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JOELHO

#08

IDEAS AND PRACTICES FOR THE EUROPEAN CITY

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Exhibition
History of Architecture III / IV
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série II: JOELHO

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Gonçalo Canto Moniz (CES, DARQ, UC)

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JOELHO 8
Ideas and Practices for
the European City

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Editors' note

Gonçalo Canto Moniz, Jorge Figueira

Joelho 8 challenged scholars to present full papers for peer review, creating new standards for an academic journal that combines the scientific with the pedagogical approach, in the open walls of the University of Coimbra.

The debate proposed by our guest editors — a discussion on ideas and practices for the European City — is key to understand the quick environmental and social changes that our cities are currently dealing with, in a challenging attempt to integrate new phenomena into their urban and architectural history consolidated over more than two millennia. Although ideas are the framework of this long process, it is interesting to explore the practices that have built this collective project. The contributions selected from the call for papers are complemented by insightful accounts of established scholars invited by the guest editors of *Joelho* 8 to offer a more complete overview of this complex theme. Special thanks to José António Bandeirinha, Luís Miguel Correia and Nelson Mota that move, one again, *Joelho* to the highest level of the architectural culture and debate.

Joelho 8 also presents material from the exhibition "Biographies of Power: Personalities and Architectures", developed by the students of the course History of Architecture III / IV, under the supervision of Jorge Figueira and Bruno Gil. Thanks to the students for sharing their pedagogical experience with *Joelho*.

The European City is also reflected on an artistic level with the drawing on the cover of Joelho by João Bicker, an anthropologist and designer, which juxtaposes the word "city" in several European languages, thus creating a noisy but beautiful effect that aims to capture European cultural diversity.

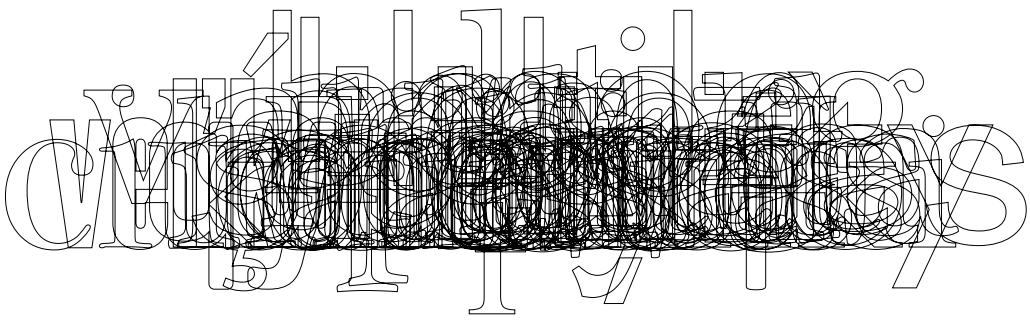


Illustration of João Bicker.

José António Bandeirinha (CES, DARQ, UC)
Luís Miguel Correia (CEIS20, DARQ, UC)
Nelson Mota (TU DELFT)

The European City as a Place of Coexistence

This issue of *Joelho* aims at bringing together contributions to discuss the European City as a project and as the vital locus for the historical processes that populate our collective memory and our shared cultural heritage. The European City, as Leonardo Benevolo put it in 1993, defines "the stable background against which the flow of diverse experiences that characterize each generation is given significance". For more than five centuries, the architecture discipline has been instrumental in defining this background. For example, in the Renaissance, architecture gained momentum as a key player in the radical development of the city as a project. The city became a powerful concept and the progressive rise of the bourgeoisie as the ruling social class granted political agency to the architectural discipline. Five centuries of permanent encounters and intersections between architecture and the city defined our urban identity and shaped the physical context in which we live. Throughout the twentieth century, however, the power of architecture was challenged by new political mantras and economical dogmas that encouraged architecture's disciplinary retreat. The articles published in the following pages illustrate some key moments in this process.

Up until the First World War, the European city was chiefly defined by one of its genetic characteristics: it was a space of exception, physically determined and independent. As Benevolo argues, in the European tradition "cities were born as closed entities, in which the need for independence dominated those of internal equality and openness to the outside world". "The result", Benevolo continues, "was a composite and imperfect setting, formed by a balance of competing forces". This characteristic would relentlessly change throughout the twentieth century, though.

Ákos Moravánszky's article, "Blow Up", discusses a particular moment in our recent urban history when this distinctive feature of the European city was challenged. It is the moment when the relationship between landscape and human life went beyond the physical reality defined by the bourgeois city. In the interwar period, Moravánszky argues, visual narratives based on aerial photography became increasingly used in the United States (e.g. the TVA project) and in the USSR to release architecture from Earth's gravity. This process triggered the emergence of scalar-planning as a new approach to rethink the relationship between man and nature. It would influence the production of regional plans (e.g. Olivetti's Aosta Valley) and projects at a geographical

scale in Europe, integrating ecological, engineering, landscaping, architectural, and aesthetic concerns to realize a socio-economical vision.

Through the Age of Extremes, as Eric Hobsbawm called the short twentieth century (1914–1991), most European countries developed housing policies to provide shelter for the working class. This process would challenge the architect's agency in design decision-making and eventually re-configure the European city. The article written by Irina Davidovici, "Tafuri on hous-*ing*", brings about the intellectual framework in which one of the main architectural historians of the twentieth century, Manfredo Tafuri, addressed housing as an inescapably political phenomenon. In her article, Davidovici discusses the challenges for the architectural historian dedicated to the study of this theme, reviewing Tafuri's account of seminal cases such as Frankfurt's and Berlin's modernist *Siedlungen*, Red Vienna's *Gemeindebauten*, and Rome's post-war neo-realist housing. She emphasises how Tafuri pioneered a critical history of housing as the ultimate negotiation of built forms with the societal and economic processes that shape both buildings and cities. Tafuri's discursive approach was instrumental to highlight the relation between the

development of the capitalist mode of production and the processes of urbanization. In housing, this could be seen in the move from the "oases of order" produced under the auspices of reformist political agendas in the interwar period, to the "feigned spontaneity" of neo-realist post-war suburban housing districts that opened the way for the inexorable suburbanization of the European city.

