and Earth: Material Slippage between South America and Africa (1956-1980)

Hannah le Roux, University of the Witwatersrand

Housing, Data Assemblages, and Fourth World (De)colonization: The Mission Indian Agency vs. the Mission Indian Federation

Manuel Shvartzberg Carrió, UC San Diego

Uplifting Liberia: Indigenous Buildings and Forced Labour at the Booker T. Washington Institute

Maura Lucking, University of California, Los Angeles

Session 11

P 110 Urban Planning During State Socialism: Global Ambitions, National Ideologies and Local Desire [Panel 2]

Jasna Mariotti, *Queen's University Belfast* Kadri Leetmaa, *University of Tartu*



The Birth of the Superblock in Soviet Baku: From Stepan Razin to Armenikend to the *Mikroraion*

Christina E. Crawford, Emory University

Producing the Communist Reality: Enver Hoxha's 'Blloku' and Politics of Urban Isolation

Maja Babić, Charles University, Prague

Postwar Aggregates for the Communist Future? Political Economy of Rubble

Reuse in Warsaw During the Three-Year Plan (1947-1949)

Adam Przywara, University of Manchester

Odd Objects in Rigid Surroundings: Socialist Garages Emerge from Soviet Urbanisation

Nicole Lilly Nikonenko, University of Innsbruck

Alternative Urban Scales: From Prefabricated Panels towards Human Modulors of Public Space

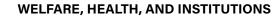
Masha Panteleyeva, Cornell University

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Territories of Incarceration: The Project of Modern Carceral Institutions as an Act of Rural Colonisation

Sabrina Puddu, KU Leuven
Francesco Zuddas, Anglia Ruskin University



Engineering the Colony: Cultivation, Territorial Ambitions and New Order in the Nineteenth-Century Kingdom of the Netherlands

Freek Schmidt, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

'Sites of Salvation': Internal Colonial Enclosures and the Alchemy of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Germany

Hollyamber Kennedy, ETH Zürich

Internal Colonisation, Land Reclamation and Young Offender Re-Education in Late Nineteenth-Century Portugal: The Vila Fernando Experiment

Ricardo Costa Agarez, University of Évora

'Perimeter' Prisoners of Secret Cities: Case Study of the ZATO (Closed Territorial Formation) Krasnoyarsk N26, Russia

Katya Larina, Architectural Association School of Architecture

Rural Colonization through Barrack Construction: The 'Horse Stall Type' (1940) as Case Study

Nader Vossoughian, New York Institute of Technology

Session 13

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Flexibility and its Discontents: Techniques and Technologies in Twentieth Century Architectural Production [Panel 1]

Tijana Stevanovic, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm and University College London

DESIGN AND

DESIGN AND MATERIALITY

Codification and Flexibility: Towards a Definition of the Atrium

Charles Rice, University of Technology Sydney

From Niche to Mainstream: Renewable Energy Projects in Milton Keynes

Kim Förster, University of Manchester

Shrinkage: Massaging Modernism's Minimum

Helen Runting, Secretary Office for Architecture, Stockholm Rutger Sjögrim, Secretary Office for Architecture, Stockholm Karin Matz, Secretary Office for Architecture, Stockholm

Experiments and Enemies of Openness: The Case of Frank van Klingeren (Netherlands) and the Question of Authorship

Ecem Sarıçayır, Cornell University

Session 14

P 141 Shifting Identities of the Ottoman Vernacular

Aleksandar Ignjatovic, University of Belgrade



Extracting Morphology: The Macedonian house in the Ottoman Quarter of Thessaloniki

Dimitra Figa, Maltepe University

Modern-Traditional Architecture in late-Ottoman-Era Haifa

Keren Ben Hilel, *Technion Israel Institute of Technology* Yael Allweil, *Technion Israel Institute of Technology*

Urban Rooms Transition: Revisiting the Immediacy of *Sofa/Hayat* Space in Vernacular Ottoman House and Re-Historicising its Presence

Emine Görgül, ITU-Istanbul Technical University School of Architecture

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P 144 Genius Loci: The Politics of Pre-Modern Architectural Style

Zachary Stewart, Texas A&M University Lizzie Swarbrick, University of Edinburgh

MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND THE PUBLIC

The Fortification Face-Lift: Nationalism, Regionalism and the Nineteenth Century 'Restoration' at Monflanquin and Rudelle, France

M. Jordan Love, University of Virginia

Encompassing Medieval Multiplicity: Styles, Historiography, and Architectural Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean

Heather E. Grossman, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Drawings of the Mudéjar Architecture of Seville and the Historiography of Spanish Architecture in the Early 19th Century

Martin Paul Sorowka, University of Seville

Introduction of the Gothic Elements into the Byzantine and Old Russian Architectural Systems in the 14th-15th Centuries: The Cases of Palaces in Mystras and Novgorod the Great

Alexandra V. Trushnikova, Saint Petersburg State University Anna A. Freze, Saint Petersburg State University

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Cosmopolitanism's Others: Transnational Architecture and Planning beyond Europe and North America

Eunice Seng, *University of Hong Kong*Jiat-Hwee Chang, *National University of Singapore*

MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION OF IDEAS

The Levantine Gentleman and the Other 'White City': Zacky Chelouche, Robert (Hillel) Chelouche, and the Untold Story of Tel-Aviv's Mediterranean Modernism

Tzafrir Fainholtz, Technion Israel Institute of Technology

Unrecognised Actors and New Networks: Teaching Tropical Architecture in Mid-Twentieth Century Australia

Deborah van der Plaat, University of Queensland

Pan-Arab Modernism in Kuwait: The Untold Story of Arab Architects Building an Arab City

Dalal Musaed Alsayer, Kuwait University Ricardo Camacho, University of Coimbra

China's Design Institutes: Unsung Heroes in Promoting Transnational Architecture in the Global South

Charlie Qiuli Xue, City University of Hong Kong

Session 17

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Drive-In Architecture, Carriage to Motor Age

Sigrid de Jong, *ETH Zurich* Erik Wegerhoff, *ETH Zurich*

PLANNING, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND THE COLLECTIVE

Arriving in State or Incognito: Aristocrats Going to Church in Seventeenth-Century Paris and Brussels

Eelco Nagelsmit, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

The Motif of the Porte-Cochère in H. H. Richardson's Domestic Designs

Richard W. Hayes, Independent Scholar, New York

Architecture and an intended Car Boom in the USSR: Dreams versus Reality

Olga V. Kazakova, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Drive-In to God: Early Churches and Chapels alongside German Motorways

Markus Jager, *Leibniz Universität Hannover* Viola Stenger, *Leibniz Universität Hannover*

The Elusive Promise of 'Traffic Architecture': Air-rights on Tel Aviv's Highway

Neta Feniger, Tel Aviv University Roy Kozlovsky, Tel Aviv University

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P 198 Hotels in the Global South and the Architectures of Contact Zones

Burcu Dogramaci, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

WELFARE, HEALTH, AND INSTITUTIONS

Between British-Mandate Palestine and Republican Turkey: The Jerusalem Palace Hotel, the Ankara Palas Hotel and the Formation of National Identities in the Post-World War I Period

Inbal Ben-Asher Gitler, Sapir Academic College / Ben-Gurion University of the Negev T. Elvan Altan, Middle East Technical University

Luxury in Conflict at the 71st Hilton

Panayiota Pyla, University of Cyprus

The Motel Agip of Dar es Salaam: A 'Differential' Contact Zone

Giulia Scotto, University of Basel

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P 203 Flexibility and its Discontents: Techniques and Technologies in Twentieth Century Architectural Production [Panel 2]

Tijana Stevanovic, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm and University College London

DESIGN AND MATERIALITY

Formally Rigid but Technically Charming: Architects and Professional Etiquette, ca. 1916

Athanasiou Geolas, Cornell University

'A Facility Based on Change': Office Architecture and Facility Management Joseph L. Clarke, *University of Toronto*

Self-Organization: The Fun Palace's Gridded Excess

Ana Bonet Miro, University of Edinburgh

Languages of Flexibility: Digital Architectural Grammars, circa 1970

Pablo Miranda Carranza, KTH Stockholm

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The Role of Women in the Building of Cities in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

Shelley Roff, University of Texas at San Antonio

IDENTITIES AND CULTURES

The Lady Vanishes? Women and the Construction Industry in Eighteenth-Century Ireland

Conor Lucey, University College Dublin

Women at Westminster: Shaping the Houses of Parliament to 1834

Elizabeth Biggs, *University of York* Kirsty Wright, *University of York*

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Ephemerality and Monumentality in Modern Europe (c.1750-1900) [Panel 2]

Richard Wittman, *University of California at Santa Barbara* Taylor van Doorne, *University of California at Santa Barbara*

MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND THE PUBLIC

Made of Monuments: Spoliation, Veneration and other Ephemeral and Informal Uses of the Antiquities of Athens in the 19th Century

Nikos Magouliotis, ETH Zurich

Monumentality, Ephemerality and Propaganda: the Funeral Car of Napoleon (1840)

Jean-Philippe Garric, *Université Paris 1 (Panthéon-Sorbonne)*

Pavillon Finlandaise (Paris, 1900): An Image-Truth in Stone

Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, Yale University

The Merseburg Homage: Ephemeral Public Entertainment Infrastructure in early Nineteenth-Century Berlin

Emma Letizia Jones, ETH Zurich

Marking the Ephemeral: The Enduring Paradox of 100 Venetian Markers

Ludovico Centis, Università IUAV di Venezia

P 211 Radical Exchanges between Latin America and Europe in the Everlasting Sixties

Horacio Torrent, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION OF IDEAS

Entente Cordiale: The Smithsons and Lucio Costa

Carlos Eduardo Comas, *Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul* Ruth Verde Zein, *Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie*

Redefining Collectivity: Latin America as the Cradle of 60s Revolution

Ana Tostões, IST-Tecnico-University of Lisbon

Failed Industrialization: Housing Production Knowledge Export from the GDR to Chile 1971-73

Renato D'Alençon Castrillón, *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* Daniel Korwan, *Technsiche Universität Berlin*

Entusiasmos Compartidos: Transatlantic Architectural Exchanges in the Iberian and Latin American Architecture in the 1970s

Rute Figueiredo, *Université Rennes 2* Ana Esteban-Maluenda, *Universidad Politécnica de Madrid* Pablo Arza Garaloces, *Universidad de Navarra*

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P 215 The Urban Commons: Collective Actors, Architectural Agency and the City

Irina Davidovici, *ETH Zurich* Tom Avermaete, *ETH Zurich*

PLANNING, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND THE COLLECTIVE

Concrete Frame, Collective Domain: Factory Campuses in Detroit

Claire Zimmerman, *University of Michigan* Timothy Do, *University of Michigan*

Encountering a Proto-Anarchist Settlement in Baghdad: The Case of 'Āṣima

Huma Gupta, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Documenta Urbana: On the Rediscovery of the Commons in 1980s West Germany

Johannes Müntinga, RWTH Aachen University

Reinventing Hospitality as Urban Value: The Example of PEROU

Carmen Popescu, Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Bretagne

Construction Groups and Urban Resources in Early-Twenty-First-Century Berlin

Florian Urban, Glasgow School of Art

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Public Health in the Early Modern City: Salutogenesis Through Architecture

Mohammad Gharipour, *Morgan State University* Caitlin P. DeClercq, *Columbia University*



WELFARE, HEALTH, AND INSTITUTIONS

City and Health: The All-Saints Royal Hospital of Lisbon (16th-18th Centuries)

Edite Alberto, *Universidade Nova de Lisboa* Joana de Pinho, *Universidade de Lisboa*

Madness in the City: 'Mental Hospitals' and Public Health in Grand Ducal Tuscany, 1642-1788

Elizabeth Mellyn, University of New Hampshire

Salutogenetic Karlsruhe: Architectural and Infrastructural Traces of a Health-Enhancing City Plan since 1715

Joaquín Medina Warmburg, Karlsruher Institut für Technologie Nina Rind, Karlsruher Institut für Technologie Nikolaus Koch, Karlsruher Institut für Technologie

Architecture and Plague Prevention: *Lazzaretti* in the Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean

Marina Inì, University of Cambridge

Private Vices, Public Benefits: Health and Vanity in Early Modern York

Ann-Marie Akehurst, Independent Scholar

Session 25

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Rethinking Architecture for Friars: Process and Spatial Solutions in the Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 1200 – 1500

Silvia Beltramo, Politecnico di Torino

Catarina Madureira Villamariz, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

Discussant: Gianmario Guidarelli, Università degli Studi di Padova



From the Periphery to the Centre: The Architectural Presence of the Observant Franciscans in the Province of Brescia, Italy

Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck, Leiden University

A Fortress *Fuori le Mura* and a City Church: Architectonic Forms and Functioning of Two Dominican Convents in Medieval Sandomierz

Justyna Kamińska, Jagiellonian University

The Formation Process of the Conventual Built Organism: *locus fratrum predicatorum*, Ravenna (1269)

Alessandro Camiz, Özyeğin University

Continuity and Change and the Nature of Late Gothic in Ireland as Manifest in Certain Architectural Processes in Franciscan Friaries in Connacht, West of Ireland 1400-1600

Lynda Mulvin, University College Dublin

Architectural Strategies to Enlarge Conventual Buildings: The Construction of Porches in Portuguese Mendicant Churches (13th-15th Centuries)

Catarina Almeida Marado, University of Coimbra

Session 26

P 247 Urban Visions [Open Session 1]

Richard Williams, University of Edinburgh



Saba George Shiber's New Arab City: 1956-68

Aminah Alkanderi, Kuwait University

Building the East Mediterranean Port City of Izmir After the Fall of Cosmopolitanism: Dutch Architect Dudok's Contribution to the Turkish Architecture Culture

Fatma Tanis, TU Delft

The National Water Carrier as a Cypher for Competing Agendas of Development and Settlement in Israel

Ziv Leibu, *Technion IIT* Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, *Technion IIT*

Common accents: Professional practices, indigenous voices and vernacular urbanity in Kutch, India

Ambrose Gillick, University of Kent

Session 27

P 251 Heterotopias [Open Session 2]

Jorge Correia, University of Minho

MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND THE PUBLIC

Ephemeral Sceneries in the Beginning of the Eighteenth-Century Rome: Nature and Culture

Alexia Vahlas, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Legitimation through the Ephemeral: Medievalist Ephemerality and the Politics of the Sabaudian Restoration, 1814–1834

Tommaso Zerbi, University of Edinburgh

A Temple and Roses: The Garden of Joseon Hotel with Oriental and Occidental Tastes in a Colonial Capital of Seoul

Jung-Hwa Kim, *Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut* Kyung-Jin Zoh, *Seoul National University*

Aldo Rossi's World Theatre: A Reinterpretation of the Political Space in Early Postmodern Architecture

Sonia Melani Miller, Université libre de Bruxelles

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Multilateralism since 1945: From the Comecon to the Belt and Road Initiative

Łukasz Stanek, *University of Manchester* Richard Anderson, *University of Edinburgh*



Reconstruction of North Korea: International Assistance as a Basis for Juche Architecture

Jelena Prokopljević, International University of Catalonia

Cementing the Ties: ZAB, CMEA and the Practice of Multilateralism in Syria and Ethiopia

Monika Motylinska, *Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space* Paul Sprute, *Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space*

Invisible Cooperation? Inventing Socialist Internationalist Theatre Building Norms in the 1970s

Ksenia Litvinenko, University of Manchester

Foreign Technical Experts and the Production of Airport Infrastructure in China Max Hirsh, *University of Hong Kong*

Multilateral Supply Chain Architecture: Building Infrastructures of Global Commodity Production in Ethiopia

Elke Beyer, Technische Universität Berlin

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European Welfare Landscapes: Histories and Futures

Henriette Steiner, University of Copenhagen

PLANNING, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND THE COLLECTIVE

Hertopia: Women's Swedish Welfare Landscapes during the 1960s and 70s Jennifer Mack, KTH Royal Institute of Technology

Heidi Svenningsen Kajita, *University of Copenhagen*

Finnish City and Forest: Design in the Nordic Welfare State Public Realm

Frances Hsu, University of North Carolina Charlotte

Landscapes in support of 'the growing demand for an improved quality of life' - Electricity generation, welfare and environment in post-war Britain

Luca Csepely-Knorr, Manchester School of Architecture

Green Wilderness and the Tensions of Welfare: The Designed Landscapes of Farum Midtpunkt Housing Estate, Copenhagen, Denmark

Kristen Van Haeren, *University of Copenhagen* Svava Riesto, *University of Copenhagen*

Landscape for Compromise: The Appian Way in the Welfare Age

Manuel López Segura, Harvard University

Session 30

P 275 User Comfort, Functionality, and Sustainability as (Early?) Modern Architectural Concerns Giovanna Guidicini, *Glasgow School of Art*

WELFARE, HEALTH, AND INSTITUTIONS

A Country Full of Palaces? Functionality of Space and Comfort in Dutch 17th and 18th Century Residential Architecture

Wouter van Elburg, University of Amsterdam

The Progress of Coal-Fired Comfort

Aleksandr Bierig, Harvard University

Early Modern Living Comfort. Charles of Croÿ (1560-1612) and the Description of his Residence in Heverlee

Sanne Maekelberg, KU Leuven

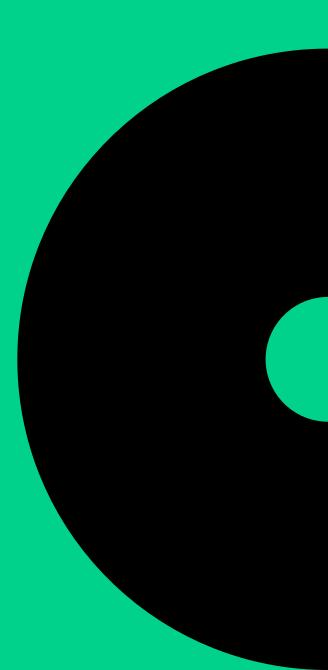
Waste, Water and Warmth: Regulation and Comfort in Early Modern Edinburgh John Lowrey, *University of Edinburgh*

Greenscapes: User Comfort and Amelioration in the Shrinking Dutch Town 1750-1840

Minke Walda, Vrije Universiteit



Parallel Papers 01



Decolonizing Architectural History: Research, Pedagogy and Practice

Roundtable

Session co-sponsored by the SAHGB

Session Chairs: Neal Shasore, *University of Oxford* Nick Beech, *University of Westminster*

Protests erupted throughout 2020, first in the United States of America, but rapidly igniting across Europe and the world, at the ongoing subjugation of Black lives. Demonstrations, direct-action and demands for recognition and redress were framed within terms developed by the Black Lives Matter movement (founded in 2014). The protests reenergised commitments to confront the legacies of European colonialism, and the slavery, violent expropriation and extraction that entails. Cultures, practices, and systems of knowledge that were generated within colonialism have become the target of sustained critical assessment – including art and architecture. Wider calls for 'decolonising' have been reflected in the interrogation of artefacts, their preservation, interpretation, and valuation.

Post-colonial critiques of European knowledge, technologies, and practices of power, developed in the twentieth century in the context of resistance and struggles for national liberation, and the experience of subordinated diaspora, indigenous, and trans-cultural formations. These have substantially undermined foundational assumptions in the history of architecture: the formulation of a 'canon', questions of stylistic development and 'progress', separation of 'art and life', condition and nature of modernity and modernisation, authorial 'genius', aesthetic judgement, the geographies and territories of knowledge and practice formation; these and many other principle elements of architectural history have been put into question and at stake.

As the emphasis shifts in the discourse from 'post-' to 'de-' colonial – affirming the present and ongoing reproduction of imperialist, extractive, subjugating and racialised conditions – architectural historians are required to consider not only their research and pedagogical paradigms, but the practices, institutions, and power relations that sustain and reproduce those paradigms. Whatever the arguments as to the use and abuse of the term, to 'decolonise' is to actively confront these conditions. Not only perspectives, but strategies and solidarities must be formulated, and effectiveness measured by restitution and reconstruction.

SESSION 01

This SAHGB roundtable opens a space for pan-European perspectives on colonial and imperial legacies – offering an opportunity to speak across and beyond national and metropolitan contexts, precisely not to reconfigure or reconstitute a 'European' narrative, but to share practices that deconstruct and support the dismantling of such. These may include, but are not limited to: formulation of new research questions and methodologies; models of funding and resource allocation within historical research; identification and support of new voices; restructuring of existing institutions and enabling of new voices; curriculum changes and new pedagogical practices (particularly in the area of accreditation); forms of research dissemination.

Panellists:

Charne Lavery, University of Pretoria Kelly Greenop, University of Queensland Ikem Okoye, University of Delaware Tara Inniss, University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados

Split Cultures/New Dialogues: Research in Architectural History and Theory

Roundtable

Session Chairs: Brigitte Sölch, *Heidelberg University* Carsten Ruhl, *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main*

It is obvious that research in architectural history and theory is currently split into different academic cultures, namely art history and architectural theory. Of course, this was not always the case. Up to the second half of the 20th century art historians had a great impact on contemporary architectural debates and substantially contributed to theoretical issues. Simultaneously, authors trained both as architects and art historians guaranteed a constant flow between historical narratives and design practice, or even advocated the autonomy of architecture. In late 20th century these productive intersections between art history, architectural history and architectural theory came to an end. Art history widely withdrew from contemporary debates on architecture and theoretical production, whereas architectural theory claimed the status of an autonomous non-historic discipline. We argue that this led to a paradox situation.

In the 60s, in a time of political turmoil, theory substantially contributed to a critical discussion on widely accepted historical narratives hereby uncovering their political ideologies. Historical consciousness was fundamental to institutional critique and to debates on architecture as art, politics and theory. Since the 90s this totally changed. Philosophy remained part of both disciplines. But whereas the iconic turn came to play a vital role in art history, which began to understand itself also as *Bildwissenschaften*; architectural theory became part of post-critical debates and was defined as projective thinking. Furthermore, great parts of theoretical thinking turned into a legitimation strategy for architectural positions, aesthetic preferences and architectural design practice. On the other hand architectural history no longer played an important role within art history. While theory was increasingly regarded as mere speculation, not seeing that some of art history's most important contributions were exactly this, speculation. By consequence, the many attempts that had been made to differentiate between history and theory caused a great number of contradictions and misunderstandings rather than clarifying disciplinary boundaries.

Departing from this situation our round table is conceived as a twofold dialogue: it will reflect on the historical, institutional and political reasons of the above-mentioned split and open a new dialogue between

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architectural history, theory and practice. It will address questions such as: What role do institutions and different genres of 'writing' play for the intensity and diversity but also the reinforced interruption of the dialogue? To what extend is critique already part of the 'economy of attention' and what does it mean to be critical? How far can history be understood (again) as critical practice?

Theory in Disguise: A Trans-Tasman Perspective on Critical versus Documentary History

Macarena De La Vega De Leon, University of Melbourne

Productive intersections between art history and architectural history and theory may have come to an end in the late twentieth century in Europe and the United States, but not in the Antipodes. Almost since its inception in 1984, the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ) experienced tensions between empiricist historians and those with a commitment to theory, as Julia Gatley pointed out in her historical account of its first twenty years. The name of the Society's journal, Fabrications, reflected the theoretical interests of its first editors, Desley Luscombe and Stanislaus Fung, who were also responsible for the original editorial policy. Their first editorial caused controversy among members who defended the need of history to be understood, not obfuscated by theory. The Society, through its journal and annual conferences, encouraged exchange and debate between empirical historians and theorists, as evidenced by the 1997 SAHANZ conference's 'theoretical turn.' This attitude was mirrored by the inclusion of a greater emphasis on critical and cultural theory in the teaching of history and theory at Australian and New Zealand architecture schools. In addition, the proliferation of journals published by architectural schools in Australia and New Zealand, for example Interstices: A Journal of Architecture and Related Arts and Architectural Theory Review, also maintained the tension between history and theory.

Through interviews with pre-eminent architectural historians in Australia and New Zealand, first-hand witnesses of these tensions between theory and history, between a critical or a documentary approach to history, this paper aims to bring forth the richness of the lesser-known scholarly Trans-Tasman context of the late twentieth century. SAHANZ, as an institution, helped to bridge the alleged split between architectural history and theory, if there was ever one, fostering the dialogue and encouraging different approaches that informed both research and education –still does today.

Productive intersections between art history and architectural history and theory may arguably have come to an end in the late twentieth century in Europe and the United States, not in Australia and New Zealand though. The Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ), almost since its inception in 1984, experienced

tensions between empiricist historians with a focus on the scientific and technological aspects of architecture and those with a commitment to theory, as Julia Gatley has pointed out in her history of its first 20 years. As early as 1985, at the second annual conference held at the University of New South Wales 'the differentiation between those

members interested in pursuing empirical research and those whose work was more theoretically informed became more overt! In addition, the name of the Society's journal, Fabrications, reflected the theoretical interests of its first editors, also responsible for the editorial policy, Desley Luscombe and Stanislaus Fung. In their first editorial, published in December 1989, they expressed that the journal was concerned 'with opening the field of orthodox historiography to the concerns of critical theory in the development of Australian architectural histories.² This intention caused the rejection of more established members who defended the need of history to be understood/understandable and not cause 'obfuscation'.3 The Society, through its journal and annual conferences, encouraged exchange and debate between empirical historians and theorists, which permeated the schools/departments of architecture.

It has been noted that New Zealand held a pioneering position in the region 'being ahead

of Australia, not only in the framing of bicultural architecture. They were not putting barriers between 'Black history' and settlers' history, they were not putting barriers between history and theory, which allowed for broader, more open conversations.4 For example, the Under Construction Lecture Series organised by Ross Jenner (PhD on Italian Modernism from the University of Pennsylvania supervised by Joseph Rykwert)5 at the University of Auckland, 'aimed initially at increasing consciousness in architectural circles of developments in theory in all disciplines.⁶ Postgraduate students, including Mark Wigley, at that time were part of theory reading groups or seminars organised by the departments of English, cultural studies, environmental psychology, or behavioural sciences. From this lecture series emerged in 1991 the journal Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts co-edited between the University of Auckland and the Auckland University of Technology, which found and has over time explored 'a productive tension (...) in the intervals between architecture and other art forms' both

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Figure 1. Brochure of the conference Space, Meaning and Metaphor, Perth, 1991. Source: Bill Taylor.

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acknowledging and crossing disciplinary boundaries.7 The journal 'despite its irregularity, incited the development of a theoretical discourse in New Zealand'8

Interdisciplinarity as well as the discussion of the notion of space also characterised a series of events organised by emerging scholars deeply influenced by the theoretical approaches to architectural discourse of the time. The conference Knowledge and/or/of Experience was held in July 1991 at the Queensland Museum in Brisbane organised by John Macarthur. To reflect on 'the notorious scavenging of theoretical discourse by artists, architects and critics' and to 'explain the characteristic negligence and enthusiasm of contemporary theoretical discourse in the arts' were part of the themes aimed at provoking the participants' response.9 In the resulting volume, art and architecture scholars and critics address crucial moments in the history of architecture and the fine arts and explore the dichotomy of knowledge and experience. Just a few months later, in September 1991, Bill Taylor organised the conference Space, Meaning and Metaphor, with special presentations of Diana Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas, at the time in Perth invited by Murdoch University (Figure 1). Taylor recalls that 'the main occasion for the event was the visit of Paul Hirst to our School. (...) The other keynote speaker at the



Figure 2. From left to right Paul Walker, Jennifer Bloomer, Mark Wigley and Beatriz Colomina at the conference Accessory/ Architecture, Auckland, 1995. Source: APPFA photographs collection. Architecture Archive, Special Collections, University of Auckland Libraries and Learning Services.

conference was Paul Carter.10

In July 1995 and over three days, the University of Auckland hosted the conference Accessory/ Architecture and invited Wigley, who was already based in the United States, Beatriz Colomina and Jennifer Bloomer to be keynote speakers. Wigley and Colomina had joined the advisory and editorial board of the influential architectural theory journal, published by the MIT, Assemblage in 1991, Bloomer in 1992. (Figure 2). In 1999, it was the University of Newcastle that turned towards theory and the digital, driven by the efforts of Michael J. Ostwald who organised with R. John Moore the conference Re-Framing Architecture: Theory, Science and Myth. On this occasion, Bloomer, who was also a member of Assemblage's board since 1992, Robert Segrest, Emily Apter, and Anthony Vidler, 'key architectural writers and thinkers in the world'11 at the time, were invited to deliver the keynote addresses.12 'Neither of these eminent academics had visited Australia before¹³

There was a clear emphasis on inviting to these events internationally recognised theorists involved with the MIT journal. Two of the emerging scholars participating in these events, Macarthur and Karen Burns were the first two Australians to have their work published by the journal Assemblage in 1996 and 1997.14 In the case of the former, the first was a paper resulting from his participation at the aforementioned conference Accessory/ Architecture in Auckland. Between 1986 and 1991, the latter had been editor of the influential journal Transition: Discourse on Architecture published by RMIT University. Both contributed to a special issue of Assemblage on Ruskin guest-edited by Bloomer.

In June 1997, the University of Melbourne hosted the conference Other Connections convened by Stephen Cairns and Philip Goad. It explored the theme 'Building, Dwelling, Drifting: Migrancy and the Limits of Architecture' and brought together relevant scholars who were at that time translating postcolonial theories into architectural

discourse 'as a means of provincializing and displacing dominant Western conceptions of architecture and urbanism.\(^{15}\) This was the third of a series of four conferences (Singapore 1993, Chandigarh 1995, and Beirut 1999) and by being held in Melbourne 'arguably one of the world's most multicultural cities, migrancy presented itself as a kind of ready-made postcolonial theme.\(^{16}\)

Meanwhile, after having explored 'Colonial Connections' in 1990, also in Melbourne, SAHANZ's conferences had their eye on Asia and Australasia (1992 Geelong) or on the reassessment of the modern movement influenced by the quick expansion of the organisation DOCOMOMO (1993 Perth and 1995 Sydney). Gatley wrote that:

...it was at Adelaide, 1997, (On What Grounds?) that a greater number of theoretically informed papers were presented. [Peter] Scriver and [Sean] Pickersgill had clearly taken great care preparing the call for abstracts, inviting papers not only from architectural historians but also from those working in cultural studies and material culture, welcoming 'speculative discussions of theory and historical methodology' and encouraging contributors to reflect upon their own methodology. But more generally the 'theoretical turn' apparent at this conference reflected changes in the history and theory curricula of Australian and New Zealand architecture schools, including greater emphasis not only on architectural theory but also on critical and cultural theory.¹⁷

Very recently, Julia Gatley revisited this 'theoretical turn' in the region at that time, and argued that it 'gradually expanded its influence in national and international academic circles, giving the sense of disruption in the supposed centre-to-periphery distribution of official culture.\(^{18}\)

By the end of the decade, when architectural schools in the region, at least in New Zealand, were shifting from theory to a more systematic and professionalised teaching of architectural history, the 'theoretical turn' in the scholarship

of architectural history in Australia and New Zealand informed the subsequent steps and challenges of SAHANZ as an institution. The pressure on convenors to consolidate the double blind-refereeing of papers since the 1997 Adelaide conference, after it had been adopted in the 1991 Christchurch and 1995 Sydney conferences, and the academic and rigorous character of *Fabrications* rose the quality of scholarship in the region.

Consequently, it contributed to the career progression of that generation of emerging architectural historians and theorists, who will become engaged members of the Society from the turn of the century onwards.

Informed by the account of members of that generation, today preeminent architectural historians of Australia and New Zealand, this paper has explored the productive intersections between architectural history and theory that took place in the region during the 1990s and their impact on SAHANZ as an institution that fostered disciplinary dialogue. A situation very different from the general perception in Europe, and with strong relations with the United States. A practice, or tradition, that has continued in the last 20 years.¹⁹

Notes

1 Julia Gatley, 'SAHANZ: The First 20 Years, 1984-2004,' *Fabrications* vol 13, no. 2 (2004): 68.

2 Gatley, 'SAHANZ: The First 20 Years, 1984-2004,' 72. Originally quoted from The Editors, 'Editorial,' Fabrications no. 1 (December 1989): 1.

3 Gatley, 'SAHANZ: The First 20 Years, 1984-2004,' 73. Originally quoted from Miles Lewis, *Fabrications*: Volume I, (23 November 1990).

4 John Macarthur, interviewed by the author, 22 January 2020.

5 Marco Moro in conversation with Craig Moller, Moro, 'Architecture at the Edge,' Drawing matter, 13 January 2021. Accessed on 10 February 2021. https://drawingmatter.org/ architecture-at-the-edge/

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IDENTITIES AND CULTURES

6 Ross Jenner, 'Interstices', in 20/20: Editorial Takes on Architectural Discourse edited by Kirk Wooller (London: Architectural Association Publications, 2011), 256.

7 Jenner, 'Interstices,' 256.

8 Moro, 'Architecture at the Edge.'

9 John Macarthur, 'Foreword,' in *Knowledge* and/or/of Experience. The of Space in Art and Architecture edited by John Macarthur (Brisbane, Queensland: Institute of Modern Art, 1993), v.

10 Bill Taylor, email to author, 31 March 2020.

11 'The Art of Architecture,' Newcastle Herald. Michael Ostwald, email to author, 9 November 2020.

12 Michael Ostwald, email to author, 9 November 2020.

13 'The Art of Architecture,' Newcastle Herald. Michael Ostwald, email to author, 9 November 2020.

14 John Macarthur, 'The Butcher's Shop: Disgust in Picturesque Aesthetics and

Architecture, Assemblage 30 (1996): 32-43 and 'The Heartlessness of the Picturesque: Sympathy and Disgust in Ruskin's Aesthetics,' Assemblage 32 (July 1997): 126-141. Karen Burns, 'Topographies of Tourism: 'Documentary' Photography and The Stones of Venice,' Assemblage 32 (July 1997): 22-44.

15 Stephen Cairns, 'Preface,' in *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy* edited by Stephen Cairns (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), xi.

16 Cairns, 'Preface,' xi.

17 Gatley, 'SAHANZ: The First 20 Years, 1984-2004', 70.

18 Moro, 'Architecture at the Edge,' here in conversation with Julia Gatley.

19 For recent information on SAHANZ see, Macarena de la Vega de Leon, 'SAHANZ: The Last 15 Years, 2004-2019' in *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand 36*, edited by Kate Hislop and Hannah Lewi (Perth: SAHANZ, to be published in 2021).

Putting Architecture in the Museum: Discussing the Effects of Architecture Museums on the Split between Art History and Architectural Theory

Christina Pech, KTH Royal Institute of Technology

This roundtable contribution proposes the advent of the architectural museum as a productive interface to approach the split between art history and architectural theory identified in the call. As a latecomer to the institutions of collection and display - most architecture museum were not founded until the late 1970s and 1980s - the architecture museum was established in a period when the traditional museum as a place of collection and display was under negotiation. The institutional critique of the 1960s that aimed to liberate art from the confinement of the museum and open up institutional boundaries finds its counterpart in the emerging interest in placing architecture within the walls of the museum.

This somewhat contradictory situation was met in the young institutions by a combination of the traditional methods of art history and the institutional critique of contemporary theory. The architecture museums started collections that contributed to the historicising of architecture while at the same time engaging critically with the contemporary built environment, often employing counter-cultural or activist methods. However, the architecture museum also indicates a preoccupation with the representations of architecture as an end in itself. The turn away from architecture as built form firmly associated with the event of architectural postmodernism is inextricably interwoven with the architectural institutions. Evidently, the museums have their share in making architectural theory and criticism harmless to the politics of architecture as it retreated from wider socio-political concerns to an increased degree of discursive autonomy.

A captivating circumstance is that the late blooming of the architectural museum in the 1980s was soon followed by the first signs of decay that threw a considerable number of the young institutions into predominantly disciplinary crises already a few years into the 2000s.

This contribution would bring this 'rise and fall' of the museum institutions of architecture to the roundtable. It discusses the agency of the institution and how the putting of architecture in the museum and the resulting expansion of the discourse contributed to the split between art history and architectural theory.

Architectural Theory around 1970: Opening and Closing the Field

Christa Kamleithner, BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg

In December of the eventful year 1967, O. M. Ungers hosted an international congress for architectural theory at the Technical University of Berlin. The issue at stake was the usefulness of architectural theory at all. After the societal turbulences and rapid changes in the urban environment at the end of the 1960s, what architectural theory was - and what it should refer to - had become quite unclear. Ungers therefore offered social phenomena, technical conditions, historical experience, and immanent laws of form as its possible subjects. Only three years before, the AIA-ACSA Teachers' Seminar in 1964, which is known as the starting point for Ph.D. programs in History, Theory, and Criticism at American architecture schools, had discussed quite the same issues. At the centre of these debates was the question whether architectural theory should refer to its own history or embrace the emerging social sciences, which tried to explain and manage the present. One outcome was the construction of an architectural theory that understood architecture - and itself - as an autonomous force. However, as John Harwood has shown, at the same time a multifaceted research agenda emerged at American architecture schools, including an architectural history open to all kind of social and human sciences.

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Following these hints, the paper wants to point out that the same was true in Germanspeaking countries: The papers of Ungers' congress as well as, for example, the Bauwelt Fundamente series, reveal a broad spectrum of approaches. The field was open around 1970, and that included a very open conception of architecture. In fact, it was not so much 'architecture' which architectural history and theory were interested in, but the perception and use of the 'built environment' in general. And it was this openness which made it relevant for the politicized education in architectural design at that time.

The Rise and Fall of the Architectural Theoretician?—1968 and the Aftermath

Ole W. Fischer, University of Utah

The growing criticism against post-war modernism during the 1960s, of its edifices, its protagonists as much of its reasoning, did not only result in the phenomenon of postmodernism in the decades to follow, but also caused a crisis of architectural education based primarily on modern doctrines. One answer to this crisis - and that is a working hypothesis - was the internalization of critique into institutions of higher education. It is more than a coincidence that the founding of the gta (Institut Geschichte und Theorie der Architektur) at the ETH Zurich by Adolf Max Vogt and Paul Hofer in 1967 runs parallel to the efforts of Jürgen Joedicke and the IGMA (Institut für Grundlagen Moderner Architektur) at the Technische Hochschule Stuttgart (today University of Stuttgart) and echoes the HTC program (History Theory Criticism of Art and Architecture) at MIT by Stanford Anderson and 'Hank' Millon between 1964-74, while O.M. Ungers failed with a similar attempt at the TU Berlin in 1968. In all these incidents, there is more at stake than just a rapprochement to the history of architecture after the modernist ban against eclectic historicism from architectural design; they speak rather of a fundamental revision of the modern project within

architectural education. Indicators are the institutional changes of PhD programs, which were traditionally offered by art history departments, and were now integrated into schools of architecture, paralleled by the change of debate in architectural education and new formats for research and teaching.

The (re)birth of architectural theory as curricular subject introduced at MIT, Stuttgart and ETH stands out amongst these new formats. This is not to say that 'theory' has been absent from architectural education, but its institutionalization allowed for steady (often mandatory) classes in the curriculum, for a clarification of the methods and goals, and for a scientific ennoblement of the subject by its own faculty, journals, conferences, publications, exhibitions and the aforementioned doctoral programs. Significantly, ETH and MIT chose to separate theory from design, that is, they produced a new type of academic: the architectural theoretician. Previously, 'theory' often meant the poetics of a master architect, or a speculative mode of writing, while the new format operated with various 'critical' theories form heterogeneous sources, and aimed for teaching teachers (rather than architects) – an assumption that might be up for critical interrogation today? This position paper argues that the 'split' between history and theory of architecture is not only a product of 'theory's success' in the 1980s, and its rapid fall following 2001, but has already been latently present in their institutionalization in the late 1960s. And that the perceived 'split' between theory and history today is not the only 'schiz', but that their separation from studio (design pedagogy) and from technology (both digital representation as well as environmental performance) runs even deeper. The position paper itself practices an alternative by looking into the sources of these multiple 'splits' (historically) and by speculating about a different form of research, teaching, and practice (theoretically).

The Death and Life of 'Operative' History: Dialogues between the Historiography and Theory of Architecture and Urbanism in Contemporary Italy

Pedro Paulo Palazzo, University of Brasilia

Manfredo Tafuri's call for 'operative criticism' as a progressive solution to the lack of political efficacy and of scholarly rigour in the militant architectural history of the mid-twentieth century had, in his time, little following. Architectural historians sought greater professional specialisation not 'operativeness,' whereas architectural theorists, by the late 1970s, were beginning to embrace the 'linguistic turn' and its nihilistic view of historical knowledge.

In spite of this and of the ever-widening split that has characterised the global scholarship of architecture ever since, Italy gave rise to several methods of typomorphological studies founded upon both rigorous historiography and a coherent theory underpinning the operative use of this historical knowledge in architectural design. This paper argues that the Italian 'school'—for want of a better word—is perhaps unique insofar as it defines a clear scope of objects and methods pertaining to the disciplinary field of architecture as a whole, thus providing a unified framework for both historiography and design.

Yet, this Italian 'school' of typo-morphological history and theory is diverse, exposing rifts between traditionalists and modernists. The former are tributary of Aldo Rossi's postmodernist formal relationships derived from a concept of 'collective memory', whereas the latter adopt Saverio Muratori's 'procedural typology' as a tool for generating abstract spatial relationships. This paper will focus on recent historical studies in nineteenth century architecture as well as new projects in the cities of the river Po plains—Alessandria, Parma, Bologna—that clarify these theoretical conflicts, yet show the way forward for an 'operative' dialogue between historiography and typological design theory. These recent contributions have displaced, ever so slightly but significantly, the long-standing Italian emphasis on Medieval and Renaissance historiography and on the iconic post-war building campaigns in Rome, Milan, and Venice.

The struggle for rigour in architectural scholarship in post-war Italy resulted in an engaging and diverse body of argumentative and exemplary writings by well-known authors such as Saverio Muratori (1910–73), Aldo Rossi (1931–97), and Manfredo Tafuri (1935–94). Their often conflicting positions on the craft of architectural history, its relationship to design practice, and the establishment of disciplinary parameters for either history or design, set the foundational arguments for much of the international debate around these themes. The validity of extracting 'operative' knowledge from history for use in architectural and urban practice is one among many debates in which

these architects engaged. This controversy is expressed most clearly in their differing attitudes towards typology as either an art historical device or a theory of the architectural planning process.

The Italian universe of typological studies is probably best known from Aldo Rossi's idiosyncratic definition of the concept, in *The Architecture of the City*, as the study of 'constants' underlying urban and architectural 'facts' and discernible in them.¹ Saverio Muratori's contribution, on the other hand, was restricted to the technical domain of urban morphology.² Tafuri himself towers tall as one of

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the most acclaimed architectural historians of the post-1968 era, not the least for his combative argument in favour of critical autonomy of architectural history.3 Nowadays, however, and especially outside Italy, the critical perspectives around these three architects are mostly cut off from one another, being concerned with specific subfields in research and practice. Their respective scopes have been increasingly delimited to reflect their respective methodological and ideological partis pris. This segmentation of theories and scholarship derived from Muratori, Rossi, and Tafuri is not only a misrepresentation of their frequent engagement with one another's theories;4 it also obscures the claim put forward by each one of them to a systematic representation of and agency on the urban environment.

These claims unfolded throughout their careers and legacies on four successive levels I shall develop in this paper. At first, Muratori, Rossi, and Tafuri all grappled with the fragmented nature of historical evidence and the conflicting ways by which they sought to explain architecture as a process. Their various responses to this problem led to the second level, in which Tafuri's strictly critical stance breaks away from the operative methods laid out by Muratori and Rossi. In the third level, Muratori's legacy of an all-encompassing theory of urban succession, carried on by his disciples, came to be at odds with the later work of Rossi, increasingly interested in local and visual references over abstract theories. Finally, in the fourth level I will look at a few living architects who have carried on the operative typologies of both Muratori and Rossi.

Architecture as process, history as fragments

Let us start out with the scope of objects and methods pertaining to the architectural discipline, reaching back to the superimposition of Idealist philosophy and socialist politics that was pervasive in post-war Italian architectural circles.5 This disciplinary framing understood

architecture to be not a specific set of objects, real or potential, but a process of bringing about change in the urban fabric. Conversely, history was not envisaged as a coherent narrative to be 'found', but as a collection of fragments to make sense of in a piecemeal fashion. The 'methodology of collecting' fragments as an analogy for the study of architectural history had been made explicit by Bruno Zevi as early as 1950.6 However, Zevi refused to relate this collection of fragments within any sort of physical context; the only process he would admit of was the emergence of the 'awareness of making architecture' itself,7 that is, the rise of creative freedom, following Benedetto Croce's aesthetic theory.8 Zevi's 'operative critique' of architecture predicated on ever growing artistic originality failed, however, to respond to the urgent threat to historic centres posed by post-war development.

Throughout the 1950s, Muratori developed another Idealist theory in response to this threat to the historic city. Against Zevi's concept of 'operative critique', he proposed an 'operative history' in which the reality of the city as a piecemeal accumulation of interventions paradoxically proved its nature to be that of a coherent organism. Thus, even though historical and archaeological evidence would always be fragmentary, the coherent process of becoming that is the built environment could be understood through evidence based synthetic judgment.9 Aldo Rossi later picked up where Muratori's 1959 article left off. In his 1966 book The Architecture of the City, Rossi thus portrayed the urban phenomenon as the present state of a continuous, yet heterogeneous, process of grafting changes onto a fabric that persists across the ages. Despite the incoherence of this 'creation born out of numerous and diverse moments of formation, the city can still, at any one moment, be grasped as 'a unit in its whole,' because 'the possibility of reading the city in continuity lies in its pre-eminent formal and spatial character.10

Tafuri, a former student of both Muratori's and Zevi's, took issue with both of their brands of

Idealism in his 1968 book, Theories and History of Architecture. To approach the concept of history as a collection of fragments, he used a Marxist lens predicating a clear-cut separation between the production of the built environment and its historiographic critique.11 Ostensibly, this was a plea for an architectural history endowed with 'positive skills' to counteract vapid theorizing.¹² In practice, it stemmed from his Marxist belief that the practice of architecture was, by the late twentieth century, well on its way to dissolving in the undifferentiated scope of 'planning."3 Architecture, in Tafuri's view, became the stuff of history much in the same way Hegel had proclaimed Art belonged to the past.14

Muratori's 'operative history' and Tafuri's 'critical history' both looked at the problem of the historical fragment as the starting point for a discussion of the built environment in a process of becoming, but they looked at it from opposite ends. Muratori took the fragments that made up the built environment as instances of a priori types, then sought to explain the overall coherence of the historic city as an outcome of the typological process.¹⁵ To Tafuri, on the other hand, it is the nature of the historical process that was given a priori: the deterministic advance of capitalist technocracy since the early Renaissance.¹⁶ The historian's task was then to fit, provisionally, the fragments of architecture's increasingly dead body onto an ever-changing picture of this advance.¹⁷

Historiographic critique and operative synthesis

The difference between Muratori's and Tafuri's treatment of the historical process stemmed from their different philosophies of reality. In the Idealist theory developed by Muratori, the historic territory and its reconstructed past had real, if not immediately tangible, existence.¹⁸ Tafuri's dialectic, on the other hand, handled the 'perpetual critique' of historical fragments¹⁹ as a way of exorcizing, so to speak, the very existence of a tangible reality.

Tafuri wielded a historiographic 'scalpel' to 'pry

open the compactness of historical constructs, problematize them, and prevent them from presenting themselves as 'truths".20 Exposing all ideology as contradictory enabled him to produce sophisticated analyses of Renaissance architectural theory.21 Yet, when the only tool one wields is critique, everything ends up looking like a crisis. Tafuri's ideal contemporary architect was, therefore, perennially locked into this state of crisis: either a planner not designer, who would 'accept the transitional (and therefore ambiguous) role played nowadays by a dismembered and multifarious discipline, 22 or a destroyer of conventional meaning such as the younger Aldo Rossi, who took the existing city 'as a mere pretext' and let architecture 'hang dangerously in the balance: its reality, never denied outright, but mischievously mingled with the unreal!23

In contrast to Tafuri's argument for a permanent state of crisis,24 Muratori and Rossi sought to overcome the crisis of modernity, which is ultimately a disjunction between what society values and what it makes. This crisis, as described by Muratori, lay in the social desire to preserve the coherence of traditional territories in an age when the 'spontaneous' and incremental practice that hand given rise to them was being lost to the 'self-conscious' and destructive practices of modern architecture.25 To this end, the processes that gave rise to the mature traditional city ought not be seen merely as products of their (past) ages. Rather, they were intrinsically legitimate and necessary means of carrying on the city-building process, because the city was by definition the outcome of such processes—and departing from them would entail building anything but a real city.²⁶ In turn, Muratori saw the crafting of a historical narrative as analogous to the process of city-building, inasmuch as either is only legitimate when it convincingly presents the structural reality of the historical process.²⁷

The tension between the fragmentary nature of the city and its resulting coherence was, to Rossi, the embodiment of its physical 'memory', made possible by Marcel Poëte's law of persistence in plan. Such persistence is driven, **SESSION 02**

primarily, by embodied memory. This refers to those 'urban facts' that hold back the continuous process of urban transformation: monumental architecture at one end, and the enduring pattern of land subdivision and ownership at the other.²⁸ When these factors are not at play, as in greenfield projects, the physical urban memory must then be replicated by means of reconstructed classifications present in human memory. Both Muratori and Rossi thus claimed identity between the synthetic reconstruction of the process that has brought about the historic city as it exists and a normative theory of how best to build upon this process. For both Muratori and Rossi, the concept of type was central to this unified operation that both describes and directs city-building.

Typology, abstraction, and figuration

The concept of typology as a descriptive device in architectural history has been asserted by authors with a wide range of theoretical allegiances, from Argan and Moudon to Corona Martínez and Panerai.²⁹ However, its legitimacy as a mediation between the existing city (or a tradition more generally and abstractly understood) and contemporary design has been much more controversial; Moneo even claimed it would be intellectually impossible for contemporary architects to put themselves in the typological mindset.30 Furthermore, Tafuri's put-down of Muratori's method had a point: if typology's aim was to overcome the crisis of modern development by building upon the process of becoming of the actual city, why was the breakdown of traditions itself not accepted as a legitimate part of this process? Muratori's outright rejection of this modern breakdown was no different, Tafuri argued, from the modernist rejection of tradition.31

To complicate matters further, Muratori's most prominent disciple, Gianfranco Caniggia (1933–87), subscribed quite explicitly to the modernist denunciation of eclecticism as inauthentic and commended the 'noble aspirations' of the Modern movement.32

Muratori's synthesis of an integral fabric of reality to be recomposed by contextual design was thus replaced with an analytical attitude that tried to isolate the 'structural' components of urban form while throwing out the 'recycling of forms cherry picked from the past.'33 This compromise nevertheless paid off politically, as Caniggia earned Tafuri's respect³⁴ and Caniggia's own disciples have achieved a prestigious standing in today's scholarly field of urban morphology.35 Since the last decade of the twentieth century, this 'Italian school of typology' has turned into a continuum ranging from strict adherents of Caniggia's 'modern' identity—Gian Luigi Maffei and Nicola Marzot³⁶—to scholars studying eclectic planning as a legitimate step in the typological process—Giuseppe Strappa³⁷—to 'soft' traditionalists—Paolo Maretto and Giancarlo Cataldi.38

A rift remained, nevertheless, between this academically minded group and another circle of architects that formed under the influence of Aldo Rossi's later work. Starting with the 1979 Teatro del Mondo project in the Venice Biennale, Rossi drifted towards a more figurative take on memory. The scandal generated by this project overshadowed Rossi's consistent stream of exploration into the use of classical details and the more complete reconstruction of a traditionalist idiom in his later works. Though Rossi wrote little from the mid 1970s on, his designs seem to have done away with the notion he previously held, that 'crisis' and a fragmented consciousness were the inescapable conditions of modernity. Rossi's work, even considering his written works, never achieved the all encompassing rules and procedures of the Muratorian school. Rossi claimed to leverage 'memory' as the current state of the awareness of history in any given context. Because memory is fragmentary, the design resulting from this operation of memory is itself a fragment. At first, the incomplete nature of memory was made palpable through formal abstraction and lack of detailing; later, Rossi incorporates figurative ornament (classical or postmodern). The

abstract identity carried through memory became increasingly supported by figurative elements in Rossi's later works, setting him firmly apart from the Muratorian school.

Rossi's example led a younger generation of 'traditionalists'39 or 'new classicists'—40 such as Pier Carlo Bontempi and Gabriele Tagliaventi to break away from the cautious abstraction of the Muratorian school. This movement also claimed adherence to a form of typology, in this case the 'nameable objects' put forward by Léon Krier⁴¹ and definite, recognizable urban spaces as formulated by Rob Krier.⁴² Their work is outwardly more reminiscent of Italian vernacular and classical traditions than the abstract practice of the Muratorian planners, but another crucial difference shows through on closer inspection. These new traditionalists traded Muratori's integral re-composition of the historic settlement patterns for an uneasy compromise with mainstream real estate development practices as well as with standard planning regulations. This has given them a larger footprint in the actual built environment, but it came at the cost of debasing the underlying process of traditional typologies. This is not an unconscious distortion, either. Tagliaventi, the most scholarly minded among these new traditionalists, has claimed explicit affiliation to the early twentieth century 'garden city' movement as a workable compromise between modern planning practices and traditional urban environments.43 Moreover, he is wary of Tafuri's vision of architectural history as entirely detached from the profession of architecture. Tagliaventi's historical research is characterized by a fiercely disciplinary approach focusing on the 'tools of the trade' compositional devices, materials, techniques, and manufacturing. His Tecniche e tecnologie dell'architettura fra eclettismo e storicismo reads less like Tafuri's books—anthologies permeated by the single purpose of discussing capitalist development since the Renaissance—and more like Rossi's Architecture of the City: a collection of fragments building up to an underlying 'typology' of recurring practices and processes of disciplinary decision-making.44

Conclusion: operativity in historical perspective

Now, the analysis turns back for a final look at how critical historiography addressed the shortcomings of operativity. By looking at the interaction of historical scholarship and design practice in the work of architects who combine both activities, the theoretical assumptions linking both fields become clear. The typological contradictions between the 'historic city' strictly defined—pre-industrial urbanism and the urban fabric of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries appears as an unresolved conflict in the methods and judgements of 'modernists' from the Muratorian school and of traditionalists alike. In Tafuri's overarching critical scheme, laid out as early as 1968, the distinctions in form and scale between the pre-industrial and post-industrial built environments seemed inconsequential: both were part of a continuous process of developing capitalism, which was more crucially leading to the end of architecture as an effective discipline.

It is true that Tafuri's initial enmity towards the 'operative history' developed by Muratori softened in the 1980s, when the scholarly contributions of planning typology became clear. Nevertheless, the separation between these two methods evidences a fundamental rift in scholarship and practice. History, as understood by Tafuri, is bounded by the fragmentary evidence in sources, and consists of continuous rearrangements of these fragments. This rearrangement is guided by an a priori theory of historical process, which in Tafuri's programme is the critique of capitalist development. Muratorian planning typology, on the other hand, should be called, more properly, a form of archaeology of the built environment. It is concerned with reconstructing the invisible, structural process between the extant fragments, and does so by assuming a priori that these fragments must be instances of types.

Aldo Rossi took typology into a terrain that had

a less rigorous method. This enabled him and his followers to develop a variety of experimentations along a spectrum ranging from extremely abstract forms celebrating the fragmentary remnants of the traditional city, to extremely figurative renderings of classical forms exploring ways of completing the fragmentary state of the built environment. This variety has resulted in Rossi's work and legacy being sometimes discounted as inconsistent, superficial, or conservative. This approach all but vanished from academic debates in the twenty-first century, even as it has gained a growing foothold in the development market.

All three stances, Tafuri's historical critique, Muratori's operative history, and Rossi's freeform typology, made relevant points about the nature of reality in architecture and its history. In a sense, Tafuri's implicit foundational belief that the past does not exist in reality is true: all we have at hand is the whole of surviving fragments of history collapsed onto the present; ascribing some of these fragments to 'the present' or 'the past' is an operation of memory and critique, however ingrained certain attributions must be for any sort of discourse to be effective. On the other hand, this collapsed state of all of history onto the present is precisely what grants legitimacy to Muratori's normative claim that the existing city be the starting point of new construction. The role of history is indeed to pull apart this collapsed state into discrete images of aspects or moments in a virtual reconstruction of time; conversely, the role of design is to synthesize this collapsed state by making a fractured accumulation of instances whole and imageable at a single point of intervention.

Notes

- 1 Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 4th ed., [1966] (Torino: CittàStudi, 2006), 33.
- 2 Giancarlo Cataldi, 'Saverio Muratori: il debito e l'eredità', in *Saverio Muratori architetto* (*Modena 1910-Roma 1973*): a cento anni dalla nascita: atti del convegno itinerante, ed. Giancarlo Cataldi (Firenze: Aión, 2013), 14.

- 3 Manfredo Tafuri, *Teorie e storia* dell'architettura, 7th ed., Biblioteca Universale Laterza 166 (Bari: Laterza, 1988), 268.
- 4 As evidenced by Francesco Moschini, 'Saverio Muratori e Aldo Rossi: le forme dell'architettura e le forme della città, in Saverio Muratori architetto (Modena 1910-Roma 1973): a cento anni dalla nascita: atti del convegno itinerante, ed. Giancarlo Cataldi (Firenze: Aión, 2013), 172-77; Attilio Petruccioli, 'Exoteric, Polytheistic, Fundamentalist Typology: Gleanings in the Form of an Introduction, in Typological Process and Design Theory, ed. Attilio Petruccioli, Procedings of the International Symposium ... March 1995 (Cambridge, Mass.: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998), 9–16, https://archnet.org/publications/4240; Mary Louise Lobsinger, 'The New Urban Scale in Italy: On Aldo Rossi's 'L'architettura Della Città, Journal of Architectural Education (1984-) 59, no. 3 (2006): 28-38, https://www.jstor.org/ stable/40480643; Rocco Murro, 'Storia e progetto allo specchio. Il desengaño rossiano negli occhi di Manfredo Tafuri, in Lo storico scellerato: scritti su Manfredo Tafuri, ed. Orazio Carpenzano, 1st ed., DiAP print. Teorie 18 (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2019), 323-34.
- 5 Andrew Leach, *Manfredo Tafuri: Choosing History* (Ghent: A&S Books, 2007), 47.
- 6 Bruno Zevi, *Architettura e storiografia: le matrici antiche del linguaggio moderno*, 2nd ed., Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi 216 (Torino: Einaudi, 1974), 55.
- 7 Bruno Zevi, 'Architettura', in *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte*, vol. 1 (Venezia : Roma: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1965), cols. 616–7.
- 8 Benedetto Croce, Il concetto moderno della storia: discorso per l'inaugurazione dell'Instituto Italiano per gli studi storici (Bari: Gius.Laterza & Figli, 1947), 194.
- 9 Saverio Muratori, 'Studi per una operante

storia urbana di Venezia. I, *Palladio IX*, no. 3–4 (July 1959): 111–12.

- 10 Aldo Rossi, *L' architettura della città*, 3rd ed., [1966] (Torino: CittàStudi, 1995), 72.
- 11 Tafuri, Teorie e storia dell'architettura, 266.
- 12 Manfredo Tafuri, 'Introduzione', in *La piazza, la chiesa, il parco: saggi di storia dell'architettura (XV-XIX secolo)*, ed. Manfredo Tafuri, Documenti di architettura 58 (Milano: Electa, 1991), 8.
- 13 Manfredo Tafuri, *La Sfera e il labirinto:* avanguardie e architettura da Piranesi agli anni '70 (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1980), 25.
- 14 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, Auf d. Grundlage d. Werke von 1832–1845 neu ed. Ausg., vol. 1, Werke 13 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 25.
- 15 Muratori, 'Studi per una operante storia urbana di Venezia,' 103.
- 16 Tafuri, Teorie e storia dell'architettura, 18.
- 17 Manfredo Tafuri, 'Il 'progetto' storico,' *Casabella*, no. 429 (1977): 17.
- 18 Saverio Muratori, *Metodologia del sistema realtà-autocoscienza: dalle ultime lezioni :* 1972-1973 (Roma: Centro studi di storia urbanistica, 1978).
- 19 Tafuri, La Sfera e il labirinto, 4.
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- 21 Teresa Stoppani, 'L'histoire Assassinée: Manfredo Tafuri and the Present', in *The Humanities in Architectural Design: A Contemporary and Historical Perspective*, ed. Soumyen Bandyopadhyay (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 239.
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italiana: 1944-1985, [1982] (Torino: Einaudi, 2002), 170.

- 24 Marco Biraghi, *Progetto di crisi: Manfredo Tafuri e l'architettura contemporanea*, Vita delle forme 4 (Milano: Marinotti, 2005).
- 25 Saverio Muratori, *Civiltà e territorio* (Roma: Centro studi di storia urbanistica, 1967), 24.
- 26 Moschini, 'Saverio Muratori e Aldo Rossi,' 176.
- 27 Muratori, 'Studi per una operante storia urbana di Venezia,' 112.
- 28 Rossi, L' architettura della città.
- 29 Giulio Carlo Argan, 'Tipologia,' in Enciclopedia universale dell'arte, vol. 14 (Venezia: Roma: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966), 1–15; Anne Vernez Moudon, 'Getting to Know the Built Landscape: Typomorphology,' in Ordering Space: Types in Architecture and Design, ed. Karen A. Franck and Lynda H. Schneekloth, 1st ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 289–311; Alfonso Corona Martínez, Ensayo sobre el proyecto (Buenos Aires: Nobuko, 2009); Philippe Panerai, Analyse urbaine (Marseille: Parenthèses, 2012).
- 30 Rafael Moneo, 'On Typology,' *Oppositions* 13 (1978): 23–45.
- 31 Tafuri, Storia dell'architettura italiana, 78.
- 32 Gianfranco Caniggia and Gian Luigi Maffei, *Lettura dell'edilizia di base*, 2nd ed. (Firenze: Alinea, 2008), 24–25.
- 33 Gianfranco Caniggia and Gian Luigi Maffei, eds., *Moderno non moderno: il luogo e la continuità*, 1st ed. (Venezia: Marsilio, 1984), 77.
- 34 Tafuri, Storia dell'architettura italiana, 80.
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36 Nicola Marzot, 'The Study of Urban Form in Italy, Urban Morphology 6, no. 2 (2002): 59-73.

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38 Paolo Maretto, 'Verità del tradizionale in architettura, in Attualità del primitivo e del tradizionale in architettura, ed. Giancarlo Cataldi, Convegno internazionale Le ragioni dell'abitare (Firenze: Alinea, 1989), 166-68; Giancarlo Cataldi, 'Introduzione allo studio dell'abitazione umana, in Attualità del primitivo e del tradizionale in architettura, ed. Giancarlo Cataldi, Convegno internazionale Le ragioni dell'abitare (Firenze: Alinea, 1989), 11-34.

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41 Léon Krier, The Architecture of Community, ed. Dhiru A. Thadani and Peter J. Hetzel (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2009), 29.

42 Rob Krier, Urban Space, 5th ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1991), 17.

43 Gabriele Tagliaventi, Alla ricerca della forma urbana (Bologna: Pàtron, 1988).

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SPLIT CULTURES/NEW DIALOGUES

Vitruvius: happy-go-lucky!

André Tavares, University of Porto

Despite featuring in the reading list of almost every first-year architecture student, Vitruvius is barely readable for a twenty-first-century architect. His message remains bound up with the principles of order, proportion and composition, the qualities of sites and the broad superhuman knowledge an architect must possess, all of which topics are enunciated on the first pages of the first book. Nonetheless, Vitruvius is still the author most quoted in architectural lectures, from Álvaro Siza to Rem Koolhaas, from first-year students to structural engineers. The triad of Vitruvian architectural qualities—firmitas, utilitas, venustas—has conquered the heart and the reason of every architectural discourse. Ironically, the formulation owes much to Alberti, who, in his own treatise, wrestling with Vitruvius' cumbersome syntax, updated a marginal remark to establish one of architectural history's most powerful aphorisms. This encapsulation of the unreadable treatise in a few words turned out to be a highly effective ingredient in

maintaining Vitruvius' authoritative status. The treatise's circulation as a book allowed its owners the illusion of possessing an idea along with the physical object.

By surveying the forms of its various editions from the late 15th century until today, instead of becoming trapped in the subtleties of the text, one can access a complex network of usages, traffics and fluctuations. To analyse multiple print editions of Vitruvius is to unfold a historical panorama of architectural theory that fuses the immaterial realm of ideas with the material forms of books and buildings. The intricate nature of the Latin text inculcated Vitruvian authority with an aura capable of serving every purpose, with each new edition representing an occasion to establish an architectural discourse that did not necessarily follow its source. This contribution seeks to reflect on the condition of architectural theory when confronted with the printed book. Vitruvius seems the most appropriate patron to ignite a discussion on the light-hearted relationship between architectural theory, history and practice.

Impurities and Collisions: Pushing Architecture Thinking Forward

Lara Schrijver, University of Antwerp

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This paper departs from the idea that the gaps that have become established between historical and theoretical research are themselves a way out of the increasingly rigid categorization between the two domains.

While the sharply delineated boundaries of the late 20th century between 'theory' and 'history' helped establish clear research approaches, they also excluded the implicit insights embedded within design practice, favouring explicit and analytical arguments. The current cultures of research funding and publications solidify these boundary conditions, asking researchers to identify quite specifically their methods, their peers and their research domains.

In The Mushroom at the End of the World (2015), Anna Tsing demonstrates how science itself develops more erratically than commonly presented in scientific discourse; that it is determined not only by objective methods and logical argumentation, but equally by coincidence, context and unforeseen connections. 'Cosmopolitan science is made in emerging patches of research, which grow into or reject each other in varied encounters.' (Tsing, 223)

These 'varied encounters' are both necessary to the vitality of the disciplines, and prevented by the fine-grained delineation of disciplinary boundaries and methodologies. Together, the variety of methodologies within the history, theory and practice of architecture may foster a more explorative mode of thought, including unexpected detours or seeing miscommunications as fruitful insights into other perspectives.

This paper explores these 'emerging patches' of research that sit within the gap between history and theory. It seeks to aid in 'unsplitting' the two approaches through a verbal, visual and material presentation, demonstrating how the analytic and historical capacities of historians and theorists alike are potentially enriched by the drawing and design skills of practitioners. In so doing, this paper proposes that the field of architecture sits at the heart of what Tsing identifies as 'cosmopolitan science': its varied skill set of observation and analysis, drawing and building, projecting and historicising has the potential to develop a synthesis of visual and material epistemologies that can develop a more diverse ecology of scientific exploration.

Split Cultures

While the sharply delineated boundaries of the late 20th century between 'theory' and 'history' helped establish clear research approaches, they also excluded the implicit insights embedded within design practice, favoring explicit and analytical arguments instead. Alina Payne originally identified an institutional split

between architecture history and art history in terms of the shifts in educational programs in North America. While in Europe, the particular institutional context of academies and universities has developed in various ways, current cultures of research funding and publications tend to solidify these boundary conditions, asking researchers to identify quite specifically their methods, their peers and their research domains, thus further strengthening the split between historical traditions.

This diagnosis of 'splitting' architecture history from art history departments is now twenty years and continues to inform many reflections on the role of theory and/or history in architecture.2 While many of its insights still hold, there are additional developments within both disciplines and within research culture at large that are interesting to set alongside the discussion on art history/architecture history. One strong point that continues to be present in the discourse is the question of legitimacy and whether the more operative histories taught in architecture schools - selectively approaching issues that are of immediate relevance to a (contemporary) practice - are obscuring insights that might be found in longer historical continuities and a more disinterested, neutral gaze.3 In this paper, however, rather than focus on the disadvantages produced by this splitting such as a lack of continuity with classical art history, I prefer to turn the argument around: what might academic study stand to benefit from the particular forms of research emerging out of the blended practices of architecture and artistic research?

Emerging Patches of Research

This paper explores 'emerging patches' of research that sit within the gap between history and theory, which are also specifically based on 'designerly' skills developed in architecture as (an explorative) practice.4 It seeks to aid in 'unsplitting' the two approaches through a verbal, visual and material presentation, demonstrating how the analytic and historical capacities of historians and theorists alike are potentially enriched by the drawing and design skills of practitioners. In so doing, this paper proposes that the field of architecture sits at the heart of what Tsing identifies as 'cosmopolitan science': its varied skill set of observation and analysis, drawing and building, projecting and historicizing has the potential to develop a synthesis of visual and material epistemologies that can develop a more diverse ecology of scientific exploration.5

In other words, taking up position within the gaps that have become established between historical and theoretical research may themselves provide a way out of the increasingly rigid categorization between the two domains – crossing boundaries between established methods, and seeking out the life in between may aid in revitalizing research approaches in a contemporary context that is increasingly rigid in terms of evaluation criteria.

One important scholar from the Frankfurt School already leads the way in this approach in the early 20th century. Siegfried Kracauer, trained as an architect, with a PhD in engineering, and influential in the domain of film studies, suggested in *The Mass Ornament* that some of the most influential ideas in society are visible in the surface manifestations of cultural production typically considered shallow and superficial.⁶ What is interesting about Kracauer's approach, is that it embodies the spirit of materialist thinking in an early form, that nevertheless reads as topical for today particularly when set alongside the work of Anna Tsing in *The Mushroom at the End of the* World. Both scholars show a genuine openness in both their topics and their approach. Refraining from assumptions as to what is scientifically valid or worth the time of their sustained reflection, leads them down surprising paths of research that include Hollywood films, stage entertainment and German expressionism in the case of Kracauer; and mushroom gathering in the Pacific northwest, global gift-giving cultures and the difference between Japanese and American forestry habits in the case of Tsing. For Kracauer, this was a manner of gaining insight into the cultural undercurrents of his time, using any modes of observation available. Tsing's study of the matsutake also reflects on what is missing in scientific culture and its methods. Both scholars point to the shortcomings of traditional critiques and scientific methods in revealing (or sometimes even acknowledging) the various implicit assumptions that are part and parcel of the

world at large.

While the scientific culture of academia seems increasingly segregated and stratified, new paths are being forged within research projects themselves by the grace of increasingly wideranging collaborations. In architecture, the increased need for PhD-level research in the university ranks has led to a burgeoning research culture that is founded precisely on design-based, architectural and artistic skills. In a manner, this type of work provides new approaches in work where the material component is becoming increasingly central to understanding.

For this discussion, I will highlight some recent PhD trajectories that have followed an innovative manner of studying their objects.

To stay with just a few examples, I will explain a select number of striking features in recent PhD projects in Antwerp and Leuven, but there are equally interesting examples from Delft that I am familiar with, and I imagine many more in other European institutions. First, a PhD completed in 2013 at the KU Leuven by Caroline Voet presented a feat of thorough analysis, through archival research but also by drawing, mapping and annotating the design work of Dom Hans van der Laan.7 In her case, the PhD manifested the split culture: the first section was a 'traditional' historical monograph, analyzing the work in a chronological and structured manner based on archives, personal correspondence, publications and built work. The second - separate - section addressed the design approach developed by Dom van der Laan (most notably encapsulated in his idea of the 'plastic number', a proportional and compositional device of his own making. This material rests fully upon her abilities as a designer to read but also to re-enact the design and thought process of Van der Laan.

Another PhD, completed in 2019 by Menatalla Ahmed at the University of Antwerp, explored what was initially a general question of Nubian displacement and its later effects on spatial interaction within the community.⁸ In the process, Ahmed provided two new mappings,

one spatial and one archival. Unearthing the archives was again typical of historical research, but the particular dissonance she found between spatial and geographical mappings, and the social and spatial interactions within the community itself presented many challenges of illustration. For a substantial part of the research, she drew on her design capacities and her spatial readings of the settlements she was studying in order to understand more thoroughly how the nuances of social and spatial resistance became manifest in movement and in time.

As a third example, a work-in-progress: in order to understand the role of material in the design process, Eireen Schreurs has been studying the role of the iron column as a building element from its introduction around 1840. The research is centered on particular cases (Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Nationale for the cast iron column, Otto Wagner's Sparkasse for the rolled iron column, and Mies van der Rohe's Nationalgalerie for the steel column), but particularly interesting is her use of an archaeological method called seriation. In this technique, drawings of various tools and instruments are used to aid in dating the discovered objects by positioning them along axes of probable development. For Schreurs, who was able to date particular articulations of columns, the technique of seriation aided in revealing the adaptations made to the columns as the architect became increasingly literate in the particular qualities of iron.

These examples show that some projects approached from a design perspective may lead to more in-depth (and sometimes historical) understanding than originally conceived (Voet and Schreurs), may require further developing existing visual and drawing techniques (Schreurs) or may make use of spatial mapping skills in order to understand the intricacies of an object of study (Ahmed).