Matthew Teissmann's "An Ideological City" moves further to discuss the consequences for the European city triggered by the completion of the process of territorial globalization that followed the reconfiguration of spatial territories across the globe in the aftermath of World War II. The universal language of money worked ceaselessly to unite the various peoples of the world creating the Second Ecumene, as Peter Sloterdijk calls it. Doxiadis's Ecumenopolis (1968) offered a persuasive illustration of the end of the city as we knew it — i.e. Benevolo's European city. He has signalled the emergence of a new phenomenon, the global-city, created to accommodate this new worldwide movement of money, goods, and people. Teissmann discusses Rem Koolhaas's famous academic thesis *Exodus* (1972) as a seminal example of resistance to the globalized city. The "voluntary prisoners of architecture", as Koolhaas

put it, live in a walled city (an inverted prison) that creates an alternative urban space to the universal sameness and banality of the global city. Despite its apparent strangeness, the enclosure and containment offered by Exodus recreates a fundamental characteristic printed in the genetic code of the European city, a clearly defined interior.

The cross section through some key discourses on the European city ends up with Alexandre Alves Costa's essay "The City, The Suburb and The Rest. The Earth". In his piece, part of it originally written two decades ago, Alves Costa dissects the urban condition created by a new habitat that emerged in the last decades of the twentieth century in Portugal: the suburb. In sharp opposition to the stasis of the historic centre, Alves Costa delivers an optimistic gaze into the suburbs as a space where new opportunities for inclusion and co-existence could come about. Provokingly, he announces the suburbs as the real monument of the twentieth century, a human creation that should be maintained and preserved as such, in an age where the global virtual city will become the new locus for exchange and intercourse. Fast forward to the present day, Alves Costa stresses the dangers of removing the historic centres from the wider reality of the expanding city, and the other

way around. Alves Costa ends up his essay highlighting the instrumentality of design — informed by politics —, as a key contribution to *project* the articulation of the diffuse limits of the [European?] city, the suburbs and the rest.

After this cross section through discourses on the European city, the next set of articles featured in this issue of *Joelho* examines tangible evidences of the changing nature of the European city, particularly focusing on the entwined relation between design and politics. The first example, discussed in Chiara Monterumisi's article "Towards the People's Home", is set against the background defined by Sweden's celebrated marriage of capitalism and socialism in the interwar period. Using two social housing complexes built in Stockholm in the 1920s, Monterumisi reveals how municipal architects and planners, tenant societies and housing cooperatives teamed up to develop urban residential districts with a strong collective identity in the fringe of Stockholm. Based on a revised version of a canonical European urban creation, the courtyard urban block, the two case studies discussed by Monterumisi testify to the growing importance of collective spaces — the courtyards — to build up a sense of community and prevent the atomization of individuals. She also emphasizes the

successful attempt to recreate in peripheral neighbourhoods the same delicate balance between diversity and identity seen in the core of the historical city.

While Monterumisi's article sheds some light on the characteristics of a celebrated example of public housing, the Scandinavian model, Harald Bodenschatz's article "Public Housing in Fascist Rome" aims at examining the role of housing in the political agenda of dictatorial regimes in the interwar period, particularly in the agenda of Italian Fascism. Bodenschatz brings about the factors that contributed to make public housing a key component in securing the support of the middle classes to create the social consensus necessary for the preservation of Mussolini's dictatorial regime. The typological mapping of housing complexes proposed by Bodenschatz for Mussolini's Rome illustrates a policy based on the urbanization of the middle classes, and the de-urbanization of the urban poor.

Throughout the twentieth century, the spatial politics of Mussolini's dictatorial regime will be reproduced in many other social and political contexts and challenge the historical characteristics of the European city. One such example is described in Joana Capela de Campos and Vítor Murtinho's article "University City of Coimbra: *tabula*

rasa as a project methodology". In this article, the authors show how an urban fabric based on the co-existence of different social groups and building types was destroyed and replaced by a mono-functional citadel, designed to establish a new social and spatial hierarchy. The *tabula rasa* methodology, borrowed from the toolset of modernist urban discourse, was used in Coimbra in the late 1940s to erase the typical spatial markings of the European city that had been inscribed on the place. However, paradoxically, the *tabula rasa* approach was also instrumental to transform an ordinary urban fabric into a unique, extra-ordinary landscape of power, recently celebrated with UNESCO's recognition as a world heritage site.

In Coimbra the co-existence of ordinary practices of everyday life with the university campus was swiftly replaced by a programmatic monoculture using the wrecking ball. In Athens, the physical transformation of the city followed a different path. The urban landscape was transformed by urban management, a less tangible, yet more pervasive, method than in Coimbra's case. Platon Issaias's article "From the flat to the city" offers a compelling account of how the function of the family, real estate market, ownership and property laws influenced the development of

Athens' urban and social landscape from the post-war years until the present day. Issaias shows how the "informality" championed by the *polykatoikia* system is in fact a political construct to make Greece a nation of asset managers, a country where working and middle-class families were converted to real estate speculators. His article goes further, showing the repercussions of this system on the current social and political turmoil in Greece. While Athens is a very particular case, it nevertheless reproduces a kind of urbanity determined by spatial, economic and social factors that are common to other European cities, especially in the south. Athens's tense relation between individual interests and collective welfare is indeed part of the DNA of the European city.

This trip across projects from Stockholm, to Rome, to Coimbra, and finally arriving in Athens gives us a parallel cross section to the set of articles presented in the first part of this issue. The managerial layers that support the creation of the European city surfaced noticeably. The architectural solutions — more or less initiated by architects — that came along with them were discussed as part and parcel of a large political and cultural construct. The third section of this issue comprises two review articles that address the elusive

relation between architectural discourse and the politics of urban management in the construction of the European city.

In his article "The Politics of the Plinth", Kasper Lægring reviews Pier Vittorio Aureli's influential book *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*, published in 2011. Lægring critically discusses Aureli's drive to reunify the domains of urban planning and architecture under the umbrella of form. This reunification, Lægring argues, is an attempt to come to terms with the progressive loss of relevance of the architectural discipline in shaping the historical transformation of the city, in general, and the European city, in particular. The post-industrial city is shaped by professional managerial urbanists, whose influence gained momentum since Ildefonso Cerda's *General Theory of Urbanization*, published one and a half century ago, in 1867. The urban model that developed since then, as Lægring asserts, is predominantly based on visual mastery (the panoptic gaze) and spectatorship, rather than on haptic communication. While Aureli is critical of the managerial approach and its inherent interest in promoting visual culture, Lægring argues that in *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* Aureli's discussion on Mies van der Rohe's recurrent use of the plinth as a consubstantiation of the forces of urbanization is largely ocularcentric.