What does this then bring to architecture, to the history and/or theory question, and to research in general? For one thing, the split between architecture theory and history has brought with it (or built on) the notion that history and theory – as opposed to the history taught in art history departments schools – in some sense already incorporates the intention to build, and thus is by definition compromised. Yet this more operative understanding of history and theory also builds on the idea that drawing is somehow contingent – illustrative of a theory, exemplary for a style – which does not do justice to the fundamentally material dimension of design and its modes of knowing.

This materially-bound and designerly research, that in some sense begins from the 'compromised' interventions of subjective experience, architecture, and aesthetics, might in the end be more true to individual experience, thereby bringing us closer to the implicit motivations of the discipline. At the same time, the PhDs highlighted above all have a strong academic rigor and systematic approach to their methods, allowing the techniques to be explicitly communicated and perhaps translated to other projects.

Varied Encounters

In The Mushroom at the End of the World, Anna Tsing demonstrates how science itself develops more erratically than commonly presented in scientific discourse; that it is determined not only by objective methods and logical argumentation, but equally by coincidence, context and unforeseen connections. 'Cosmopolitan science is made in emerging patches of research, which grow into or reject each other in varied encounters.'9 Much as Steven Shapin has argued earlier, her work addresses the fundamentally situated and contextual condition of research, showing how the actual work typically resists the homogenization of a general overarching scientific culture based largely on replication.¹⁰ As such, she sits squarely within a changing field in academia, where more attention is given to contextuality, idiosyncracy and uniqueness.

These 'varied encounters' are on the one hand necessary to the vitality of the disciplines, and on the other hand prevented by the finegrained delineation of disciplinary boundaries and methodologies. Together, the variety of methodologies within the history, theory and practice of architecture may foster a more explorative mode of thought, including unexpected detours or seeing miscommunications as fruitful insights into other perspectives.

Now that we might consider the splitting conditions more of a historical and conditional fact, what interests me is the new paths that have been opened by bringing sustained, rigorous and thorough reflection through practice-based techniques into a research context. The projects that do not somehow use these techniques and visual material in order to prove a point that founds the project (i.e. the operative), but those that truly explore in and through these techniques, following the material as it were, much as Anna Tsing does in her tracings of the trajectories of the matsutake mushroom: with an open mind and an intention to discover what the world of things has to tell us, rather than forcing our scientific categories upon it.

As a final note, we should also take care to not assume that all of these varied encounters will sit squarely within architecture: a rich ecosystem of art academies, universities, citizen science, and other (institutional) contexts can aid in fostering not only interdisciplinary work but also temporary and unexpected collaborations. Acknowledging that each brings its own – valuable – perspective to a project does not diminish the value of specific expertise, but rather adds to it.

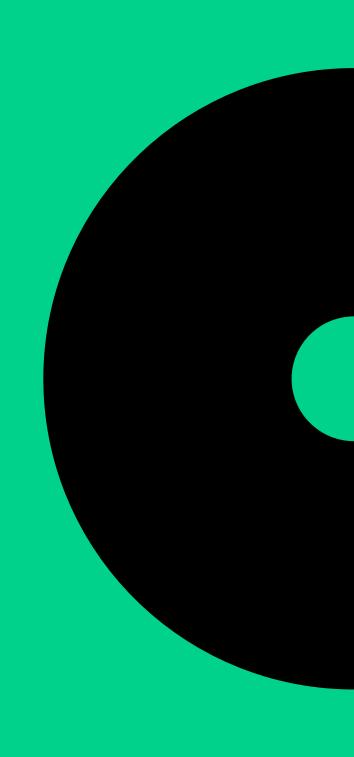
Notes

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2 Richard Anderson, 'Possible Conjunctions',

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History/Theory, e-flux architecture, 2017. [https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/historytheory/159240/possible-conjunctions/last accessed 20.02.2020]

- 3 One of the most important analyses of this operative tendency remains Manfredo Tafuri, Theories and History of Architecture (London: Granada, 1980). See also Andrew Leach, What is Architecture History? (Cambridge: Polity, 2010).
- 4 I use the term 'designerly' in reference to the work of Nigel Cross, whose work Designerly Ways of Knowing (London: Springer, 2006) informs part of the argument presented here.
- 5 Anna L. Tsing, The Mushroom at the End of the World. On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
- 6 Siegfried Kracauer, The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays Transl. and ed. Thomas Y. Levin, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995 [orig. in German, 1966]). Kracauer's position is strongly aligned with that of Walter Benjamin, whose work had been more widely incorporated in architecture discourse. His work also provides a more open reading than the more rigid dialectic provided by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer.
- 7 Caroline Voet, 'Between the Lines and its Margins. Spatial Systematics in the Work of Dom Hans van der Laan (1904-1991)! PhD, KU Leuven, 2013.
- 8 Menatalla Ahmed, 'To Be Seen: Nubian Displacement and en-gendered Resistance in 'Public' Space.' PhD, University of Antwerp, 2019.
- 9 Tsing, 223.
- 10 Steven Shapin, Never Pure: Science as if it were done by real people with bodies... (Johns Hopkins, 2010).



Empires of Heritage: World Monuments before UNESCO

Session Chairs: Michael Falser, *University of Heidelberg* David Sadighian, *Harvard University*

Our present model of 'world heritage' owes much of its genealogy to the geopolitics of Empire. This hypothesis aims to expand prevailing narratives, which track the rise of 'world heritage' programs starting with the creation of UNESCO after WWII and the elevation of monument preservation to international law (Allais 2018). In the century leading up to these events, however, state and non-state actors travelled throughout colonial territories with the self-ordained mission to study, document, and restore precolonial cultural sites, which often became 'historic monuments' as part of an imposed scheme of 'cultural heritage as civilizing mission' (Falser 2015).

These iconic monuments did not remain *in situ*. They travelled to imperial metropoles in the form of fragments, facsimiles, plaster casts, drawings, and photographs, facilitating their further mobility and thus expanding their reception as icons of 'civilization.' Iconicity's affordance for circulation was hardly unique to the Age of Empire, however. Many of these structures were sites of age-old religious worship and transregional pilgrimage beyond political boundaries (e.g., Angkor Wat in Cambodia), but underwent a secular turn and taxonomic shift within networks of colonial exploitation—from the pages of scholarly journals, to the halls of museums, to performative spectacles at World's Fairs. Such phenomena initiated the modern 'world heritage imaginary' as a regime of monument worship with its own systems of secular governance between the 'original' sites and their multi-sited substitutes.

In this session, we aim to cultivate genealogies of 'world heritage' during the height of Empire, ca. 1870-1940, even if projects before this core period offer crucial points of reference. This session will explore how disciplinary expertise was developed and deployed—long before the UNESCO heritage-scape—to identify and (re)build historic structures as 'historic monuments' beyond the boundaries of the modern European nation state. Key research questions emerge: What were the criteria for classifying heritage sites and to what extent were their pre-existing cultural and religious meanings appropriated into secular forms of iconicity? What role did indigenous knowledge and labour play in the circulation of monuments within and beyond empires? How did juridical frameworks develop alongside practices of cross-regional monument preservation? How do we situate the violence of colonial expansion within aspirations toward 'global community' and the idealism of early internationalist programs (Crinson 2017)?

Heritage Ahead of the Times: Palazzo Te in Mantua

Ludovica Cappelletti, Politecnico di Milano

This paper proposes Palazzo Te in Mantua as a case study in issues of built and cultural heritage before UNESCO. Palazzo Te was built for Federico II Gonzaga between 1525 and 1534 following a design by Giulio Romano. Since its very construction and throughout the nineteenth century—under both Austrian and French empires—campaigns of restoration and design were carried out on the architecture and ornamental apparatus of the palace to ensure its preservation and transmission into the future. Such practices stem from the recognition of the intrinsic value of the palace as an expression of the cohesion of art and architecture in the work of Giulio Romano: a value that shaped Palazzo Te's cross-cultural recognition as a monument. This identity was built not only through physical interventions, but also through a critical construction. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Palazzo Te was analysed by scholars, described by travellers, and drawn by local and foreign architects and artists, thus disseminating through Europe images of the palace in both literary and graphic representations.

By 1866, after the *Unità d'Italia*, the Italian Unification, Palazzo Te was transformed into a museum. The palace is open to visitors, and descriptions are provided in each room to present the works of art to the public: an extremely modern practice that, along with ongoing preservation efforts, ushered the palace into its contemporary status within the UNESCO site of Mantua.

This research investigates the process by which Palazzo Te came to be recognized as a monument across geopolitical regimes as well as the practices related to its preservation in the modern era, arguing that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries laid the groundwork for modern definitions of transnational built and cultural heritage, for which architecture and literature were a means of its identification and transmission.

If we stand in front of Palazzo Te in Mantua today, we are looking at an acknowledged monument of the Gonzaga family's patronage of the city. Commissioned by Federico II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, as a country residence, Palazzo Te was built according to a design by Giulio Romano (1492 or 1499–1546) between 1525 and 1534. It stood on the island of Te in the southern region of Mantua, rising alone as a low construction in the neighbouring territory, protected by the Fossa Magistrale (a canal separating the island from the city) and a series of fortifications. In the early twentieth century, the island was reconnected with the city - a city that was included on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2008 for the exemplary harmony that ties it with its architecture,

quoting Palazzo Te as an outstanding manifestation of this very essence.² Placed at the end of the Percorso del Principe, the path that linked all ducal buildings across Mantua, Palazzo Te now embodies the legacy of the architectural, artistic and urban expression of the city built by the ducal patronage (Figures 1 and 2).

Starting from an analysis of the constructive and critical history of Palazzo Te, this study wishes to investigate how such a legacy came to be and proposes to consider it as the result of a long process of identifying the palace as cultural heritage: rather than remaining fixed in its appearance, the palace has undergone restorations and critical considerations, carried



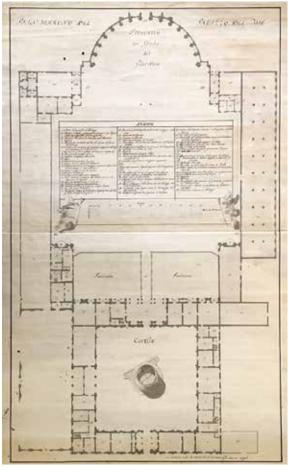
1. Palazzo Te, Mantua, north and west façades, 2018. Source: photograph by Ludovica Cappelletti © Comune di Mantova, Musei Civici.



2. Palazzo Te, Mantua, east garden façade, 2018. Source: photograph by Ludovica Cappelletti. © Comune di Mantova, Musei Civici.

out by different actors well into contemporary times. Long before the establishment of UNESCO, varying cultural and geopolitical regimes appropriated the site as an object of cultural heritage, following an instance of what has been defined as a 'salvage paradigm': the ideal mission to rescue the building and its image from the destruction of time.3 Although motivated by diverse political agendas, these 'Empires of Heritage'4 were driven by the shared purpose to understand what this artefact had represented for the court of the Gonzagas: each intervention was moved by the desire to uncover the knowledge of its original past, as if it represented the possibility to retrieve and observe the Gonzaga court at the height of its Golden Age. The historical significance of the palace and its intrinsic value as a work of art and architecture were identified as values to be understood and preserved.

A fundamental role in this quest was played by the Austrian and French governments that conquered and ruled over Mantua in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by the Italian governments after 1866, and by UNESCO, as the most recent actor to recognise such values in the twentieth century. This essay will thus examine how the agency of these actors affected the palace, arguing that this continued process of discovery ensured the transition of the palace into the modern era and that, layered over Giulio Romano's architecture, these interventions concurred to shape the present understanding of the palace



3. Giambattista Marconi, plan of Palazzo Te in Mantova, 1774. Source: Archivio di Stato, Mantova, Mappe e Disegni di Acque e Risaie, b. 194.

and its international recognition as a *monument.*

This process becomes clearer by considering a comprehensive concept of a 'historic monument, as developed by Françoise Choay (1992) after Alois Riegl (1903): not a building intended as a memorial at its conception, but an architecture that becomes such through the consideration of its scholars and observers in time.⁵ Palazzo Te is represented in this very definition: commissioned as a villa, it has become a historic monument in the election of history, through works of construction and interpretation that have recognised its architectural, artistic and cultural value. In this sense, the connotation of cultural heritage is equally considered in its historical genealogy that pivoted around the recognition of architectures of cultural significance and poignancy.6

The Construction of a Global Monument

Mantua was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2008, along with the neighbouring city of Sabbioneta. The statement of Outstanding Universal Value reads: 'Mantua and Sabbioneta offer exceptional testimonies to the urban, architectural and artistic realizations of the Renaissance, linked through the visions and actions of the ruling Gonzaga family." Furthermore, in the listed justifications, 'Mantua preserves a remarkable number of emblematic and influential buildings and pieces of art, which are indispensable for the complete picture of this key period of European culture and its world of ideas.' Among the examples of this 'monumental art' is Palazzo Te: 'In both architecture and painting, this became one of the most influential Mannerist works.77

With its inscription in the World Heritage List, Mantua acquired international recognition; along with the city, Palazzo Te became part of a larger system of 'monuments of outstanding universal value, that UNESCO identifies as cultural heritage from a global perspective.8 Yet, rather than constituting a newly developed awareness, this consideration of Palazzo Te seems to derive from a longer process of recognition, as the most recent stage in the stratification of interpretations on the palace that significantly predate the steps carried out by UNESCO. This process had started with Giorgio Vasari and his Vite (1550), where he presented Palazzo Te as one of the greatest works of Giulio Romano's 'stravagante maniera'9 ('extravagant manner'). Vasari seems to initiate a critical reading of Palazzo Te that, moving from his example, will be implemented in the following centuries by artists and scholars, fostering knowledge and consideration of Giulio Romano's work across Europe. Palazzo Te has endured a varied critical reception: André Félibien (1672) described the figurative program of the palace;10 Sir John Soane, in Mantua in 1780, recorded briefly its architectural features, drawn by Giulio's fallen triglyphs on the courtyard façade;¹¹ Charles Percier travelled to the palace in 1795 and portrayed its architecture as well as the



4. Palazzo Te, Mantua, west façade of the courtyard, twentieth century. Source: Archivio di Stato, Mantova, photographic archive Calzolari, album 9, 1212.

ornamental apparatus.12 These memories, along with many others, represent the constituting elements of the critical interpretation of Palazzo Te, that have added up, later shaping the UNESCO criteria for the recognition of the city and its monuments as global, universal heritage. Yet these contributions developed alongside the interventions carried out on the building itself by the Austrian, French, and Italian regimes: the role of this imperial age in shaping the palace was uncovered in 1971 by Kurt W. Forster and Richard J. Tuttle, who recognised 'the genesis of the palace's architecture' in the eighteenth and nineteenthcenturies restorations as an interpretation of Giulio Romano's design.¹³ It appears worthwhile to elaborate on the meaning of this construction of cultural heritage.

The Austrian and French interpretations

In 1775, the Austrian chancellor Wenzel von Kaunitz (1711–1794) wrote to the Austrian governor of Lombardy, Karl Gotthard von Firmian (1718–1782), discussing the necessary undertakings for the restorations to Palazzo Te in Mantua. '[These operations] seem inevitable in any way, at least in order to preserve the paintings, stuccos and other monuments of the

School of Giulio Romano – and of the Golden Age for similar works of art: [...] I have no doubt this resolution will be greatly praised by the supporters of the arts – even foreign ones.¹⁴

Though already well appreciated at this time, Palazzo Te sustained years of misuse as a military warehouse during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, reducing it to deplorable conditions. At this time, Mantua had lost its political and economic autonomy and had become a province under the Austrian dominance, that engaged a programme of design and restoration for the architecture and ornamental apparatus of Palazzo Te. It was hardly the only building of interest to the Austrian and French regimes. Palazzo Ducale and the Favorita, ducal residences of the Gonzaga, were adapted as royal residences. These buildings were appropriated as representative icons of a newly acquired power in a foreign region, employed as noticeable symbols of secular authority and recognised as such across different nations throughout Europe. Still, Palazzo Te embodied a different significance as a work of art. Barely inhabited by the Gonzagas, the palace had quickly lost its function of residence, to be acknowledged as a 'monument': this instance arose from the



5. Palazzo Te, Mantua, *Camera dei Giganti*, Chamber of the Giants, 1988. Source: Archivio di Stato, Mantova, photographic archive Giovetti, D246.

cross-cultural recognition of the value of the palace as a unique model of Giulio Romano's synthesis of architecture and art. Palazzo Te was not seen as a vessel of his visionary frescos, but as a cohesive system of architecture and decoration; thus, the programme for interventions originated with the explicit purpose of ensuring the preservation of the palace and safeguarding its transmission into the future.

The Austrian government chose to employ the expertise of the Academy of Fine Arts of Mantua, the Accademia di Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura and the architect Paolo Pozzo (1741–1803). In the span of twenty years, Palazzo Te was not only thoroughly repaired but also redesigned (Figure 3). Architects and artists offered their own interpretations of its design through actual construction, guided by the desire to restore the palace to an iconic version of Giulio Romano's villa, 'such a singular monument, of remarkable relevance for the Fine Arts.¹⁵ They worked on the *bugnati* of the

courtyard façade and tweaked the decorations of the rooms according to their own understanding of Giulio's ideal intentions. The Austrian government had doubted the reception of Giulio Romano's work among the public of the time, characterised by a more conservative taste: Giulio's *maniera* had been recognised as quite different from the classical instances of the Renaissance. Still, the relevance of this monument in the field of the arts was so widely recognised to place Palazzo Te among the greatest works to be further studied for the uniqueness of its design.

This campaign continued even during the French dominance of Mantua, at the turn of the century. Under Napoleonic rule, the new regime sought to employ the mythological and artistic legacy of Mantua to legitimise the French power through public events and celebrations. The architects Giovanni Antonio Antolini (1753–1841) and Giuseppe Pistocchi (1744–1814) were engaged to work in the gardens of the palace; here the iconic

appropriation of the monument went further, as the Austrian coat of arms, on the eastern façade, was substituted with the French one and two entrance gates were placed along the access roads: a pair of Napoleonic eagles still crown the booths today, as telling signs of the succession of empires and the 'shapes of time' they impressed upon the monument.

The preservation and transmission of heritage took also other forms: through descriptions, urban guides and various portrayals, images of Palazzo Te journeyed through Italy and started to circulate in Europe, attracting travellers, writers, and artists who chose to include Palazzo Te in their Grand Tour itineraries. In the nineteenth century, the new guides to Mantua and its landmarks included descriptions of each room of the palace, that led the visitor to the most interesting works of art and provided the interpretations for the stories depicted on walls and vaults; these narrations became instruments to understand the allegorical value of the decorations, a guide to their meaning as iconographic and symbolic renderings of the history of the Gonzaga family and the glory of Federico II.18

In 1817, the superintendent of the Imperial Palaces of Mantua undertook a complete publication of prints featuring Giulio Romano's works in Palazzo Te; far from simple replicas of Giulio Romano's frescos, these etchings were designed to imitate his style. The project was never completed, but it serves to relate the attitude of the time toward the monument: this *Descrizione* was set out to have the scientific accuracy of a taxonomic catalogue – a rigorous classification driven by an analytical inquiry and by the purpose to disseminate images of the palace, that influenced the interpretation of the monument at transnational level.

Through different means, the Austrian and French dominances created a tradition of heritage: both empires, newly formed in 1804, continued to build this legacy well into the nineteenth century. Though furnished as an ideal residence, Palazzo Te was experienced as a monument, as an artefact of cultural and

artistic value that had been shaped into a historic piece of heritage by the interpretative gaze of contemporaneity. The sensibility of the modern empires moved forward still: to preserve its frescos and structures from damage and to regulate the entrance of visitors, in 1822 the authorities instituted an entry pass, granted at no cost to who would like to explore the palace.²⁰

From Monument to Museum

Far from becoming an isolated landmark in Mantua, now barely a province in the empires, Palazzo Te became part of a world heritage. The effort toward a systematic protection of historic sites and architecture seems to be in keeping with the European perspective: in these very years, the French monarchy instituted projects and expeditions intended to identify, record, and salvage the 'monuments historiques' ('historic monuments'), later followed by the establishment of a state office dedicated to restoring them (1837).²¹

After the Italian Unification, the palace was sold to the Municipality of Mantua in 1876; and among the requirements listed for transferring the property, the first involved the commitment to the conservation of Palazzo Te, 'not only as a building, but as a historic and artistic Monument' and 'to maintain the palace open to the visitors.'22 Palazzo Te was, in every aspect, already a museum. In 1883, each room was provided with a notice in Italian and French that described its original function and artistic features – a modern practice that demonstrates even more the edifying purpose to present the palace to its visitors and convey its legacy to a wider public.²³ At the turn of the century, Italy saw the institution of new commissions and offices (Soprintendenza) that overviewed a preservation campaign of the palace. Finally, in 1927, an entry fee was established to visit Palazzo Te: the price was three *lire* coins. The decision to apply an entry fee that had been in place since 1901 for Italian museums and art galleries, was a symbol of the recognition of Palazzo Te as a museum itself.24

Since then, Palazzo Te has undergone uninterrupted preservation works resulting in the addition of exhibition and conference spaces that shaped Palazzo Te as a lively institution of culture that narrates the artistic *milieu* of the city.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, art historians and scholars like Ernst Gombrich (1909–2001) and Frederick Hartt (1914–1991) ventured to Mantua to investigate Giulio Romano and Palazzo Te: the palace they found was the one that had been codified, portrayed and redesigned in the imperial age, but that was now understood as Giulio's original. They nevertheless offered different interpretations that contributed to improving the understanding of the palace. And this analysis has since continued, carried out by scholars that have held this immaterial heritage as a reference point for their work, each time departing or following previous interpretations.

Given this outline of the history of Palazzo Te, the inquiry proposed at the beginning of this study seems to present itself with greater force: how did the legacy of Palazzo Te as a monument of Mantua come to be? Palazzo Te was not designed as such; its significance as a monument was bestowed upon the building by the consideration of the following eras, regimes and scholars that have observed, restored, and designed it since its initial construction. It can be argued that this process of appropriation and valorisation *built* the notion of 'monument' that later determined the criteria of value within the UNESCO's consideration of the palace.

Rather than just appropriating the significance of Palazzo Te, the work of the empires offered it to the future. Palazzo Te, now a world heritage, forces us to reconsider the meaning of cultural heritage and to look at the monument as composed by its manifold critical interpretations and receptions, as images that each era has imbued with its own sensibility: 'The past as we know it is partly a product of the present; we continually reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics.'25

The theme that connects the first Austrian interventions to the contributions of contemporary scholars, seems to be an attempt to uncover the *idea of the essence* of Palazzo Te. Every state actor, architect and historian who has intervened on the monument appears to have done so in an effort to reveal the Italian *Cinquecento*. Wishing to retrieve the image of the Gonzaga court and its artist, Giulio Romano, empires and governments have never abandoned the palace, but strived to preserve it and uncover its mysteries.

Today it can be argued that the image of Palazzo Te has not yet been completely deciphered; it still retains its mystery and prompts us to keep questioning its history and significance. Thus, this work leaves an open path for whomever would offer new interpretations on the palace today and contribute to the continuous valorisation of its cross-cultural heritage.

Still, while standing in front of the palace, its essence seems to take shape. Palazzo Te becomes a museum of the demanding patron Federico II Gonzaga; of Giulio Romano, the artist envied by the gods in Vasari's epitaph26, who aims to provoke stupor in the observer; of his 'gestörte Form', the 'distorted form'27 that Ernst Gombrich recognised at Palazzo Te in the dissonances, the fallen triglyphs, the transgression of classical forms, the horses raised mid-air, the disturbing Giants, the atypical proportions; and a museum of this 'palace of delights' (Figures 4 and 5). All of these aspects have remained today in Palazzo Te, even in the most shocking elements. The nineteenth century, despite its canonical outlook and rational sensibility, preserved the palace in its ideal original essence, without censuring, altering or adapting this artistic oeuvre to a canon more congenial to the modern era; instead, it chose to respect its history, as did all actors that came afterwards. Thus, rather than reaching the present as a palace stripped and laying bare, devoured by the passing of time, today Palazzo Te has remained whole, exceptionally preserved as a monument to the intertwinement between art,

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architecture, and patronage, and to its symbolic iconographic programme: a product of its era, of the sixteenth century.

Notes

1 About Palazzo Te, see Ernst H. Gombrich, 'Zum werke Giulio Romanos. I. Der Palazzo del Te', Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, 8 (1934), 79-104; Frederick Hartt, Giulio Romano, 2 Vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958); Kurt W. Forster and Richard J. Tuttle, 'The Palazzo del Te', Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians XXX, 4 (1971), 267-93; Egon Verheyen, The Palazzo del Te in Mantua: Images of Love and Politics (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Giulio Romano (Milano: Electa, 1989); Amedeo Belluzzi, Palazzo Te a Mantova, 2 Vols (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1998); Massimo Bulgarelli, Metamorfosi e 'maraviglia': Giulio Romano a palazzo Te (Roma: Campisano, 2019).

This paper stems from the PhD thesis titled 'La costruzione del monumento. Palazzo Te a Mantova', defended in 2018 at Politecnico di Milano. My gratitude goes to Michael Falser and David Sadighian, as well as to the Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico Comunale and Museo Civico di Palazzo Te in Mantua, Archivio di Stato in Milan and the Warburg Institute of London.

- 2 ICOMOS, 'Evaluation Book for World Heritage List nominations' (2008), 174–183 (https://www.icomos.org/en/our-work/evaluation/the-evaluation-process-in-detail-2); UNESCO, 'Decisions Adopted at the 32nd Session of the World Heritage Committee' (2008), 177 (https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-24reve.pdf).
- 3 James Clifford, 'The others. Beyond the 'salvage paradigm', *Third Text* 6 (1989), 73–8: 73.
- 4 As defined in the brief of the panel to which this paper wishes to contribute, 'Empires of Heritage: World Monuments before UNESCO'.
- 5 Françoise Choay, L'allégorie du patrimoine

(Paris: Seuil, 1992); Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus: sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Wien: Braumüller, 1903).

- 6 Michael Falser, 'Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: Methodological Considerations,' in Michael Falser (ed.), *Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission. From Decay to Recovery* (Cham: Springer, 2015), 1–32: 2.
- 7 ICOMOS, , 'Evaluation Book...', 183, 179, 176.
- 8 UNESCO, 'Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage' (Paris: 1972) (https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/).
- 9 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti* architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri (Firenze: 1550), 886–90: 887.
- 10 André Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 5 vols. (Paris: 1672), II, 185–99.
- 11 Sir John Soane's Museum, Notes Italy & Italian language &c, 1780, 156v, 156r (SM volume 162).
- 12 Amedeo Belluzzi, 'Schizzi mantovani di Charles Percier', in Sabine Frommel and Jean-Philippe Garric (eds.), *I disegni di Charles Percier, 1764–1838: Emilia e Romagna nel 1791* (Roma: Campisano, 2016), 48–56.
- 13 Forster and Tuttle, 'The Palazzo...,' 267.
- 14 State Archives of Milan (Archivio di Stato, Milano, ASMI), Fondi Camerali p.a., b. 159 ½, letter, 23 January 1775. All archival translations are by the author. For reasons of brevity, here are noted only the main archival materials, all referenced in Belluzzi, *Palazzo Te...*, I, 233–79.
- 15 ASMI, Studi p.a., b. 5, 20 December 1781, letter from Giuseppe Bottani, Director of the School of Art of the Accademia.
- 16 ASMI, Studi p.a., b. 4, 16 February 1769, letter from Kaunitz to Firmian.

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MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND THE PUBLIC

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18 Gateano Susani, Nuovo prospetto di Mantova arricchito delle principali vedute e della pianta di detta città (Mantova: 1834); Francesco Antoldi, Guida pel forestiere che brama di conoscere le opere più pregevoli di belle arti nella citta di Mantova (Mantova: 1821).

19 Gianmaria Erbesato and Paola Giovetti (eds.), Incisioni di Pietro Biaggi (Mantova, 1993).

20 ASMN, Scalcheria, b. 115, minute, 4 December 1822; letter, 30 December 1822.

21 See Françoise Bercé, Les premiers travaux de la Commission des monuments historiques 1837-1848 (Paris: Picard, 1979).

22 Municipal Historic Archives of Mantua (Archivio Storico Comunale, Mantova, ASCMN), Archivio Ufficio Tecnico, b. 17, f. 1, Palazzo Te 1806-1935, Consegna da parte del R.º Demanio Nazionale al Comune di Mantova del Palazzo T. ed adiacenze, 25 June 1877.

23 Giovanni Battista Intra, Mantova ne' suoi monumenti di storia e d'arte. Guida della città e de' suoi dintorni (Mantova: 1883), 151.

24 ASCMN, Sezione novecentesca, cat. V.3.1, b.5, 1919-1930, Protocollo 2638/1927, proposal to institute an entrance fee for Palazzo Te, 21 May 1927; Protocollo 2638/1927, deliberation for the institution of an entrance fee, 2 June 1927.

25 David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 26.

26 Ernst Kris, Otto Kurz, Die Legende vom Kunstler: Ein geschichtlicher Versuch (Wien: Krystall Verlag, 1934); Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist: a Historical Experiment (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 85-6.

27 Gombrich, 'Zum werke...'; see Massimo Bulgarelli, 'Il Giulio Romano di Ernst Gombrich', in Ernst H. Gombrich, L'opera di Giulio Romano. Il palazzo del Te, Federico Bucci and Massimo Bulgarelli (eds.), (Mantova: Tre Lune, 2016), 231-48.

Baltic Architecture as World Heritage: Finding a Place for Oneself in the Global Narratives

Kristina Jõekalda, Estonian Academy of Arts

I seek to look anew at the legislation of heritage preservation in the Baltic area from 1880s to 1930s. The Baltic German community, representing the cultural elite at the time, made continuous attempts toward a heritage law. With their Baltic Heimat between the German motherland, Russian fatherland, and awakening communities of Estonians/Latvians, several empires and 'cultural contestants' were at play. Nonetheless, the first heritage conservation act only came to be realized in 1923 (Latvia) and 1925 (Estonia), by which time the political circumstances had completely changed. My analysis compares the preparations and drafts for the act by the Baltic Germans around 1900 and the new nation-states in 1920s. How was the international value of local heritage articulated in those documents? Which international (and German) role models and specialists were consulted? How were these debates communicated to a wider audience?

Furthermore, fitting Baltic art into the international narratives is a common feature also in the first survey books, most importantly Wilhelm Neumann's *Grundriss einer Geschichte der bildenden Künste und des Kunstgewerbes in Liv-, Est- und Kurland vom Ende des 12. bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1887) and Voldemar Vaga's *Estonian Art: The History of Arts in Estonia from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (1940, in Estonian) – authors who were at the forefront of both the field of art history and heritage preservation.

The Baltic area is hardly a completely disparate community, but it is curious that the Baltic German culture that did see itself as an integral part of German culture is not commonly recognized as such by either the colleagues at the time or those of today. Therefore, this is a topic discussing peripheries within Europe,

colonial narratives, patriotic duty of a *Kulturnation*, national self-positioning, cultural responsibility to posterity, and the universal value of local heritage – all common notions in the texts published at the time.

Modern Traditions, Heritage Protection and Cultural Identity in Meiji Japan (1868-1912)

Beate Löffler, Technical University of Dortmund

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Japan was forced by the western hegemonies to end its isolationist policy. To avoid colonization, the Japanese government initiated a complex process of modernization: It introduced the western administrative machinery, as well as technological and cultural knowledge from the West, dispatched students to renowned educational institutions abroad, and hired experts from Europe and North America as advisers and teachers. The ensuing shifts in society affected art and architecture as well.

Collectibles such as art objects met a tremendous western interest, usually described and summed up in the keyword Japonism. This was a mixed blessing: It ensured research and discourse on Japanese art but went with a sell-out of Japan's mobile artefacts. Japanese architecture faced a different but no less difficult situation. Largely perceived as a technologically outdated curiosity, it was marginalized in western discourses. On site, existing structures suffered both from loss of economic systems that had ensured their maintenance over time and cases of targeted destruction in the wake of political changeover. In addition, traditional practices and competences fell out of favour due to the focus on modern building technologies.

The paper addresses these multi-layered processes as well the actors and institutions involved. With a focus on built artefacts, it traces the re-interpretation of Japan's cultural characteristics against the foil of western

norms and standards. It shows Japan's modern heritage policies as part of the general negotiation of a modern cultural identity, as a phenomenon of cultural transfers and negotiations of meaning. As a result, it shows the emergence of a cultural practice in which 'traditional' values and 'modern' perceptions of relevance became inextricably interlinked.

Reinventing Jerusalem - Between the Actual City and its Image

Reut Yarnitsky, University of Pennsylvania

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a growing number of European travellers, pilgrims, and scholars arrived in Jerusalem, establishing research institutions, initiating archaeological excavations, and creating cartographical and artistic representations of the city. While these were common colonial practices at that time, the iconisation and reconstruction of Jerusalem was, however, a unique case of a heritage site formation. For at the heart of this endeavour stood not the folklorising gaze on the east, adding an iconic monument to the growing 'world heritage imaginary, but rather an inner European motivation of gazing upon the origin of Christian faith at the very moment it was vanishing in the heart of industrializing Europe. Consequently, rather than importing the monument to the centre of the empire, a reversed process occurred in which the longlasting Christian symbolic image of the heavenly city was brought from the heart of the empire to the orient. The unavoidable gap between the ideal image and the actual provincial Ottoman city, resulted in a unique working method: not a preservation of the existing, but a reinvention of the declining religious symbolic image using modern scientific methods. An essential step was the translation of the medieval jewel-like portrayal of an abstract heavenly city into a modern representation based on a 'birds eye view', framing and canonizing the city as a closed geometrical emblem. With the establishment of the British mandate in 1917, it was exactly this reversed action of turning the symbolic image into a demarked geographical zone that enabled British planners to translate the image directly into a set of planning principles: creating an unbuilt green belt around the walls, while restricting development within them. This planning tradition that shaped Jerusalem as a hermetic enclosed monument holds important implications to this day. Looking back at the formation of the city as a monument, while unpacking the convoluted relationship between the city and its image, might help make it more graspable today.

Migration and Domesticity in the Long Nineteenth Century

Session Chair: Elena Chestnova, *Università della Svizzera Italiana*

The theme of domesticity and displacement has become a central topic of architectural scholarship. This is manifest in EAHN's 2019 themed conference on the subject as well as a growing number of publications that appear in academic and professional journals. Most of these studies address contemporary phenomena and events of recent history, with some scholars extending the discussion into the displacements of the twentieth century and the architectures that accompanied them. Earlier histories of domestic spaces in migration contexts are, however, still largely conspicuous by their absence.

The subject of home on the move, of home-making in the wake of displacement, of taking flight, coping and making do is without doubt sharply relevant in today's world. Its actuality is precipitated partly by the discussions of the 'refugee crisis' or 'migration problem' – phenomena that, in the journalistic and political rhetoric, are often presented as novel challenges of the modern world. While this exposition is misleading (migration is as old as humankind), some aspects of population movement in its current form are clearly modern: the nation state with sharply imposed and policed boundaries, national belonging as a cornerstone of individual identity, and the idea of domesticity in the sense of inalienable rootedness. These notions, which now frame our understanding of 'home' and 'foreign', were moulded to a great extent during the long nineteenth century.

We will be looking to examine the ways in which ideas of home and belonging were shaped in the context of the increasingly global world of the nineteenth century with a view to expose some of the assumptions that began to be made about the notion of home and the idea of migration during this period. With hope, historicising the origins of these assumptions might help us begin to investigate how the age-old phenomenon of migration became a problem in our times.

SESSION 04

Cultivating Italianità in Eritrea: **Commodities and Domesticity in the Construction of the Nation-State**

Giulia Amoresano, University of California Los Angeles/California State Polytechnic University

In 1893, nine families from four different regions of Italy migrated to Eritrea as the first nonmilitary settlers to occupy the newly-acquired territory. Provided land and financial support by the Italian government, the families established the first 'esperimento di colonizzazione', the village of Godofelassi. Despite using an Eritrean house typology, the village's layout was designed as a familiar type meant to reproduce homes for Italians while affirming Italianità in the colony. Yet, in the same way the design of the village was neither Italian nor Eritrean, the experimental cultivation aimed at producing 'tropical' commodities as coffee and tobacco was foreigner to the Italian families as to the Eritrean soil.

Aligned with experimentations in Italy to unite, employ and house its divided population, Godofelassi was to offer an alternative to the many families escaping Italy's poor rural areas who would otherwise be migrants/labourers somewhere else. Eventually, the experiment failed to reproduce the imagined community desired: some of the families bonded with Eritreans, while the soil was domesticated to produce typically-Italian crops.

This paper complicates the figure of the migrant as a monolithic construct, presenting the ambivalence of the multi-regional families migrating to Eritrea as both agents of the state and experimental subjects for the reproduction of a uniform Italian identity. Godofelassi presents an alternative certainty distinguishing home and foreign, challenging consolidated notions of domesticity and the rapport between migration and colonialism, usually framed as a contested system of place appropriation between the customary binomial colonizer/ colonized. The case of Godofelassi suggests

that domesticity acts through production, and that the period of emergence of the domestic sphere is the very same as that of not only the nation but its specific capitalist economy of products. Finally, it challenges the totality of

consolidated terms arguing for the potential of

exploring the hard-to-classify episode.

MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION OF IDEAS

'Who is My Neighbour?' New York Italians and Housing Design Reforms in the Late **Nineteenth Century**

Ignacio Gonzalez Galán, Barnard College, Columbia University

The question 'who is my neighbour?' appeared in an 1899 article authored by Danish photographer and housing activist Jacob Riis, published in the American nationalist magazine The Century. Riis discussed the diverse religious performances gathering Italians in New York, first segregated in groups from different Italian regions and then together as a diasporic community with a shared national background. The formation of this community was particularly relevant at the time, for the Italian diaspora—the largest one in modern history to date—coincided with the unification of the country and the rise of Italian nationalism. The formation of the nation as an 'imaginary community' took place simultaneously in Italy and in New York and was in direct friction with the rise of American nationalist ideas after the Civil War.

This paper studies the way in which housing design reforms in New York at the turn of the century participated in the consideration of Italian migrants as citizens, defining their inclusion and exclusion in America through processes of assimilation and discrimination. Jacob Riis was not only a chronicler of these processes, but also a protagonist within them. In fact, his evaluation of those individuals whose houses 'had ceased to be sufficiently separate [...] to afford the influences of home and family, linked the general concern with

ventilation and lack of space in the tenements with the celebration of the nuclear family as a privileged domestic arrangement for the different diasporic communities settling in America. Through a critical reading of fundamental texts of the period, the discussion of performances enabling diverse forms of belonging, and the analysis of transformations in housing, this paper considers how architecture linked the family to the nation and helped shape shifting identities providing access to citizenship for the Italian diasporic community in New York.

Home 'Improvement': Paradoxical Notions of Domesticity in Bangalore, a Princely Capital (1881-1920)

Sonali Dhanpal, Newcastle University

The Anglo- European notion of the home and its power to reform, mould and reshape 'native' habits and customs, in the constitution of colonial power, is well known. In Bangalore, the administrative capital of the Princely state of Mysore, the ordered home took the form of the bungalow as part of residential 'improvement' schemes in the city between 1890 and 1920. During this critical period, the city became a labour market, attracting new migrants who housed themselves in designated 'native pockets' in the city's civil and military station. Without interference from the princely state and a municipality run by a British Resident, the station allowed sociality beyond the limits of traditional caste and occupation hierarchies. Thereby attracting migrants of marginalised endogamous groups referred to variously in records as Pariahs, Tamils or 'low caste menials'. Concomitantly, a need for sanitary housing arose with cholera and plague outbreaks, and providing it became part of a larger national project by the colonial government. But as this paper will reveal through one such plagueproof planning scheme, Frazer Town, planning 'improvements' were often paradoxical. On the one hand, the bungalow within a compound, became leitmotif for twinned sanitary and

moral reform in localities such as Frazer Town. On the other hand, capitalist imperatives and laissez-faire economics constrained improvement measures. Existing migrant communities were displaced to make available the bungalow and the bourgeois comfort of a planned locality, to limited populations. Owing to the paucity of self-representation of marginalised, non-local, migrant communities, this paper draws attention to such understudied social groups by examining spaces such as segregation camps and temporary plague settlements that they were rehoused to. Moving beyond social privilege and aesthetics of improvement projects such as Frazer Town, this paper shows how the notion of home that provided refuge for some, rendered others displaced and dispossessed.

Settling the Murray

Laila Seewang, Portland State University

In 1893 when the availability of pastoral lands, and of British investments in them, dried up, Adelaide experienced a sharp recession. As a way of alleviating social hardships, city officials pinned their hopes on the dream of, and recent advances in, irrigation. They formed citizen collectives and sent them to tame the Murray River, the mythical inland watercourse in the desert. The dream was a rural hinterland of agriculture and self-sufficiency projected onto a seemingly empty land and born of imported European values: plans were drawn, land divided, machinery imported. Invisible was the fact that the Murray Basin had for centuries been a physical and spiritual centre to the indigenous population. The settlements failed, many within the first two years. But their short life reflected the wider problems associated with the attempt to domesticate the Australian environment. This domestication, often less successful in practice, helped to develop a rural culture based on imported environmental values that inserted itself between the binary of urban (colonial settlements) and wilderness (the Australian 'outback'). Against a broader

topic of irrigation as a common technology imposed by European colonization to tailor crop production to domestic markets, this paper tries to understand colonization, through irrigation, as a cultural effort by an urban community to domesticate its environment in order to produce specific values regarding home and inhabitation.

Urban Planning During State Socialism: Global Ambitions, National Ideologies and Local Desires [Panel 1]

Session Chairs: Jasna Mariotti, *Queen's University Belfast* Kadri Leetmaa, *University of Tartu*

Urban planning during the period of state socialism gave a rise to a city that was centralised, structurally uniform and based on administrative norms in which housing distribution, public services and recreational amenities were equally distributed and accessible to all. The quantity of service utilities was normatively projected upon the number of inhabitants in each neighbourhood contributing to the formation of socialist communities within the city boundaries. The city centre was the most vital part of the socialist city, providing a setting for its political, cultural and administrative functions. The abolition of the private property and the establishment of the central planning of the state were embodied in the ideal socialist planning and helped in the formation of new cities or the substantial redevelopment patterns of existing ones.

Prompting a particular relationship between design, ideology and local desires, architects, often following strict guidelines by the authorities, embraced opportunities to design cities, neighbourhoods that were modernist and housing units that were enclosed with pre-fabricated panels while testing socialist planning principles and ideas.

This session will focus on the planning practices and the transformations of the built environment of cities during the period of state socialism, aiming to generate a comparative discussion on the theme on the basis of case-studies from around the world.

New Ecological Planning and Spatial Assessment of Production Sites in Socialist Industrial Yekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk) in the 1960s-80s

Nadezda Gobova, University College London

The planning of the cities of the socialist period was often associated with the planning, construction and operation of industrial infrastructure. The early socialist city planning discourse of the 1920s was centred on the predictable problems of spatial and functional relationships between production and residential zones and their interconnected development. In the following period of actual realisation of the cities' masterplans such approach could not be practically implemented as the city planners and architects had been restricted in their opportunity to project and control the positioning and spatial development of industrial sites and did not normally produce and own planning documentation related to industrial development. All initiatives in planning, construction and operation of industries were concentrated in the hands of the state industrial agencies, which were administrated centrally by the Ministry of Industrial Development. Such strict division in the sphere of public and industrial planning resulted in the haphazard development of production zones and the emergence of problematic spatial and ecological situations in many socialist industrial cities.

It is less known that the later period of the 1960s–80s was characteristic by the increased concern with the environmental performance of industrial cities and by an attempt of the local planning authorities to consolidate the power over the development and operation of production zones. This paper discusses the example of Yekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk) demonstrating the specifics of the local urban industrial planning strategies embraced during

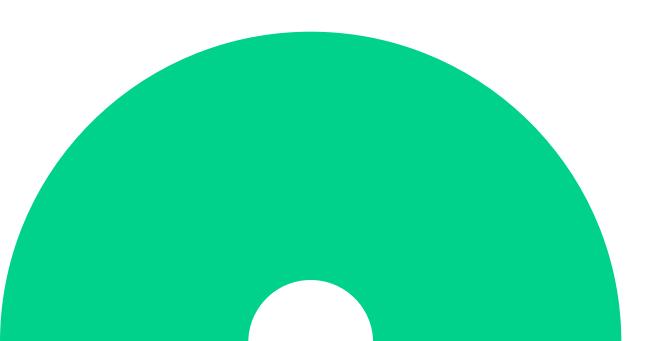
that period, which aimed to systematise and include the previously unrestricted and largely independent development of industries under the general control of the city planning process. The architects and planners were able to survey the enclosed industrial areas within the city and for the first time produce their development plans. The main purpose of such movement was to ensure a more sustainable development of industrial zones and their less negative environmental impact on the city.

The Plan for Tselinograd and the Khrushchyovka: The Programmatic Intentions and Legacy of the Virgin Lands Urbanization by Means of a New Typology

Gianni Talamini, City University of Hong Kong

Tselinograd was established as the capital of the USSR Tselinniy Krai (Virgin Land Territory) in 1961. The planned city became a showcase of a new conception of town planning and the standardization of buildings under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev. The new residential typology, which was proposed in conjunction with the Virgin Land Campaign and which is commonly known as the Khrushchyovka, was widely used across the whole of the USSR, as well as being exported to other socialist countries, such as China. Beginning in the 1950s, this new typology was used to supply dwellings to about 60 million people across the USSR for two decades. Despite these buildings being designed to last for a limited period, a large portion of the current population of the former USSR still reside in units constructed during this era. The Khrushchyovka contributed to the shape of socialist society and formed an important part of USSR history and popular culture, as well as collective memory. This contribution aims to analyse the innovative approach that was tested in Tselinograd by documentary analysis

of the original planning documents for Tselinograd and by content analysis of the programmatic speech of Nikita Khrushchev at the National Conference of Builders, Architects, Workers in Construction Materials and Manufacture of Construction and Roads Machinery Industries, and Employees of Design and Research and Development Organizations on 7 December, 1954. Furthermore, it seeks to discuss and interpret the legacy of the original plan for Tselinograd in the current capital city of Kazakhstan, which recently has been renamed Nur-Sultan. The study is based on primary data collected in four periods of field investigation between 2009 and 2011.



Citizen Participation and Socialism: An Inquiry into International Influences on Urban Planning in Socialist Belgrade

Mina Blagojević, *University of Belgrade* Ana Perić, *ETH Zurich*, *University of Belgrade*

> The notion of citizen participation in urban planning has rarely been associated with state socialism as a system favouring the centralized, top-down planning approach. However, post-WWII Yugoslavia makes an interesting case, as citizen participation, together with state decentralisation and self-management or 'industrial democracy', formed three main pillars of Yugoslav socialism. External factors such as Yugoslav non-aligned position and its openness to Western cultural influences strengthened the Yugoslav society that was considered a relaxed version of socialism as compared to other countries behind the Iron Curtain. However, the social reality of citizen participation in a single-party political system was not flawless. Hence, considering the concept of planning diffusion, we intend to trace the evolution of the participatory planning model in socialist Belgrade. To what extent was it a spontaneous occurrence in the atmosphere of self-management and condition of cultural autonomy? Which features were borrowed, and where did the role models come from? What were the key channels and nodes of international collaboration that enabled such an exchange? Which aspects of the participatory model were customized, re-invented to adjust to the socio-economic and cultural specificities? To address these questions, we use the case study of Belgrade, as an embodiment of the cosmopolitan urbanity, between 1965 and 1980. This period is considered the peak of participatory urban planning, also characterized by intensive professional networking. In doing so, we will elucidate the richness of urban planning culture in socialist Belgrade and its dynamic evolution, further contesting stereotypes regarding 'typical' socialist planning practice.

Arnstein's seminal article on 'ladders of citizen participation' is often used as a starting point in analysing participatory planning practices, due to its systematic clarity as well as to its focus on an essential pre-condition and meaning of participation: the re-distribution of power towards enabling citizens' control over their fates (Figure 1). The greatest effect of Arnstein's contribution to planning was embodied in the numerous approaches supported by 'communicative-argumentative turn' in planning in the 1990s². Fostering multi-stakeholder debate, recognizing their various interests, needs and positions, aspiration towards conflict resolution and consensus-building highlighted the principle of equity among the participants in the planning process.

Early traditions of modern western urban planning included no scope for the participation of the public whatsoever. Production of the blueprints or fixed master plans, reflected in the principles of CIAM, notably the Athens Charter, were widely pursued in coping with the urban reconstruction challenges following World War II.3 Due to rapid technological development and substantial changes in urban geography, there was a shift from the blueprint to the synoptic or systems view of planning. In this context, public consultation was institutionalised for the first time.4 However, planning was still seen as distinct from politics since it was based on unitary public interest⁵ and instrumental rationality⁶. From the 1970s on, a theoretically pluralist tradition of thought has developed. Different approaches subsequently emerged,

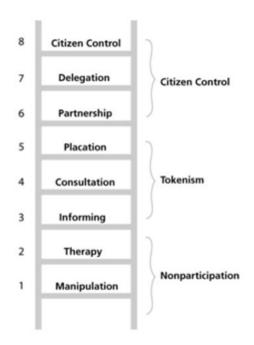


Figure 1. The ladder of citizen participation (Sherry R. Arnstein, 'A Ladder Of Citizen Participation', Journal of the American Institute of Planners 35, no. 4)

with a view that planning is a developmentoriented political practice, rather than a separate technical field⁷.

Different from capitalist western democracies, socialist countries are normally associated with centralised, top-down planning approaches. However, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) makes a unique historical case of a 'third way' post-war social experiment (1945 - 1990). Public participation in social and spatial planning was at the core of the official socialist Yugoslav ideology - known as selfmanagement. Introduced after the deviation of Yugoslavia from Cominform in 1948, selfmanagement meant societal ownership over the means of production and management of public enterprises by their employees8. Basic territorial units for the realisation of the selfmanagement were communes and local communities. As the 1974 Constitution gave more power to the local level, it was expected that through their local communities (LC), self-management interest communities (SIC) and organisations of joint labour (OJL) citizens would directly collaborate with socio-political organisations and expert institutions on the issues of their interest.

On the other hand, the system was burdened by its intrinsic contradictions. Conceived and conveyed in a single-party political system, the actual practicalities of self-management were full of inconsistencies and tensions9, Nevertheless, the intellectual elite enjoyed a significant cultural autonomy, generous funding, and international mobility in performing their work. Belgrade, as the capital of SFRY, was the embodiment of the modern and cosmopolitan Yugoslav urbanity, figuring as an important node of professional exchange¹⁰. The period of the late 1960s and 1970s has been assumed as the most prosperous period in Belgrade's planning, mostly due to its comprehensiveness, interdisciplinary collaboration, and participatory processes¹¹.

We intend to examine the development of the participatory planning concepts in socialist Yugoslavia and Belgrade. We focus on knowledge diffusion¹² processes, to identify major drivers of participatory planning evolution in Yugoslavia and Belgrade, considering the interplay of global, regional, and local factors. The evolution of participatory planning thinking is observed through three layers: international, national, and local diffusion. In addition to reviewing relevant secondary literature, crucial information is obtained through the content analysis of the most influential professional journals (Urbanizam Beograda and Arhitektura-Urbanizam). These journals were considered as key information disseminators between the authorities, professionals as well as a wider public.

International Diffusion

Following 1948, Yugoslavia performed as more open to western cultural influences than the Soviet states. In the first post-war period, Athens Charter was widely adopted among planning authorities as a suitable tool for catching up with rapid urbanisation and ever-increasing demands for housing¹³. Strong adherence to CIAM's principles in 1950s also resulted from strong professional ties

SESSION 05

| 1948 | Expulsion of Yugoslavia from Cominform |
|------|---|
| 1953 | Yugoslavia re-joins CIAM |
| 1956 | X CIAM's congress, Dubrovnik |
| 1958 | 5th UIA Congress, Moscow |
| 1961 | 26th IFHTP Congress, Paris: Housing and civilisation |
| 1971 | IFHTP, Belgrade: "New and traditional in the same town" |
| 1973 | IFHTP, Copenhagen |
| | "U 73" International Advanced Planning Workshop in Ljubljana |
| 1976 | Vancouver Declaration (UN) |
| 1977 | Machu Picchu Declaration |
| 1978 | UIA XIII, Mexico: Architecture and National Development |
| 1981 | UIA Congress, Warsaw: Declaration of architects |
| 1985 | UIA Congress in Cairo: Present and Future Missions of the Architect |

Figure 2. Timeline of international events

established with the organisation before WWII¹⁴. However, throughout the 1960s, criticism against technocratic blueprint planning started to evolve from both social sciences and architecture perspectives, leading to the search for alternatives.¹⁵

Interdisciplinary and cross-sectorial collaboration was common in planning institutions. Yugoslav Urbanist Associations (YUA) had a major role in international networking, especially following its membership in the International Union of Architects (UIA) in 1950 and the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning (IFHTP) at the beginning of the 1960s.¹6 Yugoslav academics and professionals regularly participated in international events. Some of these events were even hosted by Yugoslav cities, for instance, the CIAM congress in Dubrovnik 1954 and an IFHTP congress in Belgrade 1971 (Figure 2).

At the 26th IFHTP Congress in Paris (1961), the concept of the local community was figured as a key topic. Yugoslav participants stressed a need for scientific-based criteria for evaluation of their functional content, key norms, and compositional methods.¹⁷ At the IFHTP Congress in Copenhagen (1973), participants had an opportunity to get informed about the

work of Danish planners and local administration. As Denmark was seen as one of the best examples of multiple actors' involvement in the planning process, it was suggested that these experiences could be used as a role model for Yugoslav practice.¹⁸ International planning seminar in Ljubljana in 1974 highlighted modern approaches in urban analysis, referring to theorists such as Lynch and Appleyard. Going beyond the solely scientific and expert-based approach, the importance of breaking up with the illusion of 'objectivity in planning, while acknowledging also irrational human needs, was stressed.¹⁹

At the 14th Congress of UIA (1981), the Warsaw Declaration of architects was released. Inspired by this event, several articles were devoted to the critical re-visiting of the Athens Charter and the evolution of the planning thought and practice since 1933.20 A text 'Plan against the man' expressed a bold critique against planners' professional elitism: planners were criticised for not being interested in anything beyond their conceptions on the demands, needs, and standards while neglecting the effects of their plans in real life. Notwithstanding the positive effects of scientific and technological achievements, an unjustified obsession for procedures and efficiency was observed. It was concluded that

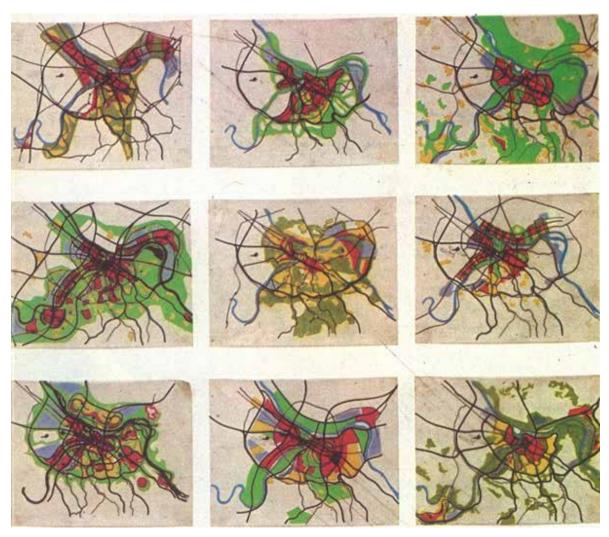


Figure 3. General Urban Plan of Belgrade 2000: exploration of development alternatives (Urbanizam Beograda 19)

planners, instead of merely mediating between interests or advocating for the unprivileged, had to become equal participants in a collective endeavour for creating new society.²¹ In another article, western concepts of participation and advocacy planning were considered as a reflection of a wide dissatisfaction with urbanism that served the interests of selected social groups - mostly capitalists. In this regard, an especially advantageous position of Yugoslav urbanism was underscored for not being sufficiently utilised. A whole new system of urbanism was to be contemplated, the one that was simple, clear, understandable to ordinary people, enabling genuine democratisation of urban development.22

Exchange on the Federal Level

Besides being a mediator between Yugoslav and the international professional community, YUA was also oriented towards a revision of certain theoretical foundations and planning practice in the light of the general social development of Yugoslavia.²³ YUA initiated series of consultations and assemblies on the federal level, gathering associations and experts from all republics and major cities.

Until the mid-1970s, calls for intensified research activity regarding methodological issues of planning, as well as interdisciplinary collaboration and coordination were common, but there was little word on the citizens' part in the planning process. Concerning self-

management, the most considerable goal was to develop a spatial framework for residential communities under the established societal framework.²⁴ The tenth Conference of YUA (1962) however revealed concerns regarding urbanism as a societal i.e. political agency.²⁵ Misuse of power by certain people was mentioned. A need for genuine popularisation of urbanism, through the use of all public media, was highlighted, since information on urban issues was not sufficiently available to the masses.²⁶

An intense critical discussion took place at the Third meeting of Yugoslav planners in Dubrovnik (1980). Thematic focus was on urban planning in OJLs, SICs, local communities, and municipalities, as basic levels where people's needs were being constituted. Critics pointed to poor cross-sectorial coordination and ineffectiveness of the networking activities: for instance, conclusions from the scientific and expert conferences were often not present in the materials of the subsequent events, let alone in legal documents. Rare insights into the political issues, such as the role and income of joint labour, and decision-making regarding development, figured as rather peripheral enrichments of the discussions, reflecting a 'largely technocratic matrix' of the profession. A misbalance between clear social orientation towards self-management socialism and the inability to translate it into spatial policies was observed. Liberalism and bureaucratic dogmatism were seen as major threats to the self-management society. The former referred to autonomous economic structures, e.g. banks, construction, and public transport companies, industries, etc. that were using the semi-market system to maximise their interests. The latter label was directed to authorities' oligarchy that tended to misuse spatial rights in the name of 'higher interests' Cases of industrial developments were stressed as most furious examples, as they had been 'generously' supported by the developed western countries, however, brought high levels of pollution and ecological damage to the locations of outstanding natural value and potentials for tourism. It was highlighted that no appropriate

surveys had been carried out to ask the local population whether they wanted industrial facilities in their vicinity. Self-management decision-making is supposed to be a possibility for OJLs as direct producers to manage their income, as well as citizens to decide on their existential issues. Two surveys, one dealing with a local community in central Belgrade, and another with employees of a factory (OJL), demonstrated poor capabilities of planning subjects to bear the torrential decision-making functions on their shoulders. Time deficiency was mentioned as a key reason in both cases, but local communities also lacked the resources, as well as critical levels of neighborhood cohesion and political awareness. Conclusions of the 1981 meeting highlighted needs for (1) open discussions on the spatial policies and strategic projects; (2) efficient control mechanisms within all selfmanagement institutions; (3) raising awareness of citizens.27

A scientific conference 'Cities and decisionmaking process' (1982) revealed a diversity of the approaches regarding the general topic. Certain participants argued on the importance of defining optimal size, form, and structure of the communes and local communities to enable a compact and genuine selfgovernance; others dismissed the relevance of an approach where urban needs are sought to be fulfilled in territorial units smaller than a city. Calls were made for continuous planning instead of plan-making, research studies rather than legal documents, ideas about the city rather than blueprint solutions. Accordingly, decision-making should not be done only on formal, special occasions, but a lot more often in a continuous planning process. Information on the public display should be suited to the competencies and interests of the non-experts. This meant that the environmental and practical consequences of each development alternative - e.g. different densities, should be presented in a widely comprehensive manner. However, tension around the different conceptions of public or common interest(s) was obvious and the questions largely remained unanswered. Particularly, the

adequacy of decision-making according to the territorial grouping principle was questioned. The dominance of group interests over the common social needs was observed as a potential threat and associated with the advocacy planning in the US. Strengthening institution of architecture design competition was recommended as an instrument for democratisation of spatial decision-making. Finally, the author's opinion was that no appropriate attention was given to urban critique, as a way to facilitate continuous debate, alternative approaches, continuous planning process, and development of research instead of blueprint solutions.

Critical-theoretical Discourse in Belgrade

Since 1957 journal *Urbanizam Beograda* figured as a major source of information on the urban planning and development activities, mostly conducted by Belgrade Urban Planning Institute (BUPI). As it was also used as a source for the mass public informing media, the journal claimed for itself a significant role in the democratisation of urbanism.²⁸

Citizen participation gained attention in the context of the development of the second post-war general urban plan for Belgrade until 2000 (GUP). As BUPI needed to strengthen its reputation in response to the ubiquitous criticism geared at modernist planning practice, they turned away from Europe toward the US: a collaboration project with Wayne State University was carried out, aiming at developing and implementing the latest planning tools. In this context, the growing importance of public consultation was underlined as one of the three global trends in planning.²⁹ The planning process took six years (1966 – 1972) and inspired a great number of the papers, containing both extensive information, official speeches, reflections of the different experts and scholars. The interdisciplinary plan-making process resulted in around 150 studies, for the first time including a sociological survey.30 Alternatives of the spatial organisation were explored, evaluated, and narrowed down in a cyclical

process, based on long-term goals, through qualitative and quantitative methods (Figure 3). Meetings with the representatives of all interested institutions had been organised, including a group of invited international experts. In addition to the legally binding public discussion on the final proposal, a discussion was organised upon the preliminary draft, 'to make participation more creative and efficient.'31 Public discussions took place in all municipalities, local communities, and in all voters' meetings. There were also exhibitions, specialised publications, illustrated information in the daily newspaper – every household in Belgrade was informed.³²

However, analysis of the public discussion results showed several important features: (1) the number of participants on the meetings had been lower than expected; (2) participants were older than 40 years; (3) there were more questions than complaints, leading to a conclusion that people had been poorly informed on the subject matter³³; (3) citizens were less interested in the general and longterm conception of the city, but rather in the restrictive aspects of the plan in direct relation to their immediate interest³⁴. Referring to conflicts between different sectors, experts lamented that particular group interests overpowered the quest for a common interest in the city.

Since the enactment of the 1974 Constitution, a theoretical discussion on implementing constitutional reforms into Belgrade's spatial planning framework intensified. The issue of public informing and participation was among major topics. A common bias that urban planners held power over people's fates was noted.35 Indeed, plans were adopted by the city's parliament, while the Council of urbanism, municipality, and local communities had an advisory role. Still, the public often accused planners of being responsible for the final decisions, seeing their expertise and knowledge as the source of power and influence as opposed to the 'incompetent' social forums. However, instead of questioning the intentions of planners as individuals, the

discussion should be re-oriented towards the development of a robust planning methodology, to eliminate arbitrary decision-making.³⁶ Such a framework would enable distinction of responsibilities and coordination between expert research and self-management decision-making processes. Namely, the role of planners was to collect and organise relevant data, and propose multiple development alternatives concerning the commonly agreed development goals and criteria. Political decisions regarding goals and criteria for evaluation of the alternatives were a domain of self-management entities, representing citizens.³⁷

Reflecting on the experience of GUP, the composition of citizens' groups that participated in meetings and discussions was considered inadequate to represent a genuine and long-term public interest. Therefore, it was proposed that each plan incorporates a tailormade project of public participation. Regarding detailed urban plans for Belgrade's reconstruction, it was underlined that citizen participation was reduced to the last stage of planning when the plan could not be practically changed anymore. Citizens needed to be provided with comprehensive information and get included in all planning stages. Finally, the local community was stressed as the very point where both particular and group interest should consolidate in a united, general interest of all and for all.38

Discussion

Yugoslav planners nurtured both enthusiasm towards self-management potentials, but also a certain culture of 'criticism of everything existing.'³⁹ The system made a fertile ground for the development of critical-theoretical discourse that over time significantly outpaced the practical aspect of spatial planning and design. The paper provides insights into (1) channels and nodes of transnational and national diffusion of planning concepts (2) critical-theoretical discourse on participatory planning in SFRY and Belgrade.

The insight into the framework of international and national networking reveals a dynamic activity of Yugoslav urban planning professionals. YUA had a key role in facilitating knowledge exchange, continuously re-visiting theoretical foundations of spatial and urban planning. It acted as a mediator between (1) Yugoslav and international professional discourses; (2) professional discourses between different and unevenly developed Yugoslav republics. Professional journals had an important role in disseminating information on the activities of YUA. Critical-theoretical essays reflecting on the UIA Congress in Warsaw from 1981 for the first time revealed calls for re-thinking fundamentals of planning theory and practice, and particularly Athens Charter.

Concepts of commune and local community were central at the events on the federal level. However, until the mid-1970s, they were regarded rather as objects of planning, instead of decision-making instruments. There was no word on citizen's active role in planning. From the enactment of the 1974 Constitution, fundamentals of the planning practice started to be questioned in the context of the desired self-management decision-making. Dissatisfaction with planning practice was evident: planning was executed as a linear technical process based on value judgements and guided by the idea of scientific objectivity. In such a situation, where planning was expected to merely translate social relations and structures into space, the desired selfmanagement spatial planning was far from reality.40

In Belgrade, public participation appeared in the discussions around the new GUP 2000. During the five year-long preparation of the strategic planning document, a significant effort was undertaken for making the planning process transparent through both formal and informal means of public consultation. However, citizens were not given the rights to change the decisions. This appears as a 'tokenistic' participation⁴¹, typical for synoptic planning approaches⁴². Constitution of 1974

prompted a broad debate on the need for developing effective planning methodology that would respond to the upgraded selfmanagement social relations. Theoretically, the plan was a self-management convention, in which planners' role could not be decisive neither regarding criteria nor spatial solution. Instead, their responsibility was to offer a comprehensive information system and the richest possible choice of spatial alternatives with clearly demonstrated consequences of each proposal. In sum, there was no unitary methodological framework that would enable effective coordination with self-management entities and citizens, while eliminating arbitrary and selective decisions, and making clear distinctions between political and expert domains.

The analysis did not reveal clear evidence on the impact of the knowledge from abroad on the Yugoslav concept of public participation in planning. Notwithstanding numerous reports on western planning and urbanisation experiences, Yugoslav planners were openly skeptical regarding importing foreign concepts, being aware of the fundamental contextual differences.43 The concept of citizen participation was generally dictated by the self-management system. Also, it was regarded as in line with a fundamental purpose of planning intervention, i.e. responding to human and social needs. The city was seen as an organism, constantly re-created by its residents and serving the purpose of their personal and communal flourishing.44

Similar to the developed West, the evolution of Yugoslav planning thought in the analysed period (from the 1960s until the mid -1980s) could be interpreted as a gradual transition from a blueprint and synoptic to a more pluralist view of planning. Pluralist approaches however remained on the level of criticism and theory. A crucial stumbling stone has never been overcome: being built into the very contradictions of the self-management socialism, tensions between the particular and general interest impeded the planning profession to make a true move towards

democratic pluralism.

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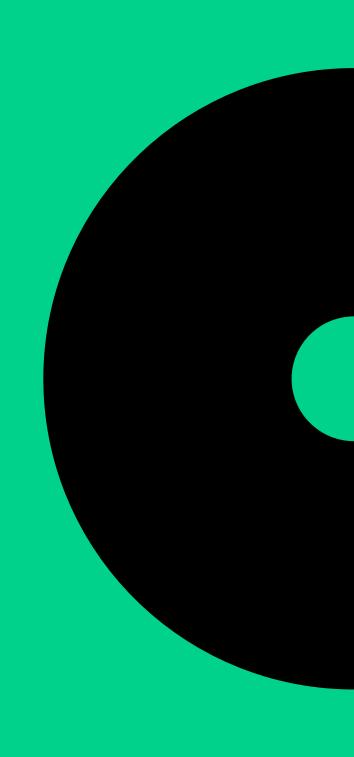
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Cultivating the Child's-Eye View: Childhood and Architectural Education

Session co-sponsored by SAHANZ

Session Chairs: Elke Couchez, *University of Hasselt* John Macarthur, *University of Queensland*

The way that society thinks about children has undergone paradigmatic shifts in the last century. The child has been represented in many ways: as the helpless, the innocent, the savage, the primitive, the unprejudiced, and the source of unfettered creativity, the latter being a romantic construct praising the child as the 'creative artist' of all sorts. In this session we ask how concepts of childhood have affected architectural education. The idea of spatial and building play for children opens the wider question of what architectural education is, if it is not merely professional training. What does the education of architects share and not share with the education of children and the kinds of adults and citizens we wish them to become through personal awareness of their built environment.

Philippe Ariès's pioneering, yet controversial study Centuries of Childhood (1962) and the advent of postmodern and psychoanalytic approaches in academic studies in beginning of the 1970s have turned critical attention to the socio-cultural and material constructions of childhood. Toys, miniatures, games, but also environments such as playgrounds, and the architecture of schools and kindergartens have been considered as the sites where pedagogical, political, economic and aesthetic interests collided. This session not so much explores the material culture of childhood or designs made for children, but rather seeks to unravel how the concept of childhood and a set of related terms such as development, growth, child experience, plasticity, impulse and play, but also negative connotations such as infantility and childishness are woven into the fabric of post-war architecture culture. Thus we ask how a new interest in children and designing for them in the later Twentieth century affected the education of architects and reposition the built environment in familial and civic life.

Bodies in Motion at the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute for Rhythmic Education

Ross Anderson, *University of Sydney*

'We gather here in Hellerau this afternoon to celebrate the laying of the foundation stone for our school building, announced Wolf Dohrn to the smiling audience gathered together on a warm spring afternoon in 1911. 'The youngest pupil—a local eight-year old Hellerau lad—will strike the first three hammer blows for this building that is one of the few to be consecrated to the future.' The Swiss music pedagogue Émile Jagues-Dalcroze (1865-1950) stood proudly up front—it was after him that the school was named: the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute for Rhythmic Education. The architect of the Institute, Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950) was also there. Characteristically absent was the reclusive Swiss Scenographer Adolphe Appia (1862-1928), who largely through his austere yet mysteriously atmospheric Espaces rythmiques drawings and then his stagings at Hellerau, played a decisive yet understudied role in the development of twentieth-century architecture and aesthetics; a role that attained its greatest realisation in the Institute's remarkable luminous Festsaal (festival theatre) that—within a year after those three hammer blows struck by its youngest pupil—would host Eurhythmic performances of choreographed youths in motion before enraptured audiences.

There is much that is remarkable about the Hellerau endeavour, not least of all how very important the bodily-musical education of children through Eurhythmics was to it. Also notable is the effort that was given over to finely tuning the architecture of the Institute to music and movement through a modular play of dimensions. This paper presents an account of the remarkable cultural life that was ushered into being at Hellerau (centring on the timeout-of-time of performance in which music, light, bodily movement and architecture were brought into accord), achieved through the common commitment of the individuals from various countries and backgrounds who

gathered there, united by their common belief in the promise of Eurhythmic education.

'From Slightly Above and Mostly Frontal': The Child Perspective in Ulm

Anna-Maria Meister, *Technische Universität* Darmstadt

The design objects made at the Hochschule für Gestaltung (1953-1968) shaped the German nation post-WWII for years to come: the Braun equipment, the Lufthansa logo, or the stern, reduced and deeply rational stackable dishware. This was the 'Good Design' that the school's architects and designers thought would aid the re- democratization of West Germany. And while the model making was the mode of production of the object, it was photography that rendered the Ulm objects iconic. They were photographed 'from slightly above and mostly frontal'—the point of view of an architect looking at a model. Or rather, the perspective of a playing child?

Down in the city of Ulm, another organization tried to shape a new West German future through design: the 'Committee for Good Toys' ('Verein Spielgut'). It consisted of a group of volunteers who tested and selected toys for children. Organizing a traveling exhibition in 1954, the committee—soon consisting of children psychologists and paediatricians, a toxicologist, 'experienced parents and grandparents,' but also seven architects and two engineers—met regularly.

This paper contends that both these attempts—related through personal ties and aesthetic kinship—took the design of objects as opportunity to renegotiate the lost *Maßstäblichkeit* in the post-war (physical and ideological) rubble. Presenting the objects (toys as well as tea cups or building parts) as isolated entities in front of a neutral background with no context or scale, took the point of view of a playing child and turned it into the subject position of the maker and

ruler—an attempt to suggest the possibility of reconfiguring the pieces toward a rational, democratic society.

Children Shape The Future: Hans Scharoun's Schools as Vehicles for Societal Reform in Post-War Germany

Dan Sudhershan, *University College Dublin* Hugh Campbell, *University College Dublin*

Following World War II, German society sought comprehensively to reform and renew itself. As Konrad Jarausch explains, central to the attempt 'to lead Germany back into civilized society and the European economy' was the reform of education. Children – through what, where and, how they learned - would be central to this process of renewal.