In the last article of this issue, Nuno Grande and Roberto Cremascoli discuss the concept of neighbourhood, a key component of the European city that is threatened by the materialist approach sponsored by managerial urbanism. Grande and Cremascoli expose the sharp deterioration of neighbourhoods in European cities, where once they were cherished as intangible devices to promote values of proximity, tolerance and multiculturalism. Using as background their curatorial approach for the exhibition "Neighbourhood: where Alvaro meets Aldo", showed at the 2016 Venice Architecture Biennale, Grande and Cremascoli claim that the current European identity crisis is strongly related with an urban management that is more focused on those who *use* the city, rather than those who *live in* the city.

The collection of articles in this issue contributes to stress the fact that cities are a palimpsest where multiple historical phenomena are overlaid on the same physical support. The European city, in particular, is a stable place against which the flow of time and the accumulation of experiences can take place. As such, these articles allow us to travel in time, navigating through different aspects that have contributed to make the European city a cherished repository of collective memory and a shared cultural heritage.

As Leonardo Benevolo pointed out, the European urban institutions have always negotiated a balance between collective control and individual initiative. However, over the last seven decades this balance has been challenged. In the post-World War II, the utopia of the functional city was hijacked to serve the welfare policies of the states sponsored by the Marshall Plan. Both in urban extension as in urban renewal, technocratic planning approaches were encouraged to back up a political program of de-urbanization inspired by the nemesis of the European city, the American suburbia. Eventually, in the 1980s, the paradigm of the state as provider shifted to the paradigm of the state as enabler. The European city became nothing but a commodity where the state performs as facilitator for the consolidation of the hegemony of the markets. Nowadays millions of tourists flock to London, Rome or even Coimbra looking for "experiences" of the European city, as the travel agencies advertise it.

In the European city there has always been a competition between public intervention and private interests, which constantly requires an equilibrium between different agents in the decision-making process. The articles published in this issue of *Joelho* offer critical contributions

to understand the production and reproduction of approaches to the (re-) definition of the identity of the European city. Furthermore, they contribute to expand the debate on one of the fundamental achievements of Western civilization: the European city as a place of coexistence.

Rome, 2011. Photo by José António Bandeirinha

PARTES

Section 1

Discourses on the European City

Ákos Moravánszky ETH Zürich (Emeritus)

Blow-Up
The Powers of Scale

During the decades following World War II, we see many efforts to connect the rhetoric of the human scale with that of a superhuman, geographic or territorial scale. A significant example of this attempt is the volume *La Découverte aérienne du monde* [*The Discovery of the World from the Air*], edited by Paul Chombart de Lauwe (Chombart de Lauwe, 1948). Chombart de Lauwe, after graduating in philosophy and anthropology in the 1930s, joined the Allied air forces as a fighter pilot. In 1945, he started research in urban sociology as affiliate of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS).

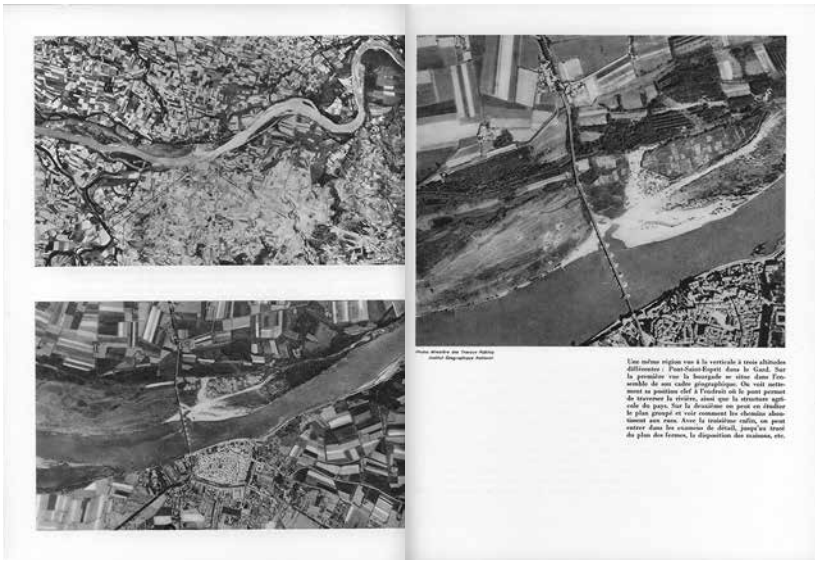
In the book, published in 1948, Chombart de Lauwe addressed the issue of the *vision aérenne* both as optical image and a world view (Fig. 1). Comparing aerial views of the Moroccan city of Marrakech, two European cities and the American industrial metropolis Cincinnati, he spoke of three concepts of the world. He used a sequence of three aerial photographs of the region of Pont-Saint-Esprit, taken from different altitudes, to explain the thematic differences between them based on the scalar narrative (Figs. 2a, b). In the first image, the geographic scale shows the topological significance of the bridge as the place for crossing the river Gard, a focal point in the landscape that regulates the agricultural use of the land. The second image reveals how country roads merge into urban streets, situating the city in its closer environment. Finally, the third photograph explains the disposition of the built structure of the city and its surrounding villages.

Chombart de Lauwe stressed in his essay the fact that the familiar, three-dimensional world that is still perceivable at lower altitudes becomes two-dimensional if we rise higher: buildings collapse into plans and people disappear, particularly in the center of the viewing field. But while flying, we combine such impressions into one synthetic vision, we "know" the world the way the farmer knows his spatial environment. Chombart de Lauwe argues that the view from the airplane allows the integration of images that were once far apart into a single "vision", a world-view of "planetary humanity", which is "integral with the world" (Chombart de Lauwe, 1948, p. 52)[1].

The goals of postwar humanism for which Chombart de Lauwe's aerial vision of humanity might stand were, however, already criticized in the 1950s as too sentimental and vague. The journal *Le Carré Bleu*, founded in Helsinki in 1957, supported the goals of Team 10, and distributed the contributions of its members internationally. In the second issue of 1958, editor Aulis Blomstedt published his manifesto "La deshumanización de la arquitectura" ["The De-Humanization of Architecture"]. The French text has a Spanish title, since it is a reference to an essay written by the prolific and influential philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, "La deshumanización del arte" ["The Dehumanization of Art"], written in 1925. In Blomstedt's view, the term "human" had lost its significance, and became an empty word just like the "social", the "functional" or the "organic". These notions failed to reflect the fundamental problem of architecture, the problem

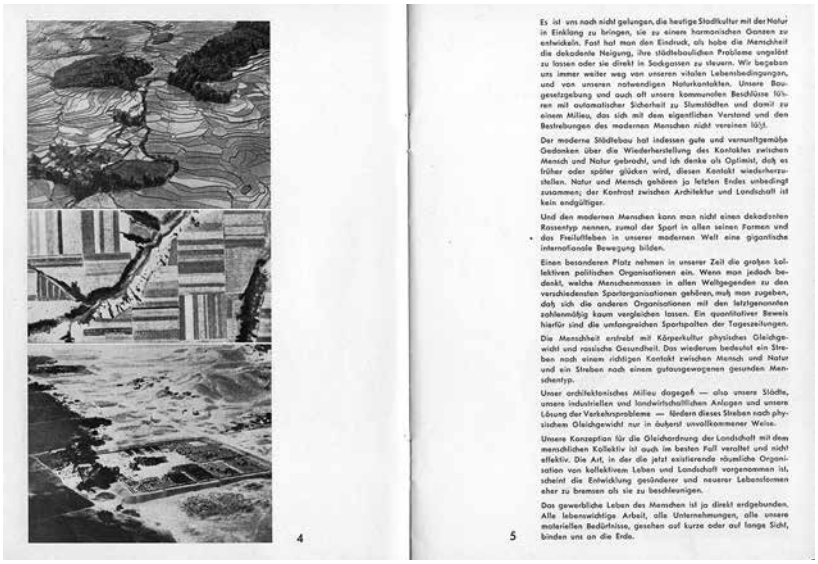
Frontispiece **Paul Chombart de Lauwe, ed., *La Découverte aérenne du monde*, Paris, 1948, cover.**


DÉCOUVERTE
AÉRIENNE
DU MONDE
HORIZONS
DE FRANCE




architecture et paysage


AULIS BLOMSTEDT
ARCHITEKTUR UND LANDSCHAFT
DIE LANDSCHAFT ALS KÜNSTLERISCHES GESTALTUNGSELEMENT IM STÄDTEBAU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Es ist uns noch nicht gelungen, die heutige Stadtkultur mit der Natur in Einklang zu bringen, sie zu einem harmonischen Ganzen zu entwickeln. Fast hat man den Eindruck, als habe die Menschheit die dekadente Neigung, ihre städtebaulichen Probleme ungelöst zu lassen oder sie direkt in Sackgassen zu steuern. Wir begeben uns immer weiter weg von unseren vitalen Lebensbedingungen, und von unseren naheliegenden Naturkontakten. Unsere Baugesetzgebung und auch oft unsere kommunalen Beschlüsse führen mit automatischer Sicherheit zu Slumstädten und damit zu einem Milieu, das sich mit dem eigentlichen Verstand und den Bestrebungen des modernen Menschen nicht vereinen lässt.
Der moderne Städtebau hat indessen gute und vernunftgemäße Gedanken über die Wiederherstellung des Kontaktes zwischen Mensch und Natur gebracht, und ich denke als Optimist, daß es früher oder später glücken wird, diesen Kontakt wiederherzustellen. Natur und Mensch gehören ja letzten Endes unbedingt zusammen; der Kontrast zwischen Architektur und Landschaft ist kein endgültiger.
Und den modernen Menschen kann man nicht einen dekadenten Rassentyp nennen, zumal der Sport in allen seinen Formen und das Freiluftleben in unserer modernen Welt eine gigantische internationale Bewegung bilden.
Einen besonderen Platz nehmen in unserer Zeit die großen kollektiven politischen Organisationen ein. Wenn man jedoch bedenkt, welche Menschenmassen in allen Weltgegenden zu den verschiedensten Sportorganisationen gehören, muß man zugeben, daß sich die anderen Organisationen mit den letztgenannten zahlenmäßig kaum vergleichen lassen. Ein quantitativer Beweis hierfür sind die umfangreichen Sportspalten der Tageszeitungen.
Die Menschheit erstrebt mit Körperkultur physisches Gleichgewicht und rassische Gesundheit. Das wiederum bedeutet ein Streben nach einem richtigen Kontakt zwischen Mensch und Natur und ein Streben nach einem gutausgewogenen gesunden Menschentyp.
Unser architektonisches Milieu dagegen — also unsere Städte, unsere industriellen und landwirtschaftlichen Anlagen und unsere Lösung der Verkehrsprobleme — fördern dieses Streben nach physischem Gleichgewicht nur in äußerst unvollkommener Weise.
Unsere Konzeption für die Gleichordnung der Landschaft mit dem menschlichen Kollektiv ist auch im besten Fall veraltet und nicht effektiv. Die Art, in der die jetzt existierende räumliche Organisation von kollektivem Leben und Landschaft vorgenommen ist, scheint die Entwicklung gesünderer und neuerer Lebensformen eher zu bremsen als sie zu beschleunigen.
Das gewerbliche Leben des Menschen ist ja direkt erdgebunden. Alle lebenswichtige Arbeit, alle Unternehmungen, alle unsere materiellen Bedürfnisse, gesehen auf kurze oder auf lange Sicht, binden uns an die Erde.

of form, Blomstedt maintains: "to make architecture a means to solve the problems of construction first of all with formal means, that is, with geometry" (Blomstedt, 1958, p. 3).

In the fourth issue of *Le Carré Bleu* in 1959, Blomstedt published a paper on architecture and landscape, "Architecture et paysage: Hommage à Antoine de Saint-Exupéry" (Blomstedt, 1959, n.p.; Figs. 3a, b) with a title as a tribute to the French writer who had studied architecture and served as a pilot, as had Chombart de Lauwe. A German translation of the article came out as a slim book in 1960 (Figs. 4a, b). In this text, Blomstedt reflects on the question of the relationship between the larger geographical scale and the human scale (Blomstedt, 1960). The "daily theater" of human activity is taking place on a stage whose dimensions are expanding dramatically. "Is it really somehow inhuman, to have breakfast (let's say) in Helsinki, and dinner in Rome or Paris?" asks Blomstedt. "A vitally important human contact can bind me to these different places in the course of one day. Is it inhuman if a friend in the US announces his arrival in Helsinki for tomorrow evening? Should I not prepare a warm reception and invite our common friends?" (Blomstedt, 1960, p. 7)[2].

The basic traits of the landscape were unchanged, the author stressed, but the relationship between landscape and human life is different today. Caused by speed and the rhythm of life, the scale and dimension of the urban had been transformed, with regard to space as well as time. Aerial photography has opened up a whole new visual world and dramatic structures of landscape. But our "routines of urban design" are falling far behind, and it will take time until urban design catches up with this new visual access to the world (Blomstedt, 1960, p. 13). Only if we have the courage to draw the consequences of the new "technical realities" can we start to participate in shaping the new human environment (Blomstedt, 1960, p. 13).