Led and financed from America, the educational strand of reconstruction emphasised the need 'to fashion new learning objectives, new curricula, new teaching methods, new teachers, new relationships between the people, the teachers and the school.' John Dewey's philosophy of learning through experience was often invoked, although it had by that time fallen out of favour in the US. Through curriculum reform and innovations such as the student parliament – the SMVs – German children were seen, in Brian Puaca's term, to be 'Learning Democracy'.

This paper will explore architecture's role in this reorientation of children's learning, by focussing on the Geschwister-Scholl School in Lunen, one of two schools designed by Hans Scharoun in the late 1960s. The project's low-lying arrangement of angular classrooms linked by loose circulation space had its origins in the design for a school presented by Scharoun at the Darmstadt Symposium of 1951. Scharoun talked of giving architectural form to the pedagogical process, attuning light and space to the children's needs. There was an evident compatibility between Scharoun's long-evolving design philosophy and aspects of the

project of educational reform, particularly in his emphasis on spatial configuration as a determinant of social behaviour. This paper will explore the extent to which what has generally been understood as a sensibility specific to Scharoun is in fact directly prompted and shaped by the political agenda of the time. This will involve looking at other examples from the period in West Germany and also at what was happening contemporaneously in the GDR, where curriculum reform was also being pursued, with radically different means and to radically different ends. In all instances, schools, and the children they housed, shaped the future political culture.

The Anarchist Child: Four Readings of the Child in the City

Isabelle Doucet, Chalmers University of Technology Tahl Kaminer, Cardiff University Simon Sadler, University of California, Davis Timothy Stott, Trinity College Dublin

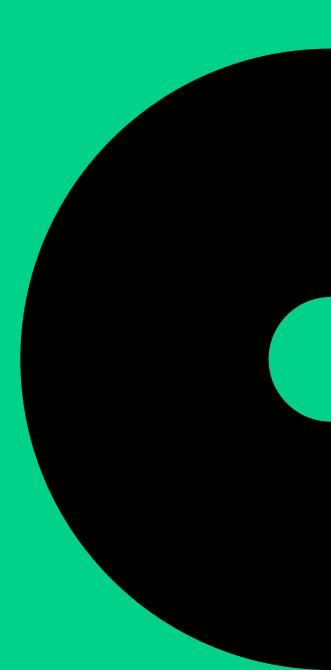
Is Colin Ward's work—perhaps best known through *The Child in the City* (1978)—a 'missing thread' in understanding architectural preoccupations with urban and spatial emancipation? Ward's notions of play, everyday self-organization, and autonomy offered ways to envision liberating architectural and urban design. This paper reconstructs Ward's 'anarchist child' (likely a trope for 'the human') through four correlated approaches, which disclose the multifaceted nature of Ward's writing, specifically its applications in architecture, historical and contemporary, and how this transformed familial and civic life.

A feminist reading, first, brings to the fore some ambiguities in Ward's approach to gender and the urban subject, and explicates the feminist references present in his work. Second, Ward's correlation between the micro and the macro will be shown as a key analysis of the production of urban subjects, children and adults. The adventure playground was one of

everyday life's 'minor anarchies': bottom-up response to urban planning, rural enclave in the city, and catalyst for community engagement. Like the playground, the allotment—another subject of Ward's interest—is presumed to be a social microcosm, here interrogated as a third approach to spatial form and society. Finally, Ward's presentation of the urban environment as multiple, producing unevenness and inequality, can be shown as anchored by Ward's humanist trust in autonomy.

We expand Ward's view by analysing the anarchist child's involvement in architectural and governmental experiment, where its self-organised play entered into what Michel Foucault called the 'game of liberalism'. If there is a revived interest today in the city as an environment of playful freedom and self-organised activity, it has been largely subjugated to market logic and stripped of anarchist sympathies. Revisiting Ward's anarchism of the 1970s suggests a fruitful historical enquiry into architectural culture, (radical) architecture's emancipatory ambitions, and a parallax view on the subsequent hegemony of neoliberal creativity.

Parallel Papers 02



Architects do not Make Buildings: A Last call for *disegno*

Session Chairs: Véronique Patteeuw, *ENSAP Lille* Léa-Catherine Szacka, *University of Manchester*

'Architects do not make buildings, they make drawings of buildings.' In his 1989 contribution to the CCA's major publication *Architecture* and its Image, Robin Evans eloquently affirmed the important role of architectural drawings within architectural practice. Often mediating between architectural conception and realisation, the drawing proposes a free space for the construction of architectural thought. The affordances and limitations of specific media used, suggest a certain way of thinking about architecture, at times prophesying technological innovations in representation. Likewise, innovation in media and technical instruments has given way to new forms of thinking and representation. One could argue that the material medium and technique of the drawing affords, limits or directs the conception of the architectural drawing and the architectural project; in other words, that the drawing constitutes the formal, material or atmospheric qualities of the project. As such architectural drawings, their making, material histories and collaborators, contribute to an alternative architectural historiography. The period between the 1960s-80s, which could be considered a last call for disegno, is rich with examples spanning from the pencil drawings and paintings of Aldo Rossi to the sketches and paintings by Zaha Hadid, from the axonometric drawings of Ricardo Bofill to the collages and silkscreens of OMA.

This session explores the material history of architectural drawings. It focuses on drawings stemming from the postmodern period in Europe and is particularly interested in proposals relating the forensics of drawing to the construction of architectural ideas. It explores several questions: How does the drawing push the limits of representation to influence the proposal? How does the technique of representation enable a certain approach towards architecture? How does a concise analysis of the drawing and its materiality propose an alternative historiography? And how might this enable us to rethink ideas of authorship in architecture?

The Forgotten Assemblage: A Media Archaeology of the Paste-Up

Craig Buckley, Yale University

SESSION 07

The paste-up remains one of the most consequential, yet least recognized, transformations affecting architectural drawing in the post-WWII period. The paste up was a cardboard surface for preparing materials for reproduction in print, on which a wide array of things could be fitted, marked, glued, and overlaid: photographs and magazine clippings, ink and graphite drawing, transfer lettering, stamps, correction fluid, zip-a-tone patterns, and more. This composite quality makes the pasteup different from paper, it was neither carried around like a notebook, nor meant to be the permanent vehicle of the architect's markmaking. Paste-ups more closely resemble collages and photomontages, yet they were not conceived as works of art, nor objects to be seen in themselves. Instead, they were to be delivered to a printer, captured photographically, turned into a printing plate, and eventually into a printed page. Paste-ups were a way-station, a transfer mechanism connecting the drawing board and the clipping file to the emerging technology of photomechanical offset lithography. In this sense, paste-ups were less an autonomous medium than a crucial element in an assemblage for producing technical images, in which the procedures of hand drawing were more intimately linked to protocols of photomechanical reproduction. Looking at paste-ups produced by Arata Isozaki, Hans Hollein, and Archigram, the paper theorizes the agency of this technical assemblage as part of a transition from an era dominated by the reproductive processes of industrial letterpress and rotogravure to a later moment dominated by xerography and desktop publishing. Paste-ups mark a turning point in the relation of drawing to design. Where the assembly of graphic materials had long been seen as a secondary, mechanical activity compared to drawing's manual and conceptual virtuosity, in the era of the paste-up the collection and arrangement of ready-made

graphic parts was reclaimed and valorised as central to the architect's intellectual work.

Solipsism and Communitas: Disegno in the **Work of John Hejduk**

Bart Decroos, University of Antwerp

This paper contributes to the panel by proposing a 'vitalist' reading of John Hejduk's Victims drawings and, in doing so, attempts to guide the postmodern discourse on the autonomy of architectural drawing and its discursive function towards a more embodied understanding of material agency.

The production of architectural drawings in the late twentieth century has been shaped and interpreted exhaustively through the lenses of various strands of poststructuralist thought, producing and explaining these documents as an autonomous architectural production that contributes to the field of architecture through their discursive (i.e. linguistic, signifying or deconstructionist) operations. As such, these drawings have been considered as a cultural production in their own right and have been mostly circulated within art galleries, museum exhibitions and private collections, which points towards their status as only that: drawings.

One of the lesser studied figures in this perspective is John Hejduk, who is known more for his enigmatic drawings than his (limited) built work. His drawings choreograph multiple characters within a broader narrative of cultural and architectural sensibilities. Emblematic for this work, this paper will focus on Heiduk's Victims drawings, a collection of 25 sketches and 51 pen-and-ink drawings. The Victims series is a design proposal for a former Gestapo headquarters in Berlin. It was described by Hejduk as a 'construction of time', to be constructed over two periods of each thirty years. The design consisted out of 67 structures, each named according to the role assigned to them—horticulturalist, gardener, drawbridge man, physician, children, researcher, judge, the

exiles, the disappeared, the application. In doing so, the proposal is not even an architectural design, but instead proposes a social situation to unfold on this historically charged site.

Taking Hejduk's Victims series as a case study, this paper proposes that a 'vitalist' reading of these drawings can offer a perspective on how architecture and its representations can recalibrate the relation between the human and the non-human world. To do so, this paper will draw from recent materialist ontologies to trace out the spatial agency of Hejduk's proposed buildings and structures within the social scenarios of this world we live in. As such, this paper aims to free the postmodern production of architectural drawings from the stifling discourses of poststructuralism, and will reveal Hejduk's drawings as more than only drawings: they direct our social relations with the physical, material, tangible world.

Carlo Aymonino and the Practice of Drawing between Autobiography and Design

Lorenzo Ciccarelli, University of Florence

The intense practice of drawing characterized the approach of many Italian architects during the post-war and postmodern decades. In this context Carlo Aymonino (1926-2010) was a pivotal figure. He started his career as a painter, winning also prizes at the 1948 Rome Quadriennale d'Arte, and then he decided to move to architecture, maintaining always the instrument of drawing at the centre of his design method. The hundreds of black sketchbooks kept in his archive witness the daily practice of drawing that characterized all the Aymonino's life, far beyond the needs of his work as an architect. For Aymonino, drawing represented a larger container of memories, researches, suggestions within which grasping design solutions and figurative ideas for specific projects. Scrolling through the pages of those sketchbooks, fragments of beloved painting of Raffaello or Michelangelo overlapped memories of voyages, portraits of his wife and plans and

sections of ancient and contemporary buildings. This complex ensemble of personal memories, carvings into the fields of art, archaeology and architecture, reworked through the medium of drawing (black pen, watercolours, collage etc.) is the best way to approach Aymonino's architecture. My paper will start with a contextualization of Aymonino's figure within the Italian panorama of the Fifties and Sixties, and then I will analyse some pages of sketches and drawings from his black sketchbooks. Finally, I will approach the exemplary case of the Monte Amiata residential complex at the Gallaratese in Milan (1967-72), in collaboration with Aldo Rossi, which allows us to deepen the Aymonino's close relationship between the practice of drawing, the design process and the building site. This paper is a part of a broader ongoing research on the figure of Carlo Aymonino, and I will be able to show and discuss unpublished drawings from CSAC archive in Parma, the Accademia di San Luca archive and the AAM Architettura Arte Moderna archive in Rome.

Dissent Images and Analogue Architecture

Elena Markus, Technische Universität München

Political protests or calls for social changes were hardly to find in Switzerland before the youth protests in Zurich, a protest movement of the post-punk generation around 1980. Its rebellious spirit also affected a young generation of Swiss architects, and in particular, a group of students and young architects at the ETH studio led by Fabio Reinhart, Luca Ortelli and Miroslav Sik. Their teaching approach latterly called Analogue Architecture was represented by the large-scale crayon perspective drawings; with the travelling exhibition of the same name it enjoyed for a short time much resonance within the European architectural discourse.

From today's point of view the 'post-punk spirit' of analogue architecture should be considered in a higher context of dirty realism, a concept defined by Bill Buford 1983 in relation to the new American literature being 'not heroic or grand'

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but rather referring to 'the belly-side of contemporary life.' Few years later the concept was conveyed by Liane Lefaivre to the built examples of renowned architects and to the cinematic art or urban environment by Josep Lluís Mateo. Dirty realism appeared to be a response to the demand for an objective reproduction of reality of the 1980s instead of idealistic architecture concepts of the previous times. Nonetheless it was left behind already in the 1990s.

As well as the literary representation, achieved through the conceptualization of everyday life in the form of artificially constructed everyday language, the analogue images represented a particular concept of contemporary architecture: as a critical engagement with the fragile dirty reality of post-industrial society, also taking into account the unique urban reality of Switzerland. The oppressive photorealistic cityscapes with oddly backward-looking buildings were considered by the analogues as exercices de style (Raymond Queneau), depicting complex configurations as transformations of a wide range of 'difficult' analogies such as reform architectures, Biedermeier or Nordic Classicism as well as everyday constructions and mass culture images.

The analogue drawings not only differentiated from ordinary architectural design; by alienation of neither modern nor postmodern types and forms they demonstrated a critical architecture practice: The images of an 'estranged' architectural universe as critique of 'depthlessness' (Jameson) of postmodern architectural structures.

Photographs in the Late- and Postmodern **Architectural Drawing**

Peter Sealy, University of Toronto

Amongst the myriad graphic techniques employed by late- and post-modern architects, the incorporation of photographs into architectural image-making offers a unique entry in the period's imaginary. Used by a wide range of architects and artists such as OMA, John Hejduk, Melvin Charney, Haus Rucker Co., and others, photomontage and -collage both deployed and undermined photography's then-expiring 'truth guarantee' within the realm of the architectural project. Sometimes, photomontage and other related forms were used instrumentally, to visualize and disseminate proposed designs. In other instances, photomontages served as 'real' iterations of projects never intended for actualization in any other form. From Hans Hollein's 'Aircraft Carrier City in a Landscape' (1964) to Stanley Tigerman's 'The Titanic' (1978), photomontage offered a ground for critique capable of destroying (or at least undermining) modernist shibboleths, many of which had themselves been photographically instantiated. While considering a broad range of photo-drawing techniques, this presentation will focus upon the dialectical relationships established between a background site photograph and an overdrawn or otherwise inserted architectural project. At first glance, Herzog & de Meuron's 'Berlin Zentrum' project (made with Remy Zaugg for a 1991 exhibition) appears to follow in a paradigm of modernist virtualisation, communicating the immense scale of the proposed towers and their geographic anchorage within the city's western half. While the background photograph may be seen to offer a surrogate site for an unrealized alternative future, it also transforms the project into an index of a rapidly shifting urban situation, one whose inevitable transformations could never satisfy the heady optimism of the early nineties. At this moment when many European architects (particularly from the Benelux nations) have returned to various forms of photomontage and collage, it is à-pro-pos to return to the recent past to trace the genealogies and typologies of these images.

English as the Academic Lingua Franca?

Roundtable

Session Chairs: Petra Brouwer, *University of Amsterdam* Johan Lagae, *Ghent University*

Today, it seems almost inevitable that the *lingua franca* of an international peer reviewed academic journal is English. While earlier generations of English intellectuals taught themselves Italian in order to read Dante in the original (to paraphrase Reyner Banham, who himself learned to drive in order to read Los Angeles), today's non-native English speakers must not only read, but also write in English in order to be part of the self-asserted 'international' academic community. Native English speakers may find it difficult to imagine the greater efforts and time investment required to express oneself in a language that is not one's mother tongue. Articles from non-native English speakers for example, need significant extra editorial support to meet the publication standard.

At the same time, many of these authors have access to unique sources and materials that are only available for those who can read and contextualize them. By default articles on topics that require knowledge of other languages than English, question dominant theories, methods, discourses, and historiographies by demonstrating an infinitely more complex (geographical) architectural realm. They offer alternative readings of long-existing theories and concepts such as (post) colonialism, feminism, transnationalism, heritage, and environmentalism. Despite the arguable and disciplining norms of international (read Anglo-American) academic publishing, one could state that the use of English as *lingua franca*, proves to be crucial to overcome geographical and cultural boundaries. It is only by using one common language, that an academic community can be truly critical and self-reflective.

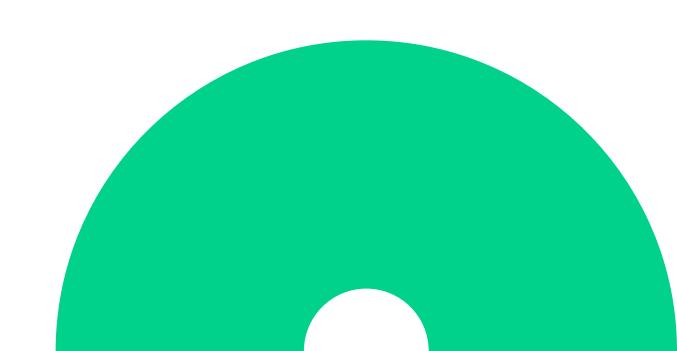
But one could also state that language is not a neutral tool. It comes with vocabulary constraints, culturally-loaded words, preconceived mind-sets and normative ways of expressing arguments and ideas that in turn unilaterally fashion how (selected) things are looked at and what conclusions are derived from their observation. The dominance of academic English is moreover a segregating device leading to over-representation of certain issues and narratives and complete omission of others. These biases are rarely reflected upon. Accepting linguistic diversity and promoting multilinguism should help academia to be more inclusive - in other words, enriched.

This roundtable considers the pros and cons of English as the modern

academic *lingua franca*, and is especially interested in personal experiences, statements and cases that illustrate in a concrete way one's position in the debate.

Discussants:

James Elkins, School of the Art Institute of Chicago Anat Falbel, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro Andrew Leach, University of Sydney Imran bin Tajudeen, National University of Singapore



Ephemerality and Monumentality in Modern Europe (c.1750-1900) [Panel 1]

Session Chairs:

Richard Wittman, *University of California at Santa Barbara* Taylor van Doorne, *University of California at Santa Barbara*

The concept of monumentality conjures permanence, or at least an aspiration to durability: the etymology of the word (Latin: *monere*, to remind) underscores the idea that monuments should survive those who build them so as to remind those who come after, perhaps long after. Yet throughout history the monumental has always also been challenged, confronted, or invaded by ephemerality, both in a negative sense, as when monuments intended to be permanent are destroyed, but also positively, as in the fabrication of deliberately ephemeral public monuments. This panel seeks to explore this second category, the deliberately ephemeral monument, in the specific context of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Europe. Monuments are defined broadly here to include official, unofficial, or semi-official examples of infrastructure, urbanism, installation, or urban decors that stake a claim to speak to collective memory in common public spaces.

What is particular about ephemeral public monuments in modern times? Such monuments may communicate a distinctly modern anxiety about immutable declarations, or reflect the rhythms of public time implied in Baudelaire's famous description of modernity as 'the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and the immutable.' They may reflect the discontinuities of an age in which the changeable will of the public displaced the authority of eternal gods; in which mere social reproduction no longer seemed the destiny of humanity; in which the future was widely expected to be very different from the present. Richard Taws has recently suggested that ephemeral and provisional objects can influence historical mythos by their very ephemerality, which shifts the focus of meaning from an imagined posterity to the more proximate reality of their creation.

Thinkers as radically different as Georges Bataille and Karsten Harries have been cited in debates about whether ephemeral architectures might offer a solution to the historical problem of meaning in contemporary architecture. Urban ephemerality has been the subject of enormously suggestive research by current scholars working mostly on other temporal and geographical contexts. We are interested in papers that bring the history of modern European ephemeral public monuments and monumentality into conversation with this burgeoning historical and theoretical literature.

Paper Ephemera: The Monumental Frontispiece to the *Description de l'Egypte*

Eirik Arff Gulseth Bøhn, Oslo School of Architecture and Design

It is well known that the period following the French revolution saw a proliferation of temporary architectural structures that, although by nature fleeting, lent an imprint of ancient virtues to the pageantry of post-revolutionary Paris. Although confined to paper and permanently fixed to the page, the Napoleonic frontispiece to the first volume on ancient Egyptian architecture in the *Description de l'Egypte* resonated with these monuments while amplifying their encomiastic function, an agency derived from a fusion of different times and spaces that could only be realized in the printed realm.

Constructed from two main components – a triumphal gate that opens up onto a landscape of Egyptian ruins – the frontispiece acted as a receptacle of sculptural spoils, uniting, on paper, constituent elements from antiquity that had been either lost to the British after the French defeat in 1801 or violently relocated from Italy to Paris, subsequently to become the focus of major urbanistic interventions in the French capital.

Thereby hinging on a specific moment in the flux of artefacts between Egypt, Paris and Rome, the gate forms a great mnemonic structure that fuses ideal, classical time with the immediate temporality of contemporary urbanism. It opens up not only onto Egypt but, in its portrayal of the Nile Valley as a barren land of ancient structures to be restored, onto the landscape, plastic and malleable, of the past itself. As such the frontispiece constituted a monument – simultaneously atemporal and precariously fleeting – that signalled a provisional architecture of the future built from the remnants of the past.

This paper considers the Description

frontispiece as an ephemeral structure on paper whose particular monumentality lay in its temporal ambiguity, its play on ruined decay and re-pristinated ancient form itself suggesting that its concern was as much with contemporary and future France as with Egyptian antiquity.

In Stone, on Paper: Writings on the walls of eighteenth-century Paris

Katie Scott, Courtauld Institute

This paper addresses the topic of ephemerality and monumentality via the study of public lettering: on the eighteenth-century capital's monuments, parapets, walls and doors. It will problematise the relationship between written discourses circulating within the city, and by which its citizens communicated immediately with one another, and the material supports on which these were inscribed. It will compare the different modes of address - visual and oral, as well as written - by which the royal and municipal institutions of state sought to stabilize the rapidly changing spatial and temporal dimensions of the city, its sense of place. And it aims to suggest ways in which the temporal experience of urban text contributed to debates on urban beauty.

Unsettling Ephemerality and Monumentality: The Case of the Eléphant de la Bastille

Ben Vandenput, Ghent University

'Unsettling Ephemerality and Monumentality' traces the rise and fall of one of the few post-revolutionary monuments that physically came to replace the former fortress-prison on the Place de la Bastille. The elephant fountain which Napoleon Bonaparte ordered in 1808 to be erected in situ however was never finished. A scale model of plaster and wood, it was ousted by the current July Column from 1835 onwards to a remote corner next to the Bassin de l'Arsenal. The ruined Eléphant de la Bastille was eventually torn down in 1846.

Due to the central place the Place de la Bastille occupied in the minds of many nineteenth-century Parisians, the project and subsequent decline of the elephant fountain was a much-discussed topic in contemporary newspapers and specialised periodicals. The Elephant de la Bastille however achieved everlasting glory through the hand of Victor Hugo. In Les Misérables, the Eléphant de la Bastille is characterized as 'a prodigious first draft, a grandiose cadaver of an idea by Napoleon that two or three successive blasts of wind had taken away and thrown every single time further from us.' Hugo's words on the model have elaborated on contemporary reactions to the once so promising project for a fountain on the Place de la Bastille. At the same time, Hugo's view onto this fugitive, ephemeral monument of which he until his death in 1885 kept a wooden fragment invites for new perspectives. A repulsive and grotesque presence, the monument on the Place de la Bastille through the eyes of Victor Hugo sheds fresh light on questions of monumentality and ephemerality in the politically unstable milieu of nineteenth-century France. Conversely, the fugitive Eléphant also questions some apparent dogmas on the nature of architectural monuments Hugo expressed thirty years earlier in the chapter 'Ceci Tuera Cela' in Notre-Dame de Paris.

The storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 and the political events that followed gained a prominent place in the collective memory of the French nation. The symbolically important site of the former fortress-turned-prison contrasts with the physical void it left in the Parisian cityscape for more than twenty years. Whereas many recognized the necessity to monumentalize the square, marking it as a radical break from the past and its associated mechanisms of oppression in order to celebrate a new era of liberty, equality and universal harmony, a clear consensus on the new layout of the future Place de la Bastille was far away. From 1789 onwards, the question of a fitting monument for the Place de la Bastille found itself at the heart of contemporary debates on

political authenticity, historical memory and revolutionary times.¹

Over twenty different designs of a fitting monument are known from the period 1789-1792, among which are multiple Statues, Columns and Temples of Liberty on top of the ruins of the Bastille. Others such as the architect Louis Combes handed in a design for a monumental building in the centre of the square to house the Assemblée Nationale.² On 27 June 1792, the very same Assemblée Nationale decided that the void the destruction of the Bastille left behind should become a place of memory and renewed hopes. A circular plaza was to be constructed in the extension of the Bassin de l'Arsenal, crowned

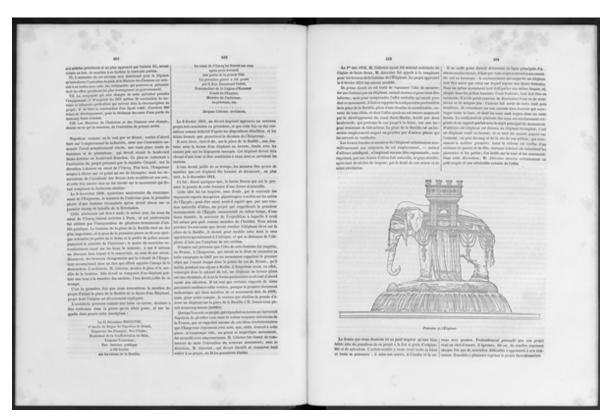


Fig. 1: spread from César Daly, 'Monument de Juillet élevé sur la Place de la Bastille', *Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics* 7 (1840), with a depiction of Jean-Antoine Alavoine's final design for the Eléphant de la Bastille.

with a towering Doric column and a personification of liberty, following a design of Pierre-François Palloy, the Demolisher of the Bastille.3 A foundation stone of Palloy's Column of Liberty was unveiled in the presence of King Louis XVI and representatives of the National Assembly as part of the Festival of Federation of 14 July 1792. However, the war with the Austrians, the overthrow of the monarchy and the Terror put behind previous designs in favour of a more radically revolutionary language. Until 1802, the renamed Place de la Liberté housed plans for a Fountain of Regeneration where Convention officials were supposed to drink the water spurting form the breasts of the fountain as a sign of their revolutionary rebirth.4 In 1808, Napoleon Bonaparte announced new plans for triumphal fountains on the site, but these were ultimately not constructed in permanent materials. From 1815 onwards, the Bourbon Dynasty and the subsequent July Monarchy projected onto the Place de la Bastille a range of different monuments, which ended in the construction of the actual July Column, a monument

remarkably close to Palloy's initial proposal. The examples of ephemeral monuments for the site of the Bastille show that the Place de la Bastille was marked with a long-lasting failure to establish and exhibit any political stability in the decades following the overthrow of the ancien régime fortress-prison.

Unsettling Ephemerality and Monumentality traces the rise and fall of one of the few monuments that actually occupied a place on the square: the elephant fountain Napoleon Bonaparte ordered in 1808 to be erected in situ, a scale model of plaster and wood that was ousted by the current July Column in 1835 to a remote corner next to the Bassin de l'Arsenal. The deteriorating scale model was eventually torn down in 1846. The Eléphant de la Bastille shares a few striking resemblances with previous proposals. It is an ephemeral monument. Whereas permanence is traditionally associated to monumentality, Richard Taws in The Politics of the Provisional has shown that material, economic and political constraints during the French Revolution and

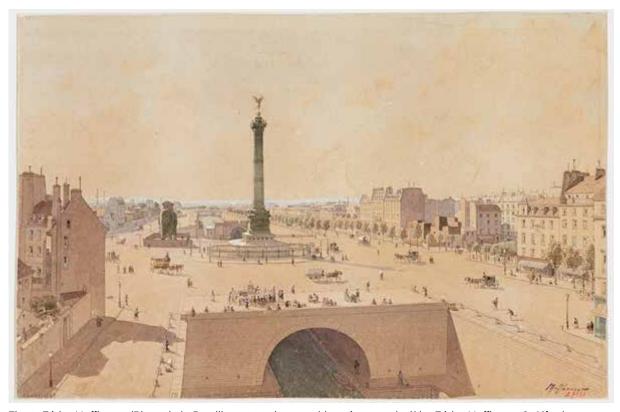


Fig. 2: Fédor Hoffbauer, 'Place de la Bastille en 1841 (composition rétrospective)' in: Fédor Hoffbauer & Alfred Bonnardot, *Paris à Travers les Ages* Vol. 2, (Paris, 1875-1882). Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris. D. 7937.

its aftermath resulted in an enormous production of ephemeral, 'in-between' images, objects and monuments that became characteristic of a precarious modernity.5 In Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France Richard Wrigley stated that with regard to domestic objects and especially clothes the French Revolution was a turning point between 'a world were nothing was thrown away out of respect for the objects' and a 'world of modern consumerism, in which objects were destined to have a shorter life.6 In Histoire des Choses Banales, Naissance de la Consommation XVIIe - XIXe Siècle Daniel Roche shows how a modern mode of transience pervaded the eighteenth century, ranging from fashion to urban monuments.7

Besides, public debates on architecture and monuments in specialized periodicals and more generally-themed daily and weekly magazines played an important part in signalling ephemerality in modern architecture culture. Research on the eighteenth-century French context by Richard Wittman has revealed that a growing readership responded

to an exploding informational public sphere of the modern world, that put behind 'an earlier world in which embodied, phenomenal experiences unfolding in real space had been the normative ground for social existence, and in which the power of architecture to characterize such spaces had long made it the most prestigious public art of representation.'8 This tendency, combined with the political instability of the July Monarchy, instigated a rise in the production of ephemeral monuments; architecture and monuments entered the public and virtual realm of the printed press and satire. I will first raise that the Elephant de la Bastille was such an ephemeral and muchdiscussed monument of early nineteenthcentury France, a politically disunited country on the verge of modernity.

Rise and Fall of the Eléphant de la Bastille

Records and testimonies of the bizarre and monumental Elephant Fountain on the Place de la Bastille are countless. One of the most interesting and profound series of articles are those by César Daly in his 'Revue Générale de

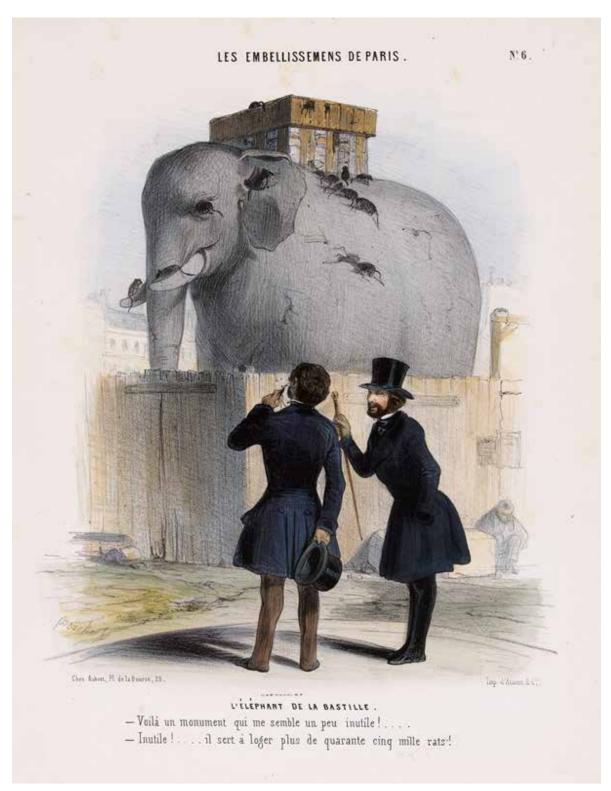


Fig. 3: Frédéric Bouchot, 'L'Eléphant de la Bastille', L'Album Les Embellisemens de Paris, No. 6, 19th century. Musée Carnavalet

l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics' when discussing the recently completed July Column. The seventh issue of the 1840 'Revue' includes the first part of a long article on the 'Monument de Juillet élevé sur la Place de la Bastille'. Daly registers a decree on 3 December 1803 which

planned adjustments to the proposal made by the Assemblée Nationale.9 First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte initially ordered a vast circular plaza to be constructed on top of the fragments of the Bastille. Underground a canal would be dug to connect water flowing in from the South with the Seine and from the North with a newly constructed circular basin on the square. The initial idea of erecting a triumphal arch on the square made room for a triumphal fountain for which the first stone was laid on 2 December 1808. Daly remarks that the architect Jacques Céllerier unveiled the plans and the model of the fountain which was to resemble a caparisoned elephant 'à la manière des anciens', by special request of Napoleon Bonaparte.10 In 1904, 'Le Magasin Pittoresque' published a letter by the Emperor from Madrid on 21 December 1808. Napoleon seemed to be concerned about the fitting dimensions of the monument in memory of the Emperor's Egypt campaign: 'I assume that it (the elephant) will be very beautiful and in such dimensions that it will be possible to enter the tower that it will carry.'11 Minor adaptations to the design of the elephant would be approved by imperial decree of 9 February 1810: the elephant was to be cast in bronze from the cannons that had been captured in the Peninsular War, and finished by 2 December 1811 at the latest.

César Daly couldn't hide his enthusiasm over the elephant fountain, a highly original and exquisite memory of Napoleon on the Place de la Bastille that had been empty for too long. He mentions in 1840 that Jean-Antoine Alavoine would be in charge of the construction site from 1812 onwards. Over ten different elaborate designs are known by Alavoine only for the Elephant of the Bastille, always in slightly different variations with the one depicted in the seventh 1840 edition of the 'Revue' regarded as the 'definitive' one (Fig. 1). However, far from definitive, things soon started to look bad for the Eléphant de la Bastille.

The elephant fountain should have been delivered two years earlier when in 1813 the sculptors Moutoni and later Pierre-Charles Bridan executed a large iron skeleton of the elephant covered with plaster on the Place. Daly states that the model lacked any ornament and looked nothing like the refined drawings by Alavoine, especially the ears and the front legs, which seemed 'very imperfect."

Soon enough, the elephant's skin started to fall off, and the skeleton and the interior structure became visible. Its tusk and head almost instantly became unrecognizable. The scale however seemed to be intact: the model was 16 meters long and almost 15 meters high. The imperfect model in the making was exhibited inside a hangar on the south-east side of the Place de la Bastille, but by the time it was completed and the casting of the monument in bronze was about to start, the political situation in France had changed. The Bourbon Restauration from 1815 onwards preferred a fountain devoid of Napoleonic associations. Jean-Antoine Alavoine was put to work again and delivered another seventeen projects for different fountains. The daily 'L'Echo du Soir' of 6 July 1826 mentions the ruinous state of the model as well as the proposals to replace the elephant fountain.14 The model more and more fades into the background whereas the journalist of 'L'Echo du Soir' begs those in charge to finish the 'miserable monument'.

By 1834, craftsmen commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works of the July Monarchy started casting a column for the Place de la Bastille that commemorated the Parisians who fell during the Trois Glorieuses (Fig. 2).15 Eventually, Alavoine was put in charge of executing this July Column, for he could best assess the specific needs and conditions to adapt the foundations of the elephant fountain to its new destination. When Alavoine died the same year, the work was interrupted for a while, but the construction was continued in 1835 by the architect Joseph-Louis Duc. On 28 July 1840 the column with the statue of Le Génie de la Liberté by the sculptor Auguste Dumont on top was inaugurated. Daly had little good to say about the monument, which is remarkably close to Pierre-François Palloy's initial monument for the Place de la Bastille, and consoled himself that an exhausted Alavoine also considered it an 'architectural error,' referring to it as his 'candle', especially in relation to the water basin underneath, which now turned out to be essentially useless. Several Parisian newspapers seem to share Daly's opinion. In 'Le Figaro', the July Column

was likened to 'an enormous stove of cast iron with its stove pipes like we used to see in old cafés.' One can only hope that the city council decides to build a large dining hall around the 'poêle de Juillet', where the hungry and homeless can warm up and cook a meal, 'Le Figaro' argued.

The run-down model of the Elephant de la Bastille that still lingered on the square was also intensively mocked in the press for over two decades. In January 1832, the 'Journal des Artistes et des Amateurs' was sure of its ground: the model of the elephant, 'un monument barbare, mais une grande oeuvre', will be buried well before it is cast in bronze. Furthermore, the 'Journal des Artistes' staged a fictive 'you', standing in between the unfinished July Column and the crumbling elephant fountain, asking himself whether the Parisians have turned into 'Welshmen or Visigoths, whether public monuments shouldn't be anything else but trickery or vain toys that only entertain but a moment.' The answer given by a passer-by is fairly simple: 'budget et économie!' Written in the direct aftermath of the July Revolution, the article in the 'Journal des Artistes' reveals not only a deep discontent with the unfinished state of the monuments on the Place de la Bastille but also with the consequences of the July Revolution and the subsequent rule of King Louis-Philippe, a constant topic in contemporary satiric newspapers such as 'La Caricature' and 'Le Charivari'. Amy Wiese Forbes has shown that satire was very common in the politically unstable and often contradictory regime with its 'quasi-republican institutions', where censorship of printed images was relaxed but never given free rein. The rise of newspapers, theatre, courtrooms and other virtual or physical public meetings played a crucial role in the creation of middle-class political and social identity.18 Mocking the lamentable state of the Eléphant de la Bastille reveals a more widespread belief in the ephemeral and fugitive nature of monuments in nineteenth-century Paris. 'Le Figaro' of 25 July 1831 included a parable-like anecdote of a virtuous German grocer from Nurnberg who is mad about an elephant in

Paris. After fifteen years of waiting for the elephant fountain to be completed, the man heads to Paris. Upon his arrival the poor man is arrested, only to be released three days after the elephant's destruction. 'And still, and still, if he could only see the elephant! But the police believed his liberty too dangerous to public order and didn't want to release him but after three days, and the elephant didn't last for precisely three days. He will not see the elephant!". Underlying is clearly a reluctance by the journalist of 'Le Figaro' that the German grocer didn't get to see the fleeting joy of the elephant. The animal is a deception, it is not a monument and certainly not a good advertisement for France that seems to be haunted by (three-day) revolts and popular discontent in the aftermath of the Trois Glorieuses.

In 'Le Figaro' of 29 March 1837, the journalist is 'pleasantly surprised' to find the monument still standing on its four legs. It is quite a comfort to know that shortly the monument will collapse, a moment long-awaited by 'every Parisian a bit worried about the city's neatness.'20 The destruction of the ruined model would also mean the removal of this 'breeding ground of big, young men who now overrun the theatre of neighbouring boulevards.' Rumour had it that the model of the elephant fountain hid gangs of thieves, apart from a plague of rats and mice that inhabited the construction (Fig. 3). To prevent disreputable characters from entering the elephant, the council of Paris even appointed a certain M. Levasseur who kept a look-out on the elephant and slept in one of its paws. This drastic measure was inaugurated in 1816 and lasted at least until 1831.21 Criminals and rats inhabiting the structure of the elephant appear to have triggered the uncanny imagination of many bourgeois citizens in Paris. A weekly named 'Le Pirate' reported in 1829 that a private individual intended to buy the elephant to open a collection of curiosities in its belly.²² According to one of the 'Lettres Parisiennes' by Delphine de Girardin, the elephant housed a museum, whereas 'Le Figaro' mentions that an oriental salon occupied the structure's head.²³

On 26 July 1846 the newspaper 'Le Mercure des Théâtres' reports that: 'since Monday, multiple workmen are occupied with destroying the biggest animal of Paris, the elephant of the Place de la Bastille – A few months ago, they said that the administration has recoiled in front of this task for fear of rats that hid in its flanks'. A weekly named 'Le Cocher' states that by the second of August 1846, the elephant of the Bastille has been completely torn down. The first hammer blow apparently released more than two hundred rats who died immediately, resulting in what the 'Journal des Femmes' termed a 'holocaust of hundreds of rats' on the animal's tomb.²⁵

Victor Hugo on the Eléphant

As much as the contemporary printed press reacted on the rise and fall of the Eléphant, the monument only gained eternal life through the hands of the French author Victor Hugo. The fourth part of Hugo's 1862 novel *Les Misérables* includes the author's account of the Eléphant de la Bastille in a chapter named 'In Which the Boy Gavroche Profits by the Great Napoleon.' The plotline develops the story of the eccentric street urchin Gavroche who appears to live inside the monument's decayed plaster scale model and who invites two young children roaming the streets in wintertime to spend the night inside the construction.

At that moment, the narrator takes on a more authoritative stance as he develops his view onto the particularities and the nature of the monument. First, he reminds the reader that the monumental elephant fountain used to be a familiar presece in Paris:²⁶

'twenty years ago there was still to be seen, in the south-east corner of the Place de la Bastille, near the canal-port dug out of the former moat of the prison-fortress, a weird monument which has vanished from the memory of present-day Parisians but which deserves to have left some trace of itself, for it sprang from the mind of a member of the Institute, none other than the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in Egypt.'

With the elephant torn down in 1846 and the publication of *Les Misérables* only following in 1862, the popular memory of the monument likely started to fade. According to the narrator, the monument, which he explicitly describes as an idea of Napoleon Bonaparte, deserved better. He then admits that the elephant can hardly be called a monument; it rather is a scale model, a 'prodigious first draft' and a 'grandiose cadaver', hinting at the provisional state in which Napoleon's idea found itself and which it never escaped:²⁷

'we use the word 'monument' although in fact it was no more than a preliminary sketch; but a sketch on the grand scale, the prodigious corpse of a Napoleonic aspiration which successive adverse winds have borne further and further away from us until it has lapsed into history; but the sketch had a look of permanence which was in sharp contrast to its provisional nature.'

A few lines further, the elephant's nocturnal appearance is addressed. At night, the outmoded, dim and obscure monument felt more at ease, 'amid the serenity of the gathering gloom, as Hugo termed it, remarking that 'night is the true setting for all things that are ghosts.' The image Hugo evokes is one of an unsteady monument that the wind of time has carried away to some place in the past where it has become unattainable but nonetheless meaningful. To Victor Hugo the monument proved to be memorable in a physical way. In this respect, Folio 608r of Hugo's Reliquat of 'Les Misérables' is particularly interesting (Fig. 4). It contains the front and back side of an empty envelope on which is written: '- une enveloppe - (Eléphant de la Bastille)'; overleaf he wrote what it used to hold; 'Morceau de bois de la charpente de l'Eléphant de la Bastille démoli dans les derniers jours de Juillet 1846. Ramassé par moi hier, 27 Juillet 1846. V.H.' Hugo thus kept a wooden fragment of the model for the elephant on the Place de la Bastille from the moment the construction was torn down in 1846 until his death in 1885.

Even though Hugo admits that 'no one knew

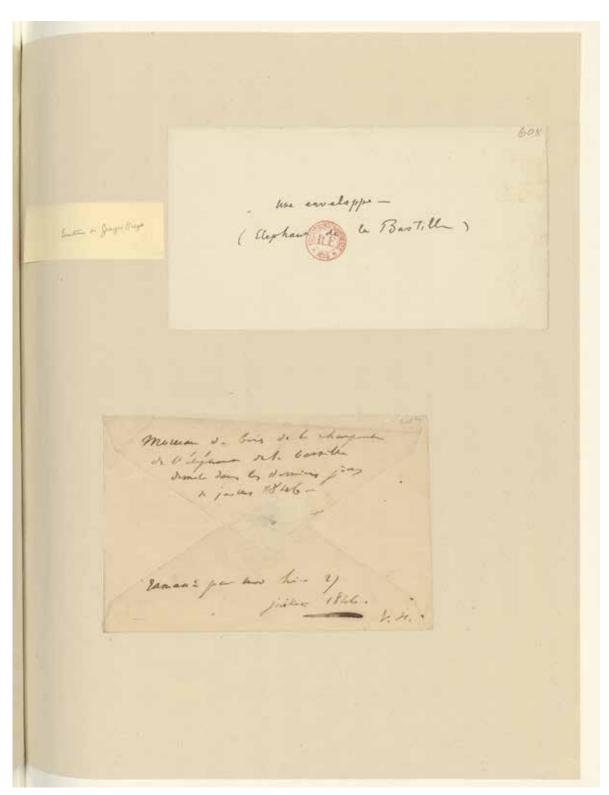


Fig. 4: Victor Hugo, 'Reliquat' of *Les Misérables*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département des manuscrits. NAF 24744, folio 608.

precisely what it meant, he insists that the monument was 'in some sort a symbol of the popular will, sombre, enigmatic, and immense; a sort of powerful and visible ghost confronting the invisible spectre of the Bastille.'²⁸ For Hugo, the Napoleonic model of the elephant

embodied the Parisians who stormed the Bastille on the fourteenth of July 1789. The elephant becomes the monumental evidence of a force that competed directly with the high walls of the former fortress and knocked it down.

In 'Les Mis' the Eléphant is represented as a grotesque presence on the Place de la Bastille; it is 'crude, despised, repulsive, and defiant; unsightly to the fastidious, pitiful to the thinker, having about it a contradictory quality of garbage waiting to be swept away and majesty waiting to be beheaded.²⁹ This description reflects a more personal, aesthetic discussion of the sublime and reminds one of Hugo's famous preface to his 1827 drama 'Cromwell', which develops a theory of the grotesque.30 When Hugo calls the Eléphant de la Bastille 'the ponderous, uncouth, almost misshapen monument, which was certainly majestic and endowed with a sort of savage and magnificent gravity, both seemingly contradictory connotations of the elephant allow one to experience true modern beauty, according to Hugo. The ugly is described as a part of a bigger, sublime whole that escapes our understanding, and which reconciles with the whole of creation. Through the ugly and the grotesque Hugo confronts us with a new approach, which he considered necessary to throw off the yoke of premodern and pre-Romantic art.31 Hugo's stinging criticism towards the July Column underlines this opposition. In Les Misérables, the decayed elephant has made place for 'the sort of gigantic cooking-stove adorned with a chimney' which has replaced the fortress with nine towers, 'rather as the era of the bourgeoisie has replaced feudalism.'32 The July Column is the logically failed monument of an unsuccessful revolution. It is very proper that a cooking-stove should be the symbol of an epoch that derives its power from a cook-pot. This epoch will pass – indeed, is already passing^{'33} In Hugo's discussion of the Eléphant de la Bastille, aesthetic and political discussions intersect with the notion of ephemerality to the effect that they counterbalance one another.

Unsettling Ephemerality and Monumentality: The Case of the Eléphant de la Bastille

A keen observer and interpreter of the Eléphant de la Bastille, and by extension, of Paris in modern times, Victor Hugo in *Les Misérables* unsettles the ephemeral and monumental qualities of the scale model that were focused on by the printed press.

Firstly, Hugo's emphasis on the grotesque pressurizes the Eléphant's ephemerality. The ugly and deteriorated sight of the Eléphant is in contrast with previous commentaries in the printed press of the scale model, for Hugo actually emphasizes the frightening but physical presence on the Place de la Bastille. The monument is fully recognized as a real thing, as 'a prodigious corpse of a Napoleonic aspiration which successive adverse winds have borne further and further away from us until it has lapsed into history, but which did not completely vanish. To Hugo, the monument is not even fugitive, judging by the piece of wood coming from the Eléphant he preserved for the rest of his life. The piece of wood furthermore unsettles the mere 'virtual' and detached afterlife of modern monuments discussed in contemporary periodicals such as the 'Revue Générale'. The deteriorated scale model also served a noble purpose in Hugo's record of the monument in Les Misérables. He remarks that 'that extravagant monument to the fantasy of an emperor had become the hide-out of an urchin, and that 'the pigmy was accepted and sheltered by the colossus' (825). Hugo's framing of the Eléphant de la Bastille in Les Misérables raises questions concerning the strictness of ephemeral monuments. Even a fugitive public monument such as the Eléphant de la Bastille left actual traces, it even served needs that have nothing to do with the memorialisation of people or events.

Secondly, I suggest reconsidering the notion of monumentality in a wider context. The question of a fitting monument for the iconic Place de la Bastille weighs heavily on the interpretation or appreciation of the July Column or the Eléphant de la Bastille. Victor Hugo, much in line with post-revolutionary designs for a monument on the Place de la Bastille such as the one by Palloy, emphasizes the looming presence of the former prison-fortress. He speaks of the scale model as 'a sort of powerful and visible ghost

confronting the invisible spectre of the Bastille.' Eighteenth-century proposals for a monument on the Place de la Bastille all recognized the square as marking a place of social and political contestation on the ruins of an ancient regime symbol of despotism. Moreover, I argue that the subsequent and unsuccessful debates on a fitting monument for the Place de la Bastille have struggled, not so much with the monumental display of some regime or another, but rather with the monumentality of the iconic square itself whose main impetus was actually a void or an absence.

Victor Hugo's words on the Eléphant de la Bastille lay bare such considerations on the nature of ephemerality and monumentality. Conversely, the fugitive scale model also questions some apparent dogmas on the nature of monuments Hugo expressed thirty years earlier in the chapter 'Ceci Tuera Cela' in Notre-Dame de Paris where Hugo posits that the invention of the printing press pose an immediate threat to the role of architecture in society. Ever since humanity existed, their memories were recollected in architecture. Hugo writes in 1832. Until the destructive advent of the printing press, architecture was the stone book of humanity; Hugo considers a monumental building like Notre-Dame to be the petrified translation of a unified, homogenous community. With the radical breakthrough of the book, the printing of memories proved to be less labor intensive and much cheaper than the building of it. By consequence, early modern architecture abandonned in favor of printing as humanity's primary register of memory - became extremely dull, meaningless, repetitive and merely functional. Hugo's interpretation of architecture in the 1832 novel very much relied on collectively produced and appreciated, all-connecting monuments that were supposed to speak and remember forever. In Les Misérables of 1862, Hugo's appreciation of the contested and ugly scale model of the elephant fountain as a successful monument contrasts with the powerful and glorious cathedral he described in Notre-Dame de Paris 30 years earlier. In sum, Hugo's discussion of the

Eléphant de la Bastille shows just how much the notion of the monument was far from set in stone considering the wider range of his reflections on architecture.

Notes

- 1 Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional. Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013), 6.
- 2 James Leith, Space and Revolution. Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France, 1789 1799 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 91.
- 3 James Leith, Space and Revolution. Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France, 1789 1799 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 91.
- 4 Rolf Reichardt & Hubertus Kohle, Visualizing the Revolution: Politics and the Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 112.
- 5 Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional. Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013), 6.
- 6 Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary* France, (Oxford: Berg, 2002): 13. Daniel Roche in *The People of Paris* writes that 'in the eighteenth century in Paris the popular classes underwent a sartorial revolution, they passed from the days of the durable and the dependable, handed down many times, to those of change and renewal, they displayed a new sensibility.' Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987): 193.
- 7 Daniel Roche, *Histoire des Choses Banales. Naissance de la Consommation XVIIe XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1997): 62-64.

- 8 Richard Wittman, 'Print Culture and French Architecture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: a Survey of Recent Scholarship', Perspective. Actualité en Histoire de l'Art 1 (2015), 115.
- 9 César Daly, 'Monument de Juillet Elevé sur la Place de la Bastille', Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics 7 (1840), col. 411.
- 10 The Eléphant de la Bastille was part of an extensive Napoleonic building program of fifteen new fountains, established in the decree of Saint-Cloud on the second of May 1806. See: Georges Poisson, Napoléon Ier et Paris, (Paris: Tallandier Editions, 2002).
- 11 Paul Hartmann, 'L'Eléphant de la Bastille', Le Magasin Pittoresque (1904): 283.
- 12 César Daly, 'Monument de Juillet Elevé sur la Place de la Bastille'. Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics 7 (1840), col. 413.
- 13 César Daly, 'Monument de Juillet Elevé sur la Place de la Bastille', Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics 7 (1840), col. 415.
- 14 s.n., 'Fontaine de la Bastille', L'Echo Du Soir. Industrie, Lettres et Arts, 1,91, September 15, 1826, 1.
- 15 César Daly, 'Monument de Juillet Elevé sur la Place de la Bastille', Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics 7 (1840), col. 418.
- 16 s.n., 'L'autre Colonne', Le Figaro 1,53, September 1, 1839, s.p.
- 17 s.n., 'Architecture', Journal des Artistes et des Amateurs, ou Revue Pittoresque et Musicale, 6,1, January 29, 1832, 36.
- 18 Amy Wiese Forbes, *The Satiric Decade:* Satire and the Rise of Republican Political Culture in France, 1830-1840 (Lanham, MD:

- Rowman & Littlefield, Lexington Books, 2010), xiv.
- 19 s.n., 'Il ne verra pas l'éléphant', Le Figaro 6,206, July 25, 1831, 2.
- 20 s.n., 'Théâtre de la Gaité', Figaro, March 29, 1837, 242.
- 21 Matthieu Beauhaire, Mathilde Béjanin and Hubert Naudeix, L'Eléphant de Napoléon (Arles: Editions Honoré Clair, 2014), 29.
- 22 s.n., 'Théâtres', Le Pirate. Revue Hebdomadaire de la Littérature et des Journaux 1,14, November 29, 1829, col. 16.
- 23 Delphine de Girardin, Lettres Parisiennes, par Madame Emile de Girardin (Paris: Charpentier, 1843), 268 & s.n., 'L'autre Colonne', Le Figaro 1,53, September 1, 1839), s.p.
- 24 Le Mercure des Théâtres 4, July 26, 1846), s.p.
- 25 s.n., 'Faits Divers', Le Cocher: Journal des Annonces de la littérature, de l'industrie, des sciences et des arts, August 2, 1846, 3 & Alphonse Duchesne, 'Echos du Monde Parisien', Journal des Femmes: Revue Littéraire, Artistique et d'Economie Domestique, August 1846, 375.
- 26 Victor Hugo and Norman Denny (transl.), Les Misérables (London: Penguin Books: Ltd 1982), 822.
- 27 Victor Hugo and Norman Denny (transl.), Les Misérables (London: Penguin Books: Ltd. 1982), 822.
- 28 Victor Hugo and Norman Denny (transl.), Les Misérables (London: Penguin Books: Ltd. 1982), 823.
- 29 Victor Hugo and Norman Denny (transl.), Les Misérables (London: Penguin Books: Ltd. 1982), 823.

30 Victor Brombert, *Victor Hugo and the Visionary Novel* (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1984), 54.

31 Suzanne Guerlac, *The Impersonal Sublime. Hugo, Baudelaire, Lautréamont*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990): 18.

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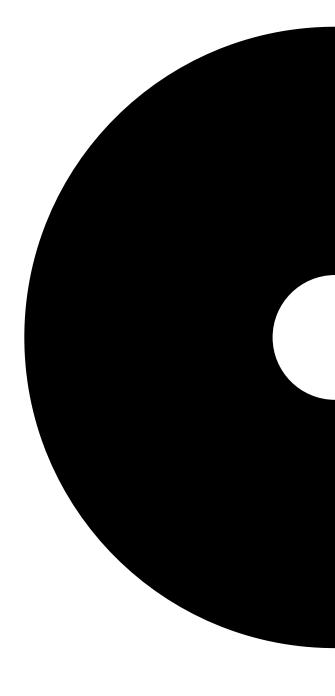
33 Victor Hugo and Norman Denny (transl.), Les Misérables (London: Penguin Books: Ltd 1982), 823.

Infrastructural Ephemerality and Photographic Monumentality in Late-Nineteenth-Century France

Sean Weiss, City College of New York

How are monuments made? Insofar as colossal works of engineering were emblematic monuments of the nineteenth century, smaller, ephemeral infrastructural elements depended on new technologies of photographic representation and reproduction to emerge as monuments in their own right. This essay focuses on a novel, temporary bridge type and the photographs that monumentalised them in late-nineteenth-century France. Portable, demountable bridges were comprised of prefabricated steel members, which could be quickly assembled and dissembled to provide temporary passage across damaged railroad bridges. The structures were developed after the Franco-Prussian War, of 1870-1871, when the French military hastily destroyed a number of railroad bridges crossing the Seine River in an unsuccessful attempt to stop German troops from reaching Paris. This event, coupled with the arduous process of rebuilding the bridges after the war, led French military engineers to implement temporary railroad bridges as a military strategy of industrial warfare. Ubiquitous in the world wars, the bridges are firmly entrenched in the history of military architecture. This paper addresses their earlier applications, when French military and civil engineers worked with private industry to develop the bridges, deploying them in France for civilian purposes and exporting them internationally, across Europe, Latin American, and the colonial world. Although photographs of the bridges were used by their builders to document technical expertise, the images relentlessly crept into the mass media and penetrated the popular imagination. A staggering number of photographs circulated in the illustrated press, postcards, and at universal exposition, and they placed the bridges in the ambit of the militarization of everyday life after the Franco-Prussian War, the

colonial imagination, and industrial capitalism. By turning to the photographs within the circumstances of their public circulation, this paper shows how the images visualized and monumentalised these ephemeral infrastructural elements as part of the cultural landscape of late-nineteenth-century modernity.



Southern Exchanges: Relocating Architectural Knowledge Production

Session Chairs: Ayala Levin, *University of California, Los Angeles* Rachel Lee, *TU Delft*

The planning of Abuja, the new capital of Nigeria, in the late 1970s, saw the collaboration of architects and planners of multiple nationalities, traversing east-west and north-south divides. Alongside the US and East German project leaders, the international committee included M. N. Sharma, Chief Architect of Chandigarh, India, and Clement G. Kahama, who served a similar role in the planning of Dodoma, the new capital of Tanzania. Coming out of the 'interstices of [colonial] power structures' (Stoler and Cooper 1997), Sharma and Kahama, both architects from the so-called 'Global South', were engaged as advisors of international standing. They represent a historical and conceptual shift in the figuring of the 'global expert', and the knowledge that s/he holds in an uneven and racialized globality. From passive 'native informants', southern architects and planners became active agents of knowledge production with global applicability.

This panel seeks to position the production of architectural and urban planning knowledge as part of south-south exchanges throughout the twentieth century. It will highlight the role of southern actors in forming colonial and postcolonial architectural networks of expertise, and conversely, the role of northern development and educational institutions in facilitating southern architects' mobility and exchange. The panel will contribute to historicizing and problematizing the South as a geographical, political, economic and epistemological category, while addressing questions such as: How did the North partake in south-south knowledge exchange? And how did southern knowledge feed-back to hegemonic centres, or contribute to the formation of new centres that challenge northern hegemony? The role of northern 'experts' who identified themselves as having 'southern' or 'othered' experience may also be explored. By underscoring southern formations of disciplinary knowledge, we hope to shed some new light on key concepts associated with architecture of the South such as the vernacular, climate, the informal, and the urban-countryside binary.

While we will focus primarily on the established (and problematic) category of the 'Global South', we welcome presentations that explore knowledge production in other 'souths' (such as the American south), or problematize hierarchical differentiations of actors from various 'souths' in architectural discourse (e.g. between Latin America, Africa, Central, South and Southeast Asia) or non-western locales, such as the Middle East, China, and Japan, that do not easily fit these binary categories.

'One World' Anxieties and Third World **Development in Delos Symposia**

SESSION 10

Petros Phokaides, National Technical University of Athens

Delos Symposia, the decade-long series of international meetings initiated by Constantinos Doxiadis in 1963, has been presented in the scholarship as an extension of the legacies of CIAM and west-east relations of European and Japanese architectural cultures (Wigley 2000); and as part of the 1960s emerging discourses on planetary development and environmentalism (Pyla 2009). Departing from these narratives, the paper, aims to investigate Delos Symposia as a platform of exchanges between the so-called global 'North and 'South' by exploring the ways they facilitated intense interactions among 'cosmopolitan' scientists, transnational experts, and governmental officials that reflected and questioned the North-South divide.

The paper focuses in particular moments where the shifting epistemological/ geographical configurations of 'North' and 'South' rose more prominently, by adopting two interrelated perspectives: Firstly, it highlights the interactions between interdisciplinary debates of Delos Symposia, the research projects of the Athens Centre of Ekistics and the professional activities of Doxiadis Associates in Africa, and beyond. In doing so, the paper examines the shaping of global architectural expertise at the intersection of 'northern' agendas for technological advancement, global urbanization patterns, and scientific networks, with 'southern' practices of low-cost and local-based solutions developed in the field. Secondly, the paper, examines more explicitly the role of actors from the 'South' in these meetings, alongside or in the shadow of actors from the 'North' By exploring the frictions between 'North' and 'South' perspectives on topics such as urbanization patterns, management of resources, and humanenvironment relations, the paper highlights attempts to reconcile 'One World' anxieties

with 'Third World' development aspirations. Considering the epistemic plurality of these debates, where architects conversed with economists, biologists, mathematicians, and anthropologists, the paper, further explores how Delos Symposia invited both anthropocentric and post-human perspectives aiming, ultimately, to interrogate both 'northern and 'southern' actors' decolonizing agendas.

Regional Animators

Felicity D Scott, Columbia University

In 1975, a group of filmmakers assembled in New York City around a large table bearing a map of the world and, as the 'Liaison Producer' recalled, 'carved it up.' The group, designated 'regional animators,' had been hired as experts for the vast audio-visual program being prepared for Habitat: The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, which took place in Vancouver in 1976. Their task was to provide technical assistance to over 100 countries from the developing world, thereby assuring, or so they claimed, that nations without filmmaking expertise would be able to 'speak for themselves' through the medium of film to the vast audience gathered for the conference. In addition to filmmakers from the Canadian National Film Board and New York, the group included filmmakers from Chile, Mexico, Kenya, Zambia, Iraq, Pakistan, Yugoslavia, and more. Each was allocated a vast area of the globe; after assisting in regional training sessions detailing the documentary mode sought by the UN, they were dispatched to work with local planning or other government agencies, along with architects, aid agencies, and local filmmakers to shoot contemporary development projects, often also working on post-production. The Zambian filmmaker was assigned to southern African states, the Iraqi filmmaker to Arab-speaking countries, francophone Canadians to countries that had once been French and Belgian colonies, etc., each developing techniques to document and disseminate knowledge being

produced about architectural, infrastructural, and agricultural projects throughout the so-called Global South. This paper aims to follow some of these 'roving experts' as they moved from one troubled context to the next throughout Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, tracing the complex topology of their collaborations and how they were positioned by the UN—as at once harbouring the capacity to transfer a universalized technical knowledge and as somehow having regional expertise that ranged across national contexts with distinct legacies of European colonial rule.

Core and Earth: Material Slippage between South America and Africa (1956-1980)

Hannah le Roux, University of the Witwatersrand

The archive of the trans-continental career of the Argentinian architect Jorge Arrigone (1930-) holds traces of south-south transfers and experiments in housing. Trained as a self-help housing expert in Colombia in the mid-1950s at El Centro Interamericano de Vivienda y Planeamiento (CINVA), the Inter-American Housing and Planning Centre, from 1962 Arrigone was contracted as a housing advisor for United Nations missions including Ujamaa village housing in Tanzania (1963-64) and PREVI III in Peru (1970-72). Between missions, Arrigone was a housing advisor in Argentina. In 1974, after a mission in Swaziland he settled with his family in neighbouring South Africa to work for the state funded National Building Research Institute (NBRI) in the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research as an expert in building technology. From there he designed Siyabuswa, a pilot core housing scheme for black South Africans who were forced to resettle under apartheid legislation to the rural 'homeland' of KwaNdebele (1976-79).

Within a project funded by the apartheid state, Arrigone rematerialized South American technologies - specifically adobe, roofing and

sanitation - as well as the forms of surveys that were utilised in his CINVA training. Their acceptance into the repertoire of South African low-cost housing suggest that, at least for a short period, 'appropriate' materiality and projections of 'development' were slipped across borders below the screening of political intentionality. At the time of the construction of Siyabuswa, South Africa was facing international sanctions, but Arrigone managed to draw on his personal networks to localise the global typology of the core house and to represent it as primarily an economical and material solution to the state's costly housing policy.

The paper is specifically interested in the core house typology mobilised at Siyabuswa in its relational formations: both those created in situ, through the linking of South American ayuda mutua to South African conditions, as well as within the NBRI which was arguably empowered by Arrigone's success in disguising his more progressive housing agendas. Following this project, other researchers revived the agency's work in incremental self-build from the early 1950's, so catalysing new genres of housing citizenship within dislocated and impoverished black communities. This seque from mutual aid projects to civic associations and finally political resistance is a critical and largely overlooked narrative in the last period of apartheid from 1976 to the late 1990's. How the return to housing as a site of rights formation dovetails with Arrigone's earlier transnational material research as well as to the earlier popular struggles in Latin America is the core of this paper.

Housing, Data Assemblages, and Fourth World (De)colonization: The Mission Indian Agency vs. the Mission Indian Federation

Manuel Shvartzberg Carrió, UC San Diego

In 1934, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, launched the first comprehensive

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'Social and Economic Survey' of Native American Tribes in the United States. This effort sought to respond to two overlapping crises: one concerned the dire housing and living conditions of most Native Americans; the other was the upheaval of the Great Depression and the government's ensuing New Deal initiatives. Collier sought to connect these crises for the implementation of specific infrastructure and housing projects for Native Tribes, managed through New Deal agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps as well as through other agencies exclusive to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Structured in standardized, schematic forms—in contrast to the narrative reporting previously used by the BIA—the Survey was conceived as a particularized census for a huge variety of Tribes, thus homogenizing a great number of possible answers, as well as the questions themselves. The Survey was implemented by the Bureau's superintending jurisdictions: regional offices tasked with handling the U.S.'s intrinsically fragmented 'Indian problem' yet directed from a central office in Washington DC. In Southern California, the Survey was carried out by the Mission Indian Agency, dispatching officers to each Native American Reservation to collect data. This paper will explore this data assemblage effort on Native American housing in relation to the modes of accounting developed by the Mission Indian Federation (established 1919)—one of the most influential pan-Indigenous organizations in the twentieth century—crystallizing a network of different Tribes through a shared anticolonial discourse and specific institutions for 'home rule and human rights.' While the BIA's Mission Indian Agency operated a vertically-nested system of bureaucracies which, through instruments like the survey, individualized Tribes and subjects as colonial 'wards' in an imagined pastoral society—with housing projects based on the colonial ranch type—the Mission Indian Federation attempted a horizontal mapping of housing needs and desires across a variety of Tribal authorities and their distinct cultures. The Federation's datagathering practices contrasted with the Agency's not just in terms of the presumed

architectural 'solutions,' but also as a practice of diplomacy rather than control. In other words, the Mission Indian Federation offers an example of how an early Fourth World decolonial network institutionalized the sharing of data on spatial conditions across different epistemologies and regimes of sovereignty.

Uplifting Liberia: Indigenous Buildings and Forced Labour at the Booker T. Washington Institute

Maura Lucking, University of California, Los Angeles

In 1929, the African-American architect Robert Taylor realized his late employer Booker T. Washington's vision: opening an industrial school in Kakata, Liberia. They called it 'the Tuskegee of Africa' after their original effort, the Alabama school founded to uplift the black population- culturally and economically-in the years after emancipation through a combination of classroom and workshop training. Taylor played an important role as founder of the architectural program. He worked with students to design and construct campus buildings in a hybrid between Beaux-Arts eclecticism and proto-functionalism, navigating the racial politics of architecture as a representation of the Tuskegee project. In Liberia, the centre of the Back-to-Africa movement, Taylor advised on campus planning. He advocated building temporary rammed earth huts using native expertise while developing an industrial curriculum that would eventually teach students to produce a modern campus of concrete and steel, impervious to the tropical elements. While impressed by the resourcefulness of indigenous knowledge, Taylor offered designs to work towards as a visible index of student development. Yet Taylor's positionality had radically changed; rather than a southern-bred carpenter's son making good, the MIT-trained designer acted on behalf of American philanthropists and the Firestone Company. The school was to train the local population to support the rubber industry,

a neo-colonial arrangement brokered by the African-American leadership of the Liberian government. By the end of that year, the League of Nations would find many of those officeholders guilty of modern slavery, forcing tribal boys to build infrastructure for American industry. That 'native labour' would be necessary to achieve Taylor's own campus plans went unquestioned in the architect's official report. This transnational effort underscores a common reality of south-south exchanges: decolonization is not evenly distributed. It reveals how in Liberia, architecture, education and race identity worked together to naturalize a particular model of labour exploitation, while in Alabama, the Tuskegee narrative of uplift dissociated building labour from the economies of slavery that had made industrialization possible. Furthermore, it allows us to consider the specific ways that architectural pedagogy supported this colonial agenda, beginning with the Beaux-Arts and ending with a drafting room in Kakata.

Urban Planning During State Socialism: Global Ambitions, National Ideologies and Local Desire [Panel 2]

Session Chairs: Jasna Mariotti, *Queen's University Belfast* Kadri Leetmaa, *University of Tartu*

The Birth of the Superblock in Soviet Baku: From Stepan Razin to Armenikend to the *Mikroraion*

Christina E. Crawford, Emory University

Baku, the oil-rich capital of the Azerbaijani SSR, was the site of both the Soviets' first comprehensive city plan (completed in 1927), and home to two experimental socialist residential neighbourhoods, Stepan Razin and Armenikend, that tested the affordances of the new socialist land regime. Stepan Razin, a worker settlement close to the oil fields, was a modified English Garden City with standardized houses that offered capacious units and public green spaces. When this low-density experiment proved too expensive to repeat, the planners—designing with little oversight from large state structures in this early period—developed large block-based urban schemes to increase the number of units and 'economize on the length of piping, paving, interior sidewalks, street lighting, etc.' required for Baku's Soviet leaders to fund and maintain. The distinctly Constructivist Armenikend block 171, built to test this new paradigm, sat on an enlarged block that allowed for more housing units, integrated social services, shared green space, and reduced vehicular traffic. Armenikend, this paper argues, thus marks the birth of the socialist residential superblock. The superblock proved a persistent planning model throughout the Soviet era because it took full advantage of socialist land ownership structure and was agnostic about architectural language. In the 1935 General Plan for Moscow, a shift to architectural neo-classicism notwithstanding,

large residential blocks mimicked Armenikend's model integrated housing, landscape, schools, and cultural and commercial facilities on large consolidated blocks. In the Khrushchev era (1953-1964), the Soviet housing crisis was again addressed with superblock microregions (*mikroraiony*) of prefabricated housing and services, though then on urban outskirts. Although Armenikend block 171 was small compared to later examples, it nonetheless showed the way to exploit land nationalization and architectural standardization for the benefit of the socialist domestic sphere.

Producing the Communist Reality: Enver Hoxha's 'Blloku' and Politics of Urban Isolation

Maja Babić, Charles University, Prague

The scholars of urban planning and architecture of the world behind the Iron Curtain have increasingly studied the architectural production of the socialist realm, never as ardently as in the last decade. Amongst the Eastern Bloc countries, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia, stands an anomaly, Albania. Understudied, isolated, and arguably suffering the harshest interpretation of communist doctrines, Albanian cities are omitted from the narratives of the socialist urban production of the past century. This paper aims to fill this gap and inquire into the relationship between ideology and urban planning in Albania.

Tirana, the capital of Albania, is a city of

problematic twentieth-century urban politics and foreign rulers' urban plans. Following the Italian and German imprints on the city, the fifty years of the Communist Party's rule forged the Tirana of confinements and limitations. Its built environment served as a tool of imprisonment and surveillance. In my paper, I study Tirana's Blloku neighbourhood: housing Hoxha's residence and apartment buildings constructed for Party leaders, Blloku stood out of reach of a regular Albanian, looming large in the capital's built environment. To examine the creation of Blloku and its juxtaposition with the existing city, to assess and analyse its political and social bearings, and to explore the project and process of urban isolation, I study the daily newspapers from the period, city plans, and oral history interviews collected in the recent period. I argue that Blloku served as a facilitator of communist rule, its seclusion furthering the division between the ruling party and its subjects, perpetuating the narrative of fear.

The particularities of the Cold War Albanian communist politics heavily impacted the urban planning and architecture of its cities, and as such, they allow for an inquiry inquire into yet another layer of the communist urban production in post-war Europe.

Postwar Aggregates for the Communist Future? Political Economy of Rubble Reuse in Warsaw During the Three-Year Plan (1947-1949)

Adam Przywara, University of Manchester

This paper presents selected outcomes of my PhD research, which traces transformations of rubble into materialities of postwar architecture during the period of early reconstruction of Warsaw (1945-1949). In that period, the so called 'rubble productive reuse' became a crucial field for the introduction of planning into the architectural production of Poland. The paper reveals the role of rubble transformation in the urbanisation of Warsaw during the period of Polish Three-Year Economic

Reconstruction Plan (1947-1949). The paper concludes by showing how an implementation of different materialities of rubble in the first communist construction sites reconciled many otherwise contradictory visions of postwar political economy of architecture.

In the wake of WWII, and resulting from six years of German occupation, the territory of Warsaw was a forest of ruins growing out of 25 million cubic meters of rubble. Soon, the labour-intensive and technologically advanced transformations of ruined territory positioned rubble as a crucial resource for the early reconstruction. Used as a building material in reconstruction sites since early 1947, rubble becomes a common concern for architects, engineers, economic planners and politicians of various factions. Narrating histories of the earliest worker housing estates of the late 1940s Warsaw, the paper shows how these concerns evolved into struggles to introduce planning into building activity occurring within the city. As a result, the narrative recasts the history of modernization and etatization of Polish architectural production in terms of two rubble materialities: standardised modules of rubble concrete and bricks salvaged in the state-wide action of demolitions. The analysis of the political economy of these two materialities allows to grasp a competing professional and political planning agendas which shaped the postwar urban environment of Warsaw during the decades following the war.

Odd Objects in Rigid Surroundings: Socialist Garages Emerge from Soviet Urbanisation

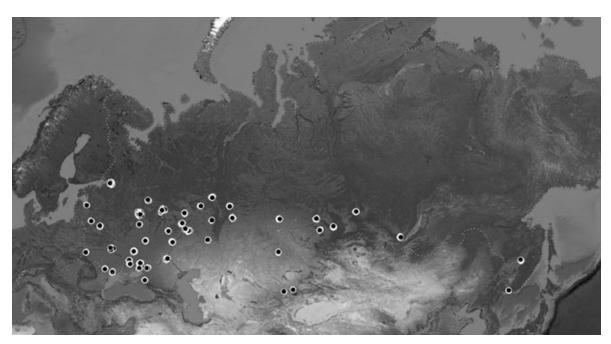
Nicole Lilly Nikonenko, University of Innsbruck

A Socialist city can be identified by its unique structure and form. Typically, this recognition is characterised by the rigid built order, the microdistricts and the Soviet mass housing block. As this phenomenon can be found in multiple cities all over the former USSR, it is evident, that the political ideology has manifested itself not only in constrained collectivism, the standardisation of life but also in its built environment. The 'living machine has influenced millions of people's lives and is one of the most significant built urban design plans. Even though the political ideologies during the Soviet era varied, one mutual aim was to raise the collective by abolishing private ownership of property and land. Yet by investigating the Soviet Socialist city (Sotsgorod) another very specific form can be detected. It sits in the city as a foreign matter, an object alien to its rigid surroundings. It was neither designed, nor explicitly planned by the Socialist state, yet it can be found in 48 of the 50 largest cities within the former Soviet Union. These multiple findings are large scale areas of garages. The Socialist garage has a generic micro-city quality and within that, it consists of three main properties. It embodies an architectural element on a plot; it is initially constructed for an object of consumption 'the car' and it assembles into odd microcity formations adducing a 'Siedlung' character resulting in a diverse form of dwellings within the Sotsgorod. Hence this typology is not only interesting concerning its distinct formal properties, but also its functional role goes way beyond the original purpose. Next to a wide range of economical use from small shops to public saunas, they also developed into small communities and even housing solutions. The Soviet garage allowed people to modify space and individualise in an exceptional manner.

Most people would inevitably recognise a city of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) by the distinctive appearance of the Socialist built environment, in fact, the microdistricts (mikrorayons) and the prefabricated concrete or brick housing blocks. Yet, within my recent research, I intend to draw the focus towards another distinct architectural form, which enables one to detect the sotsgorod adducing another unique recognition value. Although emerging in 48 cities (Image 1.), the socialist garages, the garazhi3, have only been briefly explored within the social sciences4 and the research within the field of urban design and architecture is rather limited. Hence, this paper aims to unfold these odd objects and to highlight their recognisable peculiarity at the time and up until today.

The Rigid built Order

The concept of the *mikrorayon* and the rigid Soviet mass housing block can be traced back to the early notions of Soviet urbanism in the 1920s. After the October Revolution in 1917, the newly formed state of the USSR incurred overpopulated cities that were poor in sanitation and often plagued by diseases. 5 As the Marxist ideology required to dispense all societal imbalance, the distinction between urban and rural life had to be obliterated and a prevalent standard of living all over the state became the declared objective. On August 20th, 1918, all private property was dissolved and handed over to the State or local authorities. To provide immediate housing solutions, the subdivision of real estate belonging to the bourgeoisie was utilised to accommodate further people of the proletariat. Yet initially, this was a relief to the overcrowded



1. Google maps edited by Nicole L. Nikonenko, Garage occurrences in former Soviet Union, 2019

cities, the collapse of the old spatial distribution and order also called for a shift within the overall urban city planning.6 As according to the communist ideology all development and investment had to be financed by the state, the priority was to build a socialist industry. Consequently, within the first ten to fifteen years, the focus laid on the development of the Soviet industry and the reconstruction of the destroyed cities. Not only the nationalisation of all resources and the substitution of collectivism for privatisation but also the intention of a controlled movement of the population led to the debate on how the architectural form of the sotsgorod should look like.7 Responding were two contrary schools of thought: the 'urbanist' and the 'disurbanist' school. Even though their vision of the social organisation and their conviction for communal living overlapped, they proposed opposing designs for the form of the city. On the one hand was the urbanist school, influenced by the Garden City Movement and led by Leonid Sabsovich, which stood for a partial decentralisation to a mikrorayon-system of self-contained, compact centres located around the industrial area, consisting of a population of ca. 50,000 people.8 On the other hand, there was the disurbanist school, which was led by M. Okhitovich and M. Ginsburg. They suggested to abolish the traditional

concept of the city entirely and instead they proposed a continuous ribbon of settlement should be developed all over the state of the USSR.

As housing in the Soviet Union was primarily owned by the government, tenants were not able to choose according to their preferences, but the distribution was led by municipal and governmental authorities. The criteria for allocation were established by a specific number of square meters per person, also often related to their employment. Many workers got so-called 'department housing,' which was provided by their employer. They had permission to live within their flats, yet rent and payment for communal services, like water and electricity were subsidised by the government.9 After Nikita Khrushchev found that the Stalinka¹⁰ would not deliver the quantity needed to provide nearly enough housing for the population of the USSR, he began to develop a mass housing program, that was to benefit more citizens by quantitative expansion and rationality in approach.11 His policy was to eliminate the existing housing shortage within 12 years. This time span was an even greater challenge due to central planning and the release of hundreds of thousands Gulag prisoners. As Khrushchev stated himself, that decoration and ornamentalism were not only



2. Garages, Moscow, 1968, https://pastvu.com/p/68800

unnecessary but harmful,¹² he set his architects the task to develop housing projects of moderate quality with straight lines and without any architectural detail that was not considered to be functional.

This shift within Soviet architecture and city planning was also highly influenced by the paradigm of Modernity, tying onto ideas and designs from Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and Ludwigs Hilbersheimer, as well as Ernst May's plan for Moscow, developed in the 20s and 30s. The coeval technical progress of the construction industry supported the development of the Khrushchyovka¹³. Not the architect was building the cities anymore, but the heavy industries. In his speech on December 7th, 1954, Khrushchev declared, that it was the end of the era, where bricks are placed on each other, but that a new era of building materials and technologies like concrete, steel, electric motors, cranes and other machinery has begun. Even further, this rationalisation should not only apply to the processes of the construction method but also reform the organisational structure of the whole building industry.14

VAZ, ZAZ and GAZ - The Soviet Automobile

Yet, the declared target of the rapid Soviet industrialisation was not merely limited to the infrastructure and construction industry. After the end of WWII, the Soviet motor vehicle industry also sought to broaden and diversify the production of trucks and cars. A 15-year automotive modernisation plan intended to establish a broad truck fleet, developed to boost consumer welfare and to increase the nation's technological progress in the spirit of the time.¹⁵ To support the increased production and to acquire enough customers, automotive brands like VAZ (Volzhsky Avtomobilny Zavod), ZAZ (Zaporiz'kyi avtomobilebudivnyi zavod) and GAZ (Gorkovsky Avtomobilny Zavod) began to advertise their automotive products and entered into a 'socialist' state of competition. This phenomenon created an odd emergence of advertisement posters, that corresponded closely with the artistic style of the ideological, political Soviet propaganda posters, but ironically supported a fundamentally capitalist idea. Resembling the commercials of the American automotive industry, these Soviet car advertisements equally strived to promise the notion of freedom, progress, unexplored possibilities and enhanced happiness. Thus, in contrast to



3. Österreichischen Kuratoriums für Wirtschaftlichkeit, Primitive settlement Lohbau (Vienna), 1927

other modes of transportation, the car as a private mobile space, an object of individual desire was rather opposing the collective ideology of the Communist state. And it was precisely that sublime desire for car ownership of the Soviet public that enhanced the growing production of the automobile factories.¹⁶ Thus, it is worth mentioning, that up until the early 80s, only 45% of the domestic buyers' demand to acquire a car, was met by the Soviet motor vehicle industry. People often had to queue for purchasing cars and many domestic buyers had to wait several years to get a new car.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the import of foreign cars remained strictly forbidden. After finally obtaining the ownership of a car, the owner was subsequently in need of a space to park and securely stow their vehicle. As the Soviet housing block did not provide garage space, large areas of garage structures began to occur all over the socialist state. So, the private ownership of cars set in motion a question of private property - referable to the particular, minor division of land within the Soviet garage complexes.

An Architectural Element on a Plot

One of the major concerns of new car owners was to protect their car from the strongly changing weather condition within the state. And as the quality of the generally affordable cars was not very high, they often needed minor or major repairs, as well as continuous maintenance. Additionally, especially during the nighttime, one constantly had to expect the risk of any criminal conducts. Consequently, the car owners endeavoured to accommodate their vehicles in a garage, which interestingly enough derives in its etymology from the French word 'garer', to shelter. 18 In the 1960s the Soviet Union issued a Resolution of the Council of Ministers, authorizing the organisation of garage cooperatives, and after that garages were established with the permission of local administrative authorities, subject to special rules. 19 The construction should have been made out of refractory materials and should have contained a minimum amount of wood. An exception was allowed for temporary garages with iron upholstery and a thick layer of plaster. Well-organized garages were supplied with electric lighting, heating, ventilation, fire-fighting appliances and devices for cleaning and repairing machines. Yet, these commodities were a rarity. According to the Central Administration of Local Transport, the



4. Frank J., Hoffingergasse Siedlung, ca.1924 in Eva Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934* (Cambridge, London: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1999), 116 in comparison with Nikonenko, N., Гаражи, Ukraine, Dnipro 2019

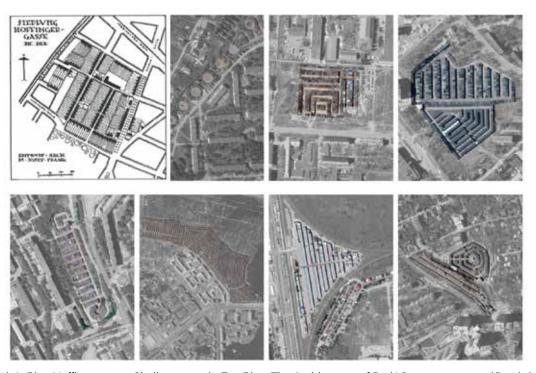
total area of the garage under 'normal' conditions was 27 square meters per truck and 18 square meters per car. The width of the passages was calculated by the width of the car and the diameter of its turn. The direct arrangement of cars, perpendicular to the longitudinal direction of travel made it possible to place the greatest number of cars in a certain area.20 The arrangement of the stalls was partly predetermined, partly sequential to the preceding order and spatial prospects of the land slot. Even though the citizens were responsible to erect the garages themselves and considered to be their rightful owner, there were also multiple cases of 'wild' appropriation of land and with that a lack of proof in ownership up until today.

Viennese Siedlungs²¹ - Character

Also influenced by the Garden City Movements of Britain and Germany was the Viennese settlement movement dating back to the 1920s. The scarcity of housing and food shortages after World War I led thousands of suffering Viennese citizens to settle in self-help initiative dwellings on occupied, fallow land at the

outskirts of Vienna. The initial housing solutions were makeshift shelters predominantly build out of wood (Image 3.), which only later were replaced by brick constructions. Thus, they varied in size and structure, depending on the skills and resources of the settler-builder, typically they occupied an area of around 100-300 square meters. Next to the urgent need for housing solutions, the settlers utilised most of the space on their plot for food-producing gardens.²²

The allotment garden as a self-sufficient *Schrebergarten*²³ was not a novel concept, but their transformation into the productive garden in an urban context appeared for the first time as a Viennese post-war development. Growing rapidly with more than 100,000 people in 1918, the first *Siedlungen* commenced to establish stable communities, organised themselves in cooperative associations and began to receive toleration and financial support from the government from 1921.²⁴ Some large-scale settlements like the *Rosenhügel*, *Friedensstadt*, and *Hermeswiese* are traceable and extant in Vienna up until today. Together with the *Siedlungsamt*, the *Baubüro* of the *ÖVSK*²⁵



5. Frank J., Plan Hoffingergasse Siedlung, 1921 in Eva Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934 (Cambridge, London: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1999), 115 compared to Google maps, edited by Nikonenko, N., Odd objects, гаражи

began to establish building standards and design guidelines in 1921 and 1922. Architects like Frank Schuster, Otto Neurath and Georg Karau, as well as Adolf Loos, Josef Frank and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky²⁶, were either employed by the governmental institutions or became important external advisors for the manifold settlement building matters. What began as self-built and over time modified, singular units next to each other, turned into larger settlement communities, than anyone at the time would have imagined. To meet the high demand for additional and improved housing, the state began to authorize the revision of existing and the planning of new settlements. As the chairman of the Settlement Cooperative of Altmannsdorf, Adolf Müller described the phenomenon of the Siedlung in 1921 as 'a settlement (which) is not a cluster of individual houses with a few ornamental gardens, but a coherent group of kitchen gardens with all kinds of cultural provisions such as a cooperative market, playground...²⁷ And Hugo Mayer wrote about the Rosenhügel that it was 'a city within the metropolis, having economic, social and cultural life of its own; a place of progress and of a higher conduct of

life.'28 So the Siedlung as a collective 'appropriation-of-land' project turned into a cooperative community with a 'city-within-acity'-character. This aspect became not only evident in its social and economic traits, but also in its spatial and formal properties. Otto Neurath wrote about Josef Frank's Hoffingergasse Siedlung (Image 4.) in 1923, that a settlement 'is not an individual house, but the totality of houses that is the object which is shaped'29 The continuous rows of street facades shaped urban ensembles that differed substantially from the spatial and organisational form of the Viennese city districts at the time. The transition from the initial Gartensiedlung to the Wohnsiedlung was completed by the disengagement of the kitchen and the living by Karl Ehn in the Siedlung Hermeswiese in 1923. Within the Wohnsidlungs-type the emphasis was on the house and the public spaces, rather than on the allotment garden.

Odd objects in rigid surroundings - The Socialist Garages

Similar to the Siedlungen in Vienna, the Soviet гаражи also embed a generic micro-

city quality within their built surrounding environment. As after Ehn, 'the character of the Siedlung is that of a self-contained district' 30, one can assign comparable attributes to the гаражи. They were usually constructed on fallow and neglected land, which was given to the employees of a company as one of their social benefits. Those assigned plots were often determined by enclosing infrastructural elements as streets and railways, as well as occasionally limited in the third dimension, overtopped by power lines. Other garages were erected on ground that was solely acquired by the appropriation of land, nevertheless they also subordinated to similar infrastructural spatial limitations. It is needless to say that these spatial limitations influenced their divergence directly, thus the following paragraph intends to expand and emphasise their formal expression beyond such. Each гаражи complex arises as an intriguing odd object which only translates the individual garage units on a closer look. The generic formal component of a singular гараж is in its geometry a cuboid. It often included a slightly smaller cuboid space below the main room with a recess to repair cars and frequently used as a basement. Although the гаражи were initially designed to shelter vehicles on a ground-floor level, several individual modifications have led to merged buildings and the addition of further stories evolving over time. The architectural style and functional purpose of these extensions vary from the metal dovecot to housing solutions in a half-timbering look. Despite these vertical extensions, the horizontality of the prominent cuboid geometries gains unforeseen complexity by their assemblage. Thus, their internal relationship can be deduced from a similar set of rules: The underlying infrastructural circulation, the proportions which are based on the scale of the car and the rear of the rows closing the complex facing outwards, while the garage doors and occasional windows point inwards. Referring back to Neurath's statement on the totality of houses which form an object²⁹, one can all the more be

intrigued by the objects that are shaped by the totality of the Soviet гаражи. They sit in the city like a foreign matter as objects alien to their surroundings. They vary widely in their extraordinary formal composition, leaving the observer with the sentiment of an unavowed species discovered under the microscope.

Conclusion

For many men of the former Soviet Union, the гараж was not only a space to store and repair their car. It became a place where they could modify, convert and customise. The гаражи were communities with separate, individually assigned units, close to the liberal concept of personal property. Mainly unregarded but tolerated by the state, they meant by far more than vehicle storage to citizens like Vitaliy A. Dyachenko, a garage owner from Kyiv, Ukraine:

'A Garage is not just a place where your car lives. There you find tools, spare parts, accessories, and good advice from neighbours. In addition to the fact that this is such a functional important thing, the garage is really purely psychologically very useful for a person. When I leave in the evening to the garage, I tell my wife: 'I'm going to my garazhik.' We meet there as brothers and drink together. I believe that the garage is the domicile of the soul. It is an outlet, a second home.' 31

The labour of each person took nature to their property³² and allowed the owner of a гараж to individualise in an exceptional manner. This became not only evident in their distinct formal assemblage but also in their functional role which evolved way beyond its original purpose. The shelter of the automobile began to turn into small shops, recycling stations, workshops, housing solutions and even public saunas. It united the members of each cooperative in a communal spirit, yet it liberated them from the standardised rigid built order of the Soviet regime. A set of seemingly primitive

elements generated complex architectural structures that undeniably evince not only in the urban design of the sotsgorod during the Soviet era, but also influenced millions of people's lives - up until today.

Notes

- 1 In October 1919, 80% of population of the USSR lived in the countryside, by the 1990s nearly same percentage was urban. Ilya Utekhin et al., 'Housing In The USSR', Kommunalka,2006, http://kommunalka.colgate. edu/cfm/v_tours. cfm?KommLanguage=English.
- 2 Determined within the 50 largest cities of the USSR according to Sasha Trubetskoy, 'Largest Cities Of The USSR', Sashat.Me, 2017, https:// sashat.me/2017/04/21/what-happened-tosoviet-cities/.
- 3 Гаражи [gərɐˈzɨ]: nominative plural of гараж [gərɐ'z], transl. English: the garages|garage
- 4 Ljiljana Vasilevska et al., 'Garage Capitalism' As A Form And Process Of Post-Socialist Urban Changes: Its Pace, Intensity And Structural Characteristics. A Case Study Of Nis, Serbia', Habitat International 48 (2015): 149-158.
- 5 French, Antony R. Plans, Pragmatism And People: The Legacy Of Soviet Planning For Today's Cities. London: UCL Press, 1995.
- 6 James H Bater, The Soviet City: Explorations In Urban Analysis (London: E. Arnold, 1980), 68.
- 7 Bater, The Soviet City, 123.
- 8 Otto Macel, Tradition, Innovation And Politics. In Kloos, M. Soviet Architecture. (Amsterdam: Art Unlimited Books, 1989).
- 9 Ilya Utekhin et al., 'Housing In The USSR', Kommunalka, 2006, http://kommunalka. colgate.edu/ fm/v tours. cfm?KommLanguage=English.
- 10 Stalinka, Rus. сталинка: the common

- colloquial name of apartment buildings dating to the era of the 1930s-1950s, mostly in the neoclassicism style of Joseph Stalin's empire.
- 11 Amy E. Randall, 'Property Of Communists: The Urban Housing Program From Stalin To Khrushchev By Mark B. Smith', Journal Of Cold War Studies 14, no. 4 (2012): 260-263.
- 12 Nikita Khrushchev, Rech tovarishcha Khrushcheva N.S. [Speech of comrade N.S. Khrushchev], 1955. In I.A. Anufriev (Ed.), All-Union Conference of Builders, Architects and Building Industry Workers, Building- and Road-Construction Machinery Industry, Project and Scientific Research Organizations, Abridged Stenographic Report (pp. 379-409), Moscow: Gosudarstvennoye Izdatelstvo Literatury po Stroitelstvu i Arkhitekture.
- 13 Khrushchyovka, Rus. хрущёвка, [xrʊ'ɕːefkə]: the common name of apartment buildings dating to the era of 1956-1980s, after Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev.
- 14 Philipp Meuser Die Ästhetik Der Platte. Wohnungsbau In Der Sowjetunion Zwischen Stalin Und Glasnost. (Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2015).
- 15 Lewis H. Siegelbaum, Cars For Comrades: The Life Of The Soviet Automobile(New York: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- 16 Siegelbaum, Cars For Comrade, preface
- 17 Elena J. Prokofiev, 'Направления Отраслевого Развития Автоиндустрии СССР Во Второй Половине 40-X - Конце 60-X Гг. XX В', Elibrary.Ru, 2020, https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=17241008.
- 18 'Garage | Origin And Meaning Of Garage By Online Etymology Dictionary', Etymonline.Com, 2020, https://www.etymonline.com/word/ garage.
- 19 Leonid, Гараж В СССР Дело Святое Страна СССР: Всё О Советском Союзе', Strana-Sssr.Net, 2020, https://strana-sssr.net/статьи/как-жили-вссср/гараж-в-ссср-дело-святое.html.

- 20 'Строительство Гаражей В СССР', Sovietime. Ru., accessed 21 September 2018, http:// sovietime.ru/zhizn-po-sovetski/stroitelstvo-garazhej-v-sssr.
- 21 Siedlung, Engl. Settlement

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- 22 Eva Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934 (Cambridge, London: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1999).
- 23 The Schrebergarten, named after Daniel Gottlieb Schreber (1808-1861) was - in contrast to the productive purpose of the Siedlungsgarten - a 'zurück zum Boden' (backto-nature) allotment garden for recreational intention. Klaus Bergmann, Agrarromantik Und Grosstadtfeindschaft (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1970).
- 24 Eva Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna, 90.
- 25 For details on the institutionalisation of the settlement movement and the establishment of a municipal Settlement Office, the Siedlungsamt, in 1921, see Robert Hoffmann, Nimm Hack' Und Spaten... (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1987).
- 26 Adolf Loos, Josef Frank and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky were later associated with the Werkbund Estate.
- 27 Eva Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna,
- 28 Klaus Novy, 'The Rosenhügel Pineers Of Vienna', Trialog: Zeitschrift Für Das Planen Und Bauen In Der Dritten Welt 3, no. 36 (1993): 15, doi:10.1524/phil.1999.143.2.365.
- 29 Otto Neurath wrote about Josef Frank's Hoffingergasse Siedlung in 1923, that a settlement 'is not an individual house, but the totality of houses that is the object which is shaped! Eva Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna, 126-127 which here might be crosslinked with Leon Battista Alberti, who asks 'if the city is like some large house, and the house in its turn like some small city...' in

- the 9. book of his treaties De Re Aedificatoria, Alberti, Leon Battista. 1988. On the art of building in ten books. Cambridge
- 30 Eva Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna, 129
- 31 Dyachenko, V. A. (2019). Domicile of the soul [In person]. Kiev, Ukraine.
- 32 Elucidating this though might be attained by adducing John Locke's 'labour theory of property and ownership! John Locke, Two Treatises of Government, ed. Thomas Hollis (London: A. Millar et al., 1764).

Alternative Urban Scales: From Prefabricated Panels towards Human Modulors of Public Space

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The Soviet Academy of Construction and Architecture, restructured by Khrushchev in 1955, reported directly to the Communist Party and was responsible for development of new building standards to replace the outdated Stalinist regulations. It produced 'The Norms and Regulations of Planning and Construction' establishing new methods of standardized construction both as a universally accepted architectural technique based on the unit of concrete panel and as a totalising political strategy. The Academy was a complex hierarchical system supplemented with extensive nomenclature and suggesting a highly efficient system, in reality, however, it was disorganized and tainted by the system of top-down control. The totalising project of redesigning the entire Soviet society with the help of a concrete panel caused a collision of various standards—units, techniques, form, materiality, value, and even aesthetics—while failing to acknowledge conceptual shifts of scale between an architectural object and urban space.

This ideological confusion sparked the formation of experimental collectives under the cover of the Academy's research institutes. This paper focuses on the activity of the group of soviet urban designers and architects, The NER Group (1960-1970), who developed the 'New Unit of Settlement' model for future cities based on sociological organization of the city. The main ideology of their alternative urban model was based on creative communication in a classless society, where the city was no longer dependent on its industrial centre, but formed around the centre of communication instead. Their futurist proposals of decentralized urban environments reimagined architectural practice based on a 'human' unit of settlement—a new module of urban space. This unit of measurement differed from the

Corbusian mathematical Modulor: it foregrounded a human being with one's unique emotions and creative needs as the centre of urban space. This paper focuses on the shift from the politicized symbolism of Soviet concrete panel unit towards the introduction of a 'humanistic' Modulor in Soviet urban planning in the late 1960s, which relocated the site of Soviet subjectivity away from the numerical systems of control towards humanism as a new form of governance. I argue that this change of scale paradigms helped conceptually resolve the illusive split between theory and form in Soviet architecture, and, on an ideological level, between the Soviet State and the rest of the world.

Territories of Incarceration: The Project of Modern Carceral Institutions as an Act of Rural Colonisation

Session Chairs: Sabrina Puddu, *KU Leuven* Francesco Zuddas, *Anglia Ruskin University*

It can be argued that the modern prison is the locus where architecture tested its own entry into modernity. Through two fundamental archetypal diagrams – Carlo Fontana's House of Correction in Rome (1704) and the Bentham brothers' Penitentiary Panopticon (circa 1790) – the prison emerged as the paradigm of architecture's ambition at shaping and directing human behaviour and relationships, which ultimately found synthesis in the modern model prison of Pentonville (London, 1840).

Scholarship on the architecture of incarceration has mostly focused its attention on urban compact prisons, of which Pentonville stands as the prototype. Robin Evans's seminal study of modern reformism in British prisons (The Fabrication of Virtue, 1982) provided a detailed enquiry into the empowerment that architecture received by addressing the project of detention. Evans' work sits alongside its contemporary and more celebrated companion, namely Michel Foucault's Surveiller et *punir* (1975). Interestingly, the key to understand the argument of the two books seems to lay not as much in the analysis of detention inside urban compact prisons, but in what the two authors took as the ending point of their historical narratives: the opening of the Colonie Agricole at Mettray in France, which happened almost concomitantly to that of Pentonville, showing how the architectural codification of the carceral happened as much in the urban walled-prison as in a less restrictive parallel institution where the rational precision proper of the design of a prison was loosened (hence Foucault's definition of 'prisons boiteuse' - limping prisons). The colony of Mettray served as the archetype for this new paracarceral type (the penal colony) that balanced its apparent uncertainty and benevolence by extending its scope of action towards vast territories and acting as an agent of rural colonisation that participated in the geopolitical project of the modern national states.

This session aims to collect insights into the architectural history of the modern penal colony intended as a specific declination of carceral institution that, besides the immediate role of confining, reforming, and punishing criminals, also took on an objective as an agent of territorial transformation and domestication of vast rural domains. Particular attention will be given to the European territory and the role played by penal colonies in the processes of internal colonisation, as opposed to more usual explorations of imperial forms of colonisation. Shifting from the architectural to the territorial scale and covering a time-span from the mid-19th c. up to the WW2, the session will explore cases in which the

project of penal colonies intersected with and facilitated the birth and acceptance of a new modern rural order across the European continent.

Engineering the Colony: Cultivation, Territorial Ambitions and New Order in the Nineteenth-Century Kingdom of the Netherlands

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In the years 1819-1827 seven agricultural colonies were created in the young new kingdom of the united Netherlands (today the Netherlands and Belgium), by a Society of Benevolence founded in 1818. Tens of thousands of 'colonists' from the larger cities were involved in the transformation of the barren lands in the north-west of the Netherlands, into agricultural landscapes with a variety of farming structures, where they were provided with modern agricultural training and moral education, to make them self-sufficient. The colonies pre-date other agricultural colonies, such as Mettray (1838), but also differ in their basic aim, especially before being transformed substantially in 1859. Originally, these were not penal colonies, but designed to survey, teach and improve, or 'normalize' people, turning them into valued members of an economically successful nation that could further cultivate the territory. Cultivation and colonisation were crucial elements in the shaping of the young kingdom, and connects to ideas about reform and the creation of a new order with all their spatial, political and ideological implications.

In my paper I would like to concentrate on the system, the 'engineering' of these agricultural colonies and relate these to other European rural domestic colonies and related settlements ('new towns') in the time-span covered by this session, up to WW II. This type of colony should solve large socio-economic problems of contemporary society with the aid of architecture, in a mixture of reform spirit and ideology, traditional building and architectural design on the one hand, and on the other, a

systematic, rational and quantitative approach, which includes social, civil and military engineering that appears highly experimental, detached and modern. Seen as instruments of state politics, these institutions challenge our understanding of the long and intimate relationship between engineering and colonization.

'Sites of Salvation': Internal Colonial Enclosures and the Alchemy of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Germany

Hollyamber Kennedy, ETH Zürich

This paper will trace a network of modern carceral enclosures that developed in mid to late nineteenth century Germany, a period in which the architectural and spatial logics of the penal colony, the rural labour colony, and the resettlement program of internal colonization were brought into dialogue. Thinking through the question of scale, contrasting the territorial program of the village and colony to the house and barrack, it will ask how reform-based concepts and practices of settlement were worked out at both the cartographic and the typological level of plan and detail. This paper will consider the founding of the Wilhelmsdorf worker's colony, established in 1882 by the Evangelical pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, the construction of the sewage farms of Berlin, which doubled as 'modernized' prison labour camps—described at the time as 'sites of salvation'—and the Prussian Settlement Commission's program of internal colonization, established by the German Ministry of Agriculture in 1886. Over a thirty-year span, the commission constructed over 600 of what its executive board of Ministers described as 'model villages' along the contested eastern borderlands of the Prussian-Polish Provinces, introducing new economic and segregationist land-policy weapons into this long-established

zone of conflict. The Commission was assembled in the wake of several mass expulsions in the early 1880s of non-citizen agricultural workers who hailed mainly from the Slavic East; its objective was to enforce the decrees of the Settlement Law, an anti-migrant land-use policy of incentivised settlement and forced displacement. Together, these institutions of enclosure and reform, which transformed Germany's rural landscape, provide a view onto the origins of eugenic thought in Europe and its alchemical roots, and mark out a set of German imperial and modern planning practices that mobilized space, territory, and environment as agents of 'progressive' reform. Perhaps more importantly still, these enclosures spatialised a rule of difference that resided ontologically at their centres and whose forms broadly speak to the partitioning powers of architectural modernism.

Internal Colonisation, Land Reclamation and Young Offender Re-Education in Late Nineteenth-Century Portugal: The Vila Fernando Experiment

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Before intense wheat-growing campaigns, in the 1930s, transformed the landscape of Alentejo, in south Portugal, the region was largely seen as inhospitable, underpopulated and unproductive, unable to contribute to the country's much-needed agrarian development. Concurrently, the State struggled to adequately institutionalise the under-age delinquents, vagrants, criminals and outlawed youths that roamed the streets in Lisbon and Porto. Establishing an agricultural reform school in Vila Fernando, Portalegre, in 1881, was presented as a modern response to both questions: a purpose-built structure that enabled the government to regenerate, re-socialise and moralise young offenders in a setting clearly removed from nefarious urban influences; and a concrete attempt at reclaiming large expanses of economically irrelevant land. Once re-educated, the former pupils of Vila Fernando and their families were to become leaseholders in the area and, thereby, agents in the dissemination of up-to-date techniques that would finally 'civilise' farming in the region – front-line troops in the battle to settle Alentejo, against its perennial desertification.

In a country where notably few new structures were built to answer 'modern', 19th-century needs, with judicial and penal systems woefully underserved, Vila Fernando was an exception. Explicitly combining European models (particularly, Mettray in France and Ruiselede in Belgium, in the re-education concept, and Italian experiences in land reclamation and colonisation), its ambitious proposition – architecturally and socially – was polemical, denigrated, underfunded and finally never completed.

Framing Vila Fernando within domestic and international developments in penal policy, social rehabilitation and internal colonisation, my paper examines the territorial, para-urban and architectural project conceived for this ultra-peripheral outpost of modern European statecraft. The colony-school, outdated (and unfinished) when it opened in 1895, epitomised Portugal's struggle to deploy the institutions characteristic of a developed nation, when its imperial ambitions were curtailed, industrialisation lagged and conservatism stifled culture and society. I will discuss the specificities of Vila Fernando's remit and how institutionalising children and youth – not adults – in colonisation settlements potentiated the rhetorical capacity of these territories of incarceration to transform at once land, lives and societies.

When it closed in December 2007, the so-called re-education centre in Vila Fernando, about 210 km from Lisbon, was where twenty-two 12-to-16-year-old law offenders served their terms of confinement. With these and a staff of fifty-six using only a fraction of the forty buildings and the 1,050-hectare farm (Figure 1), it was considered inviable by the government

for its high maintenance costs, unreasonable prospect for downsizing and the distance it imposed between the interned and their families, largely resident in coastal centres.

On Vila Fernando's establishment 127 years before, distance and isolation were among the structure's key qualities. To educate and



1. Re-education centre in Vila Fernando, Portalegre. View of the ensemble, taken from the water tower. Phot. Ricardo Costa Agarez, 2003.

prepare for farming and related industries up to 600 delinquents, vagrants, criminals and outlawed minors and youths, as well as those 'disobedient and incorrigible' whose confinement was requested by their parents and tutors and approved by the courts, a reform school modelled on European references was to be built in a remote location on the plains of Alentejo, the demographically and economically depressed hinterland of southern Portugal.

This was an exercise in internal colonisation and agrarian reclamation, as much as in juvenile law enforcement; as a territorial, para-urban and architectural project, it was relatively small-scale but unique in the Portuguese context, where new-built public buildings were scarce in the nineteenth century. By examining the creation of Vila Fernando and its specificities, my paper enquires how institutionalising children and youth – not adults – in colonisation settlements reinforced the capacity of these territories of incarceration as rhetorical instruments to transform at once land, lives and societies.

Alentejo and its long-standing condition as an underdeveloped, underpopulated region was in

the mind of Portuguese minister for home affairs José Luciano de Castro when, in 1879, he wrote to his local representatives asking for potential locations to establish an 'agricultural reform school, modelled on similar structures in 'some of the most cultivated states in Europe'. In Alentejo, he wrote, because this was where large tracts of unused, thus cheaper land could be found, to accommodate no less than 'a nursery for journeymen and farmers who, without hampering their tasks and regime in the colony, might aid the activity of nearby peasants, under agreed pay as is the practice in the Italian [penal] colonies of Brindisi and Scansano, something undoubtedly useful in a province much in need of farming labour.11

The initiative was therefore grounded on two main lines of argument, from its inception: to allow for the regeneration, moralisation and socialisation of young offenders far away from urban centres – seen, in nineteen-century romanticist views, as dangerous foci of social and moral degeneration; and to advance the economic exploitation of untended land. João Mendes Guerreiro (d.1911), the *École des Ponts et Chaussées*-trained engineer commissioned with designing the colony, helped cementing the project's rhetoric in his design descriptions



2. Re-education centre in Vila Fernando, Portalegre. One of the former 32-colonist barracks. Phot. Ricardo Costa Agarez, 2003.

and progress reports: he saw Vila Fernando as

'... one of the surest means to restore the morals of our working class, who flee the countryside to be perverted in the cities. ...
[The school will] quickly train families of colonists to populate Alentejo ... [Effective] farmland parcelling in this vast province [relies on the experiment] at Vila Fernando, whence acclimatised rural labour will set out to disseminate, individually or in groups, the education they have received.'2

Through long-term farmland leasing, its parcelling into smaller plots and its subsequent rental by former colonists, the institution was to become a pilot for the hinterland's agricultural and civilizational modernisation, a frontline for new settlements against desertification.

The choice of the Vila Fernando herdade (a large rural estate characteristic of Alentejo) for this purpose complied with the criteria established by de Castro in his 1879 request: close to a railway station (once a five-kilometre road was built), with sufficient water for consumption, hygiene and irrigation, and large enough to accommodate 'all sorts of crops and training in all the farm-related industries': the

minister pointed out that 'the reform farm school of Ruiselede (Belgium), which might serve as a model for our own,' was established on a 127 hectare property and maintained a population of 600 boy colonists; Vila Fernando had originally 756 hectares suited for grain, fruiters, cork-oak and olive groves, and vineyards.

Importantly, Mendes Guerreiro's 1881 commission from the minister to draw up the plans and estimates for the endeavour came wrapped in a clear set of international references: together with generic 'instructions' on the buildings' setting, orientation and character (edifices should be 'sturdy and healthful, but not luxurious. Two-storey constructions may only be used for infirmaries, higher staff dwellings and such, as our goal is ... to educate journeymen apt for rough rural labour, who therefore should not acquire urban habits'), the government appointment specifically asked the engineer's team to consider 'the plans of foreign colonies ... which have been collected and will be provided for study and information.'3

The official commission, it should be noted, did not include a full brief, either of the functions

needed or of the young offenders re-education concept underlining the initiative, but rather seemed to rely on the strength of foreign experiments and the designer's ability to interpret them – using the 'instructions' quoted to try to prevent any potential excesses in adopting those models to the Portuguese circumstance.

Guerreiro was a railroad and ports expert whose interests included archaeology and, in 1881, he was increasingly pursuing international contacts (building on his status as alumnus of the Parisian École) to inform his commissions at home; he designed two important train lines in north Portugal (Vouga and Corgo) and the improvements to the port of Lisbon, while representing the country in international conferences as an Army Engineering Corps official who occasionally held government positions.4 His outward-looking stance matched the persistence of (mostly European) foreign models that informed the Alentejo project: from the minister's reference to Ruiselede already in 1879 and, earlier, the detailed account of the Belgian correction schools, Swiss rural schools and French young offenders colonies in a 1872 Portuguese study on agricultural education,5 to the inclusion of Ladame's Les orphelinats de la Suisse et des principaux pays de l'Europe (1879) by home affairs minister Tomás Ribeiro in parliamentary debates about Vila Fernando in 1882, referred to as 'a book widely known by all Messrs members of parliament that includes the plans of many of the farm schools in England, in Germany, in Switzerland, in Belgium and in France.'6 Specialised libraries in Lisbon (of professional and scientific bodies of which Guerreiro was a member) held copies of monographs on the renowned colony at Mettray (Tours, France) and of key literature on the topic - most importantly, Ducpéctiaux's Colonies agricoles, écoles rurales et écoles de reforme (1851), a comprehensive portrait of the state of affairs in mid-nineteenth century Europe by the Belgian inspector-general and expert, profusely illustrated with the architectural and organisational types adopted.

Despite insistent mentions of Ruiselede (which was installed in a former sugar refinery), the most influential architectural model for the Vila Fernando project was Mettray, established in 1839 by private initiative, purpose-built and the benchmark for all the 41 colonies created in France until 1851.⁷ The general plan of Mettray (by Blouet) was markedly proto-urban, a small settlement with a clear hierarchy of roads, squares and patios of diverse importance, different functions clustered in specific areas and the intensity of architectural composition increasing towards the church - the typical focal element in new settlements at the time, in Europe and beyond, and an essential feature in Vila Fernando. The architecture of Mettray, with its self-standing houses in a village-like setting, served the institution's disciplinary regime: inspired by the Swiss rural schools for the poor first established in Hofwyl (Bern, 1799) by von Fellenberg and Wehrli, with their model of continuous education in controlled 'family' nuclei,8 the colonists in Mettray (563 in 1849) were divided into groups or 'families' of up to 40, each group given a house where they slept, ate and attended school and atelier training, under the supervision of a 'head of the family.'

In the late nineteenth-century, Portugal lacked the social structure and elites that, in France and Belgium, supported these initiatives with private funding that substantially complemented government support: if even the *herdade* of Vila Fernando had to be leased from the king's household (House of Braganza) – and not lent –, it is not surprising that this was essentially a Public Works endeavour, which had to be scrutinised and approved by Parliament, its arduous and frustrating progress from design stage to completion a direct consequence of the country's financial and political woes, which culminated in the farreaching 'crisis of 1890-92.'9

Guerreiro had direct access not only to key literature on the topic of his commission – for which there was no antecedent in Portugal – but also to those involved in managing and supervising Vila Fernando's models: while designing the school for Alentejo, he



3. Re-education centre in Vila Fernando, Portalegre. The workshops pavilion, south wing. Phot. Ricardo Costa Agarez, 2003.

corresponded with the director at Mettray, who recommended accommodating small cohorts of colonists in separate buildings by age and school form; and with the penitentiary services of France, who advised reducing religious teaching, which, over the previous thirty years, had lost much of its early relevance. The engineer duly used his international references and contacts – he took his complete Vila Fernando project to the Exposition Universelle of 1889 in Paris as a *Ponts-et-Chaussées* alumnus – in his attempt to shield the initiative from criticism in parliamentary debates at home.

Criticism and fierce debate were, indeed, raised by the novelty of the project, as much as by its scale, territorial scope and architectural ambition. Installing the settlement in Vila Fernando required substantial marshland drainage and reclamation, water collection and storage and extensive tree planting to redress temperature fluctuations – operations aimed at improving both the physical conditions and the paedo-psychological adequacy of the school, by which those 'treacherous moors' became a

'veritable sanatorium' where gardening and forestry training would rehabilitate those whose 'existence was scorched in the darkest colours and in the harshest seasons." To ensure the self-sufficiency of a total population of up to 800, the project sought to muster the *herdade*'s full productive potential: pastures for cattleraising and different produce parcels were supported by stables, dairy, cheese workshop, coops, pigsties, sheepfold, barns, slaughter house, butcher and smokehouse.

The so-called 'urban section' of the colony, 'hygienically' set on a well-ventilated plateau adjoining the hamlet of Conceição, included 35 buildings: this 'workers town' positioned its main elements along a north-south axis, an 'empiric rule' found by Guerreiro in isolated buildings across Alentejo that minimised their elevations' solar exposure to the inconvenient south quarter. The second axis, east-west, extended the main street of Conceição through the colony's gates up to the chapelpenitentiary, focus of the ensemble, at the opposite end. This grid of four blocks – two for inmate accommodation quarters, one general

services cluster (refectories, baths, laundry, infirmary and other) and one primary schools and workshops cluster –, surrounded by dispersed staff housing and a large gymnasium, completed Guerreiro's proposal, approved in December 1881. However, only four of the ten 'barracks' planned received funding in the following two years, along with the facilities for general services, schools and workshops.

Far from the comprehensive approach of the 'family homes' in Mettray, the reality of Vila Fernando's residential 'barracks' was rather narrow, even if Guerreiro's design did attempt to counteract the problems of large dormitories and potentiate the advantages of family-size groups for proximity and constant control. Rooms for 16 internees and one supervisor, with running water, 30 m3 of air per person renewed by ventilators and raised floors against 'telluric influences', each facing their individual front yard and latrines with a modest façade, formed the base unit for the 96-, 80and 32-colonist 'barracks' (Figure 2). Classes (from music to life drawing), workshop training and meals were provided for in other buildings: unlike in the French model, these were sleeping quarters only, respectively for 18-to-21-, 14-to-18- and 10-to-14-year-old inmates. The singlefloor (infirmary excepted), pavilion-type structures, with repetitive, enfilade compartments and multiple points of access rather than a single main entrance, dispensed with façade differentiation (front/back) and relied on minimal diversity and ornamentation; the exceptions were the workshops pavilion (Figure 3), shed-covered and decorated in a simplified medievalist, north-European revival language, and the numerous buildings for staff accommodation.

This ultra-peripheral initiative included family homes for the teaching inspector, guards, employees and foremen, director and assistant director, secretary, chaplain, military instructor and doormen – all designed with care and occasionally lavish detail, a tentative catalogue of late-nineteenth-century eclecticism. When the final budget required parliamentary approval in April 1882 – with a 45% increase

over the project's approved version – the opposition attacked such luxury (shocked with the 'palace,' 'mansions' and 'chalets' proposed for higher officials) denouncing the initiative's inadequacy vis-à-vis the Portuguese context through an excessive, misinterpreted foreign influence.¹² Vila Fernando's idealist ambition, finally out-of-sync with its time and place, was epitomised by the unaffordable chapel-penitentiary, modelled on Mettray only larger, where the combination of cult and punishment functions expressed the (by-then questionable) belief in the role of religious practice and moral preaching for the colonists' regeneration.

Pragmatism and a protracted construction process meant that, when the school received its first 51 'incorrigible vagrant' minors sent from Lisbon in October 1895, capacity was legally adjusted to 100, from the 832 inmates for which the scheme had been approved; the missing 18 structures were never launched, with all efforts concentrated on concluding those already under way. In fact, the school served its original purpose – as a farm reform school with physical, moral, religious and primary education – for only six years. In 1901 Vila Fernando was included in the nascent Portuguese system of youth correction facilities, in the justice department sphere (having been first created as a home affairs, i.e. social order concern), and given the more 'severe and suggestive' name of 'correctional farm colony': a 'repressive establishment' whose very designation must 'intimidate the minors' and disabuse parents of the expectation that the State would intern them in 'a simple school!'3 Farming and livestock rearing became the defining trait for Vila Fernando in the Portuguese reseau, with strenuous agricultural labour determining the confinement regime and so-called 'literary education' disdained as having no consequence in criminality control; in winter 1902, a day's routine included 8,5 hours of farm tasks (7,30-12h and 13,30-17,30h) and 2 hours of 'classes, music or study', just before curfew.14

Labour, not books, was key. At the Brazilian National Exposition of 1908 in Rio de Janeiro,

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Vila Fernando exhibited the output of its fields and workshops, along with plans and photographs of buildings, property and farm tasks being carried out, to show how the colony, with its 'open-air correctional regime', was part of a 'great humanitarian, civilising movement' through its 'economic and moral function': it utilised the 'strength and aptitude' of individuals who were, 'instants ago, a social peril ... and now march progressively towards full rehabilitation through labour."

Incomplete and perennially facing inadequacies and shortcomings (a bathhouse, planned in 1881, was not installed until 1923), Vila Fernando remained unique in its context: the first purpose-built structure for young offender judicial institutionalisation in Portugal, the first and most relevant experiment in combining social rehabilitation through farming with land reclamation and internal colonisation initiatives in depressed regions, and the only significant source of basic supplies (grain, olive oil) for the Portuguese juvenile penal system until the 1940s. Minors and youths, appearing to offer a better prospect than adults as both potential settlers of unused land and resocialised citizen, made the rhetoric behind Vila Fernando, with its territorial and architectural translation, a singularity in late-nineteenthcentury Portuguese Public Works.

Notes

- 1 Circular letter from the Minister for Home Affairs (Reino) of 29 September 1879, quoted in *Diário do Governo* 221 (30 September 1879).
- 2 João Veríssimo Mendes Guerreiro, Considerações gerais sobre o desenvolvimento dos trabalhos, fl. 14 vs., Portalegre, 20 April 1885. IAN/TT - Ministério do Reino: Direcção-Geral da Administração Política e Civil / 3ª Repartição, Mç 2840, Lvº 38, n.º 55. All Portuguese-original quotes were translated into English by the author of this paper.
- 3 Portaria [decree] of 9 March 1881 in *Diário do Governo* 61 (17 March 1881)

- 4 'Guerreiro, João Veríssimo Mendes', in Esteves Pereira and Guilherme Rodrigues, *Portugal. Dicionário Histórico, Corográfico, Biográfico, Bibliográfico, Heráldico, Numismático e Artístico* ..., Vol. 4 (Lisboa: João Romano Torres & C.ª, 1909), 1017.
- 5 Joaquim Fradesso da Silveira, Ensino Agrícola na Bélgica (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1872), cit. in José Silvestre Ribeiro, História dos Estabelecimentos Científicos Literários e Artísticos de Portugal nos Sucessivos Reinados da Monarquia, Tomo XI (Lisboa: Academia Real das Ciências, 1883), 383-384.
- 6 *Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação Portuguesa*, Parliament session of 28 April 1882.
- 7 Colonie Agricole de Mettray fondée par M.M. De Metz et De Courteille en 1839. Assemblée Générale des Fondateurs (Melun: Imprimerie Administrative, 1895), 14-15.
- 8 Édouard Ducpétiaux, Colonies Agricoles, Écoles Rurales et Écoles de Reforme pour les indigents, les mendiants et les vagabonds, et spécialement pour les enfants des deux sexes, en Suisse, en Allemagne, en France, en Angleterre, dans les Pays-Bas et en Belgique (Bruxelas: Royaume de Belgique – Ministère de la Justice / Imprimerie de Th. Lesigne, 1851), 60.
- 9 Rui Ramos, 'A Segunda Fundação (1890-1926)', in *História de Portugal*, ed. José Mattoso, vol. VI (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), 153-178.
- 10 João Veríssimo Mendes Guerreiro, Escola Agrícola de Reforma em Vila Fernando, Relatório sobre o estado dos trabalhos de construção referente ao ano de 1883, IAN/TT Ministério do Reino: Direcção-Geral da Administração Política e Civil / 3ª Repartição, Mç 2840, Lv° 38, n.º 55.
- 11 Ernesto Leite de Vasconcelos, *Colónia Agrícola Correccional de Vila Fernando: Relatório do ano de 1902 apresentado a Sua Excelência o Ministro dos Negócios*

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Eclesiásticos e de Justiça pelo Director Ernesto Leite de Vasconcelos (Porto: s.n., 1904), 12-15.

12 *Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação Portuguesa*, Parliament session of 27 April 1882.

13 Artur Alberto de Campos Henriques, preamble to the decree of 17 August 1901, in *Diário do Governo* 183 (19 August 1901).

14 Vasconcelos (1904).

15 Colónia Agrícola Correccional de Vila Fernando: Catálogo dos artigos com que concorre à Exposição Nacional do Rio de Janeiro em Junho de 1908 (Porto: s.n., 1908).

'Perimeter' Prisoners of Secret Cities: Case Study of the ZATO (Closed Territorial Formation) Krasnoyarsk N26, Russia

Katya Larina, Architectural Association School of Architecture

Since the beginning of the 1930s, GULAGs were a mainstay of the economy and a driving force behind the main geopolitical projects of the Soviet Union. They played a critical role in mega-infrastructure projects to colonise hitherto unexploited territories, such as the Belomor Canal, main hydroelectric power stations, railway lines, large industrial plants and cities, whilst prison labourers from GULAG campuses contributed to the building of the network of Secret Cities called ZATOs (an abbreviation for Closed Territorial Formations). Settled and inhabited by the Soviet Union's elite scientists, these secret cities could be located neither in maps nor in official records for over 5 decades, yet they lay at the heart of mega-infrastructure projects such as the Soviet Atomic, space travel, nuclear energy and weaponry research projects.

The Zato's perimeter wall, consisting of concrete walls and barbed wire, resembled the prison-like environment of the Gulag itself. Its 'voluntary prisoners' had been invited to live in total dedication to national infrastructure projects, and to live an entirely isolated, idealised Soviet city life, made possible by rich supplies from those 'beyond'. For its inhabitants, the perimeter symbolised their connection to a higher purpose and would later evoke feelings of nostalgia and a sense of being protected.

This paper links the story of the city's excluded builders (exclusion) to that of its residents who sacrificed their freedom for a higher purpose (retreat), revealing a tight correlation between the prison infrastructure of Soviet GULAGs to the network of secret scientific research centres. By reviewing the ZATOs' perimeter wall and its relevance in history, this paper will then address the contemporary condition of the ZATOs (which number over 40, and a

population of 1 million), questioning whether they would be able to exist without their wall.

Rural Colonization through Barrack Construction: The 'Horse Stall Type' (1940) as Case Study

Nader Vossoughian, New York Institute of Technology

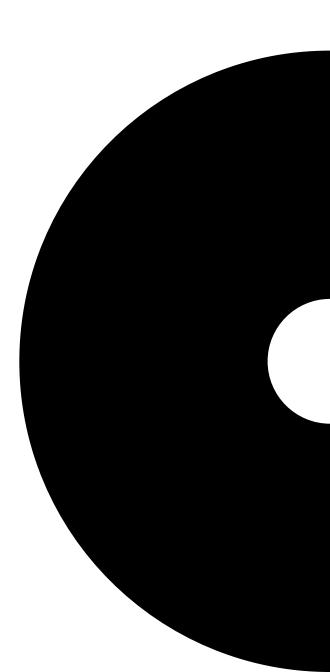
Prefabricated timber dwellings have been used as instruments of rural control and colonization for decades. In the nineteenth century, balloon frame construction facilitated the colonization and domestication of the American 'wild west'. and the Manning Portable Cottage laid the groundwork for the territorial annexation of Australia by the British. In the twentieth century, the 'System Döcker' helped enable Germany's imperial conquest of east Africa. What has not received sufficient attention is the fact that prefabricated timber structures have sometimes been weaponised in colonized regions. That is to say, they have been used to subjugate and harm indigenous populations. The modern history of the prisoner barrack bears out this fact; in this presentation, I highlight the history of one barrack in particular, namely the 'Typ Pferdestall' or 'Horse stall Type, which was employed by the Nazis rather extensively within the concentration camp system between the years 1941 and 1944.

The Horse stall barrack type, technically known as Type OKH 260/9, was an animal stall which, by many accounts, was retrofitted by the Nazis for human use. It found its way to Auschwitz and Buchenwald, among other camp locations, and was industrially mass produced using pre-cut timber. In practice, it was primarily used to house forced labourers, especially Soviet and Jewish labourers. It must also be seen as an extension of the Nazi's racial policies, functioning as an instrument of mass suffering, illness, and humiliation. My analysis assesses the design of OKH 260/9 in the context of the history of intensive farming in the German countryside. I also situate it in relation to settler

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colonialism, Social Darwinism, and imperial Germany's quest of Lebensraum in Eastern Europe.

I draw on a combination of archival materials and primary sources in making my case. I also offer forensic observations using extant remnants of OKH 260/9 itself, which I had opportunity to study in 2015 and 2016.





Parallel Papers 03



Flexibility and its Discontents: Techniques and Technologies in Twentieth Century Architectural Production [Panel 1]

Session Chair:

Tijana Stevanovic, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm and University College London

Throughout the twentieth century flexible space as an architectural quality has been widely celebrated by architects and critics of built and unrealised projects alike. Since the first usage of the term 'flexible' by architectural critic J. G. Wattjes to describe the possibility of a variety of spatial arrangements in Rietveld's Schröder House, Utrecht in 1925, flexibility as a desired technical aspect of buildings and their elements continued to be pursued as one of the central tenements of functionalist design (in Forty, 2000). Flexibility in architectural programme and discourse has been equally often called in to dispute the functionalist rigidity and unreserved design authority of the architect, thus coinciding with the post-war cultural shifts and youth revolt against hierarchical social institutions, as potently demonstrated in writings by Henri Lefebvre, or projects by Cedric Price, and Constant Nieuwenhuys. Spatial flexibility credentials came to be associated with the newly-embraced potential of the user's radical agency in everyday life, with the ultimate aim to challenge the capitalist property relations. Yet, the concept was simultaneously recuperated by the employers' interest in the openplan office, which promised to better motivate its workforce. Recent cultural critique identifies flexibility as a behavioural imperative which has been facilitating neoliberal economic change towards decreasing public administration since the 1970s (Boltanski and Chiapello, 1999), a Foucauldian, modern self-disciplining power that structures everything from workplace performance standards to personal attributes.

Taking into account this contradictory and abstract character of the concept of flexibility for architectural practice, and beyond the mere analysis of flexibility as a matter of architectural discourse, this session aims to deepen the understanding of uses of openendedness in the twentieth century design techniques and technologies. Indeed, Nicholas John Habraken proposed in 1961 that the architect's role may approach that of the industrial designer, as his SAR system (a critique of mass housing uniformity) conceptually and economically separated structural elements from the flexibly-realised, user-chosen in-fill components and finishes. This session particularly welcomes paper proposals which explore through specific case studies what deeper technological, professional, and industrial implications the espousal of flexibility as culturally-conditioned value might have had. What kinds of building materials, or structural systems did the praise for flexibility in design and use require? How did the flexibility imperative affect the hierarchies and social relations among the many practitioners involved in architectural production?

Codification and Flexibility: Towards a Definition of the Atrium

Charles Rice, University of Technology Sydney

Since the late 1960s, architecture has renegotiated its urban interface through a pervasive turn towards the interior. Across a range of types and functions, buildings have incorporated large-scale interior spaces, here designated by the term 'atrium', in excess of typical programmatic or functional requirements. From the voids of atrium hotels, the winter gardens and interior streets of corporate and commercial buildings, to the caverns of museums and cultural buildings, these spaces have motivated and incorporated new approaches to function, use and experience in line with neoliberalism's ethos of flexibility.

As part of a systematic account of the emergence of the atrium within architecture, the paper will focus on how its emerging presence was registered in building codes in the early 1980s, in particular those governing fire safety. It will show that the distinct spatial parameters of the atrium, its scale and spatial connectivity, presented unforeseen challenges to established approaches to fire safety, and prompted architects and regulatory authorities to develop flexible approaches to the development and application of building codes. Over time, this flexible approach would develop as the basis for understanding a building's technical performance, and in particular its environmental performance, as the negotiation between different kinds of expertise architectural, technical, and regulatory.

In making its argument, the paper will focus on a small set of examples emerging from the technical literature. Its method thus aligns with recent approaches that construct a bureaucratic history of architecture. It will argue that the emergence of the atrium shows a particular relationship between a spatial condition and technical possibilities, but that this relationship is not a deterministic one;

spatial provision does not determine technical solutions, nor do technical solutions determine spatial outcomes. Rather, flexibility emerges between the spatial and the technical as a way of approaching regulation and the development and deployment of expertise. The atrium thus figures as, and can be defined in terms of, the confluence of different kinds of adjustability: of environment, of function, and of use, the effects of which have contributed to a broader spatial renegotiation of architecture's urban role.

From Niche to Mainstream: Renewable Energy Projects in Milton Keynes

Kim Förster, University of Manchester

This paper deals with solar architecture in the course of the flexibilisation of energy sources and resulting urbanization process in the UK, both before the Conservative Party won the 1979 general election and after. Since the early 1970s, different actors, inventors and innovators, architects and engineers, affected by the Alternative Technology-movement, and supported by state and market, had been experimenting with renewable energy, impacting institutions, norms and values. Energy projects profited from government funding as a response of the welfare state to 1973 'oil shock'. The new town of Milton Keynes, centrally planned and built after 1967 in compliance with the ideology of the 'non-plan', serves as a case study and lens for alternative approaches to production and conservation of energy, implemented the MK Development Corporation and supported by the Open University. When under the Thatcher government, public subsidy for housing and energy projects, was withdrawn, MK started promoting home ownership, as flexible new technique of governance, through house exhibitions, which centred on the theme of energy: Home World (1981) and Energy World (1986). This paper, from the perspective of architectural, economic and social history, transition and critical energy studies, argues that home energy became transformed, while

the energy system stayed intact. The responsibility for supply, heating and insulation, referring to the cost / efficiency argument, was then assigned to the consumer, first-time home buyers, as well as the building companies or the new type of architect-developers, rather than classically the town planners and local housing authorities. The year 1986 marked a turning point, as MK in the designated 'energy efficiency year' became the energy capital of the UK, championing both active and passive solar, due to the expertise established; 1986 was also the year, when London's financial market was deregulated and the British energy sector denationalized, in the context of an economic liberalisation.

Shrinkage: Massaging Modernism's Minimum

Helen Runting, Secretary Office for Architecture, Stockholm Rutger Sjögrim, Secretary Office for Architecture, Stockholm Karin Matz, Secretary Office for Architecture, Stockholm

Like many European countries, Sweden finds itself in the midst of a severe shortage of housing. In 2016, the Swedish Government that over half a million new dwellings would need to be built by 2025 (doubling the rate of production at that time), if, on a purely quantitative basis, there are to be enough dwellings to house the population. Thus an enormous biopolitical project was launched, without fanfare, envisaging an architecture at the scale of the population without giving strategic direction as to the form that that housing would take. In this paper, the Stockholm-based practice Secretary Office for Architecture presents a study of 14,471 apartment plans (all multi-res housing approved in the 26 municipalities that make up the Stockholm region at the highest point of the recent real estate and construction boom, 2017). Carefully tracing shifts in the placement and permeability of walls, the treatment of

fenestration, and in the size, type, and sequence of rooms that make up an apartment, we use this archive of the present to identify and describe the vestigial traces of Swedish modernist apartment plans in contemporary production, locating points of deviation and mutations and linking them to the performance-based 're'-regulation of housing in the late twentieth century. In particular, we trace quantitative shifts — under the rubric of 'Shrinkage'— in order to explore an emerging biopolitical regime characterised by a 'densification of the interior.'

Experiments and Enemies of Openness: The Case of Frank van Klingeren (Netherlands) and the Question of Authorship

Ecem Sarıçayır, Cornell University

Calling himself an overaged Provo, architect Frank van Klingeren (1919-1999) was most active during the 1970s in the Netherlands. His ideally non-hegemonic architecture and anti-authoritative position as an architect are seldom discussed and researched today. However, his architectural practice raises important questions about 'open architecture' and participatory design—and, as such, provides a valuable contribution to contemporary discussions of flexibility. Van Klingeren's radical ideals offered experimental answers to social and urban issues of the seventies, such as urban renewal, urban development, and—a particularly pressing concern for him—the issues of pillarization (verzuiling) and community (building). His two (at their time, radical) community centres, De Meerpaal and Het Karregat, should be perceived as embodiments of these ideas. Nevertheless, as much as these buildings brought him fame, the discussions and stir that his architectural practice generated also caused him agony. Shifting social, economic, and ideological realities of the 1980s introduced new ideals of space and leisure that led to public demands for alterations to his

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community centres. In response, Van Klingeren went to court to protect the flexibility of his designs by invoking his intellectual property, acting in seeming conflict with his antiauthoritative and participatory architectural principles. This paper investigates architectural flexibility and its limits as it emerges in Van Klingeren's thinking and practice as well as his court case. To do so, I juxtapose an analysis of his written works with an interpretation of archival material. I investigate his democratically inclined architectural principles of flexibility as they appear in various written works such as his poems, stories, and critical essays. I interpret these alongside archival materials consisting of court documents and his correspondences about the renovation of De Meerpaal.



Shifting Identities of the Ottoman Vernacular

Session Chair: Aleksandar Ignjatovic, *University of Belgrade*

The 'Ottoman house' refers to a vernacular building type and urban housing layout that became ubiquitous across a large swathe of regions, from Anatolia to the Adriatic in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Equally shared by different ethnic groups and religious denominations, it represented a common, pre-national cultural model and pre-modern architectural type distinguished by a number of elements that featured numerous local variants. However, despite being the 'syncretic product of a multi-ethnic society,' it has been symptomatically identified as 'Turkish' and 'Oriental.' In the era of nationalism, which reached its peak after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman house and its associated meanings went on an unexpectedly complex and controversial semiotic journey.

Practically all post Ottoman successor states, including the republican Turkey, endeavoured to appropriate and 'nationalize' the once common architectural heritage, both by scholarly interpretation and a 'modern vernacular' building production. This included the unequivocal rebuttal of its Oriental identity through the question of its origins that became both complex and contradictory. Was the Ottoman house autochthonous or derivative? Was its ancestry Byzantine, Ancient Greek, Slavic, or genuinely Turkish; or even Thracian and Illyrian? Or was its cultural backbone pan-Balkan or Mediterranean? While architectural historians tried to trace back the Ottoman house's roots, the cities in which it flourished had already been de-Ottomanized and 'Europeanized' — from the Black Sea to the Adriatic coast, from the Dodecanese to the Danube — causing the precarious vernacular heritage to be paradoxically seen as an obstacle to the national culture and a source of its identity. At the same time, its architectural features were appreciated through the modernist lenses of rationality, functionalism, simplicity and honesty. Propelled by Le Corbusier's enduring interest in what he called the 'architectural masterpieces' of the Ottoman vernacular, various interpretations by historians, anthropologists and architects included the Ottoman house in the modernist discourse about universal responses to natural conditions and a cultural ethos that transcended history.

A key rationale for this session is a paradox that lies at the heart of this identity-dynamics in which the once common heritage, which was initially despised and then so utterly transformed to become the epitome of national parochialism, was also seen as a protomodernist expression of universal and supra-ethnic principles. The proposed session would invite the participants to investigate this remarkable afterlife—both written and constructed—of Ottoman vernacular architecture, torn between cultural exceptionalism and cultural universalism.

Extracting Morphology: The Macedonian house in the Ottoman Quarter of Thessaloniki

Dimitra Figa, Maltepe University

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The paper refers to the contemporary built environment and the remarkable afterlife of the Ottoman house in the old city (Ano Poli), the former ottoman quarter of Thessaloniki in Northern Greece. Ano Poli constitutes a unique case in which the protection of a listed, traditional neighbourhood was not attempted through preservation or reconstructions of the historic buildings and their surroundings, but rather through a rigid design statute, a kind of morphological program, which aims to predict the morphological spectrum of new construction within the traditional fabric. This design statute, determinant for the nomination of Ano Poli as a zone under protection, has been defined in the 70s by Prof. Moutsopoulos, a specialist in traditional north Greek architecture; it delineates the morphological elements of a so-called Macedonian style, shaping the image of a 'traditional Macedonian' house, stated as characteristic, typical, worth to retain, and prior to the Ottoman house.

The presentation has three aims. Firstly, we would like to present this interesting -and determinant - statute/program, attempting to focus on its essence, analysing and interpreting the 'image' that evokes. Secondly, to compare this 'Macedonian style', according to Moutsopoulos, with the 'prototype' of the Ottoman house. Finally, Thirdly, we will intend to trace the underlying understanding of tradition in general and of the specific house type in particular, which oscillates between reduction/abstraction and reproduction of a fixed and static model- resulting thus in some interesting architectural morphemes of strange balance between traditional morphology and contemporary codes, prototype and transformations. Our purpose is to investigate the potentialities — and the prerequisites — of producing new architecture, based on the interpretation of the ottoman house not as a

fixed image but as a shifting, elastic form that has the ability to adapt and to metamorphose within different environments.

Modern-Traditional Architecture in late-Ottoman-Era Haifa

Keren Ben Hilel, Technion Israel Institute of Technology

Yael Allweil, Technion Israel Institute of Technology

The Arab house, just as the Ottoman house, has material and formative characteristics that are common in a wide geographic area. Its main structural component is stone — as opposed to wooden beams in the Ottoman house. Under the Ottoman rule, the new city of Haifa, located in the southern periphery of the Empire, was established as a port city and controlled the Levant area. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Haifa became a cosmopolitan city and a transportation hub that linked Europe to the Empire and the East. This study explores how Ottoman traditions affected the construction of the Haifa Arabic house. Which were the components both types of homes shared? What elements are vernacular and which 'universal' in both buildings types? Significant technological and administrative changes led to several immigration waves of individuals as well as nuclear families to Haifa. Construction of the port and the Hijaz railway, as well as other Tanzimat reforms (1839-1876) triggered the need for living quarters. New entrepreneurs set up homes for rent. Growing demand for housing changed the structure of family dwellings and residential building characteristics. The residential model shifted from the 'Liwan house' — widely spread throughout the Levant as a central component in the extended family home — to the 'Central hall house, or units for the nuclear family.

Examining long-term influences of local buildings and innovations imported from Europe or the heart of the Ottoman Empire, this paper traces how this syncretic model was designed: a combination of traditional autochthonous masonry with new building materials and new imported building elements. Joining the vernacular with the international, the Central hall house ushered in the new traditional-modern house model, ultimately changing the city's landscape.

Urban Rooms Transition: Revisiting the Immediacy of *Sofa/Hayat* Space in Vernacular Ottoman House and Re-Historicising its Presence

Emine Görgül, ITU-Istanbul Technical University School of Architecture

Following the aftermath of the Cold War and the fall of communism in East Europe, as well as the recuperation of the post-Yugoslav states, yet re-drawing the lines of geographical and cultural multitude, it is observed that the remains of the Ottoman Era are being reappreciated as the vernacular of the nations from Adriatic to Thracian milieu.

Apart from technology, programme, identity and semiotics of the Ottoman house as the vernacular and common denominator of the post-Cold War Balkan societies, this paper aims to reflect the stripped image of Ottoman identity off from the phenomenon, on behalf of providing a mental image of the house acting as a cross-cultural mediator that operates in the level of semantics of basic spatiality. Thus, neither focusing on a physical embodiment of the Ottoman house, nor group of dwellings, this paper is based on the conviction that not the corporal embodiment of the house, but the incorporeal and omnipresence of inside-ness and the uninterrupted feeling of being in represents the essence of the so-called vernacular.

In order to address what the Ottoman house refers to and which are its essential roots — by asking questions whether it is a stereotype or a spatial scheme, hierarchical planning of private and public space, or the use of significant interior and exterior elements; or the taxonomy of the building mass, or the separation of gender — this paper will comprehend the cross-cultural continuity of the phenomenon. It will address questions related to sofa/hayat (the specific spatial entity acting as a transition space connecting individual rooms to the rest of the house, or the interiority of the house to the exteriority of the street), as a molecular space but not a molar house, acting both unitary and collectively. By utilizing a multi-fold reading methodology and focusing on the examples from Mostar (Herzegovina), Prizren (Kosovo) and Thessaloniki (Greece), Buldan (Turkey), the existing literature on the subject (Eldem, Kuban, Ögel, Akın etc.), as well as the concept of interiority and urban rooms in relation to the general history and theory of space (Lefebvre, Sennet, etc.) this paper would permit to discern the locality of the phenomenon together with its transversality in space and time.

Genius Loci: The Politics of Pre-Modern Architectural Style

Session Chairs: Zachary Stewart, *Texas A&M University* Lizzie Swarbrick, *University of Edinburgh*

Frequently encountered in the historiography of pre-modern architecture is the theme of *genius loci*—a paradigm in which factors such as climate, local resources, and local traditions are understood as determinative for the building practices of a given region, country, or nation.

Writing on Gothic architecture is a striking case in point. The style was a pan-European phenomenon. Yet, almost from the beginning, it was interpreted in patently ethnic, regional, or national terms. Late medieval observers in northern Europe saw it as French (*opus francigenum*). Early modern observers in southern Europe saw it as German (*maniera tedesca*). And antiquarians, archaeologists, and architectural historians active during the era of the formation of modern nation states, in an effort to advance competing domestic claims to Gothic, coined a series of stylistic labels—'Perpendicular' for England, 'Flamboyant' for France, 'Sondergotik' for Germany—that continue to be employed into the present day.

Thus have medieval architectural historians struggled to examine the buildings of smaller regions with more heterogeneous architectural traditions. Scotland—a land whose medieval edifices have been characterised as 'dour', 'embattled', and even a 'fag-end'—is exemplary in this regard. Smaller buildings less sympathetic to foreign fashions have typically been viewed as crude. Larger buildings more sympathetic to foreign fashions have typically been viewed as mannered, wilful, or downright bizarre (cf. Roslin Chapel). Such interpretations not only uphold a simplistic centre-versus-periphery model of historical explanation but also assume that national styles are real ontic categories.

Raising the stakes for a re-evaluation of issues of place, space, and identity is the politically febrile atmosphere in which we now live and work. Indeed, nativism draws on the idea that countries have distinctive (if not inviolable) cultures, and architecture plays a dual role in such discourse in that old buildings can be used as evidence for certain values and new buildings can be used as vehicles for certain ideologies. Consequently, this panel seeks to interrogate the relationship between architecture and regional or national identities in the pre-modern period, with an emphasis on the buildings of medieval Scotland.

The Fortification Face-Lift: Nationalism, Regionalism and the Nineteenth Century 'Restoration' at Monflanquin and Rudelle, France

M. Jordan Love, University of Virginia

The southwest of France has frequently been defined by its austere and militarized church architectural aesthetic during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in contrast to the proliferation elsewhere of bar tracery and large expanses of glass that came to characterize Gothic style. Certainly, this was rooted in very active Cistercian and mendicant church builders, battling the ever-present heretical movement of the Cathars.

What began as a solution to the physical and spiritual needs of local communities changed into a fusion of ecclesiastic and military architecture to convey a larger message of authority. However, the association of churches in the southwest of France with military architecture came to define the region in later centuries, occasionally resulting in a manufactured aesthetic created during nineteenth century restorations. Documents show that restoration authorities argued over what the 'ideal' and 'original' state of the churches must have been.

Although there is a definitive, formal connection between fortification and church architecture, some monuments were not eloquent enough in their medieval architectural heritage to satisfy late nineteenth and early twentieth century historians, who sought to transform them into an idealized state rooted in the spirit of Viollet-le-Duc. Complicating this picture is the fact that many of the thirteenth century communities in the southwest of France were a mix of English, French, Spanish, and Catalan origins: an Occitan identity that defied the very notion of a nation state or a national style.