Concerning architecture, Blomstedt pointed to the traditional Japanese house and garden as a model of harmonic standardization and prefabrication that includes the landscape. In the same issue of *Le Carré Bleu*, Finnish architect Reima Pietilä published his manifesto-like "Réflexions rigoristes sur la notion de morphologie" ["Rigorist Reflections on the Notion of Morphology"], arguing for the development of morphological systems that regulate form on different scalar levels (Pietilä, 1959, n.p.).

Pietilä belonged to a group of young architects gathering around Blomstedt, who worked on a different, less romantic, more "rigorous" concept of man-nature relations than the one proposed by the internationally recognized master Alvar Aalto. Pietilä was at this time associated with a group of artists, writers, sculptors, directors and composers who studied the problem of dimension and the organization of forms. In 1960, the entire third issue of *Le Carré Bleu* consisted of Pietilä's "Études de morphologie en urbanisme", zooming in on morphological systems from scale 1:100,000 down to 1:1000 (Pietilä, 1960, n.p.; Figs. 5a, b, c).

Fig. 1 Paul Chombart de Lauwe, ed., *La Découverte aérenne du monde*, Paris, 1948, cover.

Fig. 2 Double page spread from Paul Chombart de Lauwe, ed., *La Découverte aérenne du monde*, Paris, 1948, pp. 34–35.

Fig. 3a, 3b Double page spread from Paul Chombart de Lauwe, ed., *La Découverte aérenne du monde*, Paris, 1948, pp. 34–35.

Fig. 4a, 4b Aulis Blomstedt, *Architektur und Landschaft*, Dortmund, 1960.

Fig. 5a, 5b, 5c Reima Pietilä, "Études de morphologie en urbanisme", *Le Carré Bleu*, 3 (1960).

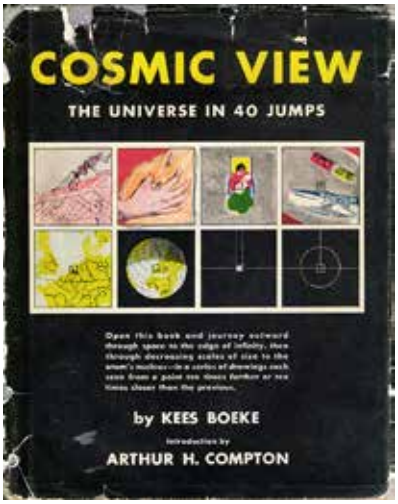


Fig. 6 Kees Boeke, *Cosmic View*, New York, 1957, cover.

A related idea of an all-encompassing view of the universe, presented in scalar sequences as a visual foundation for a new humanity, had been developed in a book by the Dutch education reformer, Quaker missionary and pacifist Kees Boeke in 1957, entitled *Cosmic View: The Universe in 40 Jumps* (Boeke, 1957) (Fig. 6). This book consists of a series of drawings, starting with the image of a little girl in front of a school holding a cat in her lap, then the same child from an altitude ten times higher, in the somewhat surreal company of two cars and half of a dead whale. The third image shows a building built by the German military during the occupation but converted to house the *Werkplaats Children's Community* founded by the author, and so on up the scale to the Milky Way and down to molecules. The journey ends at the nucleus of the atom. Here Boeke reminds us of the dangers and possible benefits of nuclear power: "When we thus think in cosmic terms, we realize that man, if he is to become really human, must combine in his being the greatest humility with the most careful and considerate use of the cosmic powers that are at his disposal" (Boeke, 1957, p. 48). While "primitive man" tended to use this power for himself, the man of today has to learn to live together, caring for each other regardless of nationality, race or creed. "In this education the development of a cosmic view is an important and necessary element; and to develop such a wide, all-embracing view, the expedition we have made [...] may help just a little" (Ibid.).

Boeke's book was more than just an inspiration for the film *Powers of Ten*, made by Charles and Ray Eames in 1977. The film starts with the "glow of the distant galaxies", then other images appear: the Milky Way, the earth, Lake Michigan, Chicago, Lake Shore Drive, a picnicking couple, the hand and skin of that man and, finally, a carbon-12 molecule and the proton. The film was later turned into a book (Morrison, 1982; Figs. 7a, b, c). Ray Eames stressed in her introduction that "the idea of scale – of what is appropriate at different scales, and the relationships of each to each – is very important to architects. [...] With a constant time unit for each power of ten, an unchanging center point, and a steady photographic move, we could *show* 'the effect of

Fig. 7a, 7b, 7c Photographs from *The Powers of Ten*, San Francisco, 1982.

adding another zero' to any number" (Morrison, 1982, n.p.). However, in reality only a very small section could be really photographed with a camera mounted on a truck, the rest was a montage of telescopic and microscopic images from diverse sources. In addition, the photographer Alex Funke admitted: "in each case we made the imaging more than real through adding, by hand, the details of what might (or should) be there" (Morrison, 1982, p. 145).

The didactic approach of the Eameses, which relied heavily on the powers of a scientific explanation of the universe and its dimensions, looks like a positivistic program when compared with another film from that era dealing with issues of reality to be deciphered by technological means. *Powers of Ten* and Michelangelo Antonioni's film *Blow-Up*, released in 1966, propose two different interpretations of scale. Motivated by environmental thinking, *Powers of Ten* was based on a metric cartography of the universe (Ibid.). In contrast, *Blow-Up* presents shots by Thomas, a fashion photographer in London in the swinging '60s, as a random sequence of isolated images. Like in *Powers of Ten*, the inaugural scene is a couple in the park – but we find out that a murder is being committed. We don't see the reality merely through the photographer's eye, we are offered a mix of Antonioni's camera views and Thomas's camera shots and their magnifications. It is by the enlargement – the blow up – of one of Thomas's photos in the park that a scene that looks idyllic at first sight is revealed to be a crime. However, the "actual events" in the park cannot be reconstituted. There is no overarching "system", only possible narrations that connect the otherwise incomprehensible array of documents and places.

Thomas wants to clarify what happened and pins up an extremely magnified shot of the corpse – but at the end of the use of technology there is nothing but a blur, which is not unlike the final close-ups in *Powers of Ten* and *Cosmic View*. "What will we see, and what will we come to understand, once we enter the next levels?" asked the Eameses, and Boeke also wondered: "Who will say what wonders are

hidden beyond the limits of man's investigation today?" (Boeke, 1957, p. 32). For them, the blur was like a theater curtain or a fog that will eventually lift. But Thomas cannot hope for a clearer view, as the more the picture is enlarged, the more it becomes a blur of halftone dots – a message that was received at the time in different ways in Eastern and Western Europe: it is remarkable that while the American, British and Italian posters announcing Antonioni's *Blow-Up* emphasized the voyeuristic aspects of the movie, the Polish and Hungarian ones focused on this issue of scale and representation of reality (or realities), the decomposition of the image.