Using the churches at Monflanquin and Rudelle as case studies, I will attempt to deconstruct the fortified architectural identity to reveal the variations of church architecture actually present, illustrate the debate among the restoration teams of the early twentieth century, and question whether the architecture of the southwest of France really has a homogeneous regional style.

The southwest of France has been defined by its austere and militarized church architectural aesthetic during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in contrast to the proliferation elsewhere in France of bar tracery and large expanses of glass that came to characterize Gothic style. This was rooted in very active Cistercian and mendicant church builders, battling the ever-present heretical movement of the Cathars or Albigensians, a heresy so widespread it inspired a papal crusade against it in 1209. What began as a solution to the physical and spiritual needs of local communities changed into a fusion of

ecclesiastic and military architecture to convey a message of authority. However, the association of churches in the southwest of France with military architecture defined the region in later centuries as well, occasionally resulting in a manufactured aesthetic created during nineteenth century restorations. Although there is a definitive, formal connection between fortification and church architecture, some medieval monuments were altered by nineteenth and early twentieth century architects into an idealized or generic vision of a regional aesthetic of southwest France. Complicating this picture is the fact





Figure 1 Saint-André de Monflanquin. Source: author.

that many communities in the southwest of France were a mix of English, French, Spanish, and Catalan origins: an Occitan identity that defied the very notion of a nation state or a national style. Using the churches at Monflanquin and Rudelle as case studies, I will attempt to deconstruct the fortified architectural identity to reveal the variations of church architecture actually present, illustrate the debate among the restoration teams of the early twentieth century, and question whether the architecture of the southwest of France really has a homogenous regional style.

Formal Sources: Cistercian and Military Architecture

The architecture of southwest France, defined here as the area south of the Dordogne River and west of Montpellier, varies widely: from brick octagonal towers that adorn early pilgrimage churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to monumental *tour-porche* structures of fifteenth century churches, both urban and rural. Also present is a number of churches that present a visually-jarring combination of several successive building programs, reflecting an ecclesiastic struggle for power over several centuries. Therefore, to suggest that there is a unifying regional aesthetic is problematic. More accurately, there were several concurrent trends put forth by

different authoritative bodies working toward different ends—some funded by the French monarchy, by bishops, by local lords, and others by the mendicant orders. Most of these differing styles and edifice types seem to respond in some way to the history of heresy in the region, particularly the Cathars, a widespread movement in the region characterized by dualism and a rejection of the material world, reacting to what they saw as a corrupt Catholic Church. Their practices included abstention from sex, eating meat, owning property, and swearing oaths, and they also emphasized adult baptism and the laying on of hands. The movement reached a tipping point in 1209 when Pope Innocent III called for a crusade against it, resulting in a devastating war that lasted until 1229. Thus, much of the subsequent ecclesiastic architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries either sought to dominate a rebellious population through monumentality or convert them through humble simplicity.

Jean Bony attributed the spirit of 'austerity and simplification' found in southern France to early Cistercian formalism, but notes that the Cistercians had long since strayed from a strict observance of their original message in the architectural realm.¹ Indeed, local Cistercian monks who rose to elevated positions within the secular Church did *not* stick to Cistercian

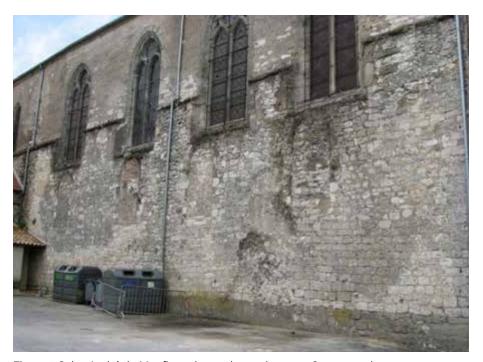


Figure 2 Saint-André de Monflanquin, north exterior nave. Source: author.

simplicity when undertaking their own building programs. Jacques Fournier (the future Pope Benedict XII) was responsible for the fortified papal palace at Avignon, yet he began his ecclesiastic life as a monk at the Cistercian Abbey of Fontfroide near Narbonne where he was abbot at the time of his promotion to bishop.

This return 'to plain wall surfaces and...to a more severe treatment of architecture' had pervaded generally by the 1250s but 'the new monastic style which came into prominence in the middle years of the thirteenth century was not due entirely to the Cistercians: other orders seem to have played a no less active part, especially the mendicant orders.² The mendicant orders required different liturgical spaces from the regular clergy that reflected their practice of preaching to the laity, and their initial vows of poverty insisted upon a style of architecture that would adequately reflect these ideals. Both Saint Francis and Saint Dominic had called for an 'architectural poverty, which eventually was made the official policy of the Dominican Order in 1220.3 In fact, Dominic had warned Innocent III that, 'It is not by the display of pomp and power...that the heretics win proselytes; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity

and seeming holiness. Zeal must be met by zeal, humility by humility...¹⁴ In the south, ecclesiastic corruption had unwittingly become synonymous with ornamentation (and perhaps even monumentality), an association purveyed by the Cathar heretics as part of their dualistic belief system, and as a consequence the church body needed to present itself as the vessel of salvation without being seen as an instrument of corporeal corruption.⁵

The nineteenth century highlighting of militarized architecture in the south was rooted in their understanding of the Cathar Crusade and the fortifications created during that conflict. Restoration began with the projects of Viollet-le-Duc who became known for his reconstruction of the city of Carcassonne—an early thirteenth-century fortified town containing a castle, a fortified ring wall, and the Rayonnant church of S-Nazaire. In fact, one of his first restoration projects as a young architect was the cathedral of S-Just-et-S-Pasteur in Narbonne, originally begun in 1272, and the adjoining archiepiscopal palace attached to the cathedral via a cloister from the fourteenth century. Viollet-le-Duc drafted plans to reconstruct the façade of the palace in the style of the thirteenth century, but his work on the cathedral came to a halt due to lack of



Figure 3 Notre-Dame/ Saint-André at Monflanquin, ca. 1900. Source: Simon Deguilhem, Lib. Pap. Journaux, Postcard.

funding and resistance from the Narbonnese.6

What is peculiar about the original cathedral of Saints-Just-et-Pasteur is the exterior buttressing composed of flyers connected by crenellated bridges. The culées even take a rounded tower form at the level of the clerestory reminiscent of the round corner towers of the twelfth-century castles of Philip Augustus. What is conceptually striking about the crenellation at Narbonne cathedral is its transition from utility to symbolism—many of the militarized elements that have been added do not make sense for a purely defensive purpose.7 The defensive works on the cathedral do not actually communicate with the fortification of the palace, and crenellation was added in front of large expanses of glass, illuminating the impracticality of the traceryladen Late Gothic cathedral as a defensive structure. The fact that the crenellation on the southern side overlooks the sheltered cloister and heart of the old palace demonstrates not its defensive utility, but its harmonious symmetrical arrangement with the northern

crenellated side. Maille Hutterer identifies a 1349 document in which the master mason of Narbonne Cathedral denied the defensive function of the crenellation. Instead, he declared their creation 'only for the grace and beauty of the work of the church.'8 Thus, military architectural elements were increasingly appearing not for their practical value but for their visual symbolic impact, which at Narbonne was 'destined to affirm the prestige of the archbishop and of the chapter.'9 Crenellation and faux machicolation on church architecture had become part of a 'castle aesthetic'—the projection of power without the utility of the power signifiers. It was this aesthetic, exemplified at church architecture at Narbonne, Albi, and S-Avit-Senieur, that nineteenth-century Romantic idealists such as Viollet-le-Duc sought to enhance, sometimes through artificial means.

Complicating the association of southwest churches with military architecture was their concurrent development with the construction of the bastides—about 700 new, planned towns designed on a grid and founded in the second half of the thirteenth century by local lords, bishops, and French and English authorities to hold territory and attract local populations displaced by the destruction of the Cathar crusade.¹⁰ I demonstrated in my dissertation that the founding of bastides was, in fact, primarily an economic enterprise with little attention paid to fortifications until the outset of the Hundred Years' War. However, in later centuries their formation became associated with that war, perhaps supported by the term's similarity to bastille, and when bastide churches received reconstruction work in later centuries, two in particular, Notre-Dame de Monflanguin (now known as Saint-André) and Saint-Martial in Rudelle, were altered so drastically that their new appearances suggest a desire to promote bastides as military (and not economic) enterprises.

Notre-Dame de Monflanquin has suffered more alteration than most bastide churches, though it does not exhibit the patchwork appearance some churches display. Located in the Lot-et-



Figure 4 Notre-Dame/ Saint-André at Monflanquin, ca. 1908. Source: Simon Deguilhem, Lib. Pap. Journaux, Postcard.

Garonne département, the bastide of Monflanguin also became a center of Protestant refuge in the sixteenth century, and Notre-Dame was largely destroyed during the Wars of Religion, then rebuilt in 1715.11 The vaults were restored in 1864, and the western frontispiece above the portal was reconstructed to its present state in 1923.12 This frontispiece of Notre-Dame is, however, a work of romanticized fortification rooted in the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival. The crisp lines of the new masonry at the top display two octagonal towers fronted by a wall containing three open arches (fig 1). The wall is also trimmed with two rows of faux machicolation and crowned with new crenellation. illuminating the fact that by the early twentieth century, French patrimony was emphatically focused on the bastide church's role as town donjon and was intent upon celebrating their medieval heritage through architectural embellishment,13

In order to determine what was added in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is important to review what of the original edifice exists and what was changed prior to the nineteenth century. According to French

scholar Georges Odo, the portal and lower half of the church facade remain largely intact, mostly completed during the late thirteenth century along with the chapels and sacristy.14 However, church construction slowed and dragged on through the fourteenth century, a lag Odo attributes to the construction of the city walls.15 By the seventeenth century, complaints arose concerning 'rotting timbers' that had forced the transfer of services to the chapel of the Augustinians.¹⁶ It was this ruinous state of the church that incited a rebuilding of the edifice in the eighteenth century. Traces of the round-arch windows from this second building campaign can be seen along the exterior of the north side of the nave, having been filled in and replaced with taller, Gothic windows in the nineteenth century (fig 2).17 These newer windows break through a horizontal stringcourse molding that adorned the exterior.

The original weathered portal and lower portions of the façade display the flat, clean surfaces of the rectangular western frontispieces that pervade the bastides. Though reconstructed at the top, the bases of the two small flanking towers of the façade





Figure 6 Two views of Saint-Martial, Rudelle. Sources: Creative Commons 'Rudelle - Eglise -1' by MOSSOT is licensed under 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0). https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rudelle_-_Eglise_-1.JPG

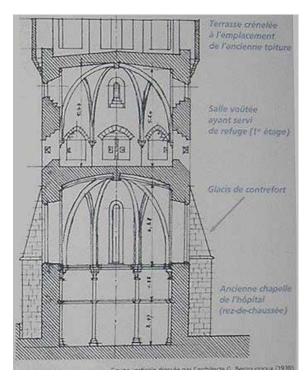


Figure 7 Church of Rudelle (Lot - France). Drawn by G. Bergougnoux (1938). Source: Creative Commons 'Vue en coupe de l'église de Rudelle' by Thierry46 is licensed under 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0). http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Fort_eglise_rudelle_coupe.jpg

suggest that there were towers on the original edifice as well, and a pre-restoration postcard shows two towers still standing (Figure 3).¹⁸ If original, these towers and western frontispiece

of Notre-Dame fit into the pattern of formal elements used nearby at Villeréal, Castelfranc, Montagnac, and other regional churches of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century. However, further analysis of the pre-restoration photograph demonstrates that the four openwork arches between the two towers were a later addition. The high-quality stonework does not match the shabbier work of the flanking towers, and a further comparison between the pre-restoration photo and a photo of lightning damage from about 1908 reveals that there was a door on the north side of the south tower, which, if original, would have been blocked by the new arcade (Figure 4).19 The door indicates the previous presence of a wall walk, often found at the other bastide churches.

Much like Monflanquin, the small bastide of Rudelle also has an unusual early fortified church that presents difficulties in distinguishing original fortification elements from the romanticized elements added in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century (Figure 6). Located north of Villefranche-de-Rouergue in the Lot département, Rudelle was one of the earliest bastides founded in 1250 by the Bertrand III de Cardaillac, the seigneur of Lacapelle-Marival.²⁰ The town church of Saint-Martial is first mentioned in the 1266 will



Figure 8 Saint-Martial in 1891. Source: Creative Commons 'Eglise Saint-Martial, Ensemble ouest' by Médéric Mieusement is licensed under Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International. (CC BY-SA 4.0) https://monumentum.fr/eglise-saint-martial-pa00095210.html

of Bertrand III 16 years after the town's founding, and refers to a hospital (and possibly a priory) on the site, for which the church functioned as the chapel.²¹ This early version of Saint-Martial had a single-vessel nave with rib vaulting and a five-sided apse.²² However, a charter granting Rudelle the customs of Figeac in 1320 makes reference to a *fort-église* or fortified church. Whether it still served as a hospital chapel or had taken on some other function is unclear, but the seigneur appears to have kept control of the church and limited its use, as evidenced by a 1470 petition by the town inhabitants requesting to use it as a parish church.²³

What makes Saint-Martial at Rudelle so unusual was the addition of a rib-vaulted second story built in the fourteenth century and perhaps by the 1320 charter, and supposedly created as a fortified refuge during the onset of the Hundred Years' War (Figure 7).²⁴ The addition of this story altered the original



Figure 9 Albi Cathedral. Source: Creative Commons 'Saint Cecilia Cathedral of Albi, view from Place Sainte-Cécile, Tarn, France' by Krzysztof Golik is licensed under Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International. (CC BY-SA 4.0). https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saint_Cecilia_Cathedral_of_Albi_05.jpg

appearance of the church, as evidenced by a close study of the masonry coursings along the exterior body of the edifice, and the expansion resulted in a flat, rectangular western front with a single portal that resembles other bastide churches. However, due to the fact that the masonry now supported the weight of two stories, low, diagonal buttresses were added at the corners of the façade as well as around the exterior of the whole. Saint-Martial utilized the two-story chapel formula of Saint-Chapelle in Paris and the basilica of San Francesco in Assisi, both completed by 1253. This double chapel suggests a sophisticated knowledge of ecclesiastic architecture and multiple liturgical uses beyond just physical refuge.

Restoration records indicate the existence of crenellation and a hipped roof before alterations were begun in the 1890s by architects Paul Gout and Jean Gabriel Achille Rodolosse (see Figure 8).²⁵ However, the same decade that Notre-Dame de Monflanguin

acquired its new crenellation and machicolation, Saint-Martial acquired a bizarre array of hoarding elements placed around a newly-constructed terrace at the top of the church. A hoarding block was placed at the façade, three along each side of the nave, and one on each side of the angled walls of the apse (figs. 6, 7). The effect of this hoarding, projecting from the flat surface of the walls, is that the profile of the church resembles that of the cathedral at Albi: a tall box-like edifice with undulating surfaces and narrow, slit-like windows (Figure 9). Perhaps this is what later restorers intended in the perpetuation of the trope of the fortified bastide church. Restoration documents in the Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine indicate that the 1890s campaign to restore the church to its 'primitive state' was planned—Gout, Rodolosse, and others mistakenly believed the church had originally been a tower owned by the seigneur de Cardaillac that had been converted to a chapel by the townspeople when ownership of the structure was transferred for their use in 1470,26

Despite this misreading of the evidence, the structure might have been left alone in its current state if not for an all-encompassing desire to 'return' it to its 'ideal' form-i.e. a military one. The bulk of the restoration appears to have taken place during the first decade of the twentieth century.²⁷ A report written much later in 1955 to the Minister of Education at the *Monuments Historiques* revealed that the replacement of the roof with a terrace had been criticized by some as 'too visible' a restoration and that the whole project was being opposed by archaeologists who wanted the church returned to its former state. Even fifty years after the face-lift, the recommendation to the minister was that deficiencies of the terrace 'ne nous a pas semblé évidente, and while they concede that a return to the church's former state might be desirable, it was not urgent.28 However, a detailed study of the church was subsequently done, and the conclusion was reached that the church had not been covered with a terrace and that the opinion of the nineteenth-century

architects had been faulty.²⁹ Further, the report blames the ruin of the upper vaults entirely on the new terrace, citing the fact that the vaults had never needed work when protected by the former slate roof.³⁰ Thus, the French archaeologists and historians involved in the project at Rudelle grappled with the problem of whether to return the church to its previous state, which may not have been the medieval one, or to keep the church as it was in its modern, romanticized form of a fortified bastide church.

Georges Odo commented on a similar alteration of Notre-Dame in Monflanguin in 1923, explaining that they chose a clocher 'inspired by the Toulousain churches where the façade is surmounted by a wall arcade and crenellation between two towers.'31 However, we have seen from the original photographs that this formula, minus the crenellation, was already present. Thus, what Rudelle and Monflanquin ultimately demonstrate is that though churches could act as a protective keep and occasionally displayed the formal hallmarks of military architecture, the reality of their simple forms and flat surfaces was not grandiose enough to inspire the imagination of the nineteenth-century Romantics or the twentieth-century Nationalists. The image of medieval heritage was important enough to the modern French state to either purposefully manufacture a fictional architecture or to refuse to believe that the stripped-down, plain church forms were original.

Conclusion

What we learn from contextualizing the bastide churches within the formal traditions of all architecture found within the southwest is that the idea of a regional style rooted in the forms and functions of ecclesiastic and military architecture is complex. The expanded role of the churches to serve a defensive position is reflected in the elements of a castle aesthetic, and the early churches occasionally borrowed the formal elements of the castle: crenellation, machicolation, etc., however, more often they utilized the high, flat walls, small windows, wall

walks, look-out towers and other more practical military elements. The churches of the bastides reflected what Saint Dominic had warned Innocent III that the local people valued, not the 'display of pomp and power' but austerity, holiness, humility. The fusion of ecclesiastic and military architecture to convey a larger message of authority was instead taken on by a threatened Catholic Church as at Narbonne. This would eventually become more pronounced in the fourteenth century, as churches utilized high towers and corner buttresses, dominating town squares with outsize structures. Although there is a formal connection between fortification and churches, nineteenth century architects had latched onto the castle aesthetic as a form of generalized regionalism without the complex historic context underpinning where it was and wasn't used. The stripped down bastide churches were not eloquent enough in their medieval architectural heritage to satisfy late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century historians, who sought to transform them into an idealized state rooted in the spirit of Viollet-le-Duc.

Notes

- 1 Jean Bony, French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, (Berkeley: UC Press, 1983) 429.
- 2 Ibid. Bony attributes the simplified forms at Narbonne Cathedral with the influence of the mendicant/Cistercian austerity that master mason Jean des Champs encountered in the south.
- 3 Richard A. Sundt, 'Mediocres domos et humiles habeant fraters nostri: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century,' The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians. 46:4 (Dec., 1987): 395.
- 4 Alexander Clarence Flick, *The Rise of the Medieval Church* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), 522.
- 5 The Cathars also believed churches to be unnecessary. Eighteenth century Italian historian

Ludovico Antonio Muratori wrote that the Cathars believed a 'church edifice is not a good thing nor should one pray therein.' M. Charles Molinier, 'Un Texte de Muratori concernant les sectes cathares: Sa provenance réelle et sa valeur.' *Annales du Midi* 22 (1910): 212-16.

6 Christian Freigang, *Imitare ecclesias nobiles: Die Kathedralen von Narbonne, Toulouse und Rodez und die nordfranzosische Rayonnantgotik im Languedoc.* (Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992).

7 The crenellation at Narbonne cathedral appears in the images of the *Voyages Pittoresques* of 1837, pointing to their being original to the building.

- 8 Maile S. Hutterer, Framing the Church: The Social and Artistic Power of Buttresses in French Gothic Architecture (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2020), 134.
- 9 The translation is mine. CNRS, *Le Guide du Patrimoine: Languedoc et Roussillon*. Paris : Hachette Livre, 1996.
- 10 Because of the term's similarity to 'bastille', a fortified prison in Paris, it is a common misconception that these towns had a defensive function. In fact, *bastide* actually derived from the same root as *bastion* and *bastille*: the Old Provençal verb *bastir*, meaning 'to build.' 'Online Etymology Dictionary.' 6 July 2010. http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=franc&searchmode=none.
- 11 Georges Odo and Claude Pons, *Monflanquin: La Bastide* (Conceil Général de Lot-et-Garonne, 2006), 46-7.
- 12 Ibid, 45 and 62.
- 13 Further research is needed to determine the specific architects involved in the restoration of Notre-Dame.
- 14 Odo and Pons, 46-47.
- 15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid. Georges Odo claims these windows were from an eighteenth-century restoration program, although the documents in the Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine are less clear on this point.

18 Ibid, 45.

19 Ibid, 62. O

20 Jacques Dubourg, *Bastides: Ville neuves du Moyen Âge.* (Luçon, France: Éditions Sud Ouest, 2004), 363.

21 Report of l'Etat et le Conseil Général du Lot. La restauration et l'entretien du patrimoine historique et architectural : L'eglise de Saint-Martial de Rudelle. Ministère de la Culture Archive. 4 February 2011. http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/sites-sdaps/sdap46/actualites/chantiers/rudelle.pdf.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid. Until 1470, the townspeople had to use the parish church of Therminettes, two and a half kilometers away. The seigneur of Cardaillac had been responsible for Saint-Martial 's upkeep, indicating ownership of the edifice. He gave this responsibility over to the townspeople that same year, which allowed them to take refuge and store goods there. See also Louis d'Alauzier, 'The Church of Rudelle', *Bulletin de la Société des Études du Lot*, vol 106 (1985), 103-113; and Marcel Durliat, 'The fortified church of Rudelle', *Figeac and Quercy, Proceedings of the XXIIIth regional studies congress, Figeac 2-June 4, 1967* (Cahors: 1969), 49-50.

24 Ibid.

25 Report of l'Etat et le Conseil Général du Lot. These alterations appear to have been made despite the church's designation as a *monument historique* in 1886.

26 ' Rudelle: Église, < Document No. 0081/046/0027, Médiathèque de l'architecture et

du patrimoine. The architect named in the documents is a Monsieur Chene, who sought 'les dispositions premières de l'édifice.' This also demonstrates a predilection for medieval-era architecture over any alterations from later centuries.

27 Ibid. The terrace project was undertaken between 1900 and 1914. The results proved to be problematic almost immediately when rain water began to leak through the vaults of the upper chapel and had to be patched with cement filler. See also, Michel Coste and Antoine de Roux, *Bastides: ville neuves médiévales* (Villefranchede-Rouergue: Desclée de Brouwer, 2007), 144.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid. This report of 1959 was headed by P. Prunet.

30 Ibid. A letter from 1972 to the Minister of Cultural Affairs at the Monuments Historiques states that as a result of the 1959 report, the administration had approved the taking down of the terrace to be replaced with a slate roof. However, the report points out that a roof with flat tile (tuile plate) would be an 'archaeological error' and that if a slate roof could not be realized, the terrace should be preserved as is. It seems that once the roof was altered, the officials at the Monuments Historiques were loath to alter it again. Ironically, this was once again due to a lack of agreement on what the new roof 'should' look like.

31 Odo and Pons, 47. There is also some question about which 'Toulousan churches' he was alluding to. While many bastide churches display wall belfries and twin towers, few if any display crenellation.

Encompassing Medieval Multiplicity: Styles, Historiography, and Architectural Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean

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The problematic dichotomy of 'East' and 'West' has long been used to frame medieval architectural history. This division has pressed unique architectures, such as those of Sicily, Syro-Palestine, Cyprus, and post-crusade Greece, into stylistic categories that they do not easily fit. In this paper, I examine such stylistic categories as they have been applied to medieval Mediterranean monuments in locales that saw periods of intense cultural interaction.

Historiographic arcs in many countries have claimed – or disavowed – monuments that display traits from multiple, canonical medieval architectural styles, such as Gothic, Islamic, or Byzantine and their subsets, often in the service of nationalist or imperialist aims. For example, buildings of post-crusade Jerusalem were declared by French architectural historians of the nineteenth century to be not only Gothic, but belonging – albeit clumsily – to regional French Gothic variant styles, showing the reach of francophone power in its outrémer.

Some Greek architectural historians, writing as the country emerged from the German occupation in World War II, noted that Byzantine architectural traditions had remained uncorrupted in the post-crusade Peloponnese, despite the presence of Frankish settlers and their sculptors for the duration of their domination of the peninsula. But, how did the medieval populations of these places interpret the buildings around them, and how was architecture employed to create identity? How can we re-evaluate such nationally determined attributions and recover medieval architectural meaning?

I argue that extant monuments in such defined, heterogeneous contexts can reveal how

medieval architecture, over time, both reflected and inflected the mixed socio-cultural character of their locales. I demonstrate that the transmission of architectural knowledge, memory practices, and social exchange created highly localized and 'stylistically' fluid buildings that frequently fused initially disparate architectural practices into monuments of shared experience and identity.

Drawings of the Mudéjar Architecture of Seville and the Historiography of Spanish Architecture in the Early 19th Century

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The seismic social and political changes which Spain underwent during the early nineteenth century cannot be over-emphasised, and yet the country's (then unknown) wealth of art, and architectural antiquities still made it an essential extension of the Grand Tour. At the same time, the endless political turmoil and Mendizábal's confiscation of church property, unsurprisingly, brought about a crisis of national identity with particular architectural implications.

Witness to this crisis was the Royal Academy of San Fernando whose responsibility had been, since its founding in Madrid in 1752, to protect and promote Spain's architectural monuments. Its initial publication solely presented the 'Moorish' architecture of Granada and Córdoba in Antigüedades Árabes de España (1787- 1804). This narrow focus was to widen greatly in the nineteenth century in response to the academy's increasing awareness of the wealth and complexity of Spain's architectural heritage, culminating in the wondrous diversity of architectural taxonomies in the publication Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España (1856-1881). The publication of this work coincided with the public reading of José Amador de los Rios' El Estilo Mudéjar en Arquitectura (1859) in which the word 'Mudéjar' was used as an architectural term for the first time in an attempt to define the individual

character of Spanish Gothic while encompassing its diversity, and was immediately contested by Pedro de Manzano.

The Mudéjar Alcázar and parish churches of Seville were central to Amador de los Rios' thesis. This paper uses published and unpublished drawings of these buildings made by Spanish and foreign artists to elucidate its gestation and draw attention to the inherent problems in the use of this architectural term. Introduction of the Gothic Elements into the Byzantine and Old Russian Architectural Systems in the 14th-15th Centuries: The Cases of Palaces in Mystras and Novgorod the Great

Alexandra V. Trushnikova, Saint Petersburg State University Anna A. Freze, Saint Petersburg State University

Byzantium and Old Rus' are always the least locations in the Gothic imaginary checklist. However, the preserved monuments present important cases to test the ability of Gothic to be implemented in local architectural styles.

The complex of the Palaces of Despots of Mystras, began as a residence of a Frankish castellan, was enlarged and rebuilt by local rulers during a century and a half. The western part with the Throne Hall is considered to be the latest addition to the residence, probably commissioned by the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel II, and dated to the beginning of the 15th century. Its decoration presents a variety of Gothic decorative details. The whole complex is characterized by pointed forms of arches, doors and windows.

The Faceted Palace in Novgorod the Great commissioned by the archbishop Evfimiy II in 1433 is the easternmost civil edifice in Brick Gothic style. The brickwork, construction techniques, the specific forms of the vaults are the cross-cultural product of the local commissioner and the 'German master builders', who, as the Chronicles tell, were invited to build the monument.

Both, the Despots of Mystras and Novgorod the Great were strongly interconnected with the countries of the Western Europe, but the ways Gothic was integrated into their own distinct thesaurus varied. In Mystras, the heart of Morea, where Byzantium was to take hold and be renewed, the despots built the palace with the pronounced Gothic decoration and the latter was also introduced to the church architecture. The archbishop, de facto the head of Novgorodian Republic, on the one hand, lived in a Gothic palace, and on the other, developed a special program of renovation for the local churches, which were to imitate the old local ecclesiastical architecture. This report will seek to explore the specifics and venture to explain the reasons of these two versions of Gothic inspiration in the Byzantine Oecumene.

This paper aims to examine two cases of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from the opposite parts of the Christian Oecumena: the Republic of Novgorod the Great, governing the northern lands of the Old Rus` and the Despotat of Morea in Peloponnese, at the southernmost peninsula of the Balkans. Both in Novgorod and Mystras the monuments, which employed the Gothic architectural forms, were the projects of the persons of the highest social status, eager to use the available artistic tools. Here we intend to study the specifics of

implementation of the Gothic in the two distinct Eastern architectural traditions, that of Byzantium and Old Rus`.

This comparison stems from the study of the civil architecture of Old Rus`. In order to explain, why Bishop Evfimiy II built his own palace with a help a foreign masters, adhering to a different building practices and style, one needs to weigh other options available for him. In the period under consideration the Russian church architecture, in general, had been

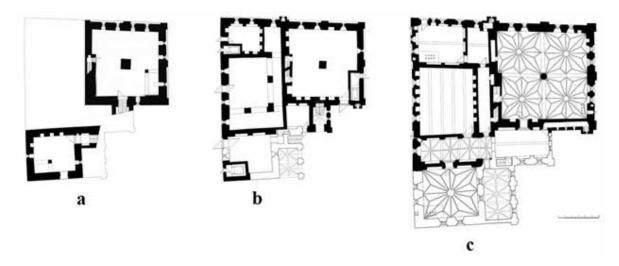


Figure 1. Novgorod the Great. The Faceted Palace, 1433. The floor plans: a. the cellars, b. the ground floor, c. the first floor. Draft by Dmitry Yakovlev.

developing the original tradition implanted by the Byzantine master builders, invited to the Kievan Rus` to build its first masonry cathedrals and palaces in the tenth and eleventh centuries. However, per accumulated archaeological data the Byzantine technology and design of palatial buildings` construction did not succeed and died out within a century, or two. Of course, local construction of civic masonry buildings continued, though evidently, they lacked scale, magnificence and comfort required for a palace.

Until recently it was believed that the genuine Byzantine palatial architecture had ceased to exist by the time of the Forth Crusade, and the palaces of the Paleologean period were the product of foreign traditions of the neighboring countries, Western or Eastern. In case of the palace of the Despots in Mystras its Gothic decoration and formal semblance with North Italian palazzi prompted the hypothesis of its close imitation of the Western prototypes. At the same time, the scholars agree that the churches of Mystras retained its genuine Byzantine planning and construction principles and used certain Gothic elements only in decoration of their façades and interiors. At first, it seems that the basic situation in Novgorod and Mystras is the same, i.e. the churches adhere to local structural design principles, admitting to a certain degree some Gothic decorative elements, while the palaces

could afford to adopt the foreign architectural practices more fully. In what follows we will examine the validity of this statement.

In case of Novgorod the focus is on the socalled Faceted Palace commissioned by the archbishop Evfimiy II in 1433. The Archbishop's Court was located inside Novgorod's citadel to the west from the main Novgorod Cathedral of St. Sophia. The fire of 1432 destroyed the timber buildings of the Court and brought about the construction of the new masonry edifice. The written sources preserved a unique evidence that the Faceted Palace with 30 doors was built in 95 days by German master builders from 'Beyond the Sea' (i.e. from the countries of Baltic region) and craftsmen of Novgorod. As the result, the brickwork (bond and curved bricks), the construction techniques, the heating system and variety of decorative details display distinct features of the Brick Gothic (Figures 1 and 2). On the whole Evfimiy's three-storey palace with a L-shaped layout can be considered as a reduced program of the main residence of the Teutonic Order's Grand Master in Marienburg with its complicated vaults and representation rooms.² This prototype and vivid Gothic features of the Archbishop's residence seem striking until one takes into consideration that Novgorod has long been part of the tradition of the Baltic countries.





Figure 2. Novgorod the Great. The Faceted Palace, 1433. The northern and western facades. The eastern facade.

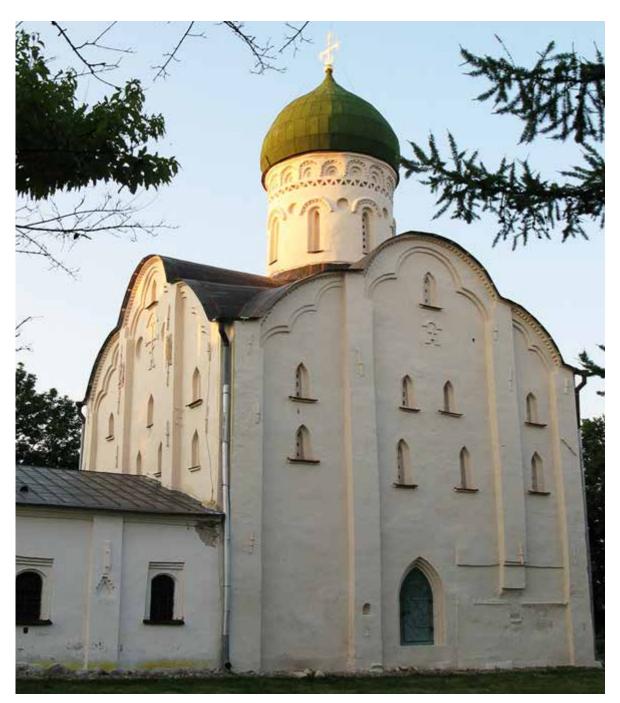


Figure 3. Novgorod the Great. Church of St. Theodore Stratelates on the Brook, 1361. View from south-west.

The north-westernmost land of Old Russia was highly unlikely to remain isolated from the art of the neighboring countries. As early as eleventh-twelfth centuries the settlements of foreign merchants appeared in Novgorod – the Gotenhof (residents from Gotland) and the Peterhof (German traders).³ There is meagre archaeological evidence to determine the forms of the masonry buildings, but the sources provide insight into the architectural interrelations between Novgorod and towns of the Northern Europe. Since the second half of

the fourteenth century Riga, Reval (Tallinn) and Dorpat were the places that connected Novgorod with other Hanseatic towns. In 1402, 1403 and 1431 the German residents of the Peterhof sent requests for the masons to come from Riga and Dorpat and repair their church in Novgorod. The church of St. Peter was restored in 1432 by master builders from one of the Hanseatic towns, which makes plausible that the next year the same builders might have been engaged in construction of the Archbishop's Palace.⁴

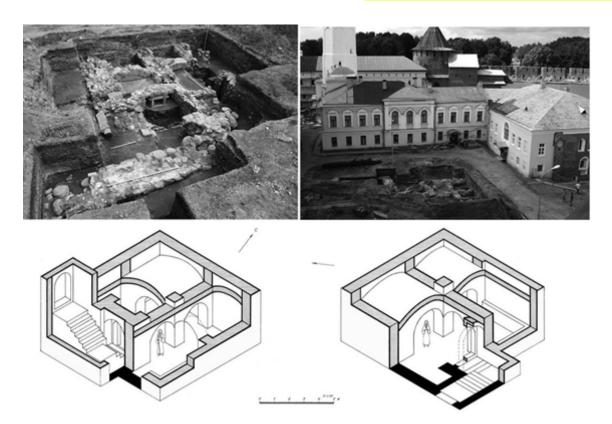


Figure 4. Novgorod the Great. The palace (palata) of Archbishop Vasilij (1350). View of the trench from south-east. View of the Archbishop's Court from east. Photos by Ilya Antipov, 2009. The axonometry. Draft by Tat'yana Silayeva.

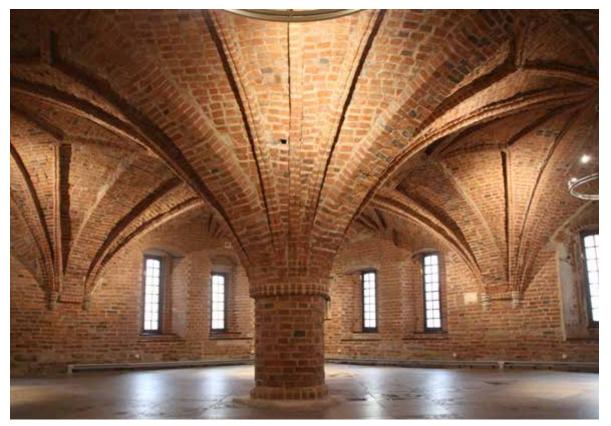


Figure 5. Novgorod the Great. The Faceted Palace. 1433. The One-pillar Hall.

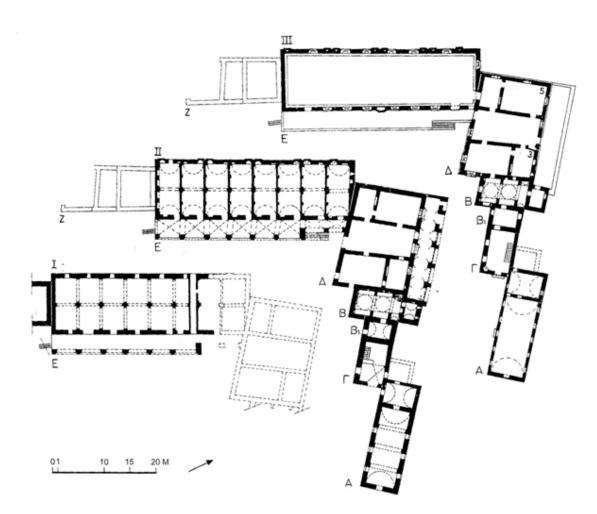


Figure 6. Mystras. Floor plans of the buildings in the palatial complex of the Despots according to S. Sinos.

It is essential to mention that certain Romanesque and Gothic elements appeared in Novgorod ecclesiastical architecture in the late thirteenth - fourteenth centuries. When the building activity resumed after the break caused by the Mongolian invasion the church of St. Nicholas at Lipno (1292) was built by Novgorod and foreign master builders, who introduced the new bar bricks and new forms of the curved bricks (instead of the usual for pre-Mongolian Byzantine-type plinths).5 The façades were decorated with the arched corbel table and unique coved vaults spanned the corner chambers of the catechumena. Builders of several fourteenth century churches made ample use of the pointed arches (windows, niches, portals with profiled jambs and recessed arches) and inlaid stone and brick crosses. The most extensive examples are the churches of St. Nicholas the White (1312-1313) and of St. Theodore Stratelates on the Brook

(1361, Figure 3). In spite of such decorative innovations all of the Novgorod churches remained true to local traditional typology - the cross-in-square church, inherited from the Byzantine architecture. Nevertheless, by the 15th century the Gothic elements have been securely incorporated into local style, and similar forms of the Faceted Palace, at least such decorative elements as round and lancet niches, portals and gables, were not perceived as alien or inappropriate.

At the same time secular masonry buildings were sparse in Novgorod, and most of the unearthed examples were simple one or two room arrangements with log ceiling that lacked any decoration.⁶ However, recent excavations at the Archbishop's Court uncovered the earlier masonry structure next to the Faceted Palace. Its basement consisted of four vaulted compartments with a square pillar in the center

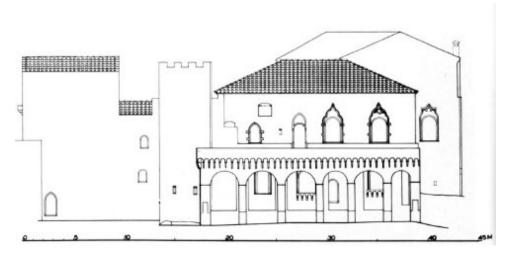


Figure 7. Mystras. Palace of the Despots. The Building Δ . Reconstruction of the elevation according to S. Sinos.

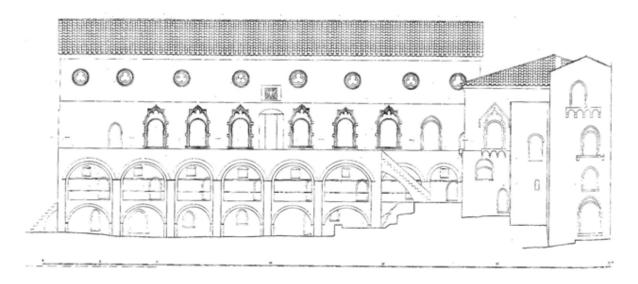


Figure 8. Mystras. Palace of the Despots. The Building E. Reconstruction of the elevation according to S. Sinos.

(Figure 4). The types of bar bricks along with stratigraphic data allowed to identify this structure with the archbishop Vasilij's Palace built in 1350.7 The surviving vaults of the sunken basement are the exceptional trait among Old Russian secular masonry buildings.8 Even the Faceted Palace had a partly vaulted upper floor, while the two lower floors originally had log ceilings.9 The novelty of the Vasilij's Palace for the local architecture is obvious and its influence upon the Faceted Palace can be traced in vertical axis of the structure - the three-storied pillar of the eastern section. The sources mention that the 'former palace' was painted in 1434 which means that archbishop Evfimiy II commissioned the decoration of this palatial structure which was still in use.

One should also bear in mind that Archbishop was the real head of the Republic of Novgorod the Great in the fourteenth - fifteenth centuries, and his residence served as a centre not only for religious, but also for social activities of the city. The archbishop's power started to grow since the archiepiscopate of Vasilij Kalika (1330-1352). The archbishop's name prefaced all the signs in the 1342 trade treaty between Novgorod and Hanseatic towns made in Dorpat. The list of the archbishop's political functions included being the head of embassies to bring peace and ransom captives, to sign treaties on behalf of the city, to oversee standards of weights and measures in the city marketplace.10 Thus, the status of the head of Novgorodian Republic required certain

splendor of representation in the architectural forms. The so called One-pillar Hall in the upper floor of the Faceted Palace with a fine example of the complicated 8-pointed stellar vaults born by a round pillar fulfills this requirement (Figure 5). The great deal of Novgorod political affairs involved the neighboring Baltic countries that resulted in a kind of architectural integration (the abovementioned Gothic inclusions in Novgorod churches). Therefore, it seems logical that Vasilij Kalika in 1350 and Evfimiy II in 1433 engaged the well experienced master builders from the Baltic lands to fulfill their ambitious projects - to build masonry palaces. Henceforth, both archbishop's residences shared vocabulary of Brick Gothic architecture with the other Baltic lands.

It is important to emphasize certain features that "consecrated" the Faceted Palace as a residence of the orthodox Archbishop of Novgorod the Great. The fresco of 'St. Sophia the Divine Wisdom' in Evfimiy's Palace was discovered in the room where the archbishop was likely to prepare for the liturgy and start the liturgical procession to the St. Sophia Cathedral.¹¹ The fresco of the Christ Pantocrator with the cite about the Righteous Judgment was painted in a special niche as a venerated image that corresponded with the Archbishop's role as the Highest Judge in Novgorod.12 The following commissions of Evfimiy II turned the Archbishop's Court into a kind of an enclosed monastery with various secular buildings and churches above the gates that led inside according to local Novgorod tradition.¹³ The special role of Novgorod archbishop among other Russian church Hierarchs goes back to the White Cowl and the Polystavrion that were given to Vasilij Kalika.¹⁴ In this light it seems logical that Evfimiy choose to improve the Archbishop's Court of his outstanding predecessor as a complicated architectural ensemble implementing a secular representative structure and highlighting the local sacred tradition.

As well as in Novgorodian architecture, several Gothic decorative elements were introduced in

the architecture of Mystras, both ecclesiastic and secular. It is highly likely that the complex of the Perivleptos monastery, believed to be erected during the reign of Manuel Kantakouzenos, probably by his wife, Isabella de Lousignan, was the first to employ them¹⁵. Here, the main apse has preserved three sculpted insets – two rosettes and a fleur-delys between them introduced into the masonry above the window. The motif of the fleur-de-lys is met also in the sculpted members of the interior. The bell-tower of the monastery has pointed arches crowning its windows and a trilobe oculus.

But the most striking example is represented by the church and the belfry of the Pantanassa monastery, a project initiated by John Frangopoulos, a high-ranking official in Mystras¹⁶. The Gothic decoration is amply used on the main eastern façade of the church. The lower frieze of niches and windows received elongated proportions and elaborate stone frames of Gothic character in the form of a pointed arch, topped by a plume. A garland hanging from the fleur-de-lys reliefs like an inverted arcade corresponds to each arch. The bell-tower of the church has a row of trilobe oculi inscribed in a circle, its trifora are bordered by large pointed arches, the melon dome is accompanied by four small turrets.

After the fortress of Mystras was ceded by the Latins to the Byzantines in 1262, its rulers kept close relationships with the Latin West, often maintained through the wives of the Despots. That is why one is inevitably tempted to connect the various units of the palatial complex with the commission of those ladies, trying to emulate the types of Italian palazzi (Figure 6). Building Δ dated to the reign of the despot Manuel Kantakouzenos and his wife, Isabella de Lousignan (in the middle of the fourteenth century), was traditionally connected to the type of a Venetian palazzo, such as Ca`Loredan or Ca`Farsetti¹⁷ (Figure 7). While the layout of building E, a compact block-like structure with an upper hall and open arcaded portico, closely resembles palazzi comunali of the Northern Italia. Its last

constructional phase is a probable commission of the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel II, dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Both mentioned parts of the Palace employ pointed form of arches and Gothic frames for window and door openings. The Throne Hall of the building E was further decorated by a row of trilobe oculi (Figure 8).

However, the basic layout of the building Δ , comprising of a great hall with flanking chambers, recalls the plans of late antique audience halls. Though, it is very difficult to find the intermediary examples in the lands of the Byzantine Oecumena. The only examples, known to us, is the palace halls of the Bulgarian tsars in Pliska and Preslav, built probably in the ninth - tenth centuries. It should be noted also that the plan of the building Δ could be compared with contemporary Venetian palazzi only loosely. By the late thirteenth century the Venetians adopted the scheme, which implied two longitudinal halls, one aligned with the main (narrow) façade of the building, the second one - transverse to it with the flanking living chambers¹⁸. The arcaded portico was not abutted to the façade as it was in case of Mystras, but included into the block of a Venetian palazzo.

Little remained of the once sumptuous Byzantine palaces. The scholars have to gather meagre data from the archaeological remains and written sources. However, the accumulated information is sufficient enough to put forward the hypothesis of how a Byzantine palace of the Middle Ages may have looked like. The only extant palatial building in Constantinople, dated by the end of the thirteenth century, the so-called Tekfur Saray, may be used as representative of this type. The main building of this palace is a three-storeyed block, with a series of arches on the ground floor, the living area on the first floor, and an audience hall on the second floor. It was suggested that this palace could be modelled after the Palatium Comunis of the late thirteenth century built by Genoese in Constantinople¹⁹. However, recent research allows to argue that it was not necessarily the case. The scholars have begun

to abandon the idea of a medieval Byzantine palace as a large sprawling complex of interconnected buildings of various functions. Instead, archaeological evidence for the Myrelaion and Mangana palaces in Constantinople, palaces in Kiev, Nymphaeum palace in Magnesia and Syllaion palace in Pamphylia, some rural aristocratic residences, as well as written sources on the Blachernae palace in Constantinople shows that the type of the compact block-like palatial building existed in the Byzantine Empire since the Late Antique times²⁰. As for the arcaded portico, it was inherent feature of the Byzantine architecture, both secular and ecclesiastic. So, the type of the building E should not come as a surprise and its Byzantine origins should not be rejected at once.

Moreover, similar in their overall arrangement of the block-like structure with an open arcaded ground floor and a great hall on the upper floor, palazzi comunali and the Palace of the Despots were developed to carry the contrary ideological statements. Palazzo comunale, such as Palazzo del Capitano in Orvieto or Palazzo Comunale in Piacenza, emerged as the architectural embodiment of the new Italian civic identity, that of a free and autonomous city.

The semblance of layouts of the palatial buildings in Mystras and Italian towns may be explained just by the functional and constructional requirements and/ or a common late antique prototype of a block-like house with an undivided upper hall. The pan-European type of such 'upper-hall house', i.e. a structure where the ground floor was given utilitarian purposes, while the upper floors were treated like the main living place and/or executed ceremonial functions, undivided by solid screening constructions, finds its parallels in the Byzantine residential architecture.

No evidence is preserved on where the masters of Palace of the Despots could have come from. There are no peculiarities in masonry or construction techniques which could point undoubtedly to their origins. So, the

core elements of the structure always remaining within the Byzantine architectural tradition, the gothic decoration of the residential buildings and churches of Mystras could be seen as a fashion statement, not the ideological one. It also could be interpreted as mark of a hybrid cultural context of Morea²¹, where the Latins were integrated into the Byzantine society, whose higher social stratum always tended to a certain degree of openness towards the neighboring cultures.

It is very difficult to define what reasons lied beneath the decision of Evfimiy II to commission Northern master builders for his building project, there is no written sources on this matter. If he so wished, he could send for the Byzantines, but preferred otherwise. The simplest and most obvious interpretation is that these building crew was available for him immediately or within a short period of time and he was well aware and content with the type of residence, which these masters could erect. However, once built the new residence of the Novgorodian archbishop could not help but to convey the image of close affiliation of Novgorod with the Hanseatic cities.

Notes

1 Novgorodskaia Pervaia letopis' Starshego i Mladshego izvodov, (Moscow – Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1950), 416; Novgorodskaia Chetvertaia letopis'. Sokrashchennyi Novgorodskii letopisets (po spisku N. K. Nikol'skogo), in *Polnoe sobranie* russkikh letopisei, Vol. 4. Part 1 (Moscow: lazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), 452, 607.

2 Ilya Antipov and Dmitriy Yakovlev, 'The Faceted Palace in Novgorod the Great as the Part of the Archbishop's Residence,' Castella Maris Baltici no. 12 (2015), 107–116. Christofer Herrmann, Der Hochmeisterpalast auf der Marienburg: Konzeption, Bau und Nutzung der modernsten europäischen Fürstenresidenz um 1400 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2019), 329, 382–384, 563.

3 Elena Rybina, *Novgorod i Hansa*, (Moscow: Rukopisnye pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi, 2009), 46–54.

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MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND THE PUBLIC

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Cosmopolitanism's Others: Transnational Architecture and Planning beyond Europe and North America

Session Chairs: Eunice Seng, *University of Hong Kong* Jiat-Hwee Chang, *National University of Singapore*

Of late, much has been written about transnational networks of architecture and planning in the mid-twentieth century. Many accounts of the circulation of knowledge and movement of people across politically-bounded territories challenge and expand existing histories of modern architecture, particularly those that equate internationalization with westernisation and those that understand localization through nationalist narratives. But with a few exceptions, almost all the transnational actors that are celebrated are expatriate male, white and based in metropolitan centres in Europe or North America. Whiteness refers to a description of the historical legacy of colonialism and contemporary realities of structural power of the white-dominated West in virtually all spheres. Architects like Constantinos Doxiadis and leoh Ming Pei — part of the New Commonwealth migration of the 'long boom' in the 1950s and 1960s and part of the Sino-American elite respectively—fall into this paradigm.

By privileging the expatriate male and white as primary transnational actors, these accounts have mostly overlooked the contributions made by other actors and who are not based in the metropolitan centres of Europe and America. Even when these 'local' actors are included, they tend to be relegated to secondary roles as passive local collaborators and informants. They are consigned to being actors with limited cosmopolitanism and highly circumscribed agency in the transnational networks of architecture and planning. However, many of them were educated in the metropole, internationally well-connected, and some practiced beyond the nations in which they held citizenship. Within Asia, we can already identify figures like Minette de Silva, Charles Correa, Balkrishna V. Doshi, Muzharul Islam, Sumet Jumsai, Lim Chong Keat, William Lim, Koichi Nagashima and Wang Chiu-Hwa. We believe that similar marginalized cosmopolitan figures abound in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and elsewhere in the Global South.

This panel explores topics related to these marginalized figures in the Global South to interrogate accounts of transnational networks of architecture and planning in the mid-twentieth century. By rethinking the marginalized subjects in relation to broader questions of race, class, gender and geopolitical circumstance, this panel seeks to deepen our understanding of the contexts and processes of transnational circulation of discourses and practices.

The Levantine Gentleman and the Other 'White City': Zacky Chelouche, Robert (Hillel) Chelouche, and the Untold Story of Tel-Aviv's Mediterranean Modernism

Tzafrir Fainholtz, Technion Israel Institute of Technology

Tel-Aviv, the so-called 'white city' is often described as the 'Bauhaus city', the work of central European architectural Genius. A description which marginalized and all but obliterated the great contribution of native, Levantine architects to the development, modernization and building of the city.

Two of the most outstanding of these architects were the cousins, Zacky (1893-1973) and Robert (Hillel) Chelouche (1904-1972) who had, each his own practice in the city. Natives of the multicultural city of Jaffa, and sons of a prominent North-African family, they were part of a polyglot society, which had deep roots in the middle-east but also great affiliation to European culture and to the French Language. Educated in Paris they were taught by architects who were active in the French colonial project, and on their return to Tel-Aviv, they brought with them modernist expertise and built extensively in the city, creating a rich heritage very similar to that of contemporary Mediterranean cities such as Casablanca. Cosmopolitans and well educated they kept their professional network in Europe, with connection to the French professional press and to international organizations, and yet, though both well respected they never became a true part of the mainstream architectural Zionist Central/East European milieu, creating instead their own milieu, building mainly for a small affluent community of Sephardic and Mizrahi families.

Challenging the prevailing Bauhaus narrative of the 'white city' this paper aims on telling the untold story of modernist architects who were born in Palestine and active in Tel-Aviv. Presenting the architectural biography of two of these architects, it will present the role played by the middle-eastern gentleman-architect in forming the city's unique identity and will offer a re-thinking of Tel-Aviv modernist heritage in relation to that of other 'White Cities', as a distinctively Mediterranean town.

Tel Aviv, the so-called 'White city', and the 'First Hebrew city, is often described in architectural historiography as a unique example of modernist architecture, a 'Bauhaus city' of modernist architecture which was brought to Palestine in the 1930s by Central European émigré architects. This narrative play-down the fact that the city, which was founded in 1909, was born as a joint effort of Jews from Jaffa and new immigrants from Europe and, and to marginalize the important contribution of Mizrachi (Middle-eastern Jews) architects who were born in Palestine, to the creation of the modern city, architects who were 'native' of Palestine's Levantine society, a Mediterranean urban community of cosmopolitan polyglots which spoke Arabic, Hebrew, French, and was

maybe best described by the Egyptian Jewish Essayist Jacqueline Kahanoff who wrote extensively on the Levantine world and defined herself as: 'I am a typical Levantine, in the sense that I appreciate what I receive by my eastern origin and what is now my domain in western culture.'

Coming from the old multi-ethnic communities of the Middle-east, the Levantines complex identity and urban character stood in contrast to the European-Zionist ideal of the 'New Jew', a man who was to create a new national rural-workers society in Palestine, and in the Hebrew dictionaries the Levantine was described as 'a man whose education is superficial and is manners totally from outside,



ure 1, Zacky Chelouche, Brown House, 1933, Tel Aviv. Source: The Author

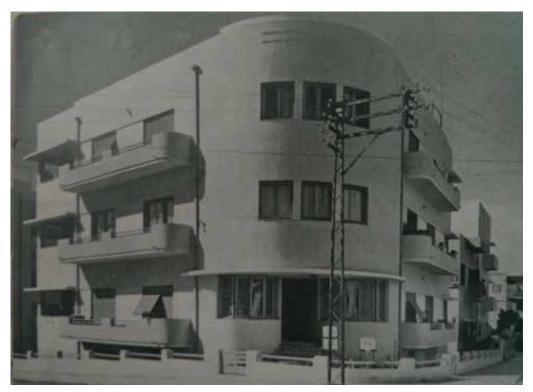


Figure 2, Zacky Chelouche, Grossbard House, 1933, Tel Aviv. Source: *Palestine Building Annual* 1934-1935, (Tel Aviv: Mischar Ve'Taasia, 1935)

with no foundation of real culture and no spiritual stability.² This diminishing view of the Levantines echoed in the architectural historiography of Palestine, which as early as the 1930s, tended to brand modernism in Palestine as central European, and claimed that Palestine itself produced 'no architecture of importance³ This depiction obscured the achievements of local architects in the building of Tel Aviv and in many ways left out the contribution of Palestine's locals both Arabs and Jews to the modernization of the country. This marginalizing of the 'others' was part of a general attitude against the Levantines, Jews and Arabs alike who were accused by the Zionist labour movement (led by Ashkenazy-European Jews) press of being unauthentic and false.

This paper is based on a research into the lives of Mizrachi and Sephardic Jews Architects in 1930s Tel Aviv will, tell the story of two architect, the cousins, Zacky and Robert (Hillel) Chelouche who had, each his own practice in the Tel-Aviv. Natives of Jaffa, and sons of a prominent Sephardic family both were sent to study in France, bringing, on their return, to Tel-Aviv, the spirit of French Mediterranean colonial architecture. Following the professional biography of both the paper will offer to reexamine the story of Tel Aviv beyond the Bauhaus narrative, and will ask whether a new evaluation of the architectural historiography of Tel Aviv is needed ,one that will evaluate the modern city as Mediterranean town, like 'other' white cities and will bring forth the contribution of Mizrachi, Levantine architects to Palestine's modernist heritage.

From Jaffa to Paris and back

Zacky and Robert Chelouche were born in Jaffa into a family which came to the Palestine from North Africa in the first half of the 19th century, well before the beginning of the Zionist immigrations of the late 19th century.4 The Chelouche family had French citizenship, and was part of a group distinguish north African families who were connected to each other through business and family ties. The family

patriarch Aaron Chelouche was one of the founders Neve-Tzedek, the first Jewish modern neighbourhood outside the boundaries of the old city in 1887, and his sons Yosef-Eliyahu and Avraham-Haim founded one of the first concrete factories in the city, Freres Chelouche which introduced modern building technic and materials to the country.5 In 1909 members of the family were among the founders Achuzt-Bait in 1909 (the neighbourhood of Jaffa which became Tel Aviv), with Yosef- Eliyahu as one of its leading contractors, building many of the new neighbourhood buildings.

Being of French citizenship, and major actors in local building trade, most have convinced the family to send their sons, among them Zacky and then Robert to study in France, and another incentive most have been the familiarity the Jews of the levant felt for the French the Lingua franca of the Levantine world. Since the 19th century many of the Jewish Levantine and North African communities were connected through the Alliance israélite universelle, a Jewish network of schools which disseminated modern education and the French language which became the language of the Jewish elite. Zacky Chelouche who was born in Jaffa in 1893 was sent to the local Alliance school, and later to the French catholic College des frères. At the age of thirteen he went to continue his education in the prestigious College Rolland in Paris. 6 After graduation he went to study in Lausanne, Switzerland before returning to Paris to study for the diploma of architect-engineer at the École Spéciale des Travaux Publics, du bâtiment et de l'industrie (ESTP), which he received in 1912.

The ESTP was a perfect choice for a young student from the Levant.7 Founded by Leon Eyrolles in 1891 the school was very cosmopolitan and attracted students from diverse countries including students from the middle-east, and teachers such as Rene Danger, who's office (which he managed with his brother Raymond) was responsible for the 1931 plan for French Mandate Beirut in Lebanon, and such as Jean Baptist Mathon



Figure 3, Zacky Chelouche and Robert Chelouche, Benin House, 1937-1940, Tel Aviv. Source: The Author (the roof pergola was built into)

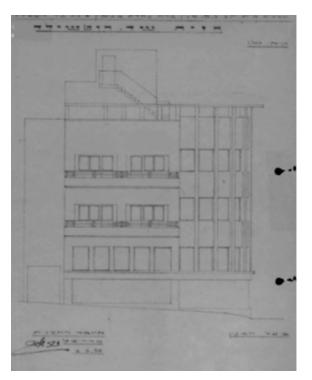


Figure 4, Zacky Chelouche, Benin House Corner Elevation, 1940, Tel Aviv. Source: Engineering Administration, Tel Aviv Municipality, File 00030520

whose work such as the ESTP building in boulevard Saint-Germain, used stream lines with art-deco detailing similar to that that will be used by the graduates of the ESTP in Tel Aviv. The school attracted students from the middle east and no less than eleven architects, who were later active in Tel Aviv and Jaffa

studied there,8 almost double the number of graduates of the Bauhaus who were active in the city. Six of this group were Palestine born, five from Mizrachi families and one David Tlil9 was a Christian-Arab.

During the first world war, Zacky stayed in France and became the secretary of Thierry Cazes a member of the French national assembly, 10 and after its end he continued working in Paris. In 1925-1926 he worked with Louis Bonnier the architect-director of the city of Paris, who was also the architectural director of the Exposition International des Arts décoratifs et industriels modernes, in 1925,11 the exposition which gave its name to the Art-deco style that will later influence Zacky's work.

A decade after Zacky's arrival to France his cousin Robert, who was born in in 1904, was also sent to Paris, age fifteen he was enrolled at the College Chaptal, 12 and after his graduation went to study at the ESTP gaining a diploma as an engineer architect in 1925 and as a surveyor in 1927. In 1925 Robert's graduation was publish in an announcement about the graduates of the ESTP, in the French Journal Le Figaro, with his name appearing just after the name of another graduate, Charles Ayrout.¹³ Ayrout was to be a leading modernist architect in Egypt



Figure 5, Robert Chelouche, Robert Chelouche architect studio – interior second floor, 1933, Tel Aviv. Source: *La Construction moderne*, November 24. 1935, 174



Figure 6, Robert Chelouche, Moyale building, 1936, Tel Aviv. Source: *La Construction moderne*, September 4, 1938, 573



Figure 7, Robert Chelouche, Shealtiel House, 1934, Tel Aviv. Source: La Construction moderne, November 24, 1935, 171

and his villas in Cairo¹⁴ bare many similarities to Robert's work in Tel Aviv. There is no evidence of a relation between Robert and Charles Ayrout, but they were probably class mates, but the parallels in their work hints of the ESTP influence.

Like Zacky Robert stayed in Paris after graduation, and in the late 1920s worked in several offices in Paris including that of his ESTP teacher Mathon and the firm of Baudouin et Lods, famous for the planning of the infamous Cite de la Muette of Drancy. 15 In 1929 Robert applied for the position of Tel Aviv city's engineer but failed to get the job 16. He thus stayed in Paris and studied in the Institut d'urbanisme de l'université de Paris (IUUP), today the Ecole d'urbanisme de Paris (EUP). IUUP finishing is studies by 1933. The EUP was founded in 1919 as a school of urban planning, and attracted students from Asia, the middle east and from across Europe.¹⁷ At least eight students who were born in Palestine attended the school in the 1930s,18 and among the school's teachers was French urban planner

Henri Prost, known for his work at Casablanca, Morocco and in the French colonies. Another important figure in the school was the Algerian Jewish Jurist and economist William Qualid who was a teacher in the school and its director from 1937-1940. 19 The interest of the school in planning outside of Europe most have made the Palestine born architects feel welcome and thesis written in the EUP dealt also with planning in Palestine and even with the development of Tel Aviv.

The Mediterranean town and the 'other' white city

Both Zacky and Robert returned to Palestine after their long stay in Paris. Zacky in 1929 and Robert in 1933. When they left Tel Aviv was a small quarter but, but by the late twenties it was transforming into a city, and the local elite to which Zacky and Robert belonged, with its large interests in the building trade and openness towards modernity, allowed them both to find employment. Zacky's architecture was defined by smooth surfaces, bulky and



Figure 8, Participants in the RIA conference 1935, August Perret, with the white beard in the middle Zacky (right) and Robert (left) Chelouche are in the second row just behind him. (Azrieli Archive, Tel Aviv Museum Sam Barkai Archive,), file: Architect conference Prague 1935, container 8929-401064-004

sculptural and simply formed. In 1933 he designed the Brown House, a sculptural building of rounded corners with elongated shading stripes actuating its horizontal lines (Figure 1): a at the same year he designed a stream lined façade for a house at Idelson street (Figure 2). The influence of Zacky's Art-deco training with bonnier appeared in his 1933 design of the Padres company building a simplified art-deco building with a symmetric façade complete with a ziggurat shape tower in the middle. In 1937 Zacky designed (with Robert) an office building for the Benin Family which came from the city of Aden in Yemen, on the city's main avenue the Rothschild Boulevard.²⁰ (Figure 3) The Benin house had of a rounded white façade accentuated with vertical simplified pilaster which turned in to a concrete open frame pergola on the roof. (Figure 4)

Robert returned to Palestine in 1933 where he continued to live his life as a sophisticated gentleman, Building himself in 1934 a small modernist 'casino' an artist dwelling and atelier

in the garden of his parents' house. (fig 5) A confirmed bachelor Robert did not have a kitchen at his small studio but could always attend the elegant Carlton Café which he designed at his parent's house ground floor. Like Zacky, Robert worked for his network of wealthy Mizrahi families (some of them members of his own family), In 1936 he designed the Moyal building, (figure 6) near the multi-ethnic boundary area between to Jaffa and Tel Aviv, where he also designed a building for the chemical firm ICI which combined the Art-deco standing concrete columns like those which adorned the work of his *Maitre* Mathon. Robert designd several rental apartment buildings, for his network of patrons, these were defined by simple lines with bright façade and open balconies a modernism adapted to the local climate and the sea breeze of the Mediterranean. (Figure 7) Robert used art-deco and even eclectic features in his work using wrought iron decoration (sometimes incorporating the initials of the owner or business), and fine detailing. He also used sometimes oriental historic features in, like in

his design for the 3 Kushim (three Blackmen) Café pavilion which he adorned with arches, which looked like a building in North Africa and was criticized by the local press as being reminiscent of the exotic pavilions in the Paris exhibition of 1937.²¹

Robert maintain his connections with France, and his work was published in Journal's such L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui in 1937 and in the La Construction modern in 1935²² and 1938.²³

The article which appeared in *La Construction modern* 1938.²⁴ Was dedicated to the new architecture in Tel Aviv (with Robert as the article protagonist), and in it the writer seem to find the origins of the city's modernism in the meeting between the Levant and the modern, describing the city's architecture as: 'Southern type houses of sturdy cubes of cement with heavy balconies, the climate forces shelter the windows by loggias. Almost all the roofs are terraces... the new architecture of Palestine, relates to the traditional forms of the oriental house.'²⁵

The article identified the origins of the architecture city Robert's and Zacky, architecture terraces and roof pergolas, which shared many features with the architecture of the Mediterranean and the Arab world. In many ways these architectures resembled cities such as Casablanca, architecture which its description by French architect Jean Cotereau in 1930 (as quoted by Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb), could have been easely written about that of Tel Aviv: 'the Arab Villa and the modern dwellings share surprising analogies of style and simplicity In both cases overhangs and recesses, large walls and clear-cut angels give rise to the same aesthetic effects. In both cases, the structure is surmounted by a roof terrace.'26 These similarities between Tel Aviv and Casablanca were already noticed in 1936 when it was described in a Hebrew newspaper that: 'Casablanca is most modern. In the beauty and rapidity of its construction it resembles our Tel Aviv, its streets are wide and with avenues of trees and flowers. Its buildings are large and lavish with all the modern comforts, 27

In the 1930s Zacky's French cosmopolitan character was recruited to helped in promoting the statues of Palestine's modernism abroad. Zacky, was a key member of Palestine's Society of Architects and Engineers.²⁸ Fluent in French and continental in his manners Zacky became the ambassador of the society to the international milieu and represented it in conferences abroad. Zacky was a member of the Réunions international d'architectes (RIA) international organization which was founded André Bloc and Pierre Vago with architect August Perret as its president.²⁹ RIA did not demand the participating delegations to be of independent national entities thus allowing Palestine's modern Architects to have their own delegation in the organization's conferences. In 1935 A delegation from Palestine, went to the RIA conference in Prague with Zacky as it's official representative.30 In a photo taken during the conference, August Perret is seen flanked by Zacky and his cousin Robert with architects such as Sam Barkai, and Genia Auerbach, and Arieh Sharon around them (Figure 8). During the conference dinner Zacky was sited at Perret table alongside Fahmi bay form Egypt. The RIA connection was also seen an attempt to create a collaboration between the architects of Palestine and their contemporaries in the neighbouring countries. In 1938 an effort was even made to bring the RIA conference that will take place in Palestine Egypt and Syria in 1939, and even to get Le Corbusier to attend the event, but this initiative did not materialize.31

While Robert's work was featured in the French architectural press, and Zacky was representing Palestine's modernism abroad, yet in Palestine itself their work was ignored by the local architectural journal *Habinyan*, in which their work was not featured nor that of other Levantine architects. It's true that the journal was short lived and yet this obliviousness continued in later years, and helped to solidify Tel Aviv's image as both a European city and a 'Hebrew'. Zacky and Robert, the wealthy, polyglots who were at home in both the Arabic and European cultures were very different in their manners from their contemporaries of

central and eastern European origin, which were affiliated with the politicly strong Zionist labour movement. Their cosmopolitan manners were different from the 'New Jew' socialist ideal, and their society and culture were continually side-lined by the Zionist political and cultural socialist mainstream.

Conclusion: Looking for the Levantine Gentlemen

With Israel independence in 1948 the Zionist Labour movement became the dominating force in the new country, and a new national 'Melting pot ideology' positioned the cosmopolitan culture of the Levantines under attack. Already in 1945 it was written in the workers newspaper Davar: 'who is the Levantine? ... the one who take crumbs from others, the one who take from others only the tailored fashion and the brightness of lacquered shows'32 and in HaAretz newspaper a reader answered to a question 'Should the import of Books and Journals should be limited?' that 'A man of culture is one who has knowledge of one language and one culture, one who knows many languages without being at home with neither, will be called a Levantine.'33 In the new state architects of European origins like Arieh Sharon, who were close to the ruling Labour movement, became the leading designers of the country and their type of post war modernism prevailed. Maybe because of this atmosphere both Zacky and Robert disappeared from the main stage of Israel architectural milieu. It is not known whether this was voluntary or not, but Zacky all but stopped working as an architect and concentrated in political work for the rights of the Sephardic-Mizrachi Jews in Israel,34 and Robert continued working, but in a diminish capacity until his death in 1972.

In the following years in the historiography of Tel Aviv the work of Zacky and Robert will be marginalized, absorbed into Tel Aviv's Bauhaus narrative. In 1994 an Intentional conference dedicated to the International Style took place in Tel Aviv, and was part of the events which promoted the future declaration of Tel Aviv as

UNESCO world heritage site.in 2003. The official brochure of the event was entitled 'Bauhaus in Tel Aviv', and was adorned with images of four building, one of them was Zacky's Brown House, marking his work as one defined in Weimar, disconnecting it from its Mediterranean, Levantine or French context.³⁵

Zacky and Robert Chelouche were part of a group of natives of Jaffa who brought contemporary modernist architecture to Tel Aviv while adapting it to the Mediterranean taste and conditions. In the historiography of Tel Aviv's architecture, the contribution of these architects was white -washed into the Bauhaus narrative, the research into the biographies of these architects allow us to re-examine Tel Aviv 'Whiteness' not only as a mirror of the architecture of central European but as manifest of its Mediterranean origins. Thus, it offers to reassert the city's heritage vis-à-vis other 'White cities' such as Casablanca and neighbouring cities such as Beirut which was reformed at the same period under the French Mandate or Alexandria which had its own Levantine communities and personalities such as the wealthy Jewish Aghion Family which owned a modern villa authored by the Perret brothers in the city36 and later a modernist villa in Jerusalem³⁷ (today the Israeli prime minister house).

Tel Aviv, of the 1930s was built in a world where the boundaries of the levant and north Africa where open, where cosmopolitan communities of complex identities worked and lived together. The historiography of the city tended to isolate its heritage from that of other 'white cities' of the period which were built around the Mediterranean and the levant and thus the story of the Levantine gentlemen, allows us to rediscover the importance of these and other 'cosmopolitan others' as actors of modernity, demanding a continuation of the research of the works of the area's local architects, to rediscover these Levantine Gentlemen, and to acknowledge their part in the construction of the modern Mediterranean city.

MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION OF IDEAS

Notes

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- 3 Harry Rosenthal, 'Architecture in Palestine: The Jewish Approach', *The Crown Colonist*, July 1945.
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- 5 See: Or Aleksandrowicz, *Kurkar*, *cement*, *Arabs*, *Jews: How to construct a Hebrew city*, Theory and Criticism 36, (2010), 61-87
- 6 'Zaki Chelouche', in: David Tidhar, Encyclopedia of the founders and builders of Israel (vol. 2, p. 958), 1956, http://www.tidhar. tourolib.org/tidhar/view/7/294
- 7 More on the ESTP see: Mercedes Volait, 'L'école Eyrolles vue d'Égypte : un lieu de formation méconnu, un réseau international à découvrir', *Politique de la culture*, June 2017. [chmcc.hypotheses.org/3240], Retrieved 20.3.2020; Helene Vacher, 'Building the modern city: planners and planning expertise at Léon Eyrolles' Ecole Spéciale des Travaux Publics', 1898–1939, *Planning Perspectives*, 17 (2002) 41–59.
- 8 Zacky Chelouche (Graduated 1912), Robert Chelouche (Graduated 1925, 1927), Gabriel Chelouche (1927), Moreno Meyohas (Graduated 1928): Zvi Guerch Barack (Graduated 1928), Arieh Cohen (Graduated 1930) David Tlil (date unknown). Isaac Rapoport (Graduated 1928), Samuel Haussmann (Graduated 1933), Richard Barzilay (Graduated 1933), Abraham Sher (date unknown).

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Unrecognised Actors and New Networks: Teaching Tropical Architecture in Mid-Twentieth Century Australia

Deborah van der Plaat, University of Queensland

SESSION 16

In 1962, Balwant Saini (1930-) established a Graduate Course in Tropical Architecture at the University of Melbourne (Australia). Indian born, Saini had received his own architectural training at Melbourne where he studied at the School of Architecture, graduating in 1954. Working in India after graduation, Saini returned to Melbourne in 1958 to take up a teaching position and begin a PhD on indigenous building technologies in Papua New Guinea. Melbourne's Tropical Architecture course could be completed as a Masters or taken as a short course over 4 weeks. The course attracted students from across the region including Thai architect Dhanit Sridhora, Emmanuel Kingsley Osei of Ghana, architect Chua Ka Seng of Malaysia, and architects Jon Lim and Chew Chee Sun of Singapore. The program was modelled on the Department of Tropical Architecture established in 1955 at the Architectural Association's in London. Saini had met Fry prior to this, when he took a year out from his undergraduate degree and worked on the Capital Project in Chandigarh under Le Corbusier and his cousin Pierre Jeanneret. In 1973, Saini left Melbourne to take up the Chair of Architecture and Head of School at the University of Queensland (Brisbane Australia). He continued to teach the Graduate program in Tropical Architecture and together with Hungarian architect Steve Szokolay, hired by Saini on the recommendation of Otto Koenigsberger, the University of Queensland became a leader in the Architecture Sciences and the study of Tropical Architecture. Saini retained the Chair of architecture for nearly 2 decades and is currently Emeritus Professor.

Saini's narrative (brown rather than white, teacher rather than student, and Australian rather than European or American based) disrupts and unsettles the accepted networks

on tropical architecture in the mid-twentieth century. His story is also one that has been neglected in both histories of tropical and Australian architecture. This paper seeks to rectify both. His story, however, has added significance. Saini's teachings, it will be argued, shifted a focus in tropical Australia from the 'comfort of the white man' and the acclimatisation of settler communities to shelter, development and economic progress. Encouraging Australian architects, educational organisations and governments to engage with its Pacific and South-East Asian neighbours (identified as new markets), it also forced these same institutions to look again at the plight of the nation's own indigenous communities and the housing of Australian Aboriginals in northern Australia. While the former is widely accepted as outcome of the transatlantic network of tropical architecture and architects, the place of the latter debate on Aboriginal housing in this same network has yet to be considered and fully understood.

Pan-Arab Modernism in Kuwait: The Untold Story of Arab Architects Building an Arab City

Dalal Musaed Alsayer, Kuwait University Ricardo Camacho, University of Coimbra

In 1960, amidst the larger Pan-Arab movement, Palestinian-born, American-educated Saba George Shiber started his career in Kuwait, first in the Department of Public Works and later in the Development Board. In 1968, the firm Pan-Arab Consulting Engineers (PACE) was established by British-educated Kuwaiti architect Hamid Shuaib, Palestinian-born, American-educated architect Charles Haddad, and American-educated Kuwaiti engineer Sabah Alrayes, and went on to construct key buildings in Kuwait, UAE, Yemen, and several African nations. The stories of Arab actors such as Shiber, Haddad, Shuaib, Alrayes, and many others are often missing from the architectural history of Kuwait. Kuwait's architectural modernism boom, which reached its apex in

the 1970s, is often attributed to the 1951 Masterplan of the British firm Minoprio, Spenceley and MacFarlane and subsequent plans by Colin Buchanan. However, the reality is that Kuwait's boom was facilitated through actors such as Shiber, Shuaib, and Haddad. With a series of forward-looking Emirs, who were open to change, Kuwait became a site of exploration and experimentation. The story of Kuwait is unique for three reasons. Firstly, its leadership were eager to physically materialize an Arab project, and architecture was the mechanism by which this Arab-ness came to fruition. Secondly, politics took a back seat to modernization and the desire to become cosmopolitan. Lastly, it embraced Arab professionals that were educated and/or practiced in the larger Arab region. For while the imagined Pan Arab State was never fully realized, its central tenet of Arab identity and solidarity took hold in Kuwait. Through archival research and interviews, and by focusing on how these Arab architects mediated between their foreign education, their strong Arab identity, and their interactions with foreign firms, this paper will tell the story of an Arab city constructed by Arab actors for an Arab society.

China's Design Institutes: Unsung Heroes in Promoting Transnational Architecture in the Global South

Charlie Qiuli Xue, City University of Hong Kong

Transnational or say, cross-border, architectural design became obvious and prevailing after World War II. The transnational design and planning were practiced in the armature of design consultancy, helping reconstruction and foreign-aid. Famous examples are seen in those projects like Le Corbusier's works in India, British architects' 'tropical modernism' works in its (former) colonies. Although not white, Japanese architects' works in the Middle East and Southeast Asia can be seen as the same category. These works effectively met the desires of modernization and nation-building in those newly independent countries. They powerfully disseminated the ideas of modern architecture and have authoritatively occupied the pages on modern architectural history.

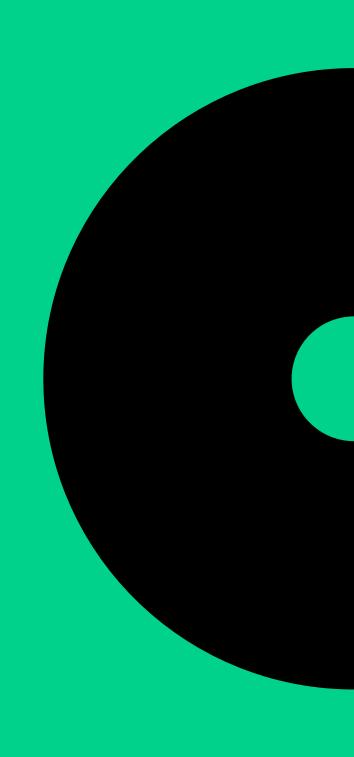
Parallel to the 'main stream' dissemination of modern architecture in the world, Chinese architects imported their design to the developing countries since the late 1950s. China began its journey of foreign aid from the 1950s including constructing parliament houses, stadiums, theatres, schools, hospitals, factories and infrastructures, first in Asia, then Africa, the Oceania and Latin America. Up to now, China has delivered more than 1,000 buildings in more than 150 countries. Although motivated by diplomatic manoeuvre, they embodied China's responsibilities in the international society, alleviated social problems and served local society. Technically, they are the extension of modern Chinese architecture during its evolution of the past 60 years. China learnt from the western experiences of modernist architecture, digested in domestic practice and promoted to the developing world with adaptive technologies. They bear the fruits of cultural and technical exchanges between donor and recipient countries. Together with other means of foreign aid, buildings and constructions in Asia and Africa in the 1960s-1970s are prelude to today's One Belt One Road initiative.

The Chinese government and professionals have spent tremendous efforts and overcome unthinkable difficulties in constructing the aid buildings abroad. However, these buildings are largely unknown in the world and unwritten in the English literature - this pity forms huge academic gap. This paper examines the typical construction aid projects delivered by the Chinese government, design institutes and professionals to the developing countries during Mao's era (1958-1976). The unreasonable high percentage of expenditure in construction aid might burden the life of ordinary people, however, they gave Chinese architects rare opportunities to practice modernism in overseas environment. The strength of state's technical forces and wisdom of designers are

crystallized in conference halls, factories and stadiums built in Asia and Africa. They in-turn informed the similar designs in China and abroad.

In terms of authorship, there are some prominent figures like Gong Desun, who designed buildings in Mongolia and Dai Nianchi, who designed buildings in Sri Lanka in the 1960s. They are the second generation of Chinese architects. However, their intellectual wisdom is more displayed through the socialist system of 'design institute', which represent the will of state and government. These Chinese architects are the unsung heroes in promoting the transnational architecture in the developing countries.

The author has investigated the cases through extensive study at home and abroad. The key designers and constructors were interviewed, archives were read and site surveyed. The paper is hoped to fill the academic gap of transnational architecture beyond Europe and North America in the Cold War, and enrich our understanding of Asian and African architecture.



Drive-In Architecture, Carriage to Motor Age

Session Chairs: Sigrid de Jong, *ETH Zurich* Erik Wegerhoff, *ETH Zurich*

The drive-in is the place where the vehicle and the building collide. Just as architecture by its nature is static, the vehicle is by definition dynamic. What happens at this – controlled – collision, when mobility and immobility meet? In what ways is architecture challenged by the moving object, what concessions does a building make to accommodate movement, and how does it signal that movement here, temporarily, comes to a halt? Finally, how does drive-in architecture accommodate the driver or passenger, whose status changes from that of a mechanically moved body to a moving subject?

This session investigates the drive-in not so much as a building type (as Kenneth T. Jackson, John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle, Richard Longstreth and others have done) but as a phenomenon. The drive-in is seen as a challenge to architecture and its tradition of tectonics as much as to the car or carriage and the promise fulfilled by its movement. In that sense, it looks for the semantic dimension of the drive-in as it can be located in relation to architectural theories. Opening the chronological scope, we are asking for in-depth case studies comprising drive-in structures from early modern to contemporary times, and thus from carriage to motor age, explicitly including drive-ins long before that term was invented. Furthermore, we are interested in accounts of the experiences of these spaces, and how the collisions between mobility and immobility are 'solved' in texts or theoretical concepts.

The session seeks to examine how these buildings formulated statements towards movement and flow way beyond the modernist fascination for motorized promenades architecturales and generic automobile roadside architectures. It explores individual buildings and parts thereof such as porte-cochères, drive-in rooms in early modern palaces (such as the vestibule of the residence at Würzburg), or the more obvious drive-in diner. Individual buildings may be discussed, but also regulations for incorporating vehicle movement within architecture, relevant texts from architectural theory, and not least accounts of the experience of such spaces. The aim of this session is to discuss the productive conflicts sparked by the friction between car and carriage movement on the one hand and the static building and tectonics as their sublimate language on the other, as well as by the friction between bodily experiences of mechanical and human movement, where mobility and immobility, object and subject meet.

Arriving in State or Incognito: Aristocrats Going to Church in Seventeenth-Century Paris and Brussels

Eelco Nagelsmit, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Private transport in the seventeenth century city was intricately bound up with class and gender. Horse riding was mostly a male affair, while aristocratic women moved around in carriages. But since the exigencies of rank and decorum sometimes dictated unpractical numbers of horses, some members of the highest nobility preferred more modest ways of transport, such as litters carried by footmen. Devotional treatises of the time recommended pious noblewomen to attend religious services incognito, so as to avoid the worldly distractions of seen and being seen. They should shun the public eye and enter and leave church 'like an angel' in a closed sedan chair. At the same time, monastic communities went to great lengths to accommodate carriages turning and parking at their doorsteps, as they vied for aristocratic patronage.

This paper explores the cultural practices of mobility in and around the drive-ins of convents and churches in Paris and Brussels, from the perspective of their users. Their movement was channelled by implements and framed by ornament. It will be argued that these spatial and architectural implications of patronage were defined by rank and honour as well as by the religious culture of devotion à la mode, which required frequent movement between different sites, be it in state or incognito.

The Motif of the *Porte-Cochère* in H. H. Richardson's Domestic Designs

Richard W. Hayes, *Independent Scholar, New York*

H. H. Richardson incorporated *porte-cochères*—covered carriageways —into many

of his domestic designs. While the literature on Richardson is enormous, this particular motif has yet to be explored in detail. My paper examines three of Richardson's houses from the late 1860s to the 1880s to examine why acknowledging mobility and travel was so important to the architect in his domestic commissions. Beginning with one of his first designs after returning to America from studies at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts —his own house in Staten Island, New York of 1869—Richardson accommodated arrival and departure by carriage into the domestic realm. He went on to make a porte-cochère an important element of the main façade in his Watts Sherman house of 1874 in Newport, Rhode Island, one of his most influential designs. Finally, in his gate lodge for Frederick Lothrop Ames in North Easton, Massachusetts of 1880-81, Richardson expanded the covered driveway to mythic scale.

Focusing on the *porte-cochère* in Richardson's work helps underscore both the practical and functional side to his designs and the internationalism of his interests. It is arguably French architecture of the Second Empire that first influenced Richardson to take up the motif when he began his practice as an independent architect. A brief review of the novels of Henry James and Edith Wharton set in the 1870s and 1880s shows how knowledge of the differences among carriage types (e.g.: broughams vs. landaus vs. coupes) was a necessary accourrement among the moneyed set who commissioned bespoke houses in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Finally, the *porte-cochère* in Richardson's houses serves to connect his suburban villas and country estates to the transportation infrastructure that burgeoned in late nineteenth-century America. New commuter trains facilitated the development of suburban residences and Richardson designed nine railroad stations for the Boston and Albany Railroad, most of which incorporated covered driveways. The domestic *porte-cochère* thus connects Richardson's houses to a modern network of transportation and communication.

Architecture and an intended Car Boom in the USSR: Dreams versus Reality

Olga V. Kazakova, *Higher School of Economics, Moscow*

A nationwide project to boost the number of privately owned cars, masterminded by government minister Alexey Kosygin, was launched in the USSR in 1965. In line with the romantic ideals of the time, the Soviet government hoped to reach a ratio of 20 cars per 1000 people within a decade. To that end, a deal was signed with Italian car manufacturer FIAT and the plan was to create a behemoth infrastructure in the USSR in order to build and service new cars. Architect Leonid Pavlov was tasked with handling the ambitious project.

In 1967, Pavlov proposed a new reconstruction plan to drastically rebuild Moscow, which included the construction of speedways cutting through the city. That project was largely inspired by Le Corbusier's The Radiant City. According to Pavlov's plan, the new buildings, both residential and administrative, that would be erected along the proposed speedways would be large and would have large details so that they could be easily seen while driving or riding in a high-speed car.

Pavlov's reconstruction plan never came through but a couple of giant service stations, designed by the architect, were built on the outskirts of Moscow and became important examples of Soviet architecture of the early 1970s. Pavlov also designed several filling stations and camping sites for tourists travelling by car.

Pavlov did draw at least some inspiration for his projects from his Western counterparts as, after being tasked with creating the USSR's new automobile infrastructure, he visited the United Kingdom and France. But his primary sources of inspiration included the architecture of Soviet avant-garde, which he got acquainted with through his teacher Ivan Leonidov, and even Suprematist paintings.

As a result, one-of-a-kind buildings were designed, but their construction during the rule of Leonid Brezhnev (a period in the history of the USSR also known as the Stagnation Era) became quite a challenging job, completed with varying degrees of success.

Drive-In to God: Early Churches and Chapels alongside German Motorways

Markus Jager, *Leibniz Universität Hannover* Viola Stenger, *Leibniz Universität Hannover*

Alongside German motorways there are 45 churches and chapels ('Autobahnkirchen'). Neighbouring Europe counts only a handful of comparable buildings. For that, motorway churches seem to be a special outcome of the German Autobahn. The first motorway church was erected in 1958. The origins of this special building type ranges between high speed and silent devotion, which is reflected in architecture in the disposition of rooms, in the artistic design and liturgical equipment.

Located at an unconventional site, far away from the territorial parish, they address to a specific group of recipients: the motorists. In a country of unrestricted speed limits driving the motorway is marked by fear of accidents and sudden death. Therefore, motorway churches are meant so represent a place of silence, contemplation and shelter in surroundings of noise, speed and exhaust fumes. This led a private entrepreneur to build the first motorway church in Adelsried (near Augsburg) in 1958. It was designed by the architect Raimund von Doblhoff. Shortly after, three further motorway chapels were erected. One of them was designed by Carl Hecking, a former employee of Dominikus Böhm. All these projects started non-institutional and were initiated by private people. When St. Christophorus was inaugurated in 1978, it became the first milestone of this genus. It was planned by the architect Friedrich Zwingmann and the artist Emil Wachter. New architectural and artistic standards became visible, especially in the concrete reliefs, which refer equally to biblical themes as to the automobile.

The lecture focuses on the origins of the motorway churches in Germany, primarily demonstrated by the first example in Adelsried.

Today, the phenomenon Autobahnkirche is already older than half a century. The beginnings date back to the postwar period and seem closely linked to the planning and constructing of the German Autobahn. The postwar years in western Germany were marked not only by reconstruction but also by the resumption of previously unfinished projects such as the motorway system. The politics, especially the efforts of the Minister of Transport Hans-Christoph Seebohm, changed the image of the motorway: from Nazi-planning to a metaphorical idea of modernity and freedom.¹ Motorway mobility increased rapidly in the 1950s as traffic censuses of the German Federal Ministry of Transport show.² In addition to road extensions, the first postwar service station was built in 1950 and shortly after a model planning for service and gas stations

was developed to supply the entire Republic.³ Then in 1957, the first motels opened.⁴ In the same year, the increased volume of traffic also became an issue for church institutions. The Deputies of the Catholic Church (Katholische Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft) released the brochure 'Church and Road Traffic, a Workbook for the Clergy' (Die Kirche und der Straßenverkehr, ein Arbeitsheft für den Klerus). In this, an attempt was made to address pastoral problems in the context of traffic and its dangers.⁵ Only one year later, 1958, the first motorway church was inaugurated and devoted to Mary, Protector of the Travelers (Maria, Schutz der Reisenden, Figure 1).

The idea came up a few years earlier and did not originate from the clergy, but a private donor. The planning history of the first

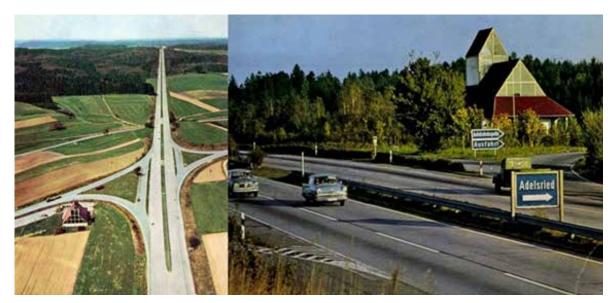


Figure 1, Mary, Protector of the Travelers in Adelsried, 1956-58, architect: Raimund von Doblhoff, situation in the 1960s, Source: Archive of the Institute for History and Theory of Architecture, Leibniz University Hanover.

Autobahnkirche alongside motorway A 8 is very complex. Historical documents⁶ reveal that different players were involved in the planning and decision process: First of all, the donor Dr Georg Haindl and the architect Raimund von Doblhoff. Further, the church authorities. And, even more important, the representatives of several building authorities – from the Munich Supreme Building Authority to the Federal Minister of Transport.

A car accident assumingly was the main reason that led Dr Georg Haindl to found the motorway church.7 Haindl was an important entrepreneur in Augsburg. As a member of the 1st Board of Directors of Deutsche Bahn (since 1952) and Chairman of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce (since 1958) he had good relations with the Federal Ministry of Transport and the Federal Government. And he was involved in various traffic planning projects, in particular regarding the expansion of the motorway.8 Haindl also was a Catholic, Knight of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher, and a member of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU - i.e. the Conservative party with a strong influence in Bavaria).

Of course, a large number of truck drivers were employed in the Haindl Company. The donor himself had been a work-related commuter. He spent a lot of time in the car, preferably in the fast lane of the highway, as it is said.9

A document written by the founder himself shows the personal intentions that led to the project:

'The chapel's construction alongside the motorway is a favourite wish of mine. Especially in southern Germany, it is an old tradition to erect field crosses and chapels alongside the roads. They lead eyes and thoughts to our Lord God. Because of the unavoidable accidents that happen on the road, I think it is quite appropriate – apart from the religious aspect – to guide the driver's mind to his ending and the afterworld; perhaps such thoughts result in greater caution and attentiveness.'10

Apart from the founder's considerations, the architect Raimund von Doblhoff was equally important to the project. Born in Vienna, where he studied architecture at the Technical University, he worked most of his professional career in Augsburg. In the mid-1950s Doblhoff was known for various reconstruction projects. He also was well-connected in business circles and built numerous private and commercial buildings. Due to his friendship with Dr Georg Haindl, and since he was a Catholic too, Doblhoff took up the challenge of designing the first motorway church with great dedication. It should be the first and only church in his



Figure 2, Raimund von Doblhoff, studies of a motorway church with onion dome and the 'towerless tent', Source: Archive of the Arno Buchegger Foundation (Arno Buchegger Stiftung) Augsburg, legacy Raimund Doblhoff.

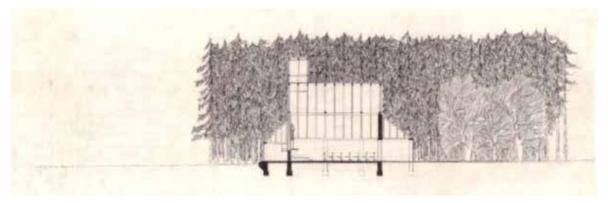


Figure 3, Raimund von Doblhoff, draft of the church of St. Ludwig und Anna an der Autobahn, dated November 1955, Source: Archive of the Arno Buchegger Foundation (Arno Buchegger Stiftung) Augsburg, legacy Raimund Doblhoff.

oeuvre.

Documents of the Doblhoff archives show, that he had made his first studies of the Autobahnkirche at the end of 1955. The drafts do not provide any clear information on the order in which the work had been carried out. The instructions of the founder at this time are also not clear. Important to know is, that Haindl had in mind a chapel without access for visitors and with restricted liturgical use.13

One of Doblhoff's early sheets (dated November 1955)¹⁴ shows a small chapel with an onion dome (Figure 2). The tent-shaped architecture on the right emerges in an early traditional form and the architect described it as a 'towerless tent' (turmloses Gezelt). These studies on historic chapel typologies mark the starting point for the design process.

At about the same time, the architect pursued a design, which he elaborated in great detail.15 It is named St. Ludwig und Anna alongside the

motorway (St. Ludwig und Anna an der Autobahn) and also dates November 1955 (Figure 3). The outline is similar to a small traditional chapel with a canopy, a ridge roof and a ridge turret. Doblhoff planned to have a large window on the east façade so that the motorway can be seen from inside. On the west side, he likewise envisioned an open design that enables a good view of the altar from outside.

At this early stage of planning, Doblhoff was the one to bring the modern spirit into the project. In handwritten notes, he pointed out the significance of the new type of motorway church. Hereby he possibly was the first person to refer to a missionary task among the socalled 'petrol heathens' ('Benzin-Heiden'). One of his questions was if the design should remain to the architecture of traditional churches or not.

In January 1956 Haindl asked for clarification of what would have to be done to obtain

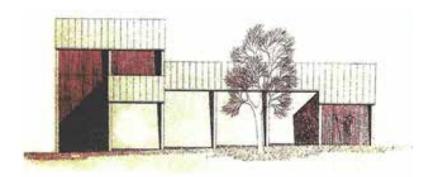


Figure 4, Raimund von Doblhoff, application plan of 1956, Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria – Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 26.

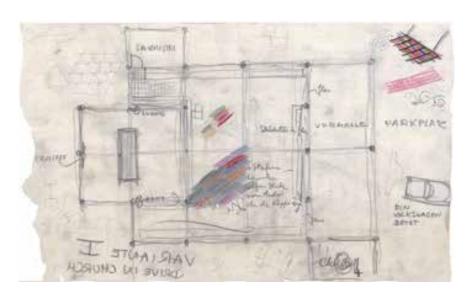


Figure 5, Raimund von Doblhoff, Variation I, Drive-In Church, undated sketch, Source: Archive of the Arno Buchegger Foundation (Arno Buchegger Stiftung) Augsburg, legacy Raimund Doblhoff.

permission to build a chapel alongside the *Autobahn*.¹6 Subsequently, a first draft was given to the Munich Building Authorities (Figure 4).¹7 The planning progress from the tent-shaped chapel of November 1955 to this proposal cannot exactly be traced today. The design departs from the idea of simple construction with a ridge roof as it was found in numerous parish churches at this time. Looking at the regularity of the roof height and the different elevations of the façade, it might be a modern interpretation of the former draft of the early medieval church. Now it is a formally reduced but rather large building with a slim 1950s design.

In the course of 1956, Doblhoff parted with his initial ideas from November 1955. He started to deal more and more with the special aspects of

the site and the users of a motorway church. His new ideas become apparent in two sketches of the Doblhoff archives, which relate strongly to the submitted draft. The first sheet shows the ground plan (Figure 5). Under the church's canopy, there is a car parked. Doblhoff commented on the drawing 'A Volkswagen is praying' (EIN VOLKSWAGEN BETET). On the back of the sheet, it is written: 'Variation 1 Drive-In Church' (VARIANTE 1 DRIVE IN CHURCH).

In the second sheet (Figure 6) the architect traced two visual axes, which follow the driver's gaze to the altar and the crucifix hanging above. Inside, the floor is lowered by a few steps so that standing and kneeling persons – there is no seating except two benches along the sidewalls – do not restrict the driver's view

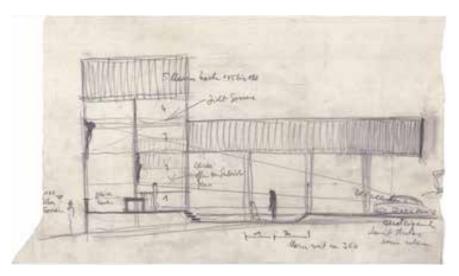


Figure 6, Raimund von Doblhoff, undated sketch, Source: Archive of the Arno Buchegger Foundation (Arno Buchegger Stiftung) Augsburg, legacy Raimund Doblhoff.

from outside. Although it is unclear whether Doblhoff was concerned with the drive-thru architecture of his time, he was certainly the first to deal with the connection of car (driver) and church architecture. For this purpose, he made wide use of glass. Since Haindl originally had a non-public chapel in mind, the vision of the architect seems only too logical: drive-in & pray.

Written documents show that Doblhoff emphasised qualities such as the expandability and the good quality-price ratio to the authorities in Munich.¹⁸ In April 1957 he presented a first overview of estimated materials and expenses. After that, Haindl approved the coverage of the costs of 30,000 DM and provided manpower and modern material, like glass, steel, and concrete from his paper factory.

The submitted draft met with a generally positive response. But due to the 'first time of the case' (*Erstmaligkeit des Falles*), it was recommended to involve the highest authority, the Federal Ministry of Transport.¹⁹ Before Haindl addressed to the Federal Minister of Transport on 15 October 1956, he submitted his request for permission to all involved authorities. Those were the Munich Motorway Administration, the Munich Regional Planning Directorate, the Bishop of Augsburg, and the

local pastor. Hereby the same draft as in February 1956 was still handed over. All the reactions were in general positive towards the proposal.²⁰

In November 1956 Haindl received the same answer twice from the Federal Ministry of Transport in Bonn. The Minister himself stated that he would not have any fundamental reservations about the project. However, he suggested to build the area of access more favourably and the chapel - following its purpose - smaller. In addition to this official statement, Haindl got some further information in a private letter from his friend, the Ministerial Councilor Ernst Anton Marschall. This letter was more specific to the architecture. Marschall, who was on duty in the case, referred to the regulations of the Federal Motorway Law. He considered them to be necessary for the interest of traffic safety, but also the interest of the scenic beauty of the traffic routes.²¹ He also suggested to build the church smaller, and with a maximum of 50 seats so that there are slightly more seats than a bus can hold.²² But the recommendations from Bonn were not only matters of traffic safety:

'(...) I remember the churches and chapels that Swabian architects created, the most beautiful examples are in Augsburg itself, and if I



Figure 7, Raimund von Doblhoff, Variation 2 Swabian (left) and Variation 3 (right), undated sketches, Source: Archive of the Arno Buchegger Foundation (Arno Buchegger Stiftung) Augsburg, legacy Raimund Doblhoff.



Figure 8, Mary, Protector of the Travelers in Adelsried, 1956-58, architect: Raimund von Doblhoff, photo 1958, Source: Archive of the Arno Buchegger Foundation (Arno Buchegger Stiftung) Augsburg, legacy Raimund Doblhoff.

remember the nice chapel with a small onion dome, which is in the middle of the field somewhere alongside the route from Munich to Augsburg, then I don't understand the architect if he wants to put a building in this area that perhaps fits into the Black Forest, Greenland or even the dunes on the stormy sea.²³

The draft of 1956 was rejected. Haindl, who stated that he wasn't fully convinced by the modern variation of the motorway church either, went along with the proposals from the Federal Ministry of Transport.²⁴ He passed the information on to Doblhoff, who now faced the

challenge of revising the rejected draft. The architect, who assumingly felt misunderstood in his innovative idea of a drive-in church, reacted with two sketches. These make direct reference to the drawing of Variation I 'Drive-In Church'.

'Variation 2 Swabian' (*Variante 2 Schwäbisch*, Figure 7, left) is similar to the design of the draft of St. Ludwig and Anna from November 1955 and to the final design of the realized motorway church. Doblhoff presumably fell back on the initial studies concerning historical chapel forms. His desire to depart from traditional

forms met with the project guidelines, like using modern materials and a low budget. Considering the choice of material, the second variation has hardly anything Swabian to offer.

Variation three seems to be more of a caricature than a serious sketch (Figure 7, right). It is commented with the words 'high as the minister wants it' (hoch wie der Minister will'). These words illustrate how much Doblhoff felt artistically dominated by the Federal Building Authorities. On another sheet, the architect finally opposed the instructions from above with the words 'It will not get smaller It will not get higher Amen Mr Seebohm' (Es wird nicht Kleiner Es wird nicht höher Amen Herr Seebohm).

According to the archival documents, the Munich Motorway Office accepted the planning documents on 6 June 1957. In addition to the letter of consent, the Motorway Office now stated that it wasn't responsible for architectural matters, but the Ministry of Culture. The Bavarian State Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs approved the plan of January 1957 'in aesthetical terms.' On 9 August 1957, the government of Swabia granted a special permit, and on 17 August, the Augsburg District Office issued four further points to be considered as conditions. These requirements related to the access road and parking area, adjacent commercial buildings, and planting.25

After the state authorities' approval, the main questions of the Catholic Church had to be answered. These didn't refer to architectural demands. It was more important to integrate the motorway church into the existing diocesan structures and the ecclesiastical law, as well as the general organization in this novel matter. To achieve this, Haindl had to pass the ownership to the Catholic Church, accompanied by a change of patronage. The Saints Ludwig and Anna had to be discarded. For that, the church's name today is: Mary, Protection of the Travelers (*Maria. Schutz der Reisenden*). To prevent the parish from high expenses, a separate foundation had been set up within the

Adelsried Church Foundation,²⁶

Because of great demand, shortly after the inauguration, the church was opened to all visitors. Pastor Gregor Ruf, part of the Dominican Order in Augsburg, was commissioned to offer regular services and pastoral care. For that purpose, more internal space had been created and additional liturgical fittings had been purchased.

In the end, the founder as well as the architect had to change their original plans. The founder's private chapel, dedicated to deceased family members, converted into a place of contemplation for all people on the road. And Doblhoff too could not realize his vision of the Autobahnkirche as a drive-in church. Concerning the construction, the choice of material, and especially to the lowered floor on the inside and the full-glazed eastern façade, the church's crossover character remains (Figure 8). The glass should be one of the biggest aspects of criticism. But it allows the in- and outsight, especially the view to the moving traffic at the Autobahn: the motorway replaced the altarpiece for the first time. Furthermore, the project was strongly influenced by the demands of the Ministry of Transport. This is presumably a unique case in the history of building churches.

Notes

1 Thomas Zeller, *Driving Germany. The Landscape of the German Autobahn, 1930-1970*(New York/Oxford: Berghan Books, 2007), 181ff.

2 Hans-Christoph Seebohm (ed.): Ausbauplan für die Bundesfernstrassen (Bundestrassen und Bundesautobahnen) (Bonn: Bundesminister für Verkehr, 1957).

3 Ralph Johannes and Gerhard Wölki, *Die Autobahn und ihre Rastanlagen. Geschichte und Architektur* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2005), 37.

4 With this development came new legal requirements. Ministerial Councilor Ernst Anton Marschall published the new Federal Motorway Law in 1954 and The General Administrative Regulations for the Contract Management of Federal Motorways in 1957. Ernst Anton Marschall, *Bundesfernstraßengesetz (vom 6. August 1953)* (Köln/Berlin: Heymann, 1954). Ernst Anton Marschall and Erich Gudat, *Die allgemeinen Verwaltungsvorschriften für die Auftragsverwaltung der Bundesfernstrassen* (Köln/Berlin: Heymmann, 1957).

5 Katholische Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Verkehr (ed.), *Die Kirche und der Straßenverkehr, Arbeitsheft für den Kleru*s (Köln: Wort und Werk, 1957).

6 The authors refer primarily to their evaluation of Doblhoff's architectural estate and the contents published by Hoyer in 2008 regarding the Haindl family archive and files of the building registry (plan number 1697/56) of the District Office in Augsburg. Cf. Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria – Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008).

7 Christian Schütze, *Das weiße Band. 150 Jahre Papier von Haindl. Das Porträt eines bayerischen Unternehmens* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999), 410.

8 Werner Dollinger, "Dr. Georg Haindl. Unternehmer mit Weitblick," in Familie Dr. Georg Haindl (ed.), *Dr. Georg Haindl, eine Unternehmergestalt aus der Geschichte der deutschen Papierindustrie* (München: Bruckmann, 1990), 19.

9 Helmut Grasser, "Engagement für die Selbstverwaltung der Wirtschaft: Dr. Georg Haindl als Kammerpräsident," in Familie Dr. Georg Haindl (ed.), *Dr. Georg Haindl, eine Unternehmergestalt aus der Geschichte der deutschen Papierindustrie* (München: Bruckmann, 1990), 27.

10 'Es handelt sich um die Verwirklichung eines Lieblingswunsches, nämlich des Baues einer Kapelle an der Autobahn. Gerad in Süddeutschland ist es eine alte Tradition, dass entlang unserer Wege und Strassen [sic] immer wieder Feldkreuze und Kapellen errichtet wurden, die den Blick und den Gedanken auf unseren Herrgott lenken sollen. Bei den leider nie vermeidbaren Unfällen, die sich auf unseren Strassen [sic] ereignen, halte ich es – abgesehen vom Religiösen –, durchaus für angebracht, wenn der Sinn des Autofahrers auf das Ende und das Jenseits gelenkt wird; vielleicht sind solche Gedanken allein schon in der Lage, ihn zu erhöhter Vorsicht und vermehrter Achtsamkeit zu bewegen, from the Haindl family archive, quoted after Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria – Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 13f.

11 Werner Lutz, "Doblhoff als Architekt und Städteplaner," in Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), Raimund von Doblhoff 1914 – 1933. Architekt zwischen Rekonstruktion und Innovation (Berlin: Reimer, 2009), 9ff.

12 Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria – Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 10f.

13 Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria – Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 44ff.

14 This date was adopted by Hoyer. It originates from a sketchbook of the architect which was probably compiled in later times. It is not conclusively clear by whom and when the date was added. Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria – Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 20.

15 It might be possible that this design was the first to be presented to the authorities in Munich. Another design from August 1956 seems to succeed from this idea and has been elaborated in great detail as well. It is unclear why Doblhoff came back to the variation from St. Ludwig an Anna from November 1955 and started developing it again.

16 From a letter to his employee, Walter Berz, dated 24 January 1956, in the Haindl archives, quoted after Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria – Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg:

im Selbstverlag, 2008), 13.

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17 The submission plan from 1956, once preserved in the architect's legacy at the Swabian Museum of Architecture, is currently not to find in the collection. This is why the authors refer to the information in Hoyer's publication from 2008 until the document will be located again. Cf. Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria - Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), p. 26.

18 Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria - Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 31.

19 Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria - Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 13.

20 Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria - Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 14ff. The people and institutions involved were: Mr Ziechenhaus, Government architect of Munich Motorway Administration (Regierungsbaumeister, Autobahnverwaltung München), Mr Widmann, Chief Construction Manager of Munich Regional Planning Directorate (Oberbaurat, Oberbaudirektion München), his Excellency, the Bishop of Augsburg Mr Freundorfer and the responsible local pastor Mr Sternegger.

21 Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria – Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 14f.

22 This is still one of the criteria that a church today must meet to be declared a motorway church. The eight criteria were established in the early 2000s at the annual conference of motorway churches. Cf. Akademie Versicherer im Raum der Kirchen, "Kriterien für Autobahnkirchen", https://www. autobahnkirche.de/abk/informationen-zu-denautobahnkirchen-in-deutschland.html#Kriterien (Date of access: 3 February 2021).

23 'Wenn ich mich aber dessen entsinne was schwäbische Baumeister an Kirchen und

Kapellen, die schönsten Vorbilder hast Du [Haindl] ja in Augsburg selbst, geschaffen haben, und wenn ich mich erinnere an die nette Kapelle, die mitten im Felde irgendwo auf der Strecke von München nach Augsburg mit einem kleinen Zwiebeltürmchen [sic], dann verstehe ich den Architekten nicht, wenn er in diese Gegend ein Bauwerk setzen will, daß vielleicht in den Schwarzwald, nach Grönland oder auch an die Dünen am stürmischen Meeresstrand paßt.' From the Haindl family archive, quoted after Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria - Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 15.

24 From a letter to Ernst Anton Marschall, dated 15 November 1956, in the Haindl archives, quoted after Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria - Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 16.

25 Taken from the permission of the District Administrator's Office of Augsburg on the decision to build a new church on the property plan number 3702/25 on the motorway Augsburg - Ulm in Adelsried of 17 August 1957. Cf. District Administrator's Office of Augsburg), building registration, building plan no. 1697/56, quoted after Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria - Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 17f.

26 Wolfram Hoyer, 50 Jahre Maria - Schutz der Reisenden Adelsried (Augsburg: im Selbstverlag, 2008), 17.

The Elusive Promise of 'Traffic Architecture': Air-rights on Tel Aviv's Highway

Neta Feniger, Tel Aviv University Roy Kozlovsky, Tel Aviv University

The term 'traffic architecture', conceptualized in Colin Buchanan seminal book, was part of a global venture to adjust the urban environment to the growing demands for motorization. On an urban scale, it embodied a reformist ambition to reconcile the conflict between accessibility and aspirations to preserve traditional conceptions of pedestrianized public space. On a building scale, it referred to architecture that embodied traffic uses with more conventional architectural uses. While usually segregating motorized traffic from pedestrian movement, in these projects, architects were compelled to consider the conflicts between vehicular movement and the static nature of architecture.

This paper explores a case study, part of the planning of the Ayalon Crosstown Expressway in Tel Aviv. In 1978, four multidisciplinary teams, led by architects, were commissioned to study the prospect of selling air-rights above the highway in order to finance its construction, creating ex nihilo urban fabric, maximizing the value of otherwise 'wasted' space. Like similar projects around the world, the objective was speculative and not architectural, yet for some of the architects, it offered an opportunity to envisage architecture anew by developing a systematic approach to architectural and urban design that embraced traffic engineering's methods of the quantitative, three-dimensional order of vehicular flow, regulating car traffic into buildings. Others prioritize the more conservative ensemble, concealing transport infrastructure underneath, leaving architecture and public space free of traffic.

Considered at first as an opportunity for reforming cityscape, making it financially lucrative, or radicalising it through the creation of mega-structural development, we argue that

'traffic architecture' carried the proposition that architectural integration with motorization would initiate the next evolutionary stage of modern architecture. Using this case, we ask how traffic, as a concept and as materiality, affected architecture in the 1970s and what is the significance of these experiments on the history of post-war architecture.



Hotels in the Global South and the Architectures of Contact Zones

Session Chair: Burcu Dogramaci, *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*

Within urban societies, certain spaces facilitate the exchange of ideas, foster debate and the formation of discourse, and encourage the construction of personal and professional networks across many borders; their architectural forms and materialities often speak to their openness. This session will focus on a somewhat overlooked typology in this regard: the hotel—and, in particular, the hotel in the so-called Global South. While hotels have been studied in terms of soft power and Americanization (Wharton, 2001), and their political significance has recently begun to be assessed (Craggs, 2012, Elshahed 2016), analyses of their social and cultural functions as well as their often ambivalent status as urban and architectural icons seem to be contained in the realm of novels and travel writing.

This session proposes that hotels played a particularly important socio-spatial role in colonial/post-colonial societies of the South in the decades around independence (and beyond). They were meeting places, exhibition spaces, spaces for consumption and venues for music performances. Their terraces played host to diverse encounters between different and sometimes conflicting groups of people, who could talk over a beer or coffee in the shade of a tree or umbrella. Beyond providing bedrooms, hotels were key spaces of sociability for the local people and visitors alike. Recounting his experiences in newly independent Tanzania, Ryszard Kapuscinski described the New Africa Hotel, where beyond others 'the fugitives, refugees, and emigrants from various parts of the continent' met (Kapuscinski, 2001: 97). În Bombay (now Mumbai), the Taj Mahal Hotel played a similar role. In contrast with the New Africa Hotel, it was not built by the colonial power, but by a local industrialist. Its lobbies and hallways provided exhibition space, while its elegant tea rooms and restaurants were popular with the local elites.

Building on this theme, this session explores hotels as places of interaction, forums of discussions and ex- or inclusive spaces: contact zones. It focusses on the ways the hotels' architectures facilitate these entanglements. Moreover, the session addresses questions such as: In what ways did hotels contribute to the formation of urban societies? How did local populations use their spaces? How did shifts in architectural styles and building practices affect this? Was the location of the hotel within the city significant?

SESSION 18

WELFARE, HEALTH, AND INSTITUTIONS

Between British-Mandate Palestine and Republican Turkey: The Jerusalem Palace Hotel, the Ankara Palas Hotel and the Formation of National Identities in the Post-World War I Period

Inbal Ben-Asher Gitler, Sapir Academic College / Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
T. Elvan Altan, Middle East Technical University

This paper examines the Jerusalem Palace Hotel (1928-1929), designed by Turkish architect Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk, and the Ankara Palas Hotel (1927), designed by Vedat Tek and Kemalettin Bey, who was Nigisberk's mentor. The hotels' design and construction reflect dramatic regional social and political transformations, and the continuation of national, international as well as professional networks, demonstrating connections between the formation of post-World War I identities.

In Palestine, British mandatory rule (1918-48), with similarities to colonial rule, promoted large-scale modernization that included, alongside government buildings, typologies affecting social life, such as hotels. Being the most important new Muslim-Palestinian building in the city, the Jerusalem Palace Hotel fostered interaction between the British administration, foreign elites and local Muslim leadership. It also hosted international congresses and exhibitions, serving as a site of contact between the emissaries of new Muslim nations.

The Turkish Republic (founded 1923) implemented a similar process of modernization, especially rebuilding Ankara as its capital to house the administrative and social functions of a modern city. The Ankara Palas Hotel, as the first state-commissioned hotel and the largest of the period, not only accommodated tourists, but also provided space for political and recreational activities, such as diplomatic meetings and official celebrations, as well as gatherings of social organizations.

Both hotels boasted modern functions and technologies while also evidencing the negotiation of the Ottoman historicist style in their design approach. Elements from local Muslim monuments were added in the Jerusalem Palace Hotel to represent emerging Palestinian identity, and the Ankara Palas Hotel re-appropriated the late Ottoman 'national' style in order to represent Turkish identity. This paper aims to discuss the political and social roles of these lavish city hotels that thus inscribed new national identities on a modern typology, by sanctioning spaces for local as well as international interaction.

Luxury in Conflict at the 71st Hilton

Panayiota Pyla, University of Cyprus

Conceived in 1962 as a means to jump-start the economic development of a young Republic, the Cyprus Hilton asserted aesthetic claims of luxury, modernity and development, advancing American soft politics as well as local state efforts for nation-building. The 71st building of Hilton Hotels International Inc., the Cyprus Hilton, however, had many encounters with ethnic antagonisms and military conflict in Cyprus and its region. This paper considers various 'moments' in the history of the Hilton during the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, that speak to the conflicting uses of its spaces, which sometimes celebrated the bi-communal co-operation between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots and reinforced the government's efforts towards the building of a peaceful and prosperous state; and sometimes became a site of inter-communal or larger geopolitical tensions, which culminated in 1974, when the island of Cyprus was violently divided, and the Hilton site experienced bombing and the killing of the US ambassador.

These competing moments of 'contact' in the Cyprus Hilton subverted the tourism industry's official narratives of luxury and peaceful relaxation. Examining how hotel rooms were

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used by war reporters, medical personnel, or United Nations peace keepers; hotel lobbies held diplomatic meetings for peace negotiations; and hotel gardens became sites of locals' demonstrations, the paper underlines the peculiar role of the hotel, not only as an instrument of economic or national development, but also as a space of contestations were local politics became intricately entangled with geopolitical strategising that also had its part in the shaping of the landscapes of tourism and the politics of leisure on the island and the region.

from its inauguration to its closure in the late 1990s, as a space where the political, social, and cultural evolving dynamics of postcolonial Tanzania are shaped, manifested, and enacted. Based on archival material, oral history accounts, and the close reading of the motel's design features, the paper will unveil its multiple performances as both a contact zone and a postcolonial device of 'differential inclusion'.

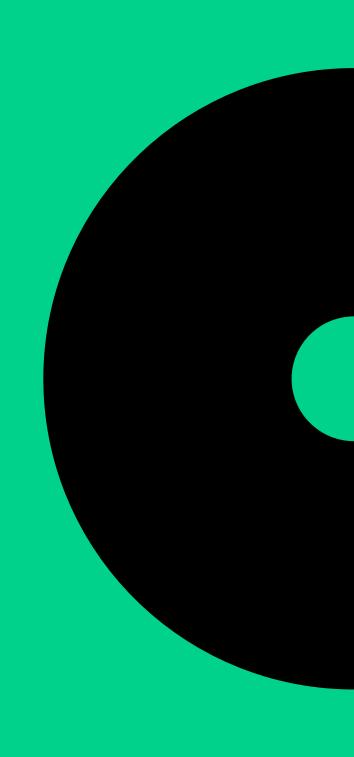
The Motel Agip of Dar es Salaam: A 'Differential' Contact Zone

Giulia Scotto, University of Basel

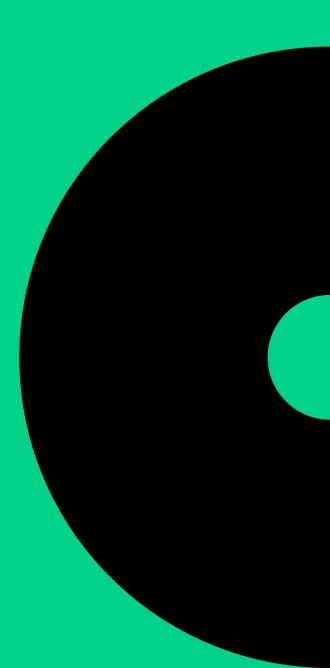
The Motel Agip of Dar es Salaam was built in 1964, the year of the birth of independent Tanzania, by Agip, the commercial branch of the Italian national hydrocarbon agency ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi). Strategically located at the center of the city, between the Asian commercial district and the new government's headquarters (former colonial administration and white neighbourhood), the motel can be read as the materialization of ENI's and the Tanzanian state's overlapping interests. The facility, together with its adjacent service station and car showroom, was part of Agip supply-chain expansion into the African continent and at the same time, it was the result of the government's strategy to develop tourist facilities across the country with the support of foreign investors.

But 'the Agip', as it was commonly referred to, was much more than just an advertising for Agip ad Tanzania's achievements. It was also a space of work, leisure, transit, consumption, identity definition, and cultural exchange and appropriation where multiple actors got in touch or simply coexisted for a while.

This paper inquires the history of the motel,



Parallel Papers 04



Flexibility and its Discontents: Techniques and Technologies in Twentieth Century Architectural Production [Panel 2]

Session Chair:

Tijana Stevanovic, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm and University College London

Formally Rigid but Technically Charming: Architects and Professional Etiquette, ca. 1916

Athanasiou Geolas, Cornell University

This paper presents a situated analysis of the documents on one successful architect's desk and through this insight into a central and under-theorized technique of architectural practice: charm. Recent scholarship has drawn on the history of science and media studies to analyse the impact of early twentieth-century managerialism on the professional practice of architecture. In these accounts, strict adherence to rational protocols implemented through administrative forms including contracts, specifications, and other paperwork templates transformed a tumultuous construction industry into a reliable business. By adopting this new infrastructure of control, architects transformed their practices from social clubs into efficiently managed offices. In so doing, they found a new means of solidifying their social status. However, even driven by profit, trust and credibility relied on more than rational procedures. During what has been called both the Progressive Era and the rise of the Jim Crow era in the United States, the rigorous, technical practices of these methods relied upon their practitioner's ability to embody and carefully navigate long-standing cultural codes. To develop a more nuanced understanding of socially accepted forms of professional relationships, I look at the correspondence between architect Charles Downing Lay and the artist curator Bryson Burroughs regarding their renovation of the lobby of the Century Club's NYC clubhouse. In

particular, I analyse their letters in light of a contracts and specifications manual from Lay's desk that included templates for professional correspondence. Echoing then-popular etiquette manuals, these letterforms consciously mixed litigious bureaucratic standards with well-mannered social formats and phrases. Referring to the manner in which architects interact with their clients and colleagues, charm is an all-together different form of flexible, professional practice. Lying somewhere between the rational and the

charismatic, it both relies on codified rules and thrives through its ability to operate outside of them.

'A Facility Based on Change': Office Architecture and Facility Management

Joseph L. Clarke, University of Toronto

The facility management profession that emerged in the 1960s and 70s was charged with maintaining and regulating flexible workplaces, especially large open offices for collaborative intellectual work. Yet this broad mandate elided conflicting imperatives, as facility managers struggled to reconcile the rhetoric of improving employees' collective well-being with mounting pressure to cut costs. This paper traces the origins of facility management and the early tensions over its aims and methods, and explores the political stakes of its evolving relationship to the discipline of architecture.

In the late 1950s, management consultants

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Eberhard and Wolfgang Schnelle developed their Bürolandschaft office design approach around the premise that patterns of verbal communication in an office evolved continuously. Their fantasy of an endlessly reconfigurable infrastructure for creative work was in sympathy with designs by Yona Friedman, Cedric Price, and other radical architects. When the American furniture company Herman Miller adapted these principles to create a line of modular workstation components, it proposed an integrated approach to space planning, management science, building maintenance, and furniture procurement. By 1979, when Herman Miller founded its Facility Management Institute to advance this technocratic method, the optimism of the Bürolandschaft had receded. The oil crisis had punctured the illusions of limitless expansion, perpetual mobility, and environmental uniformity that initially made large open offices seem compelling. As corporate real estate became a precious resource, intricate office layouts designed around collaboration gave way to dense rows of cubicles and IT infrastructure.

This paper examines how the objective of reconfiguring building interiors for collaborative 'knowledge work' led to multiple reconfigurations of the practice of workplace design itself. It analyses the early vicissitudes of facility management by examining key antecedents and theoretical models proposed in Germany and the United States, and considers how economic shifts eventually undermined the profession's utopian premises.

Self-Organization: The Fun Palace's **Gridded Excess**

Ana Bonet Miro, University of Edinburgh

Animated by rapid developments in information technology, the appetite for free and dynamic space evident in the architectural experiments of the Sixties implicated the anxieties of a transient subjectivity subject to what Alvin

Toffler had, in 1965, referred to as 'future shock'. The image of abstract information patterns disembodied from their material instantiations would progressively permeate consciousness, a cultural condition that Katherine Hayles has defined as virtuality.

Situated within the historical time of the punch card and enticed by the idea of selforganization, the Fun Palace offers a relevant case to investigate the complex interplay between technology and pleasure, and more specifically between self-organization and under-specification in the Sixties' culture of emancipation. Mediated by the figure of the grid, the practices of modulating air, charting performance and indexing pleasures push towards information and organization as the new objects of design, and with it, the redefinition of the role of the architect as that of systems designer. Underpinned by cybernetics, Price's so-called 'anti-architecture' would aim to give away the stability of its body for an inbuilt non-programme - which would take the form of an interactive and evolving system regulated through feedback gathered from participants - as the means to pursue the project's emancipatory ideals. Crucially, embedded in the agenda of the Cybernetic Committee constituted to design it, selforganization became realized within the material corpus of its work.

This paper looks closely into the archive of the project to argue, on the one hand, that the self-directed modus operandi of the Fun Palace organization as conveyed through its grids proves resistant to the modern commodification of thought. For it challenges architectural design metaprescriptives related to authorship and finitude by means of the libidinal mobility of the Fun Palace agenda, one that constantly puts itself into play by way of pleasure and excess. Drawing on Roger Caillois's taxonomy of games on the other hand, the cultural role of the Fun Palace grids is assessed in relation to what could be read as 'vertigo' haunting the Sixties social experience.

Languages of Flexibility: Digital Architectural Grammars, circa 1970

Pablo Miranda Carranza, KTH Stockholm

At the same time that flexibility was being constructed as the potential to rearrange, re-purpose and even reclaim spaces within modernism, the 1960s and 70s saw the technical concretisation of a parallel conception of design as an open system, into a number of methods and technologies. Influenced by the linguistic and cognitive paradigms underlying the programming languages in which these strategies were being implemented, the intention of these systems was to produce architecture the same way one might derive spoken or written sentences from a set of grammatical rules. Some of the many examples of these concretisations include Christopher Alexander's 'pattern language' (1977) or the shape grammars proposed by George Stiny and James Gips in the 1960s, which were used to encode the individual styles of Andrea Palladio or Frank Lloyd Wright into flexible combinatorial design systems.

The majority of the historical record of this early digital architecture consists of texts written in assembly, FORTRAN, Lisp and other programming languages. These historical texts and the technical systems in which they were inserted still remain outside traditional historiographical methods. The present paper looks at how these forms of digital flexibility, variation and indeterminacy were linked to new forms of writing and literacy associated with the computer in the early 1970s. It looks in particular to the specific case of shape grammars and the programs, diagrams and formal descriptions used in their proposition. Shape grammars not only exemplify the application of linguistic models as a means to implement design as an open combinatorial system, but also embody a moment in architecture dominated by formalism, semiology and linguistics, leading, as Manfredo Tafuri would put it, to 'a syntax of empty signs' within 'a language that speaks only of itself.' (Tafuri 1974)

SESSION 20

The Role of Women in the Building of Cities in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

Session Chair: Shelley Roff, *University of Texas at San Antonio*

Until recently, historians of the built environment have assumed that, before the modern era, women had little or no involvement in the making of architecture and development of cities, other than a role as patron. Women did not participate in municipal government, nor were they traditionally allowed membership in guilds related to the building crafts. Yet, women played an important role in other aspects of the commercial activity and prosperity of the city. Was the business of building always an exception? Only in the last decades have glimpses of the true nature of women's contribution come to the fore. Cases have been published of medieval and early modern women working in a range of occupations: poor women hired for manual labour on the construction site, women working with their husbands and fathers in the building crafts, widows continuing the workshops of their deceased husbands, and women supplying and transporting building materials. Their numbers have been reportedly few at any given site; yet they were there.

This will complicate the accepted interpretations of women's agency in the city and those that look for new ways to analyse the limited archival evidence. There is abundant literature today on aristocratic women as patrons of secular and monastic works; but, were there cases of non-elite women acting as patrons of civic projects through donation, testament, or the purchase of municipal public debt? Aristocratic women had opportunities to influence and guide the design of the projects they patronized; did bourgeois women design or manage architectural projects privately on their own property? What was the nature of middleclass-womens' unpaid 'support' in their family's craft or trade? And in studying this, are we highlighting women's agency or oppression? Looking closer at the evidence itself, in what ways does archival material occlude or omit the presence of women; and what can that tell us? Did documented daily activities of urban women affect the spatial structure and character of an urban centre? If we cast a broader, collaborative net across a region, this may provide enough evidence to propose a rationale for women's labour on, and related to, the construction site. If a wide spatial and temporal understanding presents itself, is it time to re-write the history of (pre-modern) architecture from an alternative, feminist point of view?

The Lady Vanishes? Women and the Construction Industry in Eighteenth-Century Ireland

Conor Lucey, University College Dublin

In recent years, interest in the role of women as designers or patrons of architecture in eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland has continued to gather momentum, building on the pioneering research of Dana Arnold, Richard Hewlings and Lucy Worsley, among others. But a work of architecture is a corporate creation, dependent on a variety of intellectual and manual skills constituted within the distinct, albeit related, realms of design and construction. To date, the role of women in the making of architecture remains somewhat contested: while Elizabeth McKellar described the early modern building site in London as 'overwhelmingly male', Linda Clarke and Chris Wall later presented substantial evidence of women as operatives in many building crafts prior to the introduction of capitalist wage relations at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In an attempt to clarify the role(s) of women on the building site, this paper will first consider the historical evidence: how do we reconcile the binding of girls to trades like bricklaying, carpentry and plastering, duly recorded in guild minutes and registers, with the limited evidence of any corresponding graduation to the roles of 'mistresses' of those trades? And to which aspects of building construction did women make a meaningful contribution, if any? Having interrogated the documentary sources, this paper will then focus on the careers of property developer Sarah Archdall and lime-burner Margaret Todderick: from different ends of the building (and social) spectrum in Georgian Dublin, their voices and concerns are uniquely recorded in the form of petitions made to the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. Taken together, these stories, from the margins of construction history, reveal a more complex picture of female creative and economic agency in the long eighteenth century.

Women at Westminster: Shaping the Houses of Parliament to 1834

Elizabeth Biggs, *University of York* Kirsty Wright, *University of York*

Before 1834, the Palace of Westminster was a small urban enclave within the larger urban worlds of London and Westminster. In addition to its role as the home of both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, it provided lodgings for many families who worked in and around Parliament. The buildings of that urban enclave varied in date from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth century, and were constantly under repair or adaptation. Women were involved in creating the pre-1834 palace of Westminster, whether as suppliers of materials or in the adaptation of older buildings to meet new needs over the centuries. This paper examines the role of women in creating the appearance of Parliament's buildings on the eve of a catastrophic fire in 1834, and considers the range and scope of women's influence on a distinctive landmark complex over the centuries.

The collection of buildings that collectively made up the Palace of Westminster by 1834 allow a particularly wide view of women's involvement in pre-modern building practices because of the regularity of alterations. While the medieval buildings were largely designed and built by men, women took part in the supply of materials to various construction projects within the palace. They had often worked alongside male family members and then replaced them on their deaths. This custom gives us a glimpse of the role women could play in pre-modern trade and building practices outside the formal trade guilds. Later, more detailed records kept by the Office of Works allow us to examine how women were able to influence particular projects within lodgings assigned to their families within the palace complex. Thus a range of women from a variety of social backgrounds, from the Speakers' wives through to women from much more modest backgrounds, shaped Westminster.

Ephemerality and Monumentality in Modern Europe (c.1750-1900) [Panel 2]

Session Chairs: Richard Wittman, *University of California at Santa Barbara* Taylor van Doorne, *University of California at Santa Barbara*

Made of Monuments: Spoliation, Veneration and other Ephemeral and Informal Uses of the Antiquities of Athens in the 19th Century

Nikos Magouliotis, ETH Zurich

The ancient monuments of Athens were first placed at the center of the European architectural discourse in the mid-18th century, through the travels and publications of people like Julien-David Le Roy, and James Stuart. After the foundation of a modern Greek nationstate in the 1830s, these monuments became the objects of an equally systematic, but more local and nationally charged discourse of archaeology and preservation. However, before, during and after this process of institutionalization, the monuments of Athens were subject to the needs, practices and beliefs of the people that lived around them: The anonymous commonfolk of Athens who, from the late-Ottoman period until the first decades of the Greek nation-state, performed a range of different secular and religious practices with, around, on and inside these monuments. Ranging from extraction and reuse of antique fragments in new vernacular constructions (spoliation) to their appropriation on-site for religious purposes (veneration), these ephemeral and informal practices pose an important counterweight to the official treatment of such artifacts by archeological authorities or erudite audiences.

The aim of this paper is to examine some of these practices of spoliation and veneration of antiquities in 19th-century Athens, in order to demonstrate that (a) before state archaeology cleansed and stabilized the forms of these objects and imposed its own meaning and narrative on them, Greek antiquities were objects in material and conceptual flux through local, ephemeral practices; and (b) these ephemeral practices stemmed from a local system of beliefs and lore; a popular culture that projected meanings and claims projected onto the antiquities which were, at times, at odds with the national-romantic narrative that portrayed the modern population of Greece as the heirs of Classical antiquity.

Monumentality, Ephemerality and Propaganda: the Funeral Car of Napoleon (1840)

Jean-Philippe Garric, *Université Paris 1* (*Panthéon-Sorbonne*)

If ephemeral architecture is the other half of modern architecture, it has nonetheless occasioned little interest from historians, particularly with respect to nineteenth-century France. Although it gained importance in the context of Napoleonic propaganda and the Napoleonic tradition, its status in the opinion of that time still remains contradictory; André Chastel once described the feasts of the Renaissance as the missing link between monuments of stone, but the situation was quite different in Paris following the French Revolution. Between the coronation of the Emperor in December 1804 and that of his nephew Napoleon III in May 1852, nonpermanent arrangements for celebrating key political events constituted an alternative reality - splendid but imperfect - parallel to the main

stream of built production. This duality was a key problem in Europe, at a time when the antique model remained preponderant even as liberal and capitalist society was developing.

The funeral car of Napoleon by Henri Labrouste, then still a young architect yet to erect a building of his own, echoed the famous funeral car of Alexander the Great, and marked a climax in the opposition between ephemerality and the will to inscribe a symbol for eternity. Widely commented in the professional press of its time, as well as in popular journals and newspapers, Victor Hugo himself described it as 'a kind of golden mountain slowly moving... beyond the great white phantom-like statues. This paper, based on analysis of the funeral car's architecture and of the setting planned for Paris on the occasion, will situate this moment in the context of political Parisian feasts of the first half of the nineteenth century. A reading of contemporary reactions and comments will underline, on the one hand, the contradiction between the Classical model and its quest for eternity, and, on the other, contemporary contingencies and opportunistic issues.

Pavillon Finlandaise (Paris, 1900): An Image-Truth in Stone

Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, Yale University

My paper discusses Eliel Saarinen's Pavillon Finlandaise for the 1900 Paris World's Fair, which together with auxiliary exhibits and publications blended art, architecture, science, and mythology in service of Finland's quest for independence. The focus will be on how granite was used throughout the pavilion in a manner that blurred the fake and the real, structural and ornamental use, as well as scientific and artistic imagery with the goal of turning the igneous rock into a symbol of national perseverance and raison d'etre of independence from Russia, all while promoting it as an export material. I will pay particular attention to the pavilion's hybrid imagery, which

combined typological references to Finnish medieval and Norwegian stave churches with Richardsonian Romanesque motives, and to the series of exhibits that combined science and art, fact and fiction. The latter included a display of the visually stunning geographic survey of Finland published in *Atlas de Finlande* (1899) and a display of rock specimens under Axel Gallen-Kalela's Kalevala frescos, which depicted the protagonists of the national epic in a Stone Age-like setting and garb.

The notion of image-truth alludes to W.J.T. Mitchell's notion of the 'duplicity of image,' that is, its 'capacity of both truth and illusion,' which countered the notion of material truthfulness that dominated the way stone had been theorized in 19th century architectural theory from Gottfried Semper to John Ruskin till that point. This entailed that instead of being conceived as a truthful and permanent material object, the pavilion enticed the visitor to bounce between haptic, visual, and verbal information and absorb various geological, archeological, and geographic narratives, acting as a 'relay [point] connecting theories of art, language, and the mind with conceptions of social, cultural, and political value.' (Mitchell). This shift of focus from how the building was made to how it was perceived by the onlooker made it possible for the contemporary French audience attuned to reading modernist poetry, which relied similarly on creating a fleeting kaleidoscopic image in the mind of the reader to consider the pavilion as a beacon for modernity despite of its historicist and archaic imagery.

The Merseburg Homage: Ephemeral Public Entertainment Infrastructure in early Nineteenth-Century Berlin

Emma Letizia Jones, ETH Zurich

This paper examines the role of ephemeral public entertainment infrastructure as both contributor and responder to the censorship and sanitisation of urban life, through a focus

on case studies from early nineteenth-century Berlin. In 1815 Schinkel designed the urban décor for the Homage ceremony to Friedrich Wilhelm III, King of Prussia. Though the Merseburg event was a closed royal affair, the ceremonial decorations included a grand public gesture: the illumination of the Schloss Merseburg, where the ceremony was to take place, against the night sky. Such events reflect Schinkel's consummate ability to manufacture Stimmung, defined as 'mood,' 'atmosphere' or 'ambiance'. For Schinkel, an image or a display transmitting Stimmung could provoke a sense of spatial or temporal dislocation (Ortsversetzung), which in turn created in the viewer an emotive - if heavily manipulated response. With the celebrations at Merseburg, Schinkel pulled such experiences of *Ortsversetzung* from the interior of the theatre even further into the public realm. The Merseburg celebrations notably coincided with the increased State policing of public life after the withdrawal of Napoleon's troops from their occupation of Berlin, aided by the peace talks at the Congress of Vienna of 1814-15. The Prussian monarchy had been pressured by Austria at these negotiations to introduce a series of reactionary censorship and surveillance measures, designed to control expressions of individualism and German nationalism in its population. The practice of Ortsversetzung through temporary public entertainment infrastructure in early nineteenth-century Berlin thus contained a paradox: it responded to this state-imposed censorship of civic life by staging the illusion of escape through the provision of controlled spectacle in the city. Such temporary spectacles contributed to a collective civic identity, yet they were also part of an overriding sentiment of withdrawal from public life.

Marking the Ephemeral: The Enduring Paradox of 100 Venetian Markers

Ludovico Centis, Università IUAV di Venezia

In 1791 the Venetian Republic placed 100 markers to define permanently the border of the Venice lagoon. Yet the boundaries of Venice and its lagoon are by their very nature unstable and subject to continuous negotiations. The whole operation revealed a paradox: how to define for eternity the boundary of 550 square kilometres of marshes and navigable waters that made the existence of the Republic possible? The positioning of these humble markers – made either in stone or bricks and ranging from 1 to 1.5 meters in height – proved inadequate to fulfil such an ambitious goal, and represented the swan song of a Republic that fell a few years later under Napoleon.

Today the markers that define the area of conterminazione lagunare – the area under the control of the Magistrato alle Acque (the Venetian Magistrate of the Waters) - have lost political relevance in national and international terms. Some have been removed, some have been relocated, and some have been brutally overpowered by contemporary infrastructures like bridges and train embankments. Yet a kind of 'revenge' of the markers has been accomplished: the lagoon that the Venetian Republic considered and wanted to maintain eternal is today under serious threat, while the majority of the markers still survive and stand in a crucial position to read the contemporary phenomena that affect Venice. The everchanging border between the lagoon, the mainland and the sea hosts projects - the expansion of the Tessera airport, San Giuliano Park, the cluster of hotels around Mestre station, the transformation of the brownfields of Porto Marghera, the Port and the mammoth cruise ships that cross the historic centre and the lagoon, the MOSE project mobile gates to fight the high tide - are crucial for understanding the possible future of a city that considered itself eternal but was inexorably discovered to be ephemeral.

Radical Exchanges between Latin America and Europe in the Everlasting Sixties

Session Chairs: Horacio Torrent, *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*

During the sixties and seventies, the expectations of imminent political and social turmoil stirred the architectural field. Exchanges between Europeans and Latin Americans promoted new concepts, theories and practices in the broad field of the built environment, fostering transnational and interdisciplinary approaches. We know a lot about the transatlantic interactions during the 'first machine age'; however, only a few monographic approaches refer to the fertile field of these joint experiences after the crisis of traditional conceptions of architecture. Much remains to be revealed and problematise about how these interchanges proposed new ways of conceiving the profession and a theoretic debate that historiography can reveal in its actuality.

Key examples can be mentioned: the UIA congresses in Havana (1964), Buenos Aires (1969) and Madrid (1974); the VIEXPO in Santiago de Chile (1972); the Triennale di Milano on free time (1964); the stays of students and professors on both sides of the ocean (Yona Friedman, Moshe Safdie and Jap Bakema in Buenos Aires, Aldo van Eyck in Santiago, Enrique Ciriani in Paris, Mario Soto in A Coruña); the experiences opened by the new social agenda for young practitioners (Vittorio Garatti and Roberto Gottardi in Havana, John Turner in Peru).

In these receptive scenarios, ideas about the great number, the big dimension, the right to the city, the economic and social 'development', the swift of the attention from the building to the landscape and the territory, were proposed. They enabled experimental practices, a particular relationship with art and the reconsideration of the architect as an agent for social practice. They opened alternatives to a polar world, particularly between Latin America and Eastern Europe, as well as forms of political and economic solidarity around urban issues that put traditional forms of discipline and profession at stake.

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Entente Cordiale: The Smithsons and Lucio Costa

Carlos Eduardo Comas, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul Ruth Verde Zein, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie

Peter and Alison Smithson (1923-2003/1928-1993) met Lucio Costa (1902-1998) when they attended a conference organized by Architectural Design on Capital Cities (1958). The winners of the Berlin Hauptstadt competition (1954) were impressed enough with the planner of Brasilia (1957). They sent him an invitation to join the new CIAM (1959). Although this initiative did not prosper, when the couple won the commission for the British Embassy in Brasilia (1964), their agreement with the Ministry of Works designated Costa as consulting architect. Costa acted as mentor to the Smithsons; telling them what to see in their trips to Brazil provided unusual references for the Embassy design. The 'squashed crocodile' or 'form riding the landscape' proposed by the Smithsons is explicitly related to their visit to the eighteenth-century Fazenda Babylonia. Ultimately, the project was cancelled (1968), but the North-South interpersonal relationship endured.

The analysis of archived and published material in England, the United States and Brazil suggests a lively conversation between the Smithsons and Costa on issues that did not cease to be topical and radical (i.e. fundamental) in the swinging sixties. One is the use of infrastructure and landscaping to generate significant urban form for a motorized mass society; indeed, the Smithsons and Costa collaborated again on planning ideas for flooded Florence (1967). Another is the use of vernacular, mechanical and natural sources to properly characterize modern celebratory buildings (i.e. monuments) at home and abroad, in both cases managing communication with different social groups. The Smithsons overdo Corbusian influence in Brazil and neglect that of the English

picturesque, while now and then sounding like old imperialists. However, they honestly acknowledge the pioneering, exemplary nature for better or for worse of built Brazilian works vis-à-vis European efforts, belying later historiographical surveys.

Redefining Collectivity: Latin America as the Cradle of 60s Revolution

Ana Tostões, IST-Tecnico-University of Lisbon

In the 1960's counter-culture emerges within the openness of architectural culture to the large scale of the territory, the complexity of the global city, the interdisciplinarity of the built environment, and, to that extent, the social responsibility of architects.

Arising out of the European welfare security realm, these actions, experiences or aftereffects summoned an intense interdisciplinarity between the world of technology and humanities, bringing sociology or anthropology to the centre of the discussion. This explosion opened the architectural discipline to the real world far beyond what had hitherto been the western beaux arts tradition. An unprecedented realism is confronted throughout the 1960's. From that moment on, Latin America definitely becomes the vanguard of this new era.

The beginning of a new historical path could be detected in Latin American architectural culture, as it has been pointed out on 'Latin American Architecture as a Historiographic Category' (Torrent, 2015). Writings and practices conducted in Latin-America focused on the search for a new ethic in architecture. whose aim was to encompass an original link between tradition and innovation. This vision goes beyond the buildings' science construction and envisions a wider cultural scope to the foundation of an ethical architectural approach to the real-world problems.

By relating the spatial and social nature of the

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MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION OF IDEAS

Peruvian Previ process (Turner coord.), this paper tries to identify the overlaps between Social Housing response and the thoughts on urban design considering the Metabolist Fumihiko Maki's 'theory on collective form' (1964) and his contribution on the outcomes of Previ - the only Metabolist idea actually built. It argues that Latin American revolution and Japanese Metabolist ideology during the 60's embodies a developing radical modernity, as well as a process of social restructure to fundamental human rights redefining collectivity. Finally it considers the impact on the Portuguese SAAL (1974-1976) experience questioning Siza's Bouça neighbourhood in Oporto.