The Eameses, in turn, had some doubts about whether the image of the universe as presented in their film "transmit at illusion held within human science and human art" (Morrison, 1982, p. 15). But they were however convinced that the development of science and technology would make their little touch-ups to an imagined reality unnecessary: "This is the best we can do today. Tomorrow the view will differ; we hope it will be more penetrating, more inclusive, freer of misconceptions, and more beautiful" (Ibid.).

While the smooth, mechanical zooming in of the Eames movie claims to make the world clearer, Antonioni can only offer partial, reversible glimpses: for every moment made visible there is another that becomes invisible. A similar incongruence of mechanic-cartographic and place-based projections had entered the architectural discourse with the emergence of the large territorial scale more than half a century earlier. In the 1920s and 1930s, we see the emergence of competing projections and scalarities. Aerial photographs took over the role of constructed perspectives and bird's-eye views. Freeing architecture from earth's gravity became a topos in both the US and the Soviet Union, and isometric projections became the tools of choice for presenting the architectural bodies floating in space. Georgii Krutikov's flying city was his graduation thesis in 1928, the year when the first five-year plan started in the Soviet Union, pursuing Stalin's policy of collectivization in agriculture and of the electrification and industrialization of the country. In the US, the rhetoric of "New Horizons" connected with the ideals of a consumer society produced similar imagery, culminating in the large-scale regional project of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). This giant project, the first and most important result of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal policy, started in 1933 and received praise in the catalogue of the 1944 MoMA exhibition as "one of the monuments of our civilization" (Mock, 1944, p. 111). Such American attempts at integrating ecological, engineering, landscaping, architectural, and aesthetic concerns to realize a socio-economical vision were followed with enormous interest in Europe – before and after the war, in both West and East – and applauded by different political systems. For instance, in the first issue of the German journal for the research and organization of space, *Raumforschung und Raumordung* (October 1936) with a clearly national socialist

program, the Tennessee Valley project was presented. It was praised as the first effort to a scientific research of space in the USA and an example for the world, as it demonstrates the tasks and potentials of the research and organization of space (Schmölders, 1936). The TVA project also served as a model for the development plan of the Aosta Valley, supported in 1937 by the industrialist Adriano Olivetti, who published the results six years later as *Studi e proposte preliminari per il piano regolatore della Valle d'Aosta* (Olivetti, 1943). Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini, Antonio Banfi, Enrico Peressutti and Ernesto N. Rogers participated as architects, conducting demographic studies and presenting data on public health, hygiene or climate.

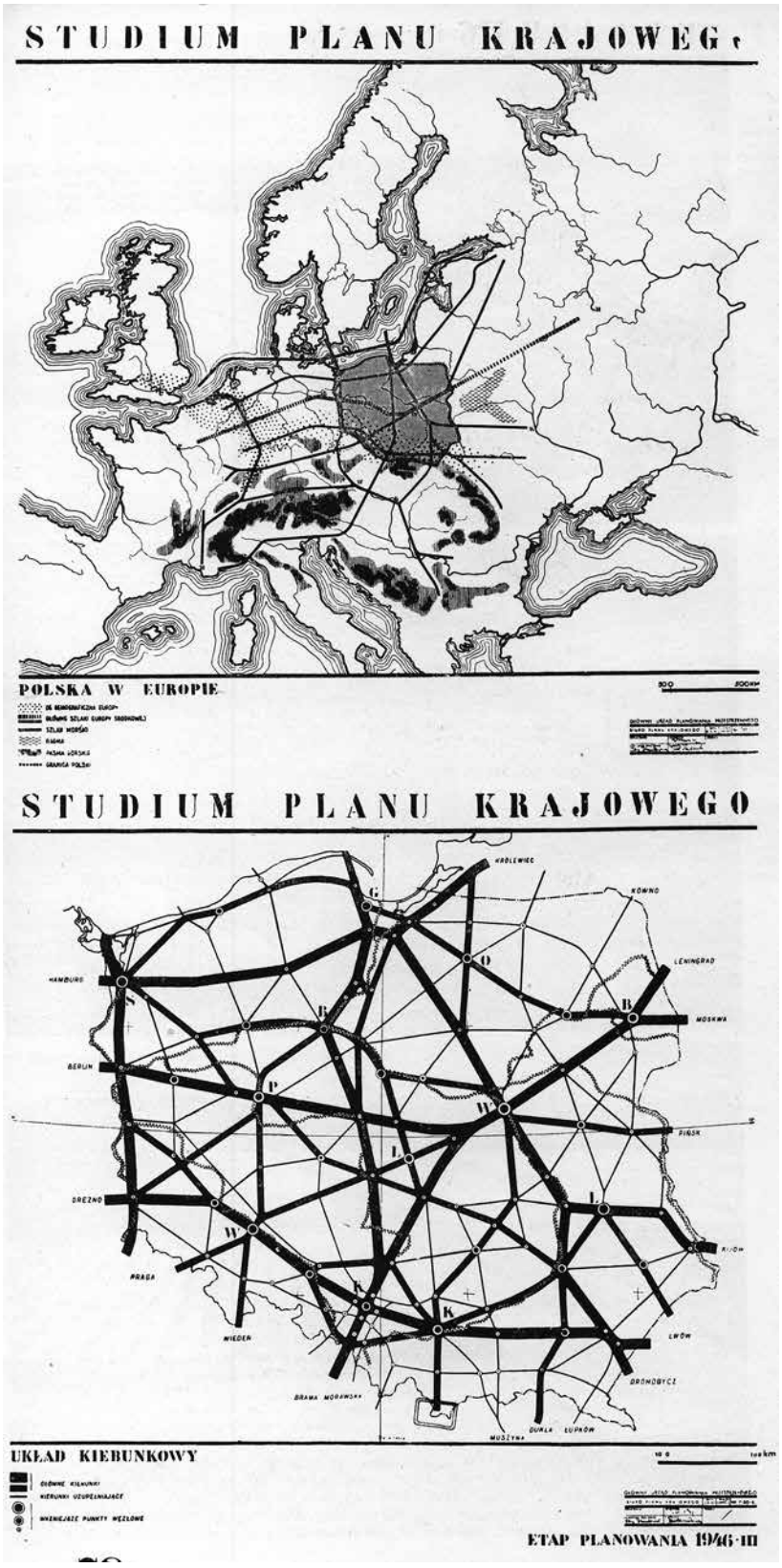
Adriano Olivetti's *Comunità* movement was originally inspired by French personalism – a Christian line of thought, critical of materialism and liberalism – that stressed the person's communitarian dimension, and therefore resonated well with Lewis Mumford's ideas. Olivetti had already established this cultural group during the war years and only afterwards did it commence political activity at a local level, becoming involved in municipal and provincial elections. The *Comunità* fought against party rule and centralism, aiming to replace them with a federal union of local communities. The movement tried to merge both liberal and socialist ideas, opposing both conservatives and communists. Olivetti and his circle and publishing house *Comunità*, publishing the international journal of modern architecture *Zodiac*, were all interested in American models (Scrivano, 2013).