Failed Industrialization: Housing Production Knowledge Export from the GDR to Chile 1971-73

Renato D'Alençon Castrillón, *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*Daniel Korwan, Technsiche Universität Berlin

Between 1971 and 1973, the trips of important East-German architects such as Gerhard Kosel and Roland Korn show the strong political will towards exporting GDR housing industrialization experiences to Chile. At the same time, the reception they had in CIMEC-CORFO and Universidad de Chile, as well as the invitation to take part in VIEXPO '72 confirm this interest also had a stronghold in Chile. However, heavy industrialization strategies as the ones used in the GDR didn't have much impact in the actual industrialization of housing construction in Chile, despite these attempts and the argumentation for it prevailing on both sides at the time.

The expertise brought to Chile by the GDR in the course of these events marks a critical station in a much larger and far more complex decentralized network of techno-political cooperation and exchange that was established between Chile and the GDR between 1971 and 1973. This network began to operate as part of a more general agreement regarding technological and scientific cooperation signed in 1971. It was eventually intensified and charged with content through ambitious individuals.

The political agenda regarding the right to housing was largely triggered by the fact that GDR had made this a constitutional requirement. Using the means of two public exhibitions in 1971 and 1972 the public was meant to be engaged in this topic.

At the same time, a bidirectional exchange of experts was established, trying to provide the Chilean side with the required expertise. This began with the idea of integrating actual technological artefacts that were no longer aiming at repeating the East-German approach to housing within the Chilean context but were rather aiming at an application of administrative knowledge to optimize planning and productivity.

Entusiasmos Compartidos: Transatlantic Architectural Exchanges in the Iberian and Latin American Architecture in the 1970s

Rute Figueiredo, *Université Rennes 2* Ana Esteban-Maluenda, *Universidad Politécnica de Madrid* Pablo Arza Garaloces, *Universidad de Navarra*

In the words of Álvaro Siza Vieira, written in a letter addressed to Oriol Bohigas in 1976, the empathy, exchange and comradeship between the Portuguese and Spanish architects were crucial 'to keep conscious the enthusiasm while waiting for a more favourable environment.' Coming from a long period of authoritarian political regimes, in those years both countries were building a new environment towards democracy, at the same time that the crisis of traditional conceptions of architecture was consolidating in the world.

Within a professional sphere that was looking for new theoretical and practical paths, those architects expanded their communication networks. Thus, it was reinforced the dynamic of exchange and encounter with the Latin-American architects, fundamentally based on a shared set of historical perceptions, political views and collective memories. In truth, these were years of 'entusiasmos compartidos' (shared enthusiasms), as expressed in the title of Oriol Bohigas' book of memories — one of the main protagonists and key agent in the promotion of an Iberian-Latin-American network of relationships in the architectural field since the 1960s.

The purpose of this paper is precisely to present and map the global panorama of contacts and exchanges between Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American architects and critics, during the period of Iberian transition to democracy. By looking at the interchanges published in the architecture journals of the both sides of the Atlantic and by analysing the numerous international meetings promoted in the scope of organizations such as, among others, the UIA — with Havana (1964), Buenos Aires (1969) and Madrid (1974) -, this paper aims to point out the main nodes of a possible network that, in this period, was particularly focused on the social and economic problems of the city and on the role of the architect as an active agent in the society.

The Urban Commons: Collective Actors, Architectural Agency and the City

Session Chairs: Irina Davidovici, *ETH Zurich* Tom Avermaete, *ETH Zurich*

Already in *Governing the Commons* (1990), Elinor Ostrom identified specific urban spaces and infrastructures as 'common resources', fostered by groups of citizens as a way of resisting top-down governance and commodification. Today, the notion of the 'urban commons' appears as an index for historians to examine a number of collective actors and operations that have gone beyond the dominant agencies of the state and the market to develop new urban spaces, no longer graspable through the dichotomy of public versus private territories. By sidestepping the intrinsic constraints of large-scale state and commercial parties, these initiatives genuinely innovated the design of 'common goods' as exemplified in architectural projects for co-housing, co-working spaces and communal urban gardens.

And yet, the closer examination of such collective interventions reveals a number of inner contradictions. Many have been carried out by a progressive bourgeoisie, for whom the exploration of social and political alternatives was ultimately elective. Their entanglement with existing social and cultural capital often propagated social inequality and reinforced hegemonic structures, rather than substantially challenging them. Another critique, of particular relevance to architects, highlights the insubstantial, improvised and transitory nature of many collective operations (squats, common gardens, political protests etc.). For those concerned with the city as a physical, lasting artefact, the urban commons only seldom acquired a requisite materiality.

This session explores case studies of collective operations (neighbourhood associations, co-housing initiatives, *Baugruppen*, etc.) that had a palpable impact on the material fabric of the city. These may operate outside the duality of state and market or, more realistically, as hybrids that make use of conventional mechanisms as levers to empower their own agency. What innovative urban figures have emerged as a result? How do they differ from equivalent configurations determined by centralised or speculative development? How is collective ownership encoded into the spatial and morphological structures? Additionally, we are interested in the role of architects and other enablers in mediating between the socio-political agendas of collective actors and existing codes, regulations and power structures.

Concrete Frame, Collective Domain: Factory Campuses in Detroit

Claire Zimmerman, *University of Michigan* Timothy Do, *University of Michigan*

Concrete frame manufacturing campuses of early twentieth-century Detroit were adjacent to the public domain, like the fields of singlefamily dwellings that surrounded them. The tartan pattern of Detroit's neighbourhoods-20foot fronts and 34-foot lots-echoed in the concrete factory (20-32-foot bays), a correlation that gave the city mat-like regularity. For the first half of the twentieth century, factory campuses were integrated into, and formed a crucial part of Detroit, Hamtramck and Highland Park. Pedestrian access was essential; the 'Motor City' was a worker's city. Architecturally, a ubiquitous structural system simultaneously held up the building and subdivided it into equal increments; large windows let in natural light, supplemented by top lights and clerestories. These expandable buildings were designed to maximize worker productivity through spatial design, the architectural version of welfare capitalism. They also provided sites where labour unions finally conquered the US auto industry. Protests surrounded them, invaded them, and occupied them. The walk-outs of 1933 were followed by a crucial sit-down strike in 1936 in Flint. The concrete factories saw the emergence of collective action in the auto industry after years of simmering labour unrest and suppression. Still-intact daylight factories—like the Murray Body Corporation—have become informal dwellings and urban collectives. They stand in sharp contrast to the windowless industrial plants that replaced them after WWII, conglomerates surrounded by massive earthen berms and security fencing, private enclaves in the city. This paper seeks to theorize a history of collective action and collective architecture in the workplaces of industry. Part of a multiyear project dedicated to 'mapping the concrete frame' and 'prototyping obsolescence' in the daylight factory, its outputs include a dynamic 'Nolli map' of Detroit's industrial

campuses, tracking change over time to show its impact on city dwellers.

Encountering a Proto-Anarchist Settlement in Baghdad: The Case of 'Āṣima

Huma Gupta, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

In 1955, the Greek architect Constantinos A. Doxiadis described what lay beyond the eastern flood dyke of Baghdad in anarchistic terms, 'This reminds [me] of an army without leaders, of a society without classes, without order, without pattern.' This neighbourhood— 'Āṣima—was the largest migrant settlement in Baghdad at the time and functioned as an 'urban commons' that would be celebrated by Colin Ward, but was targeted for erasure by the Iraqi state who had hired Doxiadis to design a national housing program. This paper examines this process through the architectural and urban professions that encountered rural cultivators who had been forced into debt bondage and eventually dispossessed from their lands leading them to migrate to Baghdad between 1920 and 1965. This mass migration resulted in uprooted peasants importing customary architectural forms, like the şarīfa, from the Shatt al-Arab marshes into the material conditions of the capital. The sarīfa denoted an antediluvian domicile of prefabricated reed mats laid over a barrel-vault shaped roof supported by a ridge pole and a wooden frame—a 'primitive hut'—which was both transient and intransigent in the face of material progress. The resulting neighbourhoods arose on state and private lands, culminating in an architecture of dispossession. This paper demonstrates how 'Āsima functioned as a 'space of exception' where the simulated architectures of statebuilding, macroeconomic theory, and architectural design were allowed to disintegrate. Specifically, it was produced by 'regimes of dispossession' that coercively redistributed resources like land, water, housing, and debt financing from dispossessed

groups to other classes (Levien 2018). And, yet, these very migrants would participate in overthrowing the Hashemite regime that sought to remake their life-worlds during the 1958 anti-monarchic revolution, only to be dispossessed once more by the new regime they brought into power.

Documenta Urbana: On the Rediscovery of the Commons in 1980s West Germany

Johannes Müntinga, RWTH Aachen University

At the time of its completion in 1982, the model settlement Documenta Urbana in Kassel was widely dismissed as a failure in addressing the then pressing challenges of urban renewal. Today, almost forty years later, it is slowly being re-evaluated and seen differently: as a pioneering project of small-scale collective housing and a critical reaction to mass housing complexes of the immediate post-war era. Built in connection with the seventh edition of Kassel's art festival Documenta, the settlement can be seen as a prominent example for the rediscovery of the commons in 1980s West Germany. It was designed by a diverse group of architects known for their community-minded approach, among them Herman Hertzberger, Otto Steidle, Roland Rainer, Hinrich and Inken Baller, Johannes Olivegren and the landscape architect Raimund Herms. As a group they rejected the idea of holding a competition and decided to work collectively instead, aiming to let collective action inform their architecture. Through its developer, the social housing cooperative Neue Heimat, Documenta Urbana stands - albeit somewhat awkwardly - within a tradition of satellite towns built in many West German cities since the end of World War II. When the demand for housing changed markedly in the late 1970s, Neue Heimat struggled to adapt to the saturated market. Documenta Urbana made use of this unique moment by challenging Neue Heimat's topdown way of working. This paper investigates how in turning away from the idea of mass housing, Documenta Urbana presented a

twofold critique: firstly, by aiming to reintroduce the idea of the commons into the architectural discourse; secondly by enacting an architectural statement, exploring new typological ideas of small-scale collective housing and new collaborative design processes. In approaching these topics, the paper looks closely at the built settlement itself and at how it broadens the idea of what an architectural project can be, from an individual invention to a collective enterprise that accommodates and gives impulses for the inhabitants' future actions.

Reinventing Hospitality as Urban Value: The Example of PEROU

Carmen Popescu, Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Bretagne

This proposal takes the bet to consider an immaterial value - that is, hospitality - as a concrete catalyser of change in the urban agency. A much-debated concept in the past few years, hospitality shifted from a philosophical understanding to an activist use. Rekindled in the context of the migrants' crisis, however it embraces a larger scope, aspiring to recreate common bonding. Recently, the French association PEROU (Pôle d'exploration des ressources urbaines) approached UNESCO for listing hospitality as an Intangible Cultural Heritage. This paper will examine how PEROU, a hyper-collective dealing with a series of collectives - architectural collectives, neighbourhood collectives, militant associations, etc. -, turned hospitality into a tool of urban change. Created in 2012 and directed by a landscape designer (who calls himself a 'gardener') and a political scientist, the association played an important role in spreading the use of spatial common resources, aiming to host precarious populations and/ or ameliorate their habitat and societal connections. While taking in account all the architectural interventions coordinated by PEROU, I will focus on the projects which consider the idea of hospitality

at the core of their approach. On the one hand, I will examine the agenda and strategies at stake in those projects, and, on the other hand, I will reflect on how PEROU shaped their understanding of hospitality all along their actions. Hence, I will analyse the scale of their interventions, from the urban dimension (the Calais Jungle, Paris d'Hospitalité, etc.) to micro actions (such as the 'Embassy' in Ris-Orangis, near Paris). But I will also question how PEROU's ephemeral actions - particularly declaring Jardins d'Eole in Paris as a place of hospitality - might operate as urban changers. In my attempt to differently situate the ongoing urban mutations, I am eventually interested to grasp the larger picture of a paradigm at work, that is, transgression as a manner of breaking the existing norms and reimagining the world.

twentieth-century concept of the metropolis as a productive clash of differences and creative innovation. I also argue that these contributions were limited. Construction groups only made up a tiny fraction of Berlin's population of the time, and their activities were largely confined to the window of opportunities during the first decade of the twenty-first century, when the local real estate market was comparatively relaxed. Most importantly, construction groups neither challenged hegemonic structures nor the system of capitalist housing provision.

Construction Groups and Urban Resources in Early-Twenty-First-Century Berlin

Florian Urban, Glasgow School of Art

This presentation will discuss the question how the activities of Berlin's construction groups contributed to the urban commons—that is, to which extent they contributed to the creation of urban resources beyond the state and the market. These construction groups—small associations of middle-class investors who built flatted multi-storey buildings for owner occupation-exemplify the contradictions of non-commercial goals in a capitalist housing economy. On the one hand, construction group members resisted top-down governance and the commodification of collective life. On the other hand they were comparatively privileged individuals with a high level of education and ample financial resources. I argue that Berlin's construction groups contributed to the 'urban commons' by promoting an idea of the city as a place of heterogeneous culture, intellectual inspiration and personal freedom. They also created architectural spaces for neighbourly encounters and non-traditional work-life arrangements. Their ideas reflected an early-

Public Health in the Early Modern City: Salutogenesis Through Architecture

Session Chairs: Mohammad Gharipour, *Morgan State University* Caitlin P. DeClercq, *Columbia University*

In 1979, medical sociologist Aaron Atonovsky coined the term 'salutogenesis' to refer to factors that promote physical and mental health and, in so doing, offered a new lens to consider the study of health beyond the mere consideration of death and disease (pathogenesis). Though rarely remarked upon in such terms in architectural history, in fact the practices of architecture, city planning, and landscape design have been employed over time and across diverse geographies toward salutogenic, or health-enhancing, purposes. For example, essential resources like water have been manipulated and distributed through infrastructure across and beyond urban areas to sustain basic health, and gardens, hospitals, and other therapeutic spaces have arisen within cities to aid healing and health-promoting practices.

Following the 16th century, architecture and urbanism went through significant changes during what is known today as the Early Modern era. This era witnessed major reforms in political, economic, and cultural institutions across the world from Europe to East Asia. Contemporaneous with these shifts, city planning and design were leveraged to improve public health in cities through a host of new public resources and construction projects, including urban infrastructure (e.g., bathhouses, irrigation system, roads), medical facilities, therapeutic landscapes, and places for gathering and entertainment. These ideas illustrate Gesler's (2003) four categories of healthy environments—built, symbolic, natural, and social—and convey how architectural history owes some debt to public health. Further, these urban interventions were justified by theories of health, healing, and benevolent medical practice. Thus, alongside novel built forms and ideas about the architectural qualities and resources essential to healing and health, a new constellation of legitimizing discourses emerged among those in power. Public health, then, offers a critical lens through which to view the function, use, and social significance of institutions and spatial practices within early modern cities—and of architecture itself.

This session seeks to situate the development of early modern cities within these broader trends by exploring the profound and complex ways that architecture and landscape design were conceived of and employed as instruments of health promotion in the development of urban infrastructure, institutions, and spaces in Western and Eastern societies in the 16th - 18th centuries.

City and Health: The All-Saints Royal Hospital of Lisbon (16th-18th Centuries)

Edite Alberto, *Universidade Nova de Lisboa* Joana de Pinho, *Universidade de Lisboa*

Founded in 1495 in Lisbon, the All Saints Royal Hospital was the first public hospital built in Portugal by royal initiative. Created in the context of the assistance reform carried out by King D. João II, it resulted from the merger of small, medieval hospitals, creating a more efficient institution in terms of hospital assistance and administrative functioning. The building, inspired by the Renaissance in terms of architecture, marked the city design, the public spaces and circulation, having become a symbol of royal power and urbanism until the beginning of its demolition in 1775. In terms of care, it was a meeting point for different forms of knowledge, from the European space and from the newly visited Asian, African and American continents. The understanding of the building, its characterization as a health space, including public health aspects, its social location and the appreciation of the role it played as a reference construction in the built heritage of the city of Lisbon and as an ordering element of the urban space, constitute the main objectives of the research projects 'All-Saints Royal Hospital' (a partnership between the Lisbon City Council and the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of Universidade Nova de Lisboa) and 'Hospitalis - Hospital Architecture in Portugal in the Beginning of Modernity: Identification, Characteristics and Context' (PTDC/ ARTHIS/30808/2017 - European Institute of Cultural Sciences Padre Manuel Antunes and ARTIS, School of Arts and Humanities, Universidade de Lisboa). Parting from the on-going research in both projects, in this communication, we intend to highlight the importance of the All-Saints Royal Hospital, the most relevant health institution in Lisbon and an innovative institution testing a new architectural model, which will play a major role in the urban design of modern Lisbon from the

16th century renovation to the 18th century reconstruction. Having been referred by countless individuals who visited the capital, the hospital stood out for its grandiosity and visual impact, and at the same time for its functional architecture, with particular characteristics and needs, considered since the first moment of its planning and design, while serving the city and promoting health. Thus, our proposal propose an innovative approach by discuss the characteristics of health and public health in Lisbon of the Early Modern Age, from the analysis of this hospital, its architecture and the building as an element of urbanism in the city. We will also consider institutions such as lazaretto and Health House, which cooperated with it.

Madness in the City: 'Mental Hospitals' and Public Health in Grand Ducal Tuscany, 1642-1788

Elizabeth Mellyn, University of New Hampshire

Contrary to scholarly views that once emphasized the squalor and disorder of pre-modern European towns and cities, historians have recently shown that, by as early as the fifteenth century, many cities boasted sanitation infrastructures and interconnected networks of institutions devoted to the management of health and hygiene. Absent from this new turn to the history of public health are histories of hospitals devoted solely to the care of the mentally ill that began to proliferate throughout Europe from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Histories of these institutions tend to remain tethered to teleological narratives that cast them as harbingers of greater humanity and progress or greater oppression and social control. They are neither. Using the rich records of Santa Dorotea, Florence's first mental hospital, I argue that these hospitals should be analysed in the context of an early modern region's constantly changing public health goals and challenges in concert with the

institutional and architectural infrastructures created to meet them. Established in the wake of one of Grand Ducal Tuscany's worst confrontations with bubonic plague (1630), Santa Dorotea's founders were profoundly influenced by the new culture of public health that had emerged to create a healthy city resistant to disease. They explicitly aimed to create a medical and Christian therapeutic space that would help keep streets and households clean and orderly while offering a 'salutogenic' space for the severely mentally ill. They were attentive to air quality, light, and climate control—environmental factors that figured large in contemporary medical theory but also to the healing effects of proper diet and Christian devotion. Far from being standalone institutions, the founders of early modern mental hospitals like Santa Dorotea saw them as integral parts of a larger public health infrastructure that served to promote and maintain a city's health.

Salutogenetic Karlsruhe: Architectural and Infrastructural Traces of a Health-Enhancing City Plan since 1715

Joaquín Medina Warmburg, Karlsruher Institut für Technologie Nina Rind, Karlsruher Institut für Technologie Nikolaus Koch, Karlsruher Institut für

Technologie

Searching in Germany for early case studies of a salutogenetic architecture, one finds striking examples in the 19th century, when hygienic and social reform approaches anticipated the achievements of modernism during the Weimar Republic. Thus, well-known cases such as the Karlsruhe Dammerstock-Siedlung (1929) by Walter Gropius with its sun-oriented row houses could be interpreted as an adaption of the 'Sonnenbaulehre' (an early 'Theory of Solar Architecture') postulated around 1800 by the physician Bernhard Christoph Faust. Yet the example of Karlsruhe shows that already since

the early 18th century the built environment -from the symbolic to the social level- had been shaped taking into consideration health and basic services. 1715 the decision was made to move in the symbolic centre of the court and its entire household from the historically grown, medieval Durlach to a barely six kilometres detached site determined by the environmental conditions of the forest and the floodplain. The plan of an ideal city based on the geometric scheme of circle and rays expressed the will to also improve fundamentally the living conditions of the citizens. Health-enhancing architectures and infrastructures played a central role and stood in a tension between centrality and decentralization, between control and self-determination. The focal point of the new urban complex was still the castle with its elaborate garden facing the city, including several water features. But in addition, the cityscape of Karlsruhe was shaped by model stone houses newly developed and arranged for citizens. They provided sufficient light and air for better home hygiene and enabled self-sufficiency through kitchen gardens and private groundwater wells. The first radial city plans show a clear arrangement of the parcels of land. With increasing population and expansion of buildings and infrastructure (housing, transport, market, wastewater, etc.), the building plots and gardens changed: they turned into polygonal, kinked and residual plots. Sophisticated designs were necessary to adhere to the sun symbolism of the original fan beam plan.

Architecture and Plague Prevention: Lazzaretti in the Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean

Marina Inì, University of Cambridge

This paper examines the role of architectural features of *lazzaretti* in promoting a salubrious quarantined environment and in preventing the spreading of the plague. From the sixteenth century onwards, *lazzaretti* were established as

a long-lasting protection against plague at borders and important trading centres of the Italian peninsula and the Mediterranean region. Merchants, travellers, and goods coming from infected or suspected lands were quarantined and disinfected inside lazzaretti. Each lazzaretto and the corresponding Health Office constituted a fundamental nodal point of a system designed to preserve not only the health of the city, region or state but also of Europe as a whole. Indeed, quarantine and its procedures were based on shared information concerning the state of health in foreign lands. Letters, bans, protocols and procedures were shared between Health Offices of different states in order to have a consistent system in the Mediterranean area. Architectural models too were directly and indirectly shared. Even though the institution hosted mainly healthy subjects and typically operated in times beyond plague outbreaks, the architecture was designed to provide a healthy and clean space. The aim was to avoid any plague outbreak potentially brought by the continuous trade interaction with infected and suspected regions. From the choice of the location, the presence of winds and natural sources of water, to specific architectural features, lazzaretti and their procedures stressed the importance of the quality of the built environment. By analysing different lazzaretti in the Mediterranean region and their administrative documentation, this paper argues that their architecture reflects early modern notions of contagion and plague. These ideas paid great attention to the senses and to cleanliness which are then in turn echoed in the architecture and in protocols of lazzaretti.

philanthropy concealed self-interest. 'Pride and Vanity have built more Hospitals than all the Virtues together, he asserted. Yet, in 1844, Dr Thomas Laycock's epidemiological report on the city's health correlated low-lying areas, poverty and reduced lifespan, writing: 'Wealth influences health, the two in inverse ratio to each other! This was not news: in 1727, York resident and King's physician Clifton Winteringham, documented recurrent disease across the city in Commentarius nosologicus, morbos epidemicos. Though Mead's Discourse Concerning Pestilential Contagion (1720), was reinforced by Lind's Essay on the Most Effectual Means of Preserving the Health of Seamen (1757) concerning disease transmission, the plight of poor people remained unaffected. Locating architectural projects in York's epidemiological history, this paper confirms Mandeville's assertion, arguing good health remained a luxury. Rather than products of disinterested civic virtue, some schemes masked political motives: the County Hospital's subscription stitched benefactors into the patronage network; the Asylum leveraged philanthropic building for social capital. The riverside promenade, racecourse and bathhouses were for paying customers; that piped water was for the rich; in 1844 poor people still drank contaminated river water.

Private Vices, Public Benefits: Health and Vanity in Early Modern York

Ann-Marie Akehurst, Independent Scholar

Dr Bernard Mandeville, provocative author of Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Public Benefits (1714) argued vice was a necessary condition for economic prosperity, and



Parallel Papers 05



Rethinking Architecture for Friars: Process and Spatial Solutions in the Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 1200 – 1500

Session Chairs:

Silvia Beltramo, Politecnico di Torino

Catarina Madureira Villamariz, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

Discussant:

Gianmario Guidarelli, Università degli Studi di Padova

The convents of the mendicant friars played a central role in the construction of the cities of Late Middle age and Early Modern Europe (1200-1500). The international character of the orders and mobility of the friars meant that new trends, styles and social practices spread rapidly throughout Europe: friars were as much 'missionaries' of social practices as they were of architectural or decorative ones. This panel poses the question of how to situate Mendicant architecture as a result of the product of spiritual, social and economic policies negotiated between convents and citizenship, between laity and religious.

This session (born from the international project 'The medieval city, the city of the friars', 2018 AISU Networking Call for Proposal and Medieval Heritage Platform, Politecnico di Torino DIST) focuses on the mendicant construction strategies. Architecture extends into the city and permeates the urban constructions. This strongly determines the conception of the construction of convents as result of the interaction of several factors related to the will to self-representation, the progressive affirmation of order and the utopian ideal of poverty, always conditioned by the search for economic support and by the local conjunctures.

Conventual buildings as a result of a long process of becoming, as part of an organic and additive approach to architecture. The architecture of the new orders was by definition work in progress moulded to their changing institutional character and the conventualisation of their settlements. 'Friars used a combination of all these possibilities: their architecture had an amoeba-like mobility that responded to requests by donors for altars and chapels as well as to broader changes in social, economic and spiritual circumstances' (C. Bruzelius, Preaching, Building, 2014).

From the Periphery to the Centre: The Architectural Presence of the Observant Franciscans in the Province of Brescia, Italy

Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck, Leiden University

This paper explores significant transformations in the architectural presence of Observant mendicants from the late medieval to the early modern period, taking as its case study the Observant Franciscan province Brescia. The earliest (Conventual) Franciscan foundation in Brescia was by St Francis in 1220. In 1422, St Bernardine of Siena initiated the first Observant Franciscan establishment, Sant'Apollonio, which grew to include several Observant houses outside the city's walls during the late medieval period. These were all damaged during the sack of Brescia in 1512 and later demolished in the 1516 Spianata, when all structures outside the gates were razed (improving military defensibility). A new Observant foundation, San Giuseppe, was then built right at the heart of Brescia from 1519-80. Already before the Spianata was announced in 1515, however, the Observants were preparing this move. Therefore, I first analyse the possible ideological (apart from practical) motivations for this move to the centre, considering for example pastoral incentives and rivalry with the centrally located Franciscan Conventuals. I then consider how these motivations for centrality are expressed by the features of the convent and church of San Giuseppe itself. Highly relevant in this respect is a cycle of mural paintings in the second cloister which offers views on all the Observant convents in the province of Brescia. As I argue, these architectural vistas constitute the culmination of a decade's long process that promotes the Observant Franciscan architectural presence of this province, at the Brescian Observant headquarters and in the city centre. These frescoes can be interpreted in the light of the conflictual separation from the Milan Observance in 1472 and Venetian geopolitical policies. Moreover, they also communicate a fascinating dialogue between peripheral and centralized architectural presence that can

contribute new insights to more generalized tendencies in Observant housing at the time.

A Fortress Fuori le Mura and a City Church: Architectonic Forms and Functioning of Two Dominican Convents in Medieval Sandomierz

Justyna Kamińska, Jagiellonian University

In 1226, in Sandomierz, which was then the second (after Cracow) most important town in Lesser Poland, a Dominican convent was founded. Soon, the friars erected a church of St James – absolutely innovative at the time (made of bricks, with rich ceramic decorations and an elongated choir). The Tartar invasion of 1259 put an end to the functioning of the settlement surrounding the church and in 1286 the city was moved to a new place. Prince Leszek II the Black gave the Dominicans safe grounds within the city walls for a new cloister but the friars, instead of moving there, added a defensive tower to their church of St James, A new complex was built only in the second half of the 14th century and its church (of St Mary Magdalene) obtained rather conservative, non-mendicant forms, referring to the local collegiate church. For the following decades, an unusual situation of two Dominican convents functioning in parallel in a relatively small city could be observed. The goal of the paper is to analyse how the changing spiritual and social rules and economic conditions influenced the functioning of both convents within urban structures between 1200 and 1500. In the first years of their presence in Sandomierz, the friars had support from princes and bishops, and the church of St James was a place of two significant cults - of St Hiacynth and of 49 martyrs. That probably influenced their decision to remain in the location outside the city walls, threatened by further attacks. At St Mary Magdalene, on the other hand, the Dominicans had to face the initial distrust of the citizens, who feared losing valuable grounds (already in the 15th century though, they became the main benefactors of the

convent). Moreover, it seems that the differences between the old monastery favoured by the elites and its 'bourgeois' competitor were reflected in the architecture of both convents.

predicatorum in Ravenna, and through the comparison with other coeval examples, the individuation of the typical formation process of the western conventual building.

The Formation Process of the Conventual Built Organism: *locus fratrum predicatorum*, Ravenna (1269)

Alessandro Camiz, Özyeğin University

On March 2nd 1269 Philip from Pistoia, archbishop of Ravenna, in presence of a large group of people, ordered the commune of Ravenna to assign a substantial urban area for the construction of the church, the convent and the cemetery of S. Domenico. The document describes the properties to be expropriated, in particular the church of S. Maria in Gallope, a turreted palatial complex whose construction dated back to the Byzantine times (VI century), and a number of houses. The centrality of the place, previously linked to the exarchal residence, thus assumed a new character oriented towards the settlement of the Dominicans in Ravenna.

Subsequently, on October 19th of the same year, the municipal council ordered the *extimatio* of the area, and in a meeting discussed the construction modalities, including the property's boundaries detailed description, the construction of a new road and the project's financial details.

The interest for this case study relies on the double *instrumentum*, archiepiscopal and municipal, testifying a *concordia inter clericos* and *laycos* that, yet written in the communal statute for over 50 years, assumed here a specific programmatic character. The reconstruction of the pre-existing and subsequent topography of the site, based on the emphyteutic lease documents (V-XIII cent.), superimposed on the rectified redesign of the Gregorian cadastre, allowed an in-depth study of the design models of the *locus fratrum*

Continuity and Change and the Nature of Late Gothic in Ireland as Manifest in Certain Architectural Processes in Franciscan Friaries in Connacht, West of Ireland 1400-1600

Lynda Mulvin, University College Dublin

Late Gothic Friary architecture represents a flourishing in Ireland and a certain group of more remote monasteries beyond the River Shannon in Connacht of Franciscan and Dominican Orders demonstrate the coming of age of Gothic design. The 'pre-Reformation' period 1400- 1600, was one of change which characterises shifts in architectural process and monasteries of Connacht are viewed here as a set, demonstrating the nature of cultural change. This paper examines certain premises in the architecture of the Friary regarding the nature of Gothic as an international style, as it is manifest in Ireland. It is proposed here that the spatial arrangement and change in function in the mendicant monastery required alterations in the form of the building type, to adapt to site restrictions of city living. Two distinctive aspects of the Orders of Friars were the commitment to a mendicant life, and the mission to reach salvation to the poor. The friars were members of the international community in which mobility of individuals was common. General characteristics shared by friaries: the church building developed from a two-cell structure to a broad nave, to accommodate large numbers of people attracted by the friars' reputation as preachers. The chancel containing the choir and high altar remained relatively small. Friaries at Galway-city, Kilconnell, Claregalway, Moyne, Rosserk and Roserrilly are examined with a focus on Quin Abbey. Quin is a valuable control, situated on fortifications walls of an earlier castle, which provided limits for the new building. Rebuilt in 1433, it was necessary to prioritise each element within a confined space according to location and function. The cloister is the central feature to the north of the church, itself a narrow, nave-chancel type with a projecting transept. This gives us a 15th century view of architectural monastic blue-print as applied to the Orders in Ireland.

This paper examines the planning of Franciscan Friaries in Connacht, Ireland, where Old Gaelic traditions were known to have continued to the Early Modern Period, combined with a strong element of the Old English present as patrons of the Franciscans, particularly in Galway.1 It is demonstrated that these large religious houses were constructed in a manner organized to match the spiritual activities of the Franciscan Order, from the first foundations 1230 to the Act of Banishment in1689. 2 A consideration of liturgical function, architectural usage, and practices in the friaries adds further detail relating to continuation of artistic traditions from Gaelic Ireland and the coming of the new trends and styles from continental Europe. Here the role of both the Irish and Old English patronage, the role of the Franciscans themselves in the shaping of

distinctive character of the Franciscan Order in architecture is visible in many of the great Franciscan Frigries of Connacht.

Late Gothic Friary architecture represented a flourishing in Ireland and in Connacht, Franciscans demonstrated coming of age of Gothic design and a shift in architectural process: two distinctive aspects of the Orders of Friars: 1) commitment to a mendicantlife 2) mission of salvation to the poor influenced the architecture of the friary observed in these remote Irish monuments. The pursuit of salvation and centrality of the Christian message ensured economic and artistic energy was dedicated to buildingFranciscan friaries. Essential changes to the monastery plan are observed here in the





Fig. 1. Friary Locations after Rev Canice Mooney; John Speedes Map Galway,1610(private collection)

a) making of more compact space in which friars lived, worked and prayed which created both private and public spaces with dual functions, as friars were members of the international community in which mobility of individuals was common. General characteristics shared by friaries: the church building developed from a two-cell structure to a broad nave, to accommodate large numbers of people attracted by the friars' reputation as preachers. Fifteenth century view of architectural monastic blue- print as applied to the Orders in Ireland was seen at Quin. As functions changed over time defensive nature of the sites were also significant and b) towers were added constructed over crossings as seen at Claregalway. The circulation also intensified and with the influence of lay buildings and c) the corridor becomes a more connectingelement in design making the cloister to a more service/access corridor. This is significant as seen in the plan of Rosserik. Other details of ornament and design are reflected in the d) arrangement of windows to demonstrate alterations in practices

internally lighting the acitvies with larger more flamboyant triple window arrangements. The functional shift inside in lay design also has a bearing with the useof the oriel window brought to bear on these elements.

Architectural Evidence: select Friaries

Franciscan Friars followed the Rule of St Francis of Assisi (d. 1226), renouncing property and preaching the Word of God in the community. The Order OFM made an appearence in Ireland c. 1230 with large friary buildings located in town centres, such as Galway, in the west of Ireland. The simple plan with large long rectangular barn-like church dominating the monastery adjoining the cloister, had an emphasis onpreaching, as function followed form in these buildings. This dominant feature of the plan indicated single building campaigns in the friaries patterns and trends emerge when gathering the plans and visual details of the selected group of six friaries: Quin,Kilconnell, Claregalway, Moyne, Rosserrily and Rosserk.

Contextual Discussion

It it possible to consider if the architectural plans of the friaries points to a perceptibleshift in the function towards more administrative and domestic duties. It is also suggested that the cloister serves as an intermediary phase and is put into service more as an essential element of circulation within the monastery plan as the ideal method of arranging blocks of rooms around a loose courtyard plan the courtyard is inaddtion at Rosserk forr example. In this regard, domestic and secular architecture served as an influence and as with domestic house plans, there is the eventual elimination of the cloister/peristyle courtyard replaced by the courtyard with internal corridor as means of circulation. Furthermore this effects the positioning and focus onthe church. When considering the plans of Quin, Claregalway, and Rosserrily together there is certainly a different emphasis on building types

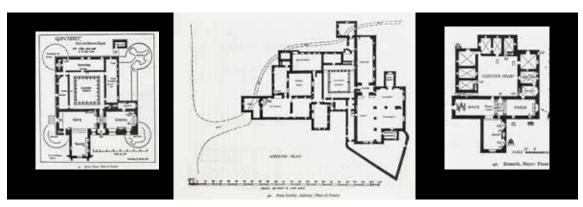


Fig. 2. Quin, Rosserilly and Rosserk Plans compared

and the domestic andsecular buildings which appear to dominate. Other changes appear to be the narrow nave-chancel church with crossing tower as a standard and the additional chapels as transpet and or as hall-like space with two and three light windows as seen tightly located in the wall spaces at Quin.

A long period of functional evolution of the St Gall plan where the church was the largest structure and the centre of focus with the cloister on south side of the church was defined by the great Benedictine and subsequently Cistercian abbey plans moved the Church towards a more centralised position dominating the monastery. Every aspect of life considered and mirrored by a building and a function and an activity as suggested by the building. Each building had a specific function. The secular activities of the monastery were seperated out from the religious functions. The dormitories above the cloister gave onto the church for night time prayers. The Chapter house was located on the opposite side of the cloister.3 The architecture of thefirst Irish Cistercian monasteries was simple, modular and free from non-essentials.4 Each Cistercian monastery had a church, chapter house for meetings of the community, dormitory, refectory and kitchen. Mellifont first church was completed inIreland 1157. The claustral building demonstrated an ordered plan with very distinct quarters and separate divisions for lay and religious activities.

In a significant departure, plans at Franciscan friaries at Rosserilly and Quin demonstrate a major shift in focus: the cloister as centre of

plan. This pattern is manifest as new friaries as a change in functional usage linked to a variation in the day-to-day activities of the friary, which become far more simplistic with a preachingdimension as a new pastoral requirement, as the friary being run more like a manorialhouse. Texts such as Hugh de Douilly's De Claustro Animae and Durandus of Mende's Rationale Diviniorum Officiorum made an analogy of the monastery as a metaphor for religious life: linking different monastic values to each part of the building with a rational and aestheticlinked to the teaching of the doctrine. Copies of these volumes were located in Youghal Franciscan friary library. 5 Simple preaching and teaching spaces marked this new direction for the Franciscan Friary, such as the extra long north chapel additionally located in Claregalway.

The emphasis is less on the church as the largest and most dominating element of the plan and focus shifts instead to the cloister as courtyard. Simpicity remains paramountspace extended through piecemeal addition of single nave aisle such as at Quin, usually on the opposite side of the cloister and occaional blocking up of the transept and aisles. The cloister range also could provide space for a scriptorium. Quin is a

valuable control as the earlier fortification walls provide the limits of building or boundaries into which the new building is constructed. Most significant this form of architecture resulted in new reuiements aon circulation and for ease of access, the courtyard becomes the main centre of focus and circulation. Living arrangements



Fig. 3. Medieval Domestic plans: Oriel Windows/absence of corridor: RosserilyRothe House, Kilkenny

develop over timeas the communities contracted over time. Other principle functions: necessity of working to administer to the sick; subsistence farming- for the storage of grain and even acting in a role as central depot for the local economy. These functionsbrought new levels of administration.

It is possible to review every element as it is incorporated within the controlled space of Quin abbey situated int he confines of the castle, the space used to the maximum ability and function and to assess what were the priorities in deciding building, location and function. The cloister is the central feature to the north of the church. The church is narrow and nave-chancel type with the projecting so called transept although appears more like a chapel is clearly a necessary building and projects beyond the boundary walls of the existing castle. This gives us a fifteenth century view of architectural monastic blue-print as applied to early modern day usage in Ireland. Other activities and function at upper story level was a library and reading room/seminar room and dormitory. The north range was where the kitchens, scullery, refectory were located and the east side contained sacristy and chapter room. Also the Chapter room was on the ground floor of east range between choir or sacristy and refectory and was principally used for Plenary meetings of the community.

The late medieval/early modern period applies to a post-Norman phase in Ireland correlates to changes within the structure of the church as well as societal changes which are reflected in the ever increasing power centres such as Galway, and destinations cities Dublin, Bristol, London and Rome. This is matched with an equal reassertion of monastic life in more remote regions such as Connacht. These friaries act as a perfect microcosm of the religious and secular communities, reflected in major changes in plan as practices are defined. The churches are narrower and knownas a type of nave-chancel church, a subsequent addition of chapels and the broadening of transept, there is a combined hierarchy of window spaced along the new walls of two to three lancets which imply a different arrangement and practice:

parallels drawn from the English Manor house, such as Grevel house at ChippingCamden c. 1430 projected oriel window (Latin *oriolum*), creating a gallery as a vantage point in the house to observe festivities, see here at Rothe House, Co.

Kilkenny and several towerhouses in Galway town (See Fig. 3). A parallel is drawn with the arrangement of the windows in the friaries and their positioning. A certain hierarchy of the tracery windows in the 15th century chapels is observed: one, two, three light tracery windows placed side by side. The three bar window is interpreted here as a simplified version of the oriel. A more flamboyant gradation and variation of examples are found in churches of Claregalway and Quin, such as trefoils with cusps as seen in examples at. Kilconnell has examples of flowing perpendicular tracery at the east window. The domestic ranges tend to have flathead twin lancets, sometimes with

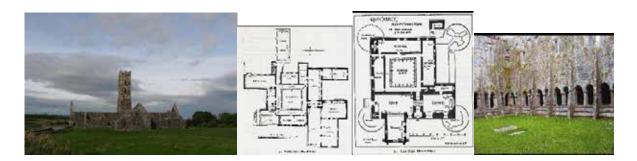


Fig. 4. Rosserrily, Moyne, Quin Friary Cloister/ Tower/ Plans

cusped details or hood-mouldings, as at Moyne.

The friary bell-tower remained the single most significant point of reference for the Irish Gothic monastery as it is visible in the landscape from miles around and acting as a multi-purpose reference point with a message of defence as core. As an architectural element it becomes a symbolic and characteristic feature of the Francicsan friary for example at Claregalway, which became as much a part of the new buildings as an alterations to building fabric in existing buildings. The empahsison defence is significant trend across Ireland during sixteenth century, the abbey becomes a fortified manor house, such as Quin. Comparisons are drawn with Cistercian abbeys at Bective, Co. Meath, which was altered for domestic use in the 1540, while Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow had a large tower erected at the crossing of thenave and transept as living quarters.

Regional assessment and characteristics

Regional details and elemental architecture are asked of Connacht friaries at Quin, Kilconnell, Claregalway, Roserrilly, Moyne and Rosserk. The artwork produced to adorn the simple altar had complex iconography where meditation was encouraged with a surviving image of St Francis from Ennis, Co. Clare, The saint with stigmata following his vision.6 These descriptive details are highlighted when examining each friary in turn:

Quin (Clare)

Quin built c.1402 by Sioda Cam MacNamara.⁷ An earlier monastery existed on the site, burned out in 1278. A Norman castle built by Thomas de Clare, situated within the walls of the friary.8 In 1433 the Franciscan friars were established at Quin. The south curtain wall and parts of the fortress walls to east and west were incorporated into the friary. Other parts of the west and north were used as foundations for the corresponding walls of the claustral buildings.9 The east range vaulted over its lower story included a chapter room. The windows in the domestic ranges single, twin andogee hooded finished with vine leaf carvings. The west door was multi-moulded within a hooded frame.¹⁰ It survived several attempts at closure and 1760 the monkswere expelled, the last Friar, John Hogan, remained there until his death in 1820,11

Kilconnell (Galway)

The friary lies on the north side of Kilconnell village, founded by William O' Kelly, Lord of Uí Mhaine, on the site of St Conall's early monastery (Fig. 5)12 In 1414 it was reconstructed and the principal benefactor died in 1420. The Friary adopted Observantine reform in 1464.13 The church contains a nave and chancel. Fr Donatus Mooney described the dressed limestone of western doorway at Kilconnell, splayed outwards with pointed arch and decorative hood-mouldings. Several building phases can be identified between 1450 and 1475 when south aisle and transept and tower were erected.¹⁴ The south aisles and transept open off the nave and chancel respectively are probably late fifeenth additions as is centrally

placed three storey tower along west part of cloister and domestic ranges to the north. Notable tomb niches which demonstrate elaborate tracery of a flamboyant nature. The friary was suppressed in 1541. 15

Claregalway, (Galway) 16

This friary is located in flat farmland on the north bank of river Clare in the medieval borough of Claregalway.¹⁷ This Franciscan friary was built by John de Cogan I in 1252.¹⁸ The well standing nave-chancel church is fourteenth century with later north aisle opeened off the nave with four pointed arches and transept of fifteenth century date.¹⁹ The slender tower more or less square in plan is of three storeys.²⁰ The chancelis lit by six pairs of lancet windows in opposing wals and by a large traceried window in east gable.²¹ Evidence of continuing occupation beyond, evidence of garderobesand a watermill the graveyard several headstones.²²

Rosserrilly (Galway)

This enigmatic pile of ruins has caught the attention of many travellers and the Rev. Richard Pococke described its siting in as breathless terms as seeing the ruins at Palmyra for the first time: He says 'we crossed the Ross river into the County of Galway and saw the large Abbey of Ross.'23 Comprising a church and conventual buildings, fifteenth century church consisted of a nave and chancel with a four lightedpointed arch and a traceried window in east gable. 24 Crossing tower five story crenellated with a possible rood loft above its low chancel arch. The nave has a south aisle off which is a double transept containing two chapels. From beneath the tower a pointed arch doorway opens north into the cloister around which are arranged a sacristy and conventual buildings in two storeys.²⁵A second courtyard lies to the north with bake house to the north, refectory to east and buttery to west, a stone built water/fish tank and a watermill, dormitories over the kitchens, a buttery and refectoryalong with the latrine.26

An account of Rosserilly by Donatus Mooney (1617)

'As to the church of Rosserilly, it is, indeed, a beautiful edifice; and the same may be said of the monastery, which, although often garrisoned by the Englishtroops during the late war, is still in excellent preservation. Cloister, refectory, dormitory, chapter house, library, and lofty bell tower, have all survived the disasters of that calamitous period. From the rolls of the Order we learn that in1647 a chapter of Franciscans was held here... "

Moyne (Mayo)27

The friary was extensive²⁸ in plan than Rosserrilly, b.1460 the church has a transept with two chapels, and extending to west end of the church is a chapel in position of south aisle but wider than the nave.²⁹ This creates a hall like space.³⁰ It has an arcadeof three bays towards the nave. The tower seems a later addition.³¹

Rosserk (Mayo)

In 1440 a small compact house of the Franciscan Tertiate was constructed.32 The church, a simple rectangle with a transept with two chapels. The tower tall and slender is supported on wide arches. Pococke said: 'here where the tower is built exatly on the middle point of gable ends.' Tracery of complicated design occupies theeast window and transept. 33 The cloister court has three ranges, with lower vaulted rooms in the lower storey. Stairs lead to all floors with a dormitory on east, refectory and kitchen on the north and a hall and dormitory on the west linked by an entance passage. Each range is a complete gabled structure arranged around the courtyard.

Conclusion

Elements of friaries Quin, Kilconnell, Claregalway, Rosserily, Moyne, and Rosserk demonstrated shared and distinctive features of the Franciscan architecture regionally. Friary

Architecture was about ritual and display, as a backdrop of the display of power. This closer fusion of parts is visible and on view in the reworked Franciscan friary such as Quin serving to further demonstrate these points of visual culture in friary architecture. Quin is a valuable control, situated on fortifications walls of an earlier castle, which provided limits for the new building. Rebuilt in 1433, it was necessary to prioritise each element within a confined space according to location and function. The cloister is the central feature to the north of the church, itself a narrow, navechancel type with a projecting transept. This gives us a fifteenth century view of architectural monastic blue-print as applied to the Orders in Ireland.

Notes

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Architectural Strategies to Enlarge Conventual Buildings: The Construction of Porches in Portuguese Mendicant Churches (13th-15th Centuries)

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Mendicant convents changed substantially throughout time. In Portugal, like in other European countries, the friars first establish themselves in small existing churches, but a few years later they started to build their own churches and conventual spaces, which they successively enlarge and reformulate over the centuries. The continuous enlargement of the conventual buildings was motivated by the growth of both the friars' communities and their followers and it was made possible by the support of different donors. This process of continuous expanding affected not only the buildings (church and conventual spaces) but also their precincts and had an important impact on the urban space. Within the process of enlargement of the churches, the friars also build porches in the main and/or in the lateral façades to create space for the increasing number of people that attended their religious services. But besides this, the mendicant porches also served to carry out several political and social activities, thus becoming spaces of great importance in the cities. In the following centuries, these medieval porches were destroyed, not only by the architectonic and artistic transformations that the mendicant buildings suffered between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries but also by the restoration interventions that took place in the early twentieth century. Therefore, today there is no material evidence of the friars' porches, but the several references to these spaces founded in the documentary and cartography sources allow us to virtual reconstitute some of them, offering a renewed perspective on the architecture of the mendicant orders and their relationship with the city.

The mendicant porches: construction and architectonic features

In Portugal, the reference to the mendicant porches in the medieval sources is scarcer. Nevertheless, some of the thirteenth and fourteenth documentation mentioned their existent, especially regarding the large and prominent porches of the Franciscan convent in Santarém and the Dominican convent in Oporto. Additionally, the seventeenth-century chronicles of both the Dominicans and the Franciscans also refer the existence of porches in their medieval churches, providing a brief description of their physical characteristics. Frei Luís de Cácegas, the Dominican chronicler, for example, refers that in the seventeenth century - when he wrote his Chronicle - there were still porches in the 'oldest' Dominican convents, such as in Guimarães, Porto and Aveiro, and that in other convents, such as in Lisbon and in

Santarém, there were still traces of its existence. The Franciscan chronicler, Frei Manoel da Esperança, also mentioned the existence of some porches in the Franciscan churches, namely in Guimarães and in Santarém. Besides these textual references, some of these porches are still represented in the sixteenth to the eighteenth-century cartography of these cities, which can give as a more detail vision of their architectonic features.

In this scenery, the best documented cases are the porches of the Franciscan and Dominican friaries of Santarém and Guimarães. In Santarém, the Dominican friars settled in 1221 in an old church located at the top of a rugged hill northeast of the city walls, near the residential neighbourhood on the riverbank. Shortly afterwards, in 1225, alleging that they were too far from the city, they moved to the



Figure 1 Location of the mendicant convents in Santarém (mid-13th century): 1. Trinitarian friary (1207); 2. Dominican friary, third and final location (1225); 3. Franciscan friary (1242); I. city walls; II. castle; III. main gate (Leiria Gate); IV. extramuros expansion (Ribeira). Map by the author

Santa Maria Madalena church outside the Manços Gate in the other side of the city, and then moved again to other existing church (Nossa Senhora da Oliveira) located further to the north, near the Leiria Gate. It was in this place that they built the first monastery of the Order of Preachers in Portugal. The initial building works went on at least until 1257.3 During this period, in 1242, the Friars Minor settled on the other side of the Leiria Gate, near to the Trinitarian Convent with the support of King Sancho II and started to build their monastery. In Santarém, the two mendicant monasteries, located on the opposite side of the early extramural expansion zone, framed the northern entrance to the town (Figure 1).4

Between the second half of the thirteenth century and the begging of the fourteenth century this area suffered several changes, gaining a central character within the city. Accompanying the transformation of these area, the two mendicant monasteries expanded their areas and enlarge their buildings.⁵ Their enlargement strategy included the construction of porches around their churches, which also contributed to the arrangement of the public space adjacent to the convents.

Although actually there are no material evidence of these two porches, their existence is documented in the textual sources. In both cases, the seventeenth-century chroniclers of



Figure 2 Convent and porch of São Francisco in Santarém. *Planta da cidade de Santarém, depois de 1759* (partial view). Source: Direção-Geral do Território, CA 394-IGT (image by DGT).

both the Dominican and the Franciscan order refer to these specific porches. The porch of the Convent of São Domingos is referred to by Frei Luís de Cácegas. Regarding the small size of the primitive temple, this chronicler says that this problem was supplied through the construction of a 'large, tall and capable porch build to protect from the sun and the rain.' According to him, in the early seventeenth century, there were still traces of the existence of the Dominican' mendicant porches in Santarém and in Lisbon, and they still exist untouched in other Dominican convents, such as the ones in Guimarães, Porto and Aveiro.⁶

The Franciscan chronicler, Frei Manoel da Esperança, also refers to the porch of the Convent of São Francisco in Santarém saying that considering the devotion of the town habitants, such a large church was not enough, and it was necessary to extend to the wide space in front of the church through the construction of a large porch, which was surrounded by pillars, reaching the stairs that go down to the *Campo da Feira* and to the Convent of the Santíssima Trindade (Figure 2).⁷ The first references to this Franciscan porch dates from the early 1280s, shortly after its

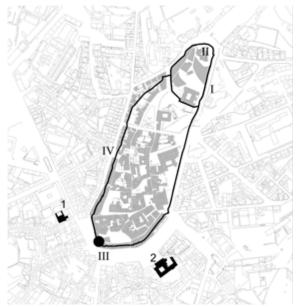


Figure 3 Location of the mendicant convents in Guimarães (14th-15th century): 1. Dominican friary (1325); 2. Franciscan friary (1325); I. first city wall; II. castle; III. main gate (São Paio Gate); IV. second city wall. Map by the author

construction (or enlargement) that gave rise to a conflict between the Franciscans and the Trinitarians.8 Later, in 1408, there was other reference to the problems between these two communities, related to the water that the porch' roof poured into the property of the Trinitarians.9 According to Frei Manoel da Esperança, this porch was built to receive the lay followers that attended the Franciscan sermons and didn't had space in the crowded church. Because of this, the Franciscans occasionally had two preachers: one inside the church and other outside, in the porch. According to the order chronicler, this still happened at the beginning of the seventeenth century.10

In the oldest know map of Santarém that dates from the eighteenth century, these two mendicant convents are represented. However, the Dominican's porch was previous demolish and isn't represented in this map. In the Dominican seventeenth-century chronicle, Frei Luís de Cácegas says that by then there are only vestiges of the convent's porch. Thus, besides the description made by this friar, there is no other reference to the configuration of the porch of the Convent of São Domingos, neither

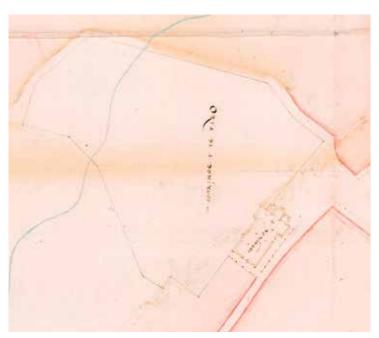


Figure 4 Convent and porch of São Domingos in Guimarães, 16th century. Planta "De Guimarães" (partial view). Source: Mappas do Reino de Portugal e suas conquistas collegidos por Diogo Barbosa Machado. Acervo da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional - Brasil

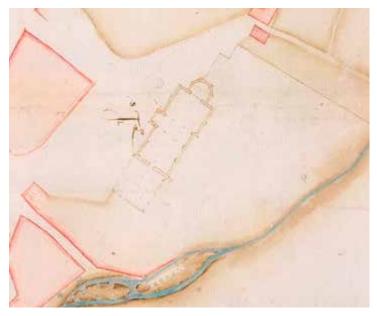


Figure 5 Convent and porch of São Francisco in Guimarães, 16th century. Planta "De Guimarães" (partial view). Source: Mappas do Reino de Portugal e suas conquistas collegidos por Diogo Barbosa Machado, Acervo da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional - Brasil.

to the convent himself, considering that the church was totally demolished between 1880 and 1883 and the monastic dependencies completely disappeared between 1964 and 1966.11 On the contrary, in the eighteenthcentury map of this town, it is clear both the configuration and the size of the porch of the

Franciscan convent. As we can see in this drawing, the Franciscan porch doubled the size of the church. It had approximately both the same length and width as the 'interior church'. According to this drawing, it was supported by pillars in one side and by the precinct wall on the other side and occupied a considerable





Figure 6 Convent of São Domingos in Guimarães (main and lateral facade)

area in front of the church, as Frei Manoel da Esperança attested (Figure 2).

In Guimarães, the two mendicant convents also had porches. In this town, the Dominicans arrived in 1270 on the county' request. João Pirez Arrudo, a town dignitary, offered them some houses on the southwest edge of the lower town, and at the beginning of the following year they began building their church. The Friars Minor, who had been established in an isolated area in the surroundings of the town since 1217, moved nearer the town in that same year and settled in the *Hospital do Concelho* (County Hospital) whose grounds extended to the river.

In these town, the two mendicant houses were built almost simultaneously near the limit of the extramural neighbourhood to the south of the upper town. Some years after the beginning of the construction works, the area was finally surrounded by the city walls - built between the reigns of King Afonso III and D. Dinis - leaving the two mendicant houses on the outside. The war between D. Dinis and his son D. Afonso IV, which took place between 1320

and 1324, led to the siege of the town, and the two monastic buildings, which were close to the walls, served as a support for the attack on the city. For this reason, after the conflict was over, the king ordered them to be relocated. Mem Rodriguez, head bailiff of the region, was charged with marking the distances between the new buildings and the walls and demolishing the old ones. The new Convent of São Francisco was thus built at the lower end of its grounds, while for the Convent of São Domingos new lands were bought and new routes agreed with neighbours and the Council (Figure 3). 13 The construction of these new mendicant buildings occurred between the end of the fourteenth century and the begging of the fifteenth century and both of them had porches.

These convents are both represented in the sixteenth-century cartography of this town, where we can also see their medieval porches. These had different characteristics. The Dominican porch was a couple of meters wide and extends from the main facade to the end of the south wall of the church (Figure 4). On the contrary, the Franciscan porch covered a large



Figure 7 Convent of São Francisco in Guimarães (main facade)

area in front of the church with about half its size (Figure 5). Both these porches are mentioned by the priest Torcato Peixoto de Azevedo at the end of the seventeenth century. According to this priest, the long Dominican porch covered the main and the lateral doors of the church (Figure 4) and was supported by stone columns, while the Franciscan porch covered a large area with access to the convent's main entrance, the portaria and the Terceiros Chapel and it was built with stone. 14

Religious, social, politic, and commercial uses

As the two mendicant chroniclers refer, the main reason for the construction of these porches was in fact, to expand the church's capacity to receive the lay public. But besides this, the mendicant porches also served to carry out several political, social and commercial activities. In Santarém, for example, it was in the Franciscan porch that King João II was crowned in 1477.15 And in Lisbon, it was in the Dominican porch that the oath of the little prince D. Miguel took place in 1499 and that the King D. João III was crowned in 1521. On these occasions, the porches were extensively

adorned with very rich tapestry.16

However, in Portugal, according to the existent sources, it was probably the porch of the Convent of São Domingos in Oporto who had the greatest political, social, and commercial activity. In Oporto, it was the Bishop D. Pedro Salvadores who invited the Dominican friars to settle in the city. In 1237 he sends a letter to the provincial of the Order of the Preachers asking them to build a convent in his city.¹⁷ To this end he offers them a church, several houses and a piece of land in front of the Sant'Ana Gate, the main entrance to the city. At the same time, the bishop was trying to prevent the Franciscans from settling in the city, and shortly after that he also created problems to the Dominicans, by forbidding them to preach, confess and celebrate mass in the city. In 1238, Pope Gregory IX was called to intervene in defence of the friars and in the following year, with the same intention, King Sancho II declared himself the founder and patron of the Dominican convent. The construction of the building finally started between 1239 and 1245, against the will of the bishop.

Thus, in this city, the Dominican convent occupied a strategical location in front of the main city gate that in the following centuries was transformed in the main central space of the city. This fact, associated to the friar social and political influence, led to the use of their porch to several activities. The porch was built by the convent prior, Frei Pedro Esteves, probably in 1320. It was a large porch that covered the long lateral facade of the church on the northern side and its main entrance on the west, including the Nossa Senhora das Neves Chapel.¹⁸ According to Frei Luis de Cácegas, this porch was initially built to receive tombs because there was no more space inside the church, but it also served as a space to social, administrative and commercial functions.¹⁹ In this porch several Council and Court session took place because there were no other space in the city that could house a large amount of people.20 It was also in this porch that the meetings of the Confraria dos Sapateiros of the Hospital of São Crispim and



Figure 8 Convent of São Francisco in Santarém (main facade)

São Crispiniano took place.²¹ And it was also frequented by merchants due to its central location. Unfortunately, today there is no material evidence of this porch, neither of the monastic dependencies that were destroyed in a fire in 1832, nor of the church that was totally demolished in the 1935.

In this same city, the Franciscan convent that was founded in 1233 in a lower area, near to the Douro river, also had a porch covering the *Portaria* and it also served for the Council sessions and for the population meetings.²² Although today this building still exists there is no vestiges of the medieval porch.

Changes, destructions, and demolitions

Throughout the centuries, these medieval porches experienced several changes and damages, and ended up being completely demolish. First of all, they suffered from the several damages affecting the mendicant convents. In Lisbon, for example, the Dominican convent was for several occasions affected by floods that caused considerable damages on the building, and according to the order chronicler, Frey Luis de Cácegas, the Lisbon floods of 1384, particularly affected the Dominican porch, with the rising water totally demolished the porch walls.²³

Simultaneously, the mendicant porches also suffered from the several architectonic changes that their convents experienced throughout the centuries.²⁴ In Lisbon, for example, it was the large transformations that both the Dominican and the Franciscan convent experienced in the early sixteenth century, that determined the total disappearance of their church porches.²⁵ In the sixteenth-century cartography of this city, there are no longer evidence of any of these mendicant porches.

Finally, many of them where intentionally demolish in the following centuries. According to Torcato Peixoto de Azevedo, for example, part of the porch of the Convent of São Domingos in Guimarães (the one covering the main entrance) was dismantle in 1689 because it blocked the sun light from entering the church, making it too dark.²⁶ The rest was demolished in the following centuries and today there are no vestiges of this Dominican porch (Figure 6) neither of the one of the Franciscans in the same city (Figure 7).

The two mendicant porches of Santarém have also disappear. As mentioned before, the Dominican porch no longer existed in the early seventeenth century, and the monumental Franciscan porch survived until the extinction of the religious orders. After this, the convent was transformed into a military barrack and

experienced several transformations. In the nineteenth-century cartography we can still see part of the medieval porch area in front of the church, which is also represented in the city's eighteenth-century map. Nevertheless, this porch completely disappears between the military interventions in the building and the twentieth-century restorations that took place in this convent and completely transformed the main facade (Figure 8).

Conclusions

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In Portugal, the existence of porches in the mendicant churches has been completely ignored by the historiography. This could be due to the existence of few sources that make reference to their existence and to the fact that they were totally demolished in the following centuries. Therefore, it becomes very difficult, not only to date them accurately, but also to know in detail their architectural characteristics. However, they are of great significance for the interpretation of the architecture of the mendicant orders. But there are also extremely important for the understanding of the role that these friars played in defining the public space adjacent to their churches.

The porches built around the mendicant churches (and also around the *portarias*) essentially served the religious function. They were built to increase the capacity of the churches to receive the lay public and to serve as burial ground. However, they soon began to have other functions, whether political, judicial, social, administrative, or commercial.

The construction of these semi-enclosed spaces was part of the strategy of enlargement of the conventual buildings that the friars developed throughout the centuries. This, consequentially, gave origin to some urbanistic conflicts, as we have seen in the case of the Franciscan porch in Santarém. The porches normally covered the main facade of the churches but in some cases, they extended to the lateral walls. Although, we do not have enough information on the configuration of these architectural elements, in Portugal, based

on the studied cases, we can identify a difference between the Franciscan and the Dominican porches. The first were large porches located in front of the church that double the interior space of the church (Santarém case) or extended it in half its size (Guimarães case) and the former had a smaller width but extended from the main facade to the lateral wall of the church (Santarém, Guimarães, and Oporto case) covering both the main and the lateral entrance. In these three cases, as the convent churches were oriented with their head to the east, they ended up with the lateral facade facing the city. For that reason, they all open up lateral entrances to the church creating a more direct access from the town to the church, and due to the importance of these transversal doors they also were covered by porches. This could be explained the fact that the Dominican convents had smaller width porches extending to the lateral facades of their churches, but we can also not forget that the Franciscans give more importance to the preaching outside the church, thus, consequently they will build larger porches to accommodate a larger number of followers.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

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DESIGN AND MATERIALITY

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- 14 Torcato Azevedo, *Memorias Ressuscitadas* da antiga Guimarães, 1692 (Porto: Typographia da Revista, 1845), 336 and 342.
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- 22 José Ferrão Afonso, A Rua das Flores no séc. XVI: Elementos Para a História Urbana do Porto Quinhentista (Porto: FAUP, 2000), 34.

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Urban Visions

[Open Session 1]

Session Chair: Richard Williams, *University of Edinburgh*

Saba George Shiber's New Arab City: 1956-68

Aminah Alkanderi, Kuwait University

The new Kuwait City, a leader in a now familiar tabula rasa approach to urban planning among the Arab Gulf States, was built over the old town in 1951. Such transformations gained popularity in the second half of the twentieth century with the escalation of the oil economy that led to the building of new cities on existing sites in the Arabian desert, including cities located in present-day Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Bahrain. When he accepted the post for Chief Engineer in charge of the Department of Public Works at Kuwait Municipality, the Palestinianborn American-planner Saba George Shiber documented the first Arab oil boom in Kuwait City, criticized the contemporary urban scene across the Arab world, and provided guidelines on how these 'new' Arab cities should be constructed. Although he died early in his career (1968) before he could witness the results of his groundwork, his preliminary plans and publications influenced the actual plan for Kuwait City specifically and the state as a whole as well as the rest of the Gulf States.

While greatly influenced by the American practices and theories of planning-architecture, Shiber also guided American practices that were building in the Arabian Desert for the first time. His twelve years of experience designing, building, and reviewing the urban scene in the Arab world endorsed the gradual translation of the universal model of urban-architecture into new architectural vocabularies that were

compatible for the desert climate and environment and reflective of the Arab urban heritage. When prominent American design and construction firms, such as The Architects' Collaborative (TAC) had the opportunity to build in the Arabian Peninsula from the 1960s through to the 1990s, they used his study as a reference. These firm's prior knowledge, design, and construction technologies were not compatible with the new region and climate. Therefore, new-found on-site expertise initiated major design and construction innovations applicable to large-scale buildings and urban planning. This paper traces Shiber's influence on TAC and other international practices in the Arabian Peninsula during the first and second oil construction booms and also highlights Shiber's original translation of the concept of collaborative design.

Building the East Mediterranean Port City of Izmir After the Fall of Cosmopolitanism: Dutch Architect Dudok's Contribution to the Turkish Architecture Culture

Fatma Tanis, TU Delft

Interactions between European experts and Turkish dignitaries largely influenced modern Turkish architecture, particularly in the first half of the 20th century. In recent decades, scholars have widely acknowledged the exchanges between the German-speaking world and Turkey. Building on the existing research, this study highlights the contribution of Dutch architect Dudok to Turkish architecture. The focus of the paper is contrary to the

conventional modernist view, and instead shifts the emphasis on the perspective of a port city. Dudok's unrealized project for Konak Square is not only insightful for modern architecture but also provides an invaluable take on designing port cities.

The shift in the perception of space and definition of place in port cities is a direct consequence of global history. After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the waterfronts of Izmir became primary sites for the application of the modern planning ideas. However, the question of how to build in port cities after the fall of cosmopolitanism remained overlooked during the 20th century. Instead, how to build a modern country was the main focus of the government. The top-down modernization failed to understand Izmir and its changing dynamics. This process resulted in the rapid transformation of Izmir's waterfronts as a site for housing development. This experience stands as a testimony for the importance of reading port cities from a holistic perspective.

In response to the complex dynamics of Izmir, Dudok's project for Konak square is used to understand the design process of a port city. In conclusion, this paper points out that Dudok's attempt is a crucial reminder that the waterfront is a Janus-faced area. Understanding the post-cosmopolitan era highlights the characteristics of Izmir's waterfront. It suggests that decision-makers and designers must equally consider the perception of port cities both from the land and sea. Dudok's solution for Izmir in the mid 20th century also shines a light on how to design in port cities today.

The National Water Carrier as a Cypher for Competing Agendas of Development and Settlement in Israel

Ziv Leibu, *Technion IIT* Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, *Technion IIT*

By 1951 Israeli modernizers had at their disposal 93 percent of the nation-state territory, and about 700,000 Jewish migrants they had to settle after deporting a similar number of Palestinians during the 1948 civil war. The ensuing population dispersal task was assigned to the nascent state Planning Division that has drawn significant scholarly attention. But apparently, studies of its seminal Israeli masterplan render a partial perception of the Zionist settlement project. These studies fail to address the competing agendas of various agencies that controlled major infrastructures above and below ground.

This paper questions the role of the National Water Carrier (NWC, est. 1952-1964) and its largely invisible infrastructure in the mechanism of Zionist settlement. New archival materials and STS (Science, Technology, Society) methodologies assist in revealing the formative tension between an urban and a rural coalition, and between two methods of settlement—one dispersing population in a hierarchical order, the other occupying the land by means of a comprehensive agricultural spread. The first successful yet tense convergence of these agencies was in the flagship settlement of the Lachish region (est. 1954-1955). This was also a prime destination for the NWC that carried water from the green north to the southern desert in the order 'to make the desert bloom.'

In the mid-1950s these coalitions implemented two spatial networks in Lachish. The centralized network of the Planning Division devised a hierarchical settlement scheme around urban centres that were placed on the main traffic arteries. The economic logic of this scheme ensured efficient circulation of agricultural products in the area. By contrast, the hydraulic network of the agriculture division

followed the needs of mass irrigation. This network, which was promoted by Zionist agencies that pre-dated the state, linked scattered agricultural units into semi-autonomous spatial and statutory entities. This system prioritized a total-area development that undermined the hierarchical regional layout of state planners.

Common accents: Professional practices, indigenous voices and vernacular urbanity in Kutch, India

Ambrose Gillick, University of Kent

This paper describes the practice of a nonprofit development collective based in Kutch, India and their work with indigenous communities in the wake of the 2001 Gujarat Earthquake. Examining the emergence of three settlements - Hodka, the home of a seminomadic indigenous community of craftspeople, Junawada, a long-standing settlement of pastoralists and Sadar Nagar, a relocation settlement of peoples from central Bhuj, Kutch - as they developed in the aftermath of the earthquake and over the following decade, this paper maps the relationship between indigenous building practices, the professional knowledge of third sector development agencies and the broader socio-political context. This paper describes how architectural languages and spatial forms common to the communities were articulated by a synthesis of informal and formal architectural and building practices in the context of emergency redevelopment strategies, and how these practices were moulded over time towards normative indigenous ways of being urban. It argues that in so doing, design practitioners invited the development of spaces of resistance, in which communities could begin to re-articulate situated and individual visions of communal life which resisted hegemonic expressions of modernity in favour of existing hybrid modernities common to the communities. Likewise, it argues that by making an opening

for professional knowledge in indigenous life, communities gained for themselves access to institutional power, professional systems and resources otherwise denied them through normative development models. This reciprocity is legible in the urban and architectural fabric. As such, this paper suggests, what is visible in the redevelopment of the three Kutchi settlements are common spaces that serve competing visions of urbanity and citizenship. These new spaces derived from synergies that emerged through the active co-production of architectural, urban and spatial form by lay and professional people concerned with the formation of a viable indigenous urbanism for the twenty-first century.

Heterotopias

[Open Session 2]

Session Chair: Jorge Correia, *University of Minho*

Ephemeral Sceneries in the Beginning of the Eighteenth-Century Rome: Nature and Culture

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In Rome, during the first decades of the Eighteenth century, ephemeral sceneries designed for ceremonies that took place about every month often included a sculptural group on background architecture, overhanging a natural element. It is worth noting that a significant representation of the nature was linked with a building illustration, and that finally the nature itself buried this representation. Indeed, just few hours after that those sceneries had been unveiled in a public place, in the middle of the night, there were spectacularly burned by pyrotechnical effects. The cooperation of so many trades such as architects, sculptors, pyrotechnists, or even masons to create an event with such a short life time amplifies the paradox.

Despite the engravings, it is difficult to apprehend those constructions which, often attached to a façade, were taller than the buildings in the cramped squares they occupied, and spanned almost the entire width of this space. Those ephemeral sceneries did modify temporarily the place. Moreover, some permanent architectures were modified to welcome those ephemerals like that of the Palazzo Colonna, support of Chinea's sceneries. Those settings were finally potential models for permanent and emblematic projects, like that one of the Fontana di Trevi. Similarly to the ephemeral sceneries, this fountain is attached to a façade, in front of which there is a carved group overhanging a rocky mass, all immersing a place so narrow. The impact of those ephemeral buildings on the permanent architecture lead to the concept of a 'monumentalisation' of the ephemeral.

Finally, the effects of the ephemeral sceneries on the sense, creating this *je ne sais quoi* that characterize the indefinable nature, is representative of practices of the age of reason. It is about to focus on the temporality of this event too, also characteristic of the Enlightenment experience. The study of these sceneries will allow approaching the notions of space and time through the relationship nature/culture at the dawn of the Enlightenment in the pontifical state.

'Diporto degl'afflitti Ospiti in ampia spaziosa loggia da vaghi fiori, e da fresche verzure a foggia di continuato Bersò tutta ricoperta all'intorno, ed insieme da molte alle verzure, ed a fiori fraposte Statue vagamente adorna¹, is a part of a description of an ephemeral scenery representing a building for *salubri bagni*, done in 1761 for the *Festa della Chinea*, on the *piazza*

dei SS. Apostoli in Rome. This report shows the mix between natural elements in a cultural context. Earlier in this century, the natural elements represented in this kind of scenery were feigned. What is the reason for such grow in importance to the point where real natural elements are ultimately used in these sets?