Images popularizing the success of five-year plans and the heroism of nature transformation in the Soviet Union were omnipresent themes in Western Europe also; Yuri Gagarin's space flight on April 12th 1961 was seen as a further step upward on this heroic scale. Artists were commissioned to celebrate the success of the five-year plans with their paintings and sculpture, and many focused on and dramatized the contrast between the giant dimensions of the infrastructure and the geographical scale of the building sites in their work. But it would be a mistake to attribute scalar pathos exclusively to ideological dictates in the USSR. Indeed, the Five-Year Plan was in the center of a picture cycle by the Swiss artist Hans Erni, who illustrated *Naturgewalten und Menschenmacht* [*Forces of Nature and Human Power*] by Ilyin (Ilya Y. Marshak), published in Basel and Zurich in 1945 (Iljin, 1945; Fig. 8). Erni's images show the transformation of the desert that starts with a land survey by a geometer, who – as the explanatory caption stresses – is a woman, helped by two workers and a young boy. Another illustration presents a weather station transmitting data via radio waves, with an isobar temperature map of the USSR.

The aesthetic of the scalar sublime stood in the service of political propaganda; neither Ilyin's book nor the celebration of the TVA "adventure" left any doubts about it. The Swiss artist, architect and designer Max Bill compared the TVA project in his 1945 publication *Wiederaufbau* [*Reconstruction*] with regional planning in the Soviet

Fig. 8 Iljin, *Naturgewalten und Menschenmacht*. Basel, Zurich, 1945. Cover design by Hans Erni.

Fig. 9 Jan Olaf Chmielewski, Regional plan for Poland (1947). Illustration from the Czech architectural journal *Architekt* 5–6 (1949).

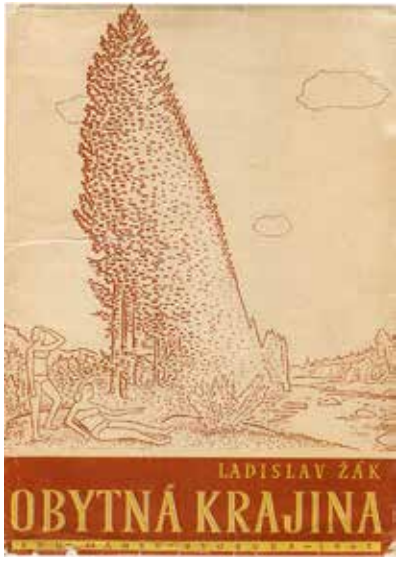


Union. Bill's book took Switzerland's central position and neutrality as the basis for an exchange of ideas between East and West (Bill, 1945). In September 1945, the first exhibition on American architecture opened in Zurich, presenting the example of the TVA project as the "largest example of planning for a peaceful purpose" for an area three times as large as Switzerland, as the author Ernst Friedrich Burckhardt emphasized (Burckhardt, 1945). The important architectural magazine of the Hungarian avant garde *Tér és Forma* likewise emphasized the significance of the TVA project to European cooperation: "The work in the Tennessee Valley is particularly important from a Hungarian point of view, since it has proven that the regulation and development plan of a river valley cannot be dissected along administrative borders. The Danube crosses six countries, the river changes its name six times until it is swallowed by the Black Sea, but the development of its valley is only possible with the cooperation and peaceful joint work of all countries involved" (Dölle, 1947).

Ideas of transnational planning emerged in Europe shortly before the postwar continent was divided between the world powers. The Czech journal *Architekt,* for instance, published a Polish project based on a vast Central European economic space between the Soviet Union and France (Kříž, 1949, p. 73–79; Fig. 9). An exceptional effort to integrate the rural with the territorial scale was Ladislav Žák's book *Obytná krajina* [*The Habitable Region*], written in 1940–1941 and published in 1947 in Prague (Žák, 1947). In the 1930s, Žák had been a leading architect of Czech functionalism, inspired by ocean liners and airplanes. From 1936, he began documenting country landscapes in Czechoslovakia. He developed a typology and morphology of the natural and built landscapes, and presented proposals for the recultivation of the land. In 1949, in an article published in the journal *Architekt*, Žák coined the term "pan-naturalist socialism" (*pannaturalistický socialismus,* Žák, 1949; Fig. 10).

Žák saw no contradiction between the white prisms of Czech purism and the ecological vision of the "habitable region". This is probably the reason why Karel Teige, in his preface to the book, speaks of the "surrealist region", and praises the fact that a naturalist approach, present in literature and painting, has now started to organize the region, "from utopia to science and from science to reality" (Teige, 1947).

Regional planning started in most East European countries immediately after the war, triggered by the increasing centralization of planning and state ownership of the land. Indeed, land reform between 1945 and 1948 was the most important starting point, as the large land estates were divided up, but though this lacked a general concept. Károly Perczel, in charge of the Területrendezési Intézet (TERINT, or the Institute for Territorial Planning) in Hungary, in a longer article explained his intentions to start with the smallest units, small family farms, that had to be connected to small villages then to villages with central functions and so on. The regional-planning



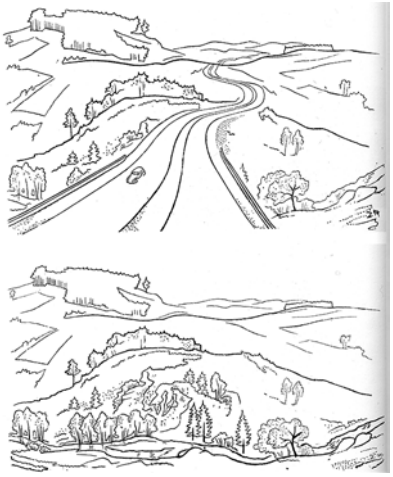


Fig. 10a, 10b Ladislav Žák, *Obytná krajina*, Prague, 1947, cover and drawings of the countryside at Posázaví, p. 131.