Ephemeral sceneries were frequent in Rome; they took place approximately every two months, to commemorate religious or profane events. For example, under the pontificate of Benedict XIII (1724-1730), there were five beatifications, three canonizations, Chineas' celebrations, one Giubilei, and many sacraments². They were created to support inside or outside public ceremonies. The plastic characteristics of these sceneries were particular; they were created according to the place that hosted them with the purpose to completely modify it. In this presentation we will focus on the outside settings, in relation to the open space, because it included more nature than the inside ones. Indeed, outside sceneries were huge, bigger than buildings, and they generally mixed representations of natural elements with fake architectures. To illustrate our proposal we will base our argument on the outside ephemeral sceneries in general with a focus on the Chinea ceremony that took place during the first half of the Eighteenth century, by following a chronological logic. The Festa della Chinea, was a festival held in until the late eighteenth century, in which the viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples paid his homage to the pope by offering a white horse that formed part of a procession through the streets of Rome. The procession ends with two days fireworks of ephemeral settings organized by the Colonna family as grand contestable of the kingdom of Naples. Due to their monumentality and attractive character as they were burned at the end of the ceremony, those events were very popular in whole Europe. Actually, it is necessary to take the spectator into account including the act of performance to analyse them.

The term *culture* can be perceived as all the

means implemented by man to increase his knowledge, develop and improve the faculties of his mind, in particular judgment and taste, with an importance granted to the idea of civilization that was novel in the Eighteenth century3. During our time of study this term did not existed in this acceptation, the closer word that implicated this idea could be erudizione. As for the term of 'nature', it will be understood as the essence of thing as terrestrial environment. In this sense, it will be understood as creative principle, Natura naturans, and not as passive, Natura naturata. The opposition between these two notions today defined as nature and culture has been present since antiquity, but it seems that there was a change of paradigm in the Eighteenth century.

The aim of this contribution is to reveal a link between the development of an intellectual momentum in the city of Rome and the choice of materials -real or fake- in the creation of those ephemeral sceneries. Indeed, a significant amount of works was devoted to these objects of study, and other works to the intellectual roman impetus during this period. The idea would be to combine these two types of works. Marcelo Fagiolo dell'Arco, with his books L'effimero barocco (1978) and La festa a Roma (1997)4 recounted the most important history of ephemeral design of the 17th and 18th centuries. In a complementary approach Hiske Lulof worked on the different steps to elaborate the Chinea, the biggest and most regular celebration of those years, mostly documented, in the essays' collection The power of imagery, essays on Rome (1992)5. His work, together with the one of Mario Gori Sassoli, Apparati architettonici (1994)6, are the main sources for the history of those particular sceneries. Moreover, the collective publication Performativity and performance in baroque Rome (2015)⁷, underlines the differences between *mise en scène* and *performance* that introduce the intellectual link between nature and culture, which could be represented on those settings. Indeed, Rome was not excluded to the *Lumières* momentum, as shows Heather Hyde Minor in her book <u>Culture of architecture</u> in Enlightenment Rome (2010)8. Therefore, the idea is to analyse the plastic representations of those sceneries in order to understand what it could be intended by the relationship between nature and culture in Rome, during the beginning of the Eighteenth century.

The heterogeneous characteristics of those projects are crucial elements to take in account in order to prune this field. Moreover, investigating the question of the relations between space, place, time and timeless in those sceneries allows further insight in this study. Finally, the relationships between nature and culture lead toward the hypothesis of the development of an anthropocentrism prelude during the Enlightenment.

Part. 1: The heterogeneous nature of the ephemeral sceneries

Because of their spatial character and their frequency, the ephemeral designs participated to the visual identity of Rome. The commendatory of those sceneries were generally the persons who paid the project: the pontifical state for religious commemorations or rich families for political events. Most of the time they choose the program with an architect who decided the form that the scenery will adopt. The creation lasted between one and three months and required numerous contributors as masons, painters, and sculptors among others. Each kind of setting corresponds to the material transcription of a particular event such as diplomatic birth, death or wedding, a canonization, or even regular celebration as sacraments, or the Chinea. All the previously quoted festivals are extensively described in the archives of the Popes' families, in the diarii either of Rome or of tourists, and less systematically represented in etchings; except for the last one, the Chinea. We can actually find an abundant contemporary literature on the Chinea, where the sources are principally in the Colonna's family archives. This is explained in the one hand by the attractive nature of the work's item mostly a visual material that has reached us today9. On the other hand, because of the original and

monumental character of the settings, they created a real world apart.

To get an idea of the shape of those ephemeral sceneries, it could be mentioned the first Chinea of 1722, named II tempio di Gaiano, invented and shaped by the architect Alessandro Specchi. Bigger than the city's palaces, like approximately a four floors building, this design for the festival was oversized, like the other ones¹⁰. A feigned architecture representing a temple was overlooking a natural element, a rocky mass, also feigned. Thus, the architecture representing the human action, as the mythological feat, was coupled with nature, namely vegetation and a mix of materials in their natural form. Lights illuminated the whole scenery with torches; fountains of red and white wine were disposed on either side of the decor, as it is written under the etching. As it was above mentioned, fire closed the show. Finally, a mix between nature and culture is not just represented: the fire and the wine are real natural elements. In the same way, the monumentality of the construction underlines the virtuosity of human being, understood as his culture, and this one is not just represented by the feigned architecture.

Moreover, the five senses were solicited during those festivals: the materials as the fountains implied the touch, while lights and smokes solicited the smells because of the candles' perfume¹¹. Furthermore, the lights and the monumentality of those settings touched the sigh, as the music for the hearing, as we could read under the etching 'suonatori di trombi e altri istrumenti.' Finally the wine solicited the taste. In this way, the performance as an experience might be added to the relationship between nature and culture in the sense that a natural part of the human joins to a cultural event.

Finally, time and space of those festivals mark an incongruity. Indeed, space, here Piazza Colonna, small as every square in Rome at that period, and time of those ephemeral sceneries were reduced, bringing them closer to the theater. On the other hand their engravings travelled through Europe, as the engraver wrote 'darne al mondo colle stampe un picciolo contrasegno, esponendo al guardo di tutti il disegno della machina de fuochi d'artifizio'. They knew a real posterity too, as we could experiment here because without those documents, the research could not take this extended form. Thus, those settings created for an ephemeral time touched, for the lucky ones who attended, both the senses and the intellect, and contributed to the identity of the Papal State under all the Europe and over the centuries.

Part. 2: Space, place, time and timeless: a question of relations in those sceneries

These festivals were a singular time in the citizens life. They were an instructive moment for the population, because of the mythological themes represented, and because of the political or religious events commemorated. Indeed, generally the scene represented on the ephemeral designs was described on papers circulating under the public, which were read too12. The ephemeral design invented by the painter Sebastiano Conca for the birth of the infant of the Spain celebrated the 23 September 1727 piazza di Spagna, combined these two aspects, actual and historical. The myth of Tethys, goddess of the sea, was represented. She was delivering Achilles to Chiron on the goal to educate and lead him to the Gloria temple. The setting adopted the above described shapes of the Chineas' festivals. In the same way, there was a temple, here round, on a rocky mass that took the entire width of the square. The action took place in the middle of the natural element, and the characters were bigger than the humanscale. Thus, to commemorate a political event, and to instruct the people about it too, a mythological scene was represented in a setting that awaked the senses, as it was previously mentioned. In this way, those festivals allowed educating the population about their culture, associated to contemporary events that created the history, through natural elements that make up the human being.

Those settings were interesting for the sensitive and cognitive impact on people, but on their apprehension of the space too. Indeed, two passages that allow the population to pass from one side of the square to the other were integrated into the just described scenery. They formed two caves within the rocky mass and created as much real openings as visual effect. In this way, people shared a closed place, because of the monumentality of the setting in exiguous squares that created a world apart, in the same way as an urban space. Thus, the environment of those festivals was between closed place as the theater and open space, as celebrations in a garden for example. The ephemeral designs for the Chineas' festival that took place between 1722 and 1728 were particularly interesting to question this notion of environment. For instance, the one of 1726 called Mercurio e l'Idra, invented and designed by the architect Alessandro Specchi represented a high rocky mass on a wall of the cortile of the Colonna palace. Two vedute were painted on both sides of this rock. They materially obstructed the arches of the cortile wall, as they opened them visually towards a bucolic view. Furthermore, in the middle of the rocky mass, a cave high like the wall was represented with a rearing horse inside. Even if the word 'theater' was used to describe those festivals' sceneries, the settings created an ambiguous relationship to space, between real and feigned, and not just feigned as on the theater. Here, threshold states could be noticed, between an open horizontal space and a closed vertical place due to the majestic height of the set.

This notion of space associated to the sensitive impact on people and their participation that those sceneries allowed and encouraged, involved the tightness between time and timeless. To go on, the cave pattern above cited, recurrently represented during the beginning of the century, embodied the origin of the world. Thus, those settings had double spatiality and temporality, horizontal as an actual space and time; and a vertical as the monumentalization of the time and space. There was a perception, following which Rome,

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that with those ephemeral designs, was placed as the matrix of the occidental Europe, as a place of memory and as a place of novelty. To summarize, natural elements were represented, taking a huge portion of those sceneries, the settings stimulated sensations that touched physically the spectator, cultural history was represented with the myths and the actual events. In those festivals, nature and culture were in fact communicating. The architecture could also be added that materialized the order of the world according to Vitruvius. It is common to characterize the structural shape of architecture in confront of the nature as shapeless. In the same way, architecture might represent a time, a cultural time, and nature is timeless. Therefore, there is a tension between nature as the representation of a cyclic time and the representation of classical architecture as the beginning of the civilization. To move forward in time, the ephemeral designs for the Chineas' festivals between 1728 and 1731 looked as theater sets. Already in the antiquity, theatrical settings represented nature by their location, but the difference with those sceneries is that the spectator can move on those settings and participate to the action. This one takes place in their common and quotidian space, thus nature seems to be more taken as essence of things than as ornament.

Part. 3: Relationship between nature and culture: towards an anthropocentrism

The *Chinea's* ephemeral designs for the year 1733 were the only ones, to our knowledge, that represented one architecture, a triumphal arch, under a natural element. It is generally the contrary; the architecture is above the natural element. Despite this particularity, these settings concentrated every quoted previously element. The architect Nicola Michetti invented both; there were as architectural element, as a natural one, and the myths of Apollo and after Jupiter and Minerva were represented. Moreover, the triumphal arches took the form and the function of real: citizen, horse-drawn carriages and all the types of transports could cross over them. The curiosity of these designs is that they changed as the directions of the quotidian trajectory that, for some hours,

induce to pass under the set, as the perception on the urbanism, creating a garden upright. Moreover, the monumentality of the sceneries and the sensitive effects that they created made the question of attention at the center of the mechanism of those ephemeral designs. There, the function of those sets is closer to performance than mise en scène. In fact, it seems that it is the case for all the other decors described above and created after them. For instance, the sceneries were uncovered during the night; the light's effects lead the attention to be oriented. Moreover, the quality of the design was jugged according to the ornaments' resemblance to the reality that means that the immersive property of the scenery was highlighted. To move forward in time, mostly painters designed the Chinea's settings from 1738 to 1745. Even if the settings looked more like paintings than sceneries, conditions of perception were included. Thus, beyond the unique point of view involved by the latter designs, the establishment of conditions for the perception, equal for all of them, induced a show, a performance as an experience, direct to human perception.

During this century, no matter the literati, the experience, as the one cited above, is the founding principle of arguments and reflections. Indeed, the development of the empiricism since Descartes put the focus on the observation and experience that changed the vision of the nature, and of the human condition too. During this century, literati understood that the nature is in movement and that this movement is perceived by the affect¹³ and, more or less, cognitively. With these festivals' representations, there can be noticed different kinds of experiences. There is the phenomenon of the time: antique and present architectural time, season's time with the vegetation, ephemeral time with the fire. People did the experience of affects and of monumentality. They did the experience of the grandiose of the human virtuosity too. As Berkeley said, things live because things are perceived¹⁴. Indeed, the second design created for the Chinea festival of 1749 represented the Herculaneum theatre, which was a recent archaeological discovery invented by the

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art?

architect Ennemond Alexandre Petitot. In addition to educating the population about new discoveries, the goal was to 'ravvivarne la memoria che s'era cancellate dall'oblivione di tanti Secoli trasandati' as it was written under the etching. This memory was under the ground; indeed, the archaeology was a new science, consisting in researching, physically, the culture in the nature. Even if little by little appeared a distinction between art and science, which were since ever linked, the experience of both of them was associated to nature. The question could be: were the development and empowerment of sciences by

the observation of the nature that enriched the

The nature, as it had been understood above seemed to take an equal part to culture in those sets; but in fact, human controls the nature shown. For instance, fire is speared and stopped by pyrotechnicists. Furthermore, there was not a slowing contemplation of the nature as the enlightenment man did15, because of the short time performance, and because these ephemeral designs were a human creation. In addition, the architecture, materially on the top of the nature, is a space created by human to survive in it. It overhanded the natural element. Whereas, beyond all those symbolical observations, human nature is taken into account to reveal those effects, that made those designs closer to the human nature and sensibility than never. Thus, it might appear that human is the link between nature and culture, as on the representation than on the values that they conveyed.

Conclusion

By analyzing those ephemeral sceneries we can propose the hypothesis that Rome plays the game to link nature and culture, and not the one of the reason firstly, common idea of the Enlightenment. Indeed, David Hume said that the reason is the experience, so the reasoning is reduced to the experience¹⁶. In this way, the spectator appears to be on the center of the spatial and material organization of the design, involved both by his senses and by his intellect. To go further and to reverse what was said

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previously, according to Nietzsche our world is the ashes of countless living being; the ashes of those sets, natural element, could contain all the nature and culture represented on them.

Notes

- 1 Mario Gori Sassoli, *Apparati architettonici per fuochi d'artificio a Rome nel Settecento*, (mostra Roma, villa Farnesina, 1994), Appendice C.
- 2 Anne-Lise Desmas, *Le ciseau et la tiare*, (Rome : Ecole française de Rome, 2012), p. 225
- 3 The first was Baldassare Castiglione, *Il cortegiano*, 1528
- 4 Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco, *L'effimero barocco*, (Roma: Bulzoni, 1977-78), and *La Festa a Roma* (Torino: U.Allemandi, 1997)
- 5 power of imagery
- 6 Mario Gori Sassoli, 1994
- 7 Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (ed.), *Performativity and performance in baroque Rome*, (New York: Routledge, 2015)
- 8 Heathter Hyde Minor, The culture of architecture in enlightenment Rome, (Pennsilvania State: Pen. Univ. Press, 2010)
- 9 About the etchings see: John E. Moore, 'print, salami and cheese', *The art Bulletin* 77, n4 (1995), pp. 584-608
- 10 For all the sceneries taken in example, see Mario Gori Sassoli, 1994 quoted above
- 11 For the candles smell see 1992: Hiske Lulofs, 'Heavenly images in the churches of Rome, tage scenography for Forty Hour Devotion during the seventeenth an eighteenth centry as a spectacular alternative to the street theater of carnival <, in Peter Van Kessel (ed.), *The power of imagery, essays on Rome, Italy & imagination*, (Sant'oReste: Apeiron editori, 1992)
- 12 See M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, 1977 for the descriptions of the action represented

13 Introduction to the sublime, 'Alto, eccelso / eccelente nella speculazione' in the Vocabolario della Crusca. For this literature about the sublime see Baldine Saint Girons, Fiat Lux, (Paris: La République des Lettres, 1993)

14 Berkeley, *Principes de la connaissance humaine*, 1710

15 Dominique Bouhours, Les entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène, 1671

16 David Hume, *Traité de la nature humaine*, 1739-40

Legitimation through the Ephemeral: Medievalist Ephemerality and the Politics of the Sabaudian Restoration, 1814-1834

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1814 marked the threshold of a new era in the history of the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Following the twilight of Napoleonic France, His Majesty Victor Emmanuel I of Savoy (1802-1821) triumphantly entered Turin on 20 May and the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) restored Sabaudian sovereignty over the mainland domains of the Kingdom. A drawing conserved in the Archivio Storico della Città di Torino depicts the neglected proposal for an ephemeral, domed Neo-Medieval structure on a high podium, designed for the urban celebrations organised in 1834 by the civic administration in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the return of the King. A temporary structure was indeed built as the centrepiece of the pyrotechnic show (21 May) and horse races (22 and 29 May) put on in Piazza San Secondo as part of the festive initiatives (17-29 May). Yet, the realised version, described by the Gazzetta Piemontese as a 'Temple of circular shape, in the Ionic order,' was distant from the Neo-Medieval iconography of the drawing to take refuge, instead, in deep-seated Neo-Classical imagery. Through the case of the unrealised Neo-Medieval project, this paper reveals the unexpected role of medievalist ephemerality in challenging the dominant classicist hegemony in Modern Italy. Countering the biases that read Italian revivalist architecture as an exercise in taste, it insists that Medievalism and Neo-Medieval architecture mirrored a calibrated political strategy against the backdrop of the Restoration and that medievalist ephemerality held a special place in communicating political notions to a wide audience.

A Temple and Roses: The Garden of Joseon Hotel with Oriental and Occidental Tastes in a Colonial Capital of Seoul Jung-Hwa Kim, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut Kyung-Jin Zoh, Seoul National University

This paper aims to describe a hotel garden as a contact zone where Oriental and Western cultures and tastes encountered. The paper draws upon a garden in Joseon Hotel in Seoul, Korea, that was constructed during the Japanese colonial era, the early twentieth century. By analysing drawings, maps, photos and literary works about the hotel garden, this paper examines how the garden played a role in forming the images and introducing the concepts of Joseon to Westerns. Vice versa, the West was similarly introduced to Koreans.

When colonisation of Korea began in 1910, the Japanese Bureau of Railway established not only train stations but also hotels to promote tourism and railway networks. Joseon Hotel is one of the hotels built by the Japanese Railway; its planning was a national and colonial project to form a base for the Eurasia railway network and a location for the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915, thereby promoting a meeting place for Korea and the world.

The hotel garden is arranged in two disparate areas: a part of a former Korean altar built in 1897 to serve as a site for the performance of the rites of heaven, and a rose garden newly designed in 1914. Structures remaining from the former altar such as a temple, gate and animal sculptures transformed historic icons into aesthetic objects without historicity and delivered an Oriental taste of Korea to Western travellers. The garden, meanwhile, introduced the Occident and exotic cultures through different roses from Belgium, a fountain, a tennis court and an orangery with palm trees, which were unfamiliar to Koreans.

Located at the forefront of a colonial capital where the movement of peoples and commodities occurred, the Joseon Hotel garden functioned as a place for transculturation, the introduction of plants and objects without ecological and social contexts.

Aldo Rossi's World Theatre: A Reinterpretation of the Political Space in Early Postmodern Architecture

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The World's Theatre (Teatro del Mondo) was a floating building designed by Italian architect Aldo Rossi for the opening of the Venice Architectural Biennial of 1980. It was an ephemeral structure at the borderline of art and architecture and one of Rossi's most eloquent examples of architettura parlante exemplifying his use of archetypes and symbolic culture to evoke the genius loci through local mythology and elements of collective memory. Rossi's World Theatre paved the way for a particular approach to postmodern architectural production that defined the cultural landscape of the 1980s, and its enigmatic display was almost a prediction of the onset of the post-Cold War era's 'new world order.' The essay proposed herein centres on the investigation of the political meaning of the 'World Theatre' in reference to the 1980s' Venetian Biennial of Architecture on Postmodernism and to texts by Rossi's contemporaries, Manlio Brusatin, Francesco Dal Co, Daniel Libeskind, Paolo Portoghesi, Vittorio Savi, and Manfredo Tafuri. It also proposes to explain Rossi's understanding of the notion of genius loci and his reinterpretation of the technique of architecture parlante, intended as the architectural tradition used by architects of the enlightenment to respond to emotional inner states through the application of conventional forms and images, and to research the sensation of body-movement, disembodied forms of abstraction, and mental states of Einstein's geometry of spacetime as a form of architectural experience. In this context, Rossi's project presents itself as an expression of the late twentieth century architects' return to the parlante tradition through a renewed interest in semiotics, ultimately reinterpreted in terms of the meaning of, in Jean La Marche's words, 'architectural object[s] [...as] signs of life, of the collective, of the present, and of the timeless.'

The World Theater (*Teatro del Mondo*) was a floating structure designed by Italian architect Aldo Rossi for the opening of the 1980 Architectural Biennial of Venice. It was one of Rossi's most ephemeral pieces and an eloquent example of *Architettura Parlante* executed to evoke collective memories through mythological images of the Venetian architectonic landscape.

The current paper discusses the project of the World Theater as it was described in Rossi's Blue Book no. 26 and in essays contained in the book *II Teatro del Mondo* by Manlio Brusatin, Francesco Dal Co, Daniel Libeskind, Paolo Portoghesi, and Vittorio Savi.

The Venice Biennial of 1980, titled *The Presence* of the Past, gave international exposure and

created a stage aiming at mass culture for the architectural style introduced by Arthur Drexler in 1975. This event, curated by Paolo Portoghesi and Maurizio Scaparro, consisted of a layered display centered on ideas of pluralism, communication, and historicism.

Most significantly, the 1980 Venice Biennial officially started the cultural phenomenon of European postmodernism, which suited Europe's economic push towards consumerism, and was conceived almost as a radical movement for the new techniques it promoted and for the way it suited the emerging world of mass media. The Biennial's main exhibit of the Strada Nuovissima brought together a pull of designers who displayed different and contradictory approaches to classicist revival that were displayed chaotically, aiming at

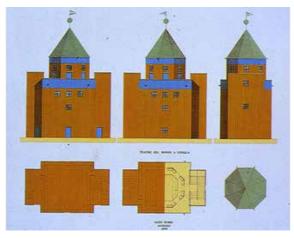


Figure 1. Architectural Plan and Section

exemplifying a new approach to pluralistic democracy. As such, mass culture, democracy, and pluralism, like the postmodern style itself, were arguments typically American that frequently recurred within the undisclosed discourse of the 'cultural' Cold War.

The project of the World Theater was an enigmatic display of archetypes reminiscent of classical forms, mystical and mythological images, and shapes borrowed from memories of North American water towers and lighthouses, introducing a newly acquired taste for a globalized aesthetic.

The theater exemplified Aldo Rossi's notion of Genius Loci approached with a technique of Architettura Parlante, which resembled the way enlightenment architects expressed emotional inner states through conventional forms and spatial relationships in a manner described by Jean La Marche in the book titled The Familiar and the Unfamiliar in Twentieth-Century Architecture. As a methodology, the Parlante tradition entails the quality of architectural objects to communicate to subjects able to read architecture. It is a form of stylistic experience initially manifested with the sculpture and paintings of gothic cathedrals, rediscovered in the nineteen-century to express new typologies with the association of certain historical styles to functional types. It resurfaced at times when new architectural typologies were introduced, drastically changing form in the twentieth century with modernism and again in the late 1960s with the



Figure 2. Aldo Rossi, 1980

rediscovery of semiology. A late-twentieth-century revision of studies in semiotics ultimately led to the embrace of anthropomorphic figuration and the commingling of the physicality of the architectural object and subject. Hence, the resurgence of Architettura Parlante and obsession with architectural symbolism in the 1980s. In the context of a later application of the Parlante tradition, the work of Aldo Rossi became part of the theoretical discourse of the study of signs, for which the theater constituted a practical application of philosophies of the enlightenment to his study of architectural typologies.

A Parlante Theatre

The powerful and yet fragile life of the World Theater in its former popularity, charged with marvel, was destined to have an almost intermittent effect as its apparitions and disappearances set in motion the fascinating autonomous mechanism of the 'Tecnica curiosa' popular in the 1600s, which was akin to having its memory set aside in a forgotten place before the theater's periodical rediscovery.

Aldo Rossi, Quaderno Azzurro no.26.

Rossi was put in charge of the planning of the floating theater for the opening of the festivities. As the Biennial's designated opening piece, the theater introduced the newly forged architectural style emerging from the event. It was rather different from other participating projects classified as 'historicists.'2 As such, the pool of participants was divided among historicists who promoted the notion of the 'past within the present,' communicators who used irony and communication to promote both the past and the present, and Rossi's project, which embodied the timeless dialectic and atemporal architectural typology that emphasized neither.³

A floating celebrative machine designed to mimic boats used in the 1500s (and 1600s) for the festival of la *Serenissima*,⁴ Rossi's theater was meant to evoke the city's secular traditions and be an ephemeral and emblematic messenger announcing the imminent break with the architectonic past that the Biennial was set to promote.⁵

Rossi recorded his memories of the theater's inauguration in the Blue Book no. 26, which he wrote at a milestone of his life and career during a visit to the United States. Through a sequence of suggestive images, the fragmented narrative contained in the notebook describes Rossi's personal experiences reflected onto the program and archetypes of the World Theater, making its history into a folk-tale play. The main character, the archetypal theater, floated bewildered attempting a dialogue with the majestic architecture of the Venetian canal. The theater's journey among the permanent Venetian architecture, confrontational towards the Palladian modernity and Rusconi's traditionalism, clearly exemplifies the intrusion of the new architectonic element into the classicist domain of the traditional city.6 This distinction had a specific meaning since historicist Giovanni Antonio Rusconi was known to have often clashed with the republican Andrea Palladio, the modernist. The

actual contrast of Rusconi and Palladio in the architectural debate of the Venetian *Cinquecento* was not antagonizing, but the clash of these two characters bared similarity to political interventions on territories and cities narrated by Cristoforo Sabbatino and Alviso Cormaro, who generated the hypothesis of an urbanist Rusconi antagonizing against a territorial Palladio.⁷

Rossi wrote: 'Venetian monuments are representative of the essence of the city of Venice in their exemplification of beauty and fantasy, whose beauty is intended not as the meeting of different substances and meanings but as their fusion, as a place where objects do not exercise their function but rather exemplify it, and where tautology dominates unchallenged...'⁸

Beauty and an unexplained feeling of familiarity are all that these monuments are left with when their meaning is lost in the depth of memory. 'For example, if we look at the building of the *Dogana* from the balcony of the theater, mysterious copper figurines can be seen on its roof playing with a large golden globe.' 'I realized,' wrote Rossi, 'by looking at this enigmatic display of forms that the World Theater had long exited the Venetian architectural tradition and that this parade presented itself to the city of Venice with the same extraneousness of these copper figurines.'9

'The Green Figurines came from a garden, like images of green vegetables, copper green, and foreign as always. Like them, the theater had come from the sea with blue foam and silverzinc, iron-cold reflections of the cold sky. These had always been structures and images whose meaning escapes us, if not for the certainty that they have always been present [in the city].¹⁰

Rossi describes the theater as 'an imaginary place, a fantasy of urban interventions, where architecture reinvents its relationship with materiality up to the point of becoming objectified." He addressed the theater's presence at the *Punta della Dogana* as a



Figure 3. Punta della Dogana

topographic alteration, a provisional appendix, yet conclusive at unhinging the equilibrium of a threadbare system. The contradiction, he explained, was in its interior space, in the Shakespearean analogy, and in its anthropomorphic image, which resulted in being perfectly rational and logical and seemingly ready to 'spring into action.'12 Thus, the theatre looked anthropomorphic, bewildered, and almost disoriented amidst the imposing architectonic work of the Venetian Canal. It hosted a lyrical performance for its patrons while drifting through the 'majestic' pieces of architecture, staging yet another show to amuse the festive crowds alongside the narrow sidewalks. Almost as if possessed by a Lacanian spell, it took on the role of the performer and the locus of performance while engaging in its distracted journey around the stage of the 1980 Architectural Biennial. Rossi wrote that 'it was from the beginning a theater without a show, unfinished in the sense of something that is either left behind or left out, due to its lack of creative potential or affection.'13 It was an empty theater of which '[...] [he is said to have] measured the acoustics not with sounds but with the imagination. To which work could [...] [he] be more connected if not to the one which is itself a performer, an actor whose prestige manifested fully when an ancient harpsichord was on the central stage? Was this work the pride of great shipbuilders, or builders of towers, war machines, or theatrical machines? Was is it still part of the collective memory and the fabric of the city?'14

The Birth of the Theater



Figure 4. The Globe of the Fortune -Punta della Dogana

Aldo Rossi wrote a short biography for the theater. He described it as the World Theater (Teatro del Mondo) resembling the carnival rafts and dancing boats of pleasure familiar in the Venetian lagoon and the Ticino River.

Rossi designed the theater during the summer of 1978, visualizing it in drawings at the Punta della Dogana, turning its back at Palladio's Redentore, and near Punta della Salute. 15 The metal frame, contributed by Paolo Portoghesi, conferred lightness to the structure under a wood sheathing on the model of traditional floating theaters and of Venetian maritime constructions (wooden boats and black wood of gondolas).16 The theater's design displayed abstract geometrical shapes typical of Rossi's architectural projects, which were borrowed from Lombard abbeys, world coastal constructions, passenger boats, carnival rafts, and Venetians boats of pleasure.¹⁷ The theater was to be painted in the tonalities of green and blue, and partly to be left in the natural color of the wood. The initial design consisted of a volume of nine meters lateral height, with two small towers and a fenestrated decagonal lantern topped with a pitched roof (a typically 'Rossian' shape). The façade had vertexes, towers, and other elements reminiscent of the Lombard abbeys so familiar to the Milanese architect.18

Rossi decided that the planning of the theater had to incorporate the technique of distributive force and static to the conceptual study of the archetype, drawing from the history of the evolution of the type and the structure of the theater. Its design methodology incorporated the concept of type with a new approach to planning, for which he used the architectonic aesthetic and programmatic values of the typology of the theater as the cultural matrix for the re-evaluation of urban spaces. A program resulted from the analysis of the world of theatrical performance to be used to reinvent and redesign the city through the integration of an imaginary ephemeral element. Rossi's theater, in this case, was the ephemeral cultural element for cities that, like Venice, counted public buildings of this type in their repertoire and considered them metaphoric places for public interaction.

The construction of the theater took place in the neighborhood of Fusina at the periphery of Venice and resulted in an edifice of approximately twenty-five meters described by residents both as a school and as a temple.19 It was towed into Venice on the tenth of November of 1979 to open the festivities of the Biennial with musical performances by harpsichord and violins.²⁰ After the event, the theater was used for the celebration of the carnival and then sailed to the Yugoslavian coastal town of Dubrovnik, a former Venetian colony of the eastern Adriatic. At homecoming, the theater was turned into a museum to display its own memorabilia and shortly after was dismantled in the Venetian suburbs, but it was not set on fire in the traditional manner used to dispose of world's theaters after civic festivities. Hence it was said that traditionally, World Theaters perished by the hands of fire, which for an instant revealed their structure, in the warping, fuming and densely didactic experience of the extinction of the marvel. Rossi's floating theater, which found 'its imaginative element in real history, was to perish over the water in a stretch of sandy land, in a desolated corner nested in the sultry anonymous canals of a faraway land on the archipelagos of the lagoon.²¹

Rossi wrote that the theater was destroyed as the result of 'the negligence, arrogance, and bullying of politicians'²² and not because of its alleged high costs of maintenance. He claimed that this experience exemplified the mentality that characterized the treatment of downtowns in historic cities, where traditional clichés often restrained the desire to introduce new architectonic elements.²³ Thus, the World Theater exemplified a 'new' architectural intervention on the secular city described in Le Marche's terms of the strange as opposed to the familiar. It became in its short life an ephemeral touristic attraction relegated to the temporal memory of group photographs and yet a part of the 'reality' and the history of the city of Venice.²⁴

A Peculiar Understanding of The Theater

Critics offered a large variety of interpretations for the World Theater. Architect Daniel Libeskind described it as a metaphorical object 'built of wood and floating on the water, [an] instrument of language, a functional dream, [that] becomes an authentic demon of analogy, a type of architecture with roots in history and correspondences that are as much unexpected as automatic.'25 According to Libeskind, the theater's relationship with the city was rooted in historical references that enabled analogies to be made. These analogies were unpredictable and provoked reactions, confrontations, and images from memory to overlay to the vision of the theater.²⁶

Ties of the theatre to the history and ritualistic traditions of Venice were best illustrated by Manlio Brusatin's essay titled *Theatrum Mundi* Novissimi, in which he recalled traditions of floating theatres from narrations of the proverbial flood in mythological and biblical texts. Brusatin mentioned that, in history and mythology, physical deformations and monstrosities were typically associated with 'evil cataclysms'. At the time of the Reformation, for example, Catholics and Lutherans believed that catastrophic political and religious events were announced by the birth of deformed animals and human beings.²⁷ These mythological monsters typically portrayed the wrongdoing of politicians and clergymen and were sometimes used to project the sin of infamy and immorality upon freethinking

individuals.²⁸ Physiognomy, or 'damnatio memoriae, were caricatures used in the 1500s to stigmatize ugly and deformed individuals and to instigate guilt to discredit and discourage political subversion and the expression of individuality. In popular culture, the concept of evil was impersonated by the mythical characters of the carrier of pestilence, the Jew, and the witch, which in turn were associated with floods and other natural cataclysms that the Bible used to instigate fear over an eventual end of the world. 29 Fictional flood warnings and other superstitious callings were effective means for controlling the populations and preventing anarchic outbursts and were part of the repertoire of world theaters. Thus, for this exact reason, the city of Venice was constantly haunted by 'the prophecy of the flood.'30

'...how many monsters and how many stories had to be fabricated, for those who got off the phantasmagorical Noah's Ark to return to live with devotion and with renewed faith the history of their own lives? Until the end, it seemed that the flood would return once everybody was convinced to have escaped it with a storm of lies that sunk the truth...'

Floating theaters were initially known as floating machines of the world and were considered machines in the proper sense. The tradition began with Vitruvius' celebrative machines Macchine Celebrative and continued with the floating machines designed by Marino Sanudo in 1530 curated by the association of the 'Compagnia della Calza' that used them for festivals, musical entertainment, and theatrical performances.31 One of these vessels was commissioned by Giovanni Antonio Rusconi and was exhibited in San Marco Square for three days. Rusconi stationed the floating theater between the ducal palace and the old prison in the area of the Ponte dei Sospiri in front of Ponte della Paglia to serve as stalls to watch the festive performance.

The first prototype of the World Theater did not originate in Venice but at a Roman carnival, commissioned by Marco Cornaro Bishop of

Padova and Verona upon the prediction of an imminent hit of the proverbial flood. Such a prediction led to the construction of the first floating structure exemplifying a curious resemblance to Noah's Ark.³² In Venice, floating theaters developed a unique aesthetic connected with the commemorative performance of the Doges of Venice's boat *Bucintoro*, which also carries a parody like the state of salvation of Noah's Ark.³³

Rossi's theater references all of these historic floating machines and reflects the surrounding Venetian architecture with its institutions of power and manifestations of territorial political order.

Francesco Dal Co claimed that Rossi used certain architectural types that had originated before form and gave form its true definition, making typology a constant rule for the design, which manifested accordingly to technique, function, style, and collective and individual manifestations of the architectural event.34 According to Dal Co, Rossi found the architectural type to be the essence that caused certain aspects of religious and residential architecture to remain unchanged since antiquity.35 Dal Co wrote that Rossi repetitively revisited the theme of the theatre for its invested significance as an 'elected place for the deployment of memory, and because theater planning had taken advantage of an abstract architecture of both typology and forms since the humanistic age. As such, according to Brusatin, Rossi had taken inspiration for his project from the esoteric Theater of Memory of Giulio Camillo, later rebuilt by Frances Yate.37

Most critics agreed that Rossi imprinted the theater with his distinctively personal style and made it autobiographic by means of archetypes common to all of his projects.³⁸ Vittorio Savi clearly recognized the anthropomorphic qualities of the theatre and its role as a performing floating machine.³⁹ In the article entitled *Reportage dal Teatro del Mondo*, Savi wrote that the so called 'young actor,' because it must be admitted that it had a

hint of anthropomorphic, and because objects and machines are considered actors when used on theatrical stages, 'started its performance on the morning of a rainy tenth of November when its trip towards the city began...'⁴⁰ Savi wrote that, 'in its trip, it [was] asked of the building to act a role within the theatrical space of the landscape of the Venetian canals and the lagoon.'⁴¹

On the other hand, the theatre appeared to Dal Co as a tribute to memory for the assemblage of images of various origins.⁴² In the Venetian theater, wrote Dal Co, Rossi 'appeases memories in the essentiality of the geometry alluding to its own archetypes.'43 Brusatin defined the theater as a simulacrum of opposites recalling principles of simulation, which 'poses an antagonizing analogy ... evasive before the politics of the Bucitorio, and yet assimilated within the narrative of its own destiny, to carry out its duties and reveal its lost values.'44 'Metaphorically,' Brusatin wrote, '[the theater's] image communicates that the fear of the flood and all calamities is over, and Venice, like a pyramid built over a shell, could sail in the same manner of the World Theater on the Venetian lagoon. Moreover, anchored to the square, fouling as an object of simulation, the architecture of the city miraculously emerges from the water, fearless of the flood. In contrast, Rossi recalls the happy memories of the birth of the theater and its performance.⁴⁵ He wrote that the theater to him was the analogy of one of the 'seasons of life' embodied in 'the house of representation.'46 Rossi wrote that this theater was the product of images derived from collective and personal memories that exemplified the relationship between the city and the object. According to him, this relationship was rooted in history, where the object and the city were both unpredictable variables. Thus, the World Theater is related to the archetype of Piazza San Marco, of the shapes of the triumph arch, and of the loggia, which Rossi calls the 'eight wonders.' It recalls and contrasts with the mythology of traditional Venetian architecture of Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi, which Palladio approached on the theme of an ordered, original and stable

mythology with marvelous typologies, exemplifying the iconography of the power of cities and the political order of the territory. Vincenzo Scamozzi' scenic architecture, on the other hand, explicitly ritualized with repetitions and simulations, duplicating, reversing, and juxtaposing the original myth, the ceremonial apparatus, and the ritual.

Notes

1 Gothic style is typically associated with religious and university buildings and the Greco-Roman for banks and museums.

2 Szacka, 'Historicism Versus Communication,'100.

3 Ibid., 100.

4 Venice also known historically as the most serene republic of Venice, *La Serenissima*.

5 The theater was initially envisioned in the summer of 1979, preceding the 1980s Biannual during a search for a way to open the Biennial to suit both the new and old institutions. A loud signal was to announce the separation from the past and prepare the participants for the future leap. Paolo Portoghesi suggested a floating wooden theater reminiscent of those once used in festivals of the Serenissima. Manlio Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' in Aldo Rossi: Il Teatro del Mondo (Venezia: Cluva, 1982), 41.

6 Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 39.

7 Ibid.

8 Rossi's Papers. Quaderno Azzurro no.26.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 42.

16 The initial plan for the structure of massive larch beams covered in fir was abandoned in favor of a system of metal framing to support a shell of light fir planks, offering a much more rapid method of construction ideated by Portoghesi. Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 41-42.

17 Paolo Portoghesi, 'Teatro Del Mondo,' *Controspazio* (September-December, 1979), 8.

18 Aldo Rossi, 'Teatro del Mondo', in *Aldo Rossi: Il Teatro del Mondo* (Venezia: Cluva, 1982), 42.

19 Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 42.

20 Ibid., 45.

21 Ibid.

22 Rossi, 'Teatro del Mondo,' 13.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., 14.

26 Ibid., 15.

27 The prophecies over these inhuman beings were objects of prediction for more than a century, but these events are constructed mythological and religious assertions such as the seven capital vices. The annunciation of catastrophes to be predicted appear so large to be useless... Rossi, 'Teatro del Mondo,' 18.

28 The bestiality of the image has repercussions in the attempts to reclassify the territory of the *Harmonia Mundi* (1525) platonicheggiante. For the first time, a discourse began about the monstrosity discovered. Rossi, 'Teatro del Mondo,' 19.

29 Caricature and physiognomic association were often used in the 1500s on the theme of the 'damnatio memoriae' of clergy in respect to a much larger typology social-religious. Such a practice was directed at the end of the century to reconstruct an image of the guilt in the recourse of popular images in the type of the disseminator of pest, of the Jew. The denigrating caricature bases its visual effect at the beginning of 1500 in the individualization, in the catalog, and on the designation of the monstrous object. Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi, 20. '...the religious clash will resolve in favor of biblical canons, and, in 1523, the treaty will embrace more realistically the social effects of panic that spread over entire populations that now fear the oncoming of the flood.' Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 22.

30 Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 24-25.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid., 29.

33 Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 31.

34 Aldo Rossi, *L'Architettura della Citta* (Macerata: Quolibet, 2013), 30-32.

35 Rossi, L'Architettura della Citta, 32-33.

36 Il Teatro del Mondo di Aldo Rossi alla Biennale di Venezia, *Lotus*, no. 25 (1980): 68.

37 Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 37-40.

38 La Marche, *The Familiar and the Unfamiliar in Twentieth-century Architecture*, 109; Dal Co., 'Ora Questo e' Perduto', 70.

39 Vittorio Savi, 'Reportage dal Teatro Del Mondo', *Casa Vogue* no. 102 (January 1980): 98-101.

40 Savi, 'Reportage dal Teatro del Mondo,' 98-101.

41 Ibid.

- 42 Dal Co., 'Ora Questo e' Perduto', 70.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Brusatin, 'Theatrum Mundi Novissimi,' 29-30.
- 45 Rossi, A Scientific Autobiography, 65.
- 46 Rossi represents the seasons of life by the house of representation, the house of death, and the house of childhood. Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography*, 69.

Multilateralism since 1945: From the Comecon to the Belt and Road Initiative

Session Chairs: Łukasz Stanek, *University of Manchester* Richard Anderson, *University of Edinburgh*

The Belt and Road Initiative, launched in 2013 by China, has been described as the biggest development plan in history. However, the Initiative is part of a longer history of state-led, multilateral project since World War II. This session will revisit them and question the ways in which the dynamics of multilateral cooperation resulted in architecture and urbanisation at multiple scales. The panel will address the management of multilateral cooperation and technical assistance by international organisations, such as UNESCO, and the European Development Fund (since 1957). It is particularly focused on collaboration within the Comecon, or the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, and its multilateral coordination of architecture, planning, construction, and construction material industries in socialist countries. The latter straddled many scales and materialities, from large-scale projects such as the Druzhba pipeline, linking the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites, to attempts at the unification of architectural norms, building regulations, and industrial standards in Comecon countries.

While in the recent years scholars have given much attention to architectural cooperation during the Cold War, most of these studies have been focused on bilateral relations, including continuities in architectural mobilities since the colonial period (Western Europe) and the emergence of new actors (USA, Eastern Europe, Israel, China). The study on multilateral cooperation not only advances this scholarship but also allows to reconceptualise its terms. In particular, the focus on more than two actors facilitates a move beyond the dichotomies between dispatcher and receiver, centre and periphery, the foreign and the local. Instead, it foregrounds questions of collaboration, coordination, and the division of labour, including the changing power dynamics such questions entail. Because of the often prolonged character of these engagements, they pose questions about learning processes, feed-back loops, and the incorporation of gained experience into new projects. Because of their large scale, multilateral projects facilitate comparison between the specific ways in which strategic objectives were implemented and modified by various actors and the effects of these initiatives in diverse geographic locations.

SESSION 28

Reconstruction of North Korea: International Assistance as a Basis for Juche Architecture

Jelena Prokopljević, *International University of Catalonia*

This paper examines the reconstruction of North Korean cities, specifically Pyongyang and Hamhung, after their almost complete destruction in the Korean War of 1950-53. As one of the first violent conflicts of the Cold-War Era, it entailed massive destruction and the loss of around two million lives on both sides, occasioning a wave of solidarity from many 'fraternal' socialist states that got involved in the reconstruction of the North. Countries like Romania, Albania, and Hungary sent assistance in material; numerous Chinese soldiers joined the workforce; while the Soviet Union and the GDR provided economic, technological aid, training and expertise. Most of the country's recovery relied on the international assistance, including COMECON aid, trade relations and loans.

The planning of North Korean cities was based on European models for overcoming traditional and colonial urban structures, while its architecture adopted a simplified 'Koreanized' version of Socialist Realism. The plan of the new Pyongyang was developed by Kim Jong Hui, a Soviet trained architect, the central area of the city was reconstructed with help pf Chinese workers, material and machinery, while the city of Hamhung was planned and rebuilt by the Deutsche Arbeitsgruppe (DAG) between 1955 and 1962. Due to the diversity of the organizations involved and their relations with North Korean partners, the work efficiency and the final results had different results and considerations. The DAG was autonomous, as an heir of the pre-war workgroups for planning and construction that worked on rebuilding almost the entire city, including state institutions, housing and production plants, and therefore it was able to manage its budget and production schedule independently. On the other hand, Korean architects trained in USSR,

GDR or China were integrated into the state planning institutes, and many Soviet and Chinese reconstruction projects were shared with local institutions so the real scope of assistance is difficult to trace except in specific references of symbolic importance.

In the times of destalinisation and the Sino-Soviet split, international aid gradually became the object of criticism by the North Korean leadership, coinciding with the growing personality cult of Kim II Sung, purges and repression. The architecture developed by the fraternal socialist countries was tagged as low quality and foreign, and it was used in the discourses that formed Juche ideology followed by neo-Korean architectural modernism.

Cementing the Ties: ZAB, CMEA and the Practice of Multilateralism in Syria and Ethiopia

Monika Motylinska, *Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space* Paul Sprute, *Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space*

With cement being the material condition for infrastructural development, cement plants are meta-infrastructure – infrastructure for infrastructure itself, the necessary prerequisite of every large-scale infrastructural project in the 20th century. Thus, they were also of particular importance for the development of multinational investments in CMEA countries and countries that cooperated with this economic organisation.

However, this paper views cement factories not primarily as economic investments but as architectural (and urban) joint projects, investigating how the concept of multilateralism was materialised—or failed to materialise. Therefore, in order to understand the dynamics behind such projects, I propose to turn the attention to the meta-level of a particular company, Zementanlagenbau (ZAB) Dessau, which acted globally and was a key

actor in the planning, coordination and execution of CMEA joint investments with participation, among others, of Bulgarian, Cuban and East German companies and institutions. This perspective is especially helpful in gathering insights in the decisionmaking and logistics behind particular realisations—scrutinising the implementation of multilaterism, with all its challenges, beyond the proclaimed political agenda.

The choice of regions and projects in my paper is dictated by the core areas of the ZAB's international activity within the framework of CMEA. In Syria, the joint projects of cement plants by CMEA members were realised in the whole country, starting already in the late 1950s and continuing until the 1980s, whereas in Ethiopia the construction of the largest cement plant, New Mugher I and II bundled the competences of diverse actors in the late 1970s and 1980s.

Invisible Cooperation? Inventing Socialist Internationalist Theatre Building Norms in the 1970s

Ksenia Litvinenko, University of Manchester

Most of the previous architectural scholarship tackling cross-border collaborations within the socialist bloc focused on the role of experts and political economy in fostering mobilities of architecture and technology. Sociotechnical devices that enable such travels remain marginalised within historical inquiry. Among them are norms — a peculiar type of standard ensuring the integration of planned economies both at the state and inter-state levels. Since the 1960s, the broad introduction of norms has allowed the translation of technologies of standardization across COMECON countries. the coordination of resource allocation, creation of multilateral institutional ties, including technological cooperation with capitalist countries. However, in the discussion of socialist architecture, norms still appear mainly as an importunate obstacle for one's creative practice.

This paper proposes to look at the process of norm-making as one of the modes of multilateral cooperation among socialist design institutes. Using archival and oral history research, the paper addresses the process of negotiation of shared building norms for theatre architecture during the 1970s among three leading socialist organizations in the field: GIPROTEATR (Soviet Union), Scénografický ústav (Czechoslovakia), and Institut Für Kulturbauten (East Germany). The normalization of theatre building typology offers a lens onto negotiations of statesponsored culture and urbanism that goes beyond discussions of standardization merely within industry and infrastructure. Looking at norm-making from the perspective of particular design projects, the meetings of architects, engineers, and foreign construction firms at international places of mediation, such as OISTAT and the Prague Quadrennial, might help not just to 'place' socialist architecture within the political-economic context, but to understand how this context is created through and within entangled architectural practices.

Foreign Technical Experts and the **Production of Airport Infrastructure in** China

Max Hirsh, University of Hong Kong

Recent scholarly work on China has devoted much attention to policy directives that aim to export a 'China Model' of infrastructure-led urban and regional development to emerging economies in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Less attention has been paid to the origins of those infrastructure models, which form the centrepiece of the Chinese government's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This paper addresses that gap by studying the development of China's airport infrastructure from the 1980s to the present. In so doing, it posits aviation as an insightful lens for framing the multi-directional processes by which infrastructural expertise was imported into China from Europe, Japan, and North America during the post-Mao period of Opening Up and Reform. In particular, it focuses on a series of cooperative research, training, and development programs organized jointly by Chinese, French, and American transport agencies, airport operators, and tech firms-that have fuelled the coproduction of airport architecture and aviation technology on a global scale. In so doing, the paper demonstrates how large-scale infrastructure projects operate not only as emblematic manifestations of multilateral cooperation, but also as economic vessels for channelling reciprocal cross-border investments between multiple state actors. Drawing on fieldwork conducted at airports in Atlanta, Beijing, and Paris—and on expert interviews with architects, planners, and engineers—the paper argues that an analysis of the transnational origins of China's infrastructural expertise can help us to better conceptualize the processes by which the 'China Model' of infrastructure is currently being exported—or rather re-exported—abroad.

Multilateral Supply Chain Architecture: Building Infrastructures of Global Commodity Production in Ethiopia

Elke Beyer, Technische Universität Berlin

This paper discusses current large-scale construction projects aiming to create infrastructures of global commodity chains in Ethiopia. It focuses on aspiring textile and garment manufacturing hubs made up of export processing zones, logistics facilities and transport networks. In their ambitious endeavour to turn the country into 'a leading manufacturing hub in Africa' (Growth and Transformation Plan II, National Planning Commission 2016) Ethiopian national authorities have been cooperating with multiple international and national partners in order to plan and build these spaces of globalised production - including development agencies, globally active consultants, planning and construction firms. In recent years, under the umbrella of the Belt and Road Initiative,

Chinese state and private companies as well as banks acquired a very prominent position among the actors involved in infrastructure provisioning. These physical interventions reconfigure global supply chains and transnational economic interdependencies as they reshape urban spaces and urbanization patterns. They are perceived by some as materializations of a new 'scramble for Africa', or alternatively framed as heralds of a new 'age of choice', echoing earlier periods of competitive infrastructural development interventions by colonial powers or Cold War antagonists.

The paper addresses the provisioning of architectures, infrastructures and urban spaces of global commodity production as current instances of multilateralism. Probing into the complex web of actors involved in their planning and on-going realization processes, it seeks to address modalities of cooperation and coordination, negotiations and conflicts across different scales and places, and thereby to contribute to a methodological discussion on how to study multilateral constellations and processes of producing urban space. My aim is to situate current infrastructure provisioning within different temporal and spatial layers of transnational infrastructure and industry development or debris - from Italian-built textile factories and roads to GDR manufacturing equipment export and technological aid, to World Bank logistics improvement projects, Turkish clothing producers going bankrupt, and railway construction sites about to be abandoned by Chinese contractors. I argue this offers an empirical entry point to study globalized production chains and multilateral infrastructure provision as a crucial nexus within the larger political economy of uneven spatial development.

European Welfare Landscapes: Histories and Futures

Session Chair: Henriette Steiner, *University of Copenhagen*

When the large-scale architectural and planning efforts of the European welfare states were set in motion in the post-war period, easy access to high-quality green landscapes was considered as important as other pillars of welfare, such as health, education, and retirement benefits. The welfare states supported massive building initiatives that introduced a radically new model of urbanity, characterized by an abundance of green and open spaces including public parks, recreational topographies, and shared spaces on housing estates. These green open spaces, which are a constitutive part of today's urbanized areas, were designed to foster social welfare and individual well-being for all citizens: hence, we call them welfare landscapes.

Today, the architecture and planning of the European welfare states is being re-evaluated, and is undergoing renovation projects to address physical decay, changing users and uses, new urban ideals, the need for climate adaptation, and other issues. Moreover, in light of changing welfare politics, the relevance of welfare landscapes as living heritage, their underlying ideologies and intended contributions to citizens' lives, and the sustainability of their design are all increasingly contested. The complexly interlinked climatic, economic, political and social crises currently facing modern industrial culture's products and workings (Latour, 2018), thus also concern the welfare landscapes. This presents us with a paradox: how can some of the European welfare states' most optimistic projections for the sharing of space, resources and values simultaneously embody some of modern society's most fraught concepts – including resource exploitation, gigantism, gender, the body and biopolitics, social engineering, nationalism, and ideas of human exceptionalism?

While the architecture and planning of European welfare states is an emerging theme in architectural-historical research, it has not yet been sufficiently understood from a landscape perspective. This session explores specific histories of welfare landscapes across Europe, and that examine their current and future role, value and contestation. It also examines what happens if we regard the post-war period not as an era of optimism about welfare and the common, but as a moment when the concept of welfare itself snapped into focus as a place of contestation and debate (as proposed by Kjældgaard, 2018). How was this contestation articulated and negotiated in cities and their designed landscapes? Did it consolidate welfare as a security instrument, a ballast against the volatility of culture following the Second World War's crisis of humanism?

Hertopia: Women's Swedish Welfare Landscapes during the 1960s and 70s

Jennifer Mack, KTH Royal Institute of Technology Heidi Svenningsen Kajita, University of Copenhagen

The welfare landscapes of the expansive modernist housing areas constructed in Sweden during the 1960s and 70s were developed using government-sanctioned ideas about universal citizens who would live, work, and play in identical ways. Designers developed housing blocks with modular room dimensions that would accommodate homogeneous furnishings, as well as standardized common landscapes like laundry spaces, playgrounds, traffic plans, and town centres. While these plans for collective living were envisioned to support women's new roles in the labor market, women were at the same time imagined as housewives occupying auxiliary, specific roles in the areas of domestic work and leisure activities.

When the national government's modernist ideals about landscapes did not materialize into real built environments, tales about women's everyday problems and travails came to the forefront. Moreover, reports about women's difficulties in these common spaces became representative of the larger 'problem of the suburb.' These notions also became fixed in time, with few follow-up reports commissioned. We re-visit these popular historical views on the suburbs' 'failed landscapes.' And from a feminist perspective, our research in widely divergent parts of Sweden (from Botkykra to Tibro to Helsingborg to Malmö to Skärholmen to Södertälje), we show that women residents' affective and caring practices (Fraser, Hardt, Muehlebach, Tronto) challenge binary perspectives about welfare landscapes and, in particular, divisions such as work/pleasure, communal/individual, and unsafe/safe. Since the time of their construction, women's individual and communal actions for local childcare and allotments, maintenance of

playgrounds, and access to consumer goods became specific, local iterations of enduring and re-productive communities.

Connecting government reports, building norms, media accounts from the mid-20th century, and interviews conducted with long-time women residents of five housing areas, we explore discrepancies between ideals, stigma, and tenants' own accounts of their experiences and changes. How have working-, housewife-, and activist women co-opted and complicated concepts underpinning the welfare state's supposedly unsuccessful utopias?

Finnish City and Forest: Design in the Nordic Welfare State Public Realm

Frances Hsu, *University of North Carolina*Charlotte

This paper introduces the theoretical construct of the 'commons'--as described by Hardt and Negri in Commonwealth (2009) as natural resources, social practices, and modes of sociality--to address notions of public space in Helsinki as an essential component and often contradictory medium for the underlying social and political values of the welfare state. Welfare state modernization addresses building initiatives for social housing, historically conceived as living practices, resources for health and wellbeing that could be quantified and managed. What role does the management of landscapes--an essential aspect of the commons--play within the welfare state, and how were they measured and assessed?

An examination of the social, political, and urban planning in the city centre (beginning at the Central Railway Station, including Central Library and Square, and extending around Töölö Bay), reveals the centrally located open natural park spaces as part of a national and perhaps regional identity that challenges and resists the communitarian ideals and scientific management of welfare state ideology. This

especially in comparison with two iconic examples of iconic Finnish settlement and demonstrated by numerous participatory urban initiatives based in the capital city. Landscape and public space are the blind spot of the welfare state apparatus.

Landscapes in support of 'the growing demand for an improved quality of life' - Electricity generation, welfare and environment in post-war Britain

Luca Csepely-Knorr, *Manchester School of Architecture*

In his 1975 article about planning ideology and the Welfare State, Malcolm Harrison identified 'specific social benefits' as 'possible welfare objectives' of town and country planning in the post WW2 period. Some of these social benefits, such as the need for recreation, and the right to leisure facilities were materialised in 'green and open spaces including public parks, recreational topographies, and shared spaces on housing estates, creating what can be called 'Welfare landscapes.' At the same time, Britain saw the creation of a vast number of new landscapes, away from housing estates: the open spaces linked to the delivery of largescale infrastructural projects - the 'economic backbone' of the post-war Welfare State. This paper will focus on the landscapes of these new infrastructures with a special focus on power stations, commissioned by the Central Electricity Generating Board.

The creation of landscapes around post-war power stations was informed by Section 37 ('Amenity Clause') of the 1957 Electricity Act. It required the minimalisation of the impact of generating and transmission sites on scenery, flora and fauna, and resulted in the appointment of members of the Institute of Landscape Architects on new power station projects. The involvement and advocacy of the landscape profession led to the policy of 'public relation value' in the mid-1960s, that safeguarded the needs of communities by

using parts of the CEGB sites for 'specific social benefits'.

Through the analysis of landscapes around key power stations, this paper analyses how the understanding of welfare materialised in post-war British infrastructural projects. By examining how these landscapes fostered social welfare, contributed to building communities and addressed growing concerns of environmental crisis it argues that these examples are key in understanding the broader impact of welfare planning on the British countryside.

Green Wilderness and the Tensions of Welfare: The Designed Landscapes of Farum Midtpunkt Housing Estate, Copenhagen, Denmark

Kristen Van Haeren, *University of Copenhagen* Svava Riesto, *University of Copenhagen*

The many new social housing estates that were constructed in Denmark between 1950 and 1980 suggested new urban typologies, combining large housing block structures with vast, green, lush park-like environments and open spaces. These estates and their embedded green spaces were closely tied to the welfare state, which subsidised and regulated them. However, we contend that they can also be understood as 'welfare landscapes' in a broader sense. The landscapes' spatial organisation articulates specific ideas about the facilitation of citizens' welfare, e.g. through playgrounds, communal squares, pedestrian streets, community gardens, etcetera. Following its adoption in the 1950s, the word 'welfare' did not have a stable set of values or a clear ideology in Danish post-war culture (Kjældgaard, 2018); rather, it was continuously contested in a heated cultural debate - in which, we argue, welfare landscapes took part. Thus, the landscapes of social housing estates were spaces of tension regarding welfare ideals - between economic wealth and social wellbeing, the individual and the collective - and of

potential friction between human dominance and ecological processes.

To better understand how social housing landscapes articulated ideas about welfare, we zoom in on the social housing area of Farum Midtpunkt (1972–1976), north of Copenhagen. Comprising 3,500 residents, it is one of the largest estates built during the last years of Denmark's post-war building boom. This meticulously planned urban structure has a large number of narrow, designed green spaces that give the impression of wilderness - inaccessible to humans, but highly significant to residents' perceptions of the area. Drawing on studies of historical documents and the site's spatial organisation, we present these green spaces as a lens though which to understand discussions about the meanings of welfare and its inherent tensions in 1970s. Denmark.

Landscape for Compromise: The Appian Way in the Welfare Age

Manuel López Segura, Harvard University

Though the welfare state deserves to be deemed the most consequential compromise in modern European history, it has been little analyzed through that lens. Compromise itself remains under-theorized in political philosophy; it is simply absent from architectural histories. This paper proposes to investigate the notion of welfare landscapes by considering them terrains for compromise, i.e., spatial entities under dispute, around which processes of voluntary accommodation between antagonistic urban constituencies unfolded. The paper will sketch an analytic framework, presenting key points for a possible theory of architectural compromise, one focused on architecture's aesthetic powers over political representation, their operations and limits. In parallel, it will undertake a synthetic account of the contested protection for public enjoyment of the Appian greenbelt in Rome between the 1950s and 1970s.

The largest expanse of *campagna* within the municipality's bounds, the Appian Way and surrounding lands were the object of continuous give-and-take among property owners, developers, institutions, and an increasingly mobilized civil society. The myriad instances of negotiation between privates and functionaries, or of governmental mediation between builders and conservationists rendered recurrently tangible the welfare state's central goal: safeguarding the postwar interclass settlement through the observance of conciliation, thereby securing lasting social harmony on egalitarian bases.

However, the area's unique attributes, environmental no less than archaeological, brought to the fore paradoxes of administrative action that more customary interventions managed to conceal -and that accounts of welfare programs tend accordingly to obviate. Preserving the territory's classical topoi within a countryside turned metropolitan park aimed to help assuage dehumanization across Rome's mushrooming peripheries. History's imperious presence evidenced the perils of Italy's accelerated transformation, causing actors on the ground to strike a middle course formulated in scenic and managerial terms, a compromise that would smooth the very modernization that the welfare state professed.

User Comfort, Functionality, and Sustainability as (Early?) Modern Architectural Concerns

Session Chairs: Giovanna Guidicini, *Glasgow School of Art*

User comfort, functionality and sustainability are predominant concerns of contemporary architecture, related to the complex physical and sensory interaction between the user and the building. They include aspects of thermal and acoustic comfort, a healthy indoor environment, accessibility, and siting. They also depend on the choice of construction techniques and materials as well as the availability of consumable resources. Whilst these issues are studied by historians in the fields of economy, philosophy, environmental studies, and cultural studies, they remain rather unexplored in the study of early modern architecture (16th-18th C.). They even seem to exist in opposition to the cultural concepts of representation prevalent in the study of architecture before Enlightenment (DeJean, 2010).

These concepts were not yet standards, let alone clearly defined, in early modern architectural design and theory, in which domestic amenity gave priority to social status over personal comfort. Yet, they played an increasingly relevant role in a period climatologically described as the Little Ice Age (1550-1720), during which technical innovations, practical experimentation, Newtonian physics and a developing culture of sensibility shaped attitudes to material culture (Mukherjee, 2014).

The aim of the session is to investigate how concerns regarding the built and natural environment operated as catalysts for innovative technological and architectural responses, and to demonstrate the connection between the well-known notions of status and representation and the new concepts of personal comfort and convenience.

Discussing the role of these topics in the early modern architectural discourse and design can bridge the perceived gap between what is often superficially considered a practically-driven, socially conscious modern period, and its architecturally unrestrained, environmentally carefree and user-unfriendly predecessor. On the contrary, this panel will show remarkable similarities in identifying and investigating architectural solutions aimed at user convenience. Furthermore we seek to cross the disciplinary poles of the technological and scientific versus the historical and humanistic, bringing to the fore how the complex relationship between people and the environment informs the construction of equally complex architectural responses.

A Country Full of Palaces? Functionality of Space and Comfort in Dutch 17th and 18th Century Residential Architecture

Wouter van Elburg, University of Amsterdam

Whilst discussing the residential culture of the 17th century Helen Searing (1997) remarked that: 'arguably, the very concept of 'home' as we know it was invented by the Dutch.' The meaning of home is still widely up for debate, but a pivotal role for the Dutch in its creation has a long history. Already in the 17th century, foreign visitors to the Netherlands were highly observant of the differences between Dutch residential culture and that of their homeland. Four characteristics of Dutch architecture seem of key importance to them: highly developed interiors, relatively high standards of comfort, cleanliness and innovative urban planning. One visitor branded the Netherlands as 'a country full of palaces, an opinion that at the time does not seem to have been rare.

These characteristics will have mainly been brought forth by the layout of Dutch houses. They not only point to outward notions of status and representation, but also refer to private life within the home. This paper will demonstrate how through typological analysis of floor plans these characteristics can be illustrated. By analysing floor plans of Dutch premodern residential architecture, it can be argued that Dutch homes were standardized relatively early on and designed with user comfort in mind. Current scholarly discourse on Dutch premodern residential architecture has mainly focussed on the development of the floor plan in relation to the construction (Meischke 1969; Prak 1991). How social characteristics like residential culture, high standards of comfort and cleanliness may have interacted with the development of floor plans is hardly discussed. With a new typological analysis, the layout of the Dutch home may be further explained in the context of the city and society.

The Progress of Coal-Fired Comfort

Aleksandr Bierig, Harvard University

The connection between coal and comfort was commonplace in British culture by the late eighteenth century. In his 1789 treatise on coal mining, The Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom, John Williams wrote that 'No country in the world depends so much upon the productions of the mineral kingdom, for the means of comfortable accommodation, wealth, and power, as the island of Britain'. Similarly, large-scale historical studies—beginning with the foundational account of E.A. Wrigley—have emphasized connections between demographic growth, urbanization, industrialization, and coal.

How did these immense changes play out inside? This paper looks at schemes by architects, natural philosophers, and other interested actors aimed at 'improving' the household hearth in eighteenth- and earlynineteenth-century Britain. For instance, in 1714, when Newtonian experimentalist J.T. Desaguliers translated a French treatise on the fireplace into English, he added a series of descriptions recounting his trials with coal-fired hearths. Later in the century, Count Rumford and Scottish polymath James Anderson proposed ways to improve the circulation of heat, while they simultaneously explored the management of citizens and resources in parallel tracts on political economy. By 1845, the two-volume On the history and art of warming and ventilating rooms and buildings compiled the above schemes alongside many others, now recast a history of interior comfort as the course of civilization, itself (culminating, naturally, in the coal-fired homes of the British Isles).

These texts and others show how the problem of the fireplace attracted thinking across multiple scales, drawing the individual interior and its ideally comfortable inhabitants into a web of connections between fuel, comfort, national identity, and historical change.

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The eighteenth-century has long been associated with a 'culture of consumption' through which a growing swath of the British population had access to new goods and services. Did the consumption of domestic fuel resonate or diverge from more visible modes of consumption? Who, in the end, was allowed to be comfortable as coal became Britain's fuel?

Early Modern Living Comfort. Charles of Croÿ (1560-1612) and the Description of his **Residence in Heverlee**

Sanne Maekelberg, KU Leuven

Situated south of Leuven, within a one-day travel distance from Brussels, the castle of Heverlee was one of the main residences of the Croÿ dynasty. It was Anton of Croÿ who purchased the seignory with accompanying hereditary title of sénéchal of Brabant in 1446. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, William of Croÿ and his wife Mary of Hamal built a new residence on the site. supplementing the existing uncomfortable living tower with a fully-fledged L-shaped residence. Three generations later it became one of the favourite residences of Charles III of Croÿ (1560-1612), duke of Aarschot and Croÿ, count of Beaumont and prince of the Holy Roman Empire. As one of the highest noblemen in the Low Countries Charles was considered a patron of the arts and architecture, as well as a military commander. During his lifetime he developed an obsession with the recording of his heritage for his posterity, even though he died without children. Part of this obsession were the so-called besoignés and specifications, describing the domain of Heverlee to an amazing level of detail. This extraordinary source covers everything in the castle - even the collection of linen at the disposal of the duke – as well as the entire surrounding domain with gardens, orchards and a private hunting forest. The content of this description hints at an amazing level of technology, with - for example fountains spraying water to seven or eight feet

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high. In this paper, we will explore how these descriptions, in combination with iconographic sources of the castle and its surroundings, give insight into the level of comfort concerning food, personal hygiene and technological advances.

Waste, Water and Warmth: Regulation and **Comfort in Early Modern Edinburgh**

John Lowrey, *University of Edinburgh*

This paper focuses on Edinburgh in the seventeenth century and considers the efforts made by the civic authorities to improve the safety and amenity of the domestic architecture of the city by attempting to improve, in particular, water supply and waste disposal (infamously, a problem in Edinburgh right up until the nineteenth century).

Using the existing legal structure of the Dean of Guild Court to oversee and enforce, the city gradually developed a regulatory framework, partly in response the threats of fire and disease, which gradually shaped the appearance of the city and the structure of the new buildings within it. By the end of the century, the High Street as the main thoroughfare had taken on a more unified, lithic appearance and the wealthier burghers were living in housing that was more spacious and better serviced. Those changes, however, whilst the civic input was important, were at least as much due to the private enterprise of the members of the various trades organisations, who developed the modern flat and tenement block, partly in defiance of the city's regulation.

Greenscapes: User Comfort and Amelioration in the Shrinking Dutch Town 1750-1840

Minke Walda, Vrije Universiteit

Building upon the 'urban decline as opportunity' argument, this paper departs from the notion that the early modern shrinking town should not only be studied from a decline perspective. Instead, I would like to examine the argument that the urban transformation was also deployed by house

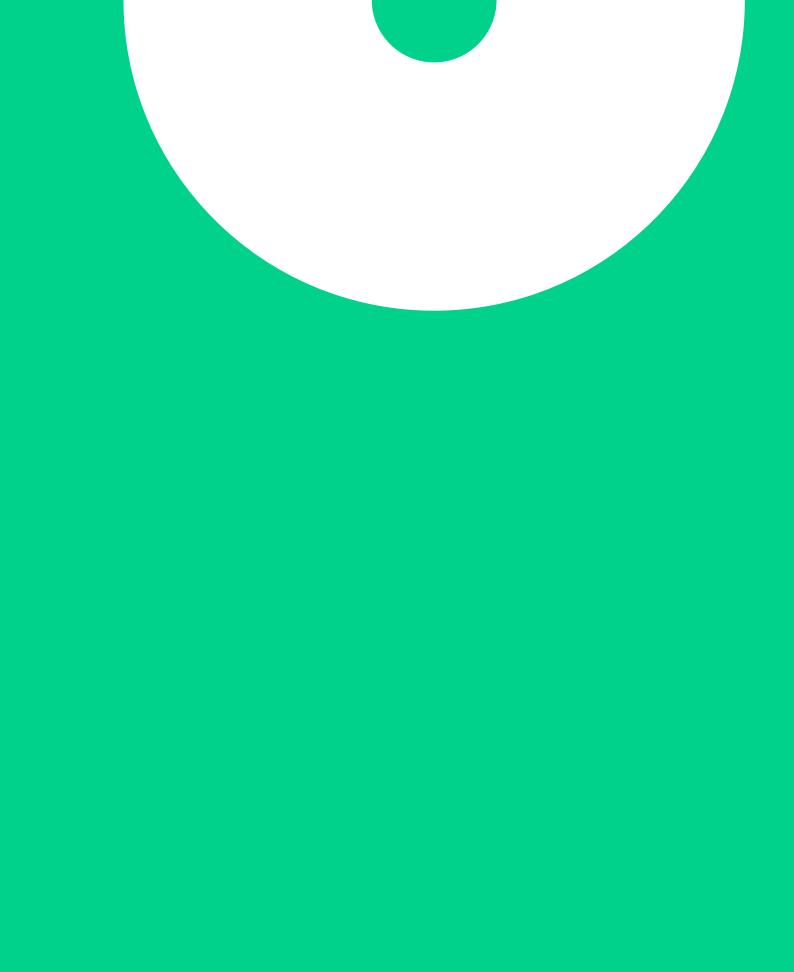
owners to ameliorate their living environment and increase the user comfort of their property, focusing on a case study of the shrinking Dutch town between 1750 and 1840.

In the long eighteenth century the exceptional urbanisation of the province of Holland, the main urban centre of the Dutch Republic, slowed down. Many towns, including Amsterdam, Leiden and Haarlem, had to contend with economic and demographic stagnation or decline, resulting into a declining real estate market. Rather than the construction of new buildings and subsequent infilling, renovation, conversion and demolition became the central building activities. Parallel to an urban 'demolition-wave', many country houses in the west of the Republic were demolished from the end of the eighteenth century.

Seen from the urban decline as opportunity perspective, vacancy and demolition opened up the tightly-packed seventeenth century town, offering the possibility to enlarge houses and rear-gardens and re-use vacant plots as gardens, orchards or meadows. Through the analysis of archival documentation, maps and contemporary sources I will discuss the spatial make-over of the shrinking Dutch towns of Leiden, Haarlem and Enkhuizen, focusing on the renovation of the rear part of the town house and its garden and the redevelopment of vacant plots. I will argue that this transformation can be contextualized within a longer tradition of the use of greenery in Dutch

towns, both as embellishment and functional necessity, with the shrinking town offering a new opportunity to increase user comfort and live the ideal country life close to home.





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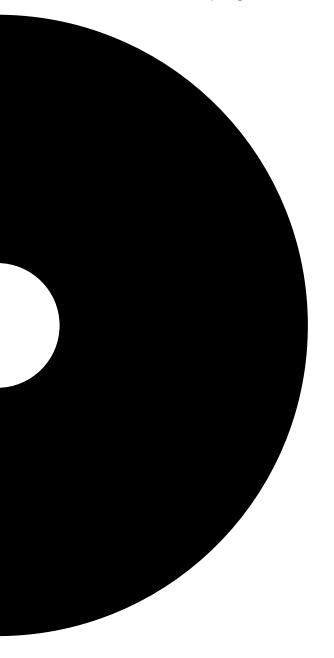
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