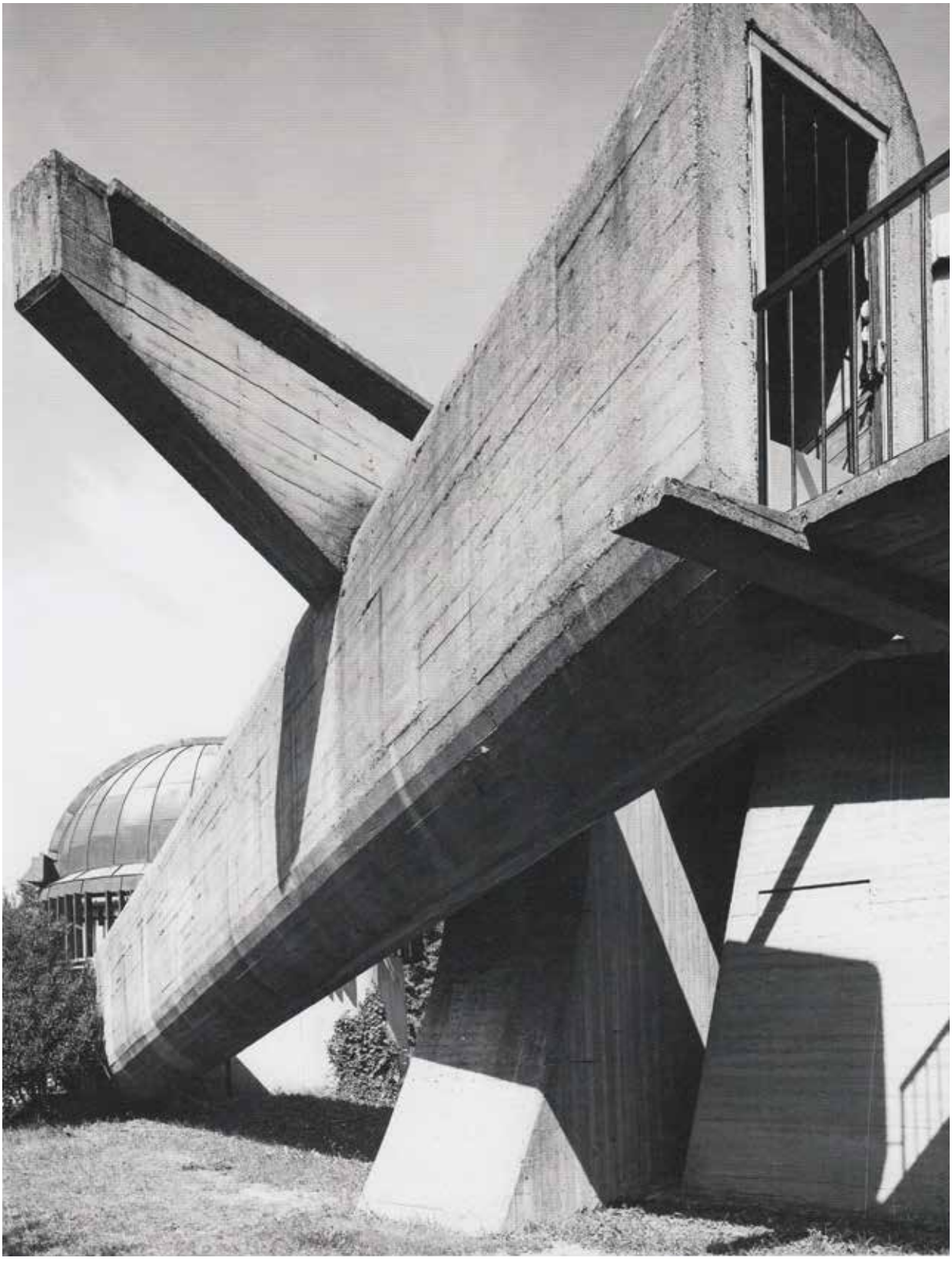
Fig. 11 Elemér Zalotay, Sputnik observatory, Szombathely, Hungary, 1968.

authority foresaw that the centrality of Budapest would be weakened by five large regional centers. Although no reference was made to Walter Christaller's theory of the central places, his work on the spatial distribution of agricultural villages was a possible source, directly or indirectly. In Perczel's study "Do We Need a Nationwide Master Plan?", published in the journal *Új Építészet* [*New Architecture*] in 1946, he stressed the significance of the TVA project (Perczel, 1946). But he also suggested studying a range of other examples, such as Le Corbusier and ASCORAL's *Ville linéaire*. In his "Notes on the Landscape Planning of Hungary", he proposed industrialized strips with roads and linear cities, connecting Hungary with the industrial centers of East and West.

After the political partitioning of Europe into blocs, such plans had to be buried. The "large scale" became a theme, not a method. A curious but characteristic example is the Sputnik observatory in Szombathely, commissioned by the Directorate of the Museums of Vas County in Hungary in 1967 (Fig. 11). The building, designed by the architect Elemér Zalotay, is a sculptural object of cast concrete for housing a big photographic camera, which was removed in short order as satellites were watched better by other satellites than from the earth. But the gestures of the building speak in a poetic and somewhat grotesque way about hopes invested in the cosmic scale. Zalotay had proposed a "ribbon house" earlier, a huge slab of apartments of an undefined length (from over a half to two and a half miles) for many thousands of inhabitants along the Danube River. This had been conceived as a flexible spatial frame that could be filled by prefabricated units designed by different architects. The project was in the center of intense debates; finally, in 1973, Zalotay emigrated to Switzerland.

Zalotay's "ribbon house" is one of several projects with geo-scalar ambitions; for instance, Croatian architect Vjenceslav Richter's residential slab in Zagreb (*Beogradska ulica*) was developed parallel to his "Heliopolis – Four Dimensional City" theoretical study in 1968, and Mario Fiorentino's kilometer-long Corviale housing block in Rome (1972–1982).

The Danube provided the fluvial scale for Zalotay's ribbon house, and the Danube became the symbol of Central European regional identity, celebrated for instance in Claudio Magris's popular book. Charles Polónyi, the Hungarian architect associated with the Team X and working in the 1960s and 1970s in Ghana, Nigeria and Ethiopia, started an international summer school in Budapest in 1983. In summer 1987, students and teachers – among them Peter and Alison Smithson – were living and working on a boat on the Danube. At this time, planning started for a world exhibition jointly organized by Vienna and Budapest for 1995 (Fig. 12). Around 1980, the Central European scale became a concept purged of any similarities with Friedrich Naumann's 1915 program for *Mitteleuropa* (Naumann, 1915), as a way to affirm a particular identity of the region: to be part of the Eastern bloc politically, but without losing its Western cultural orientation.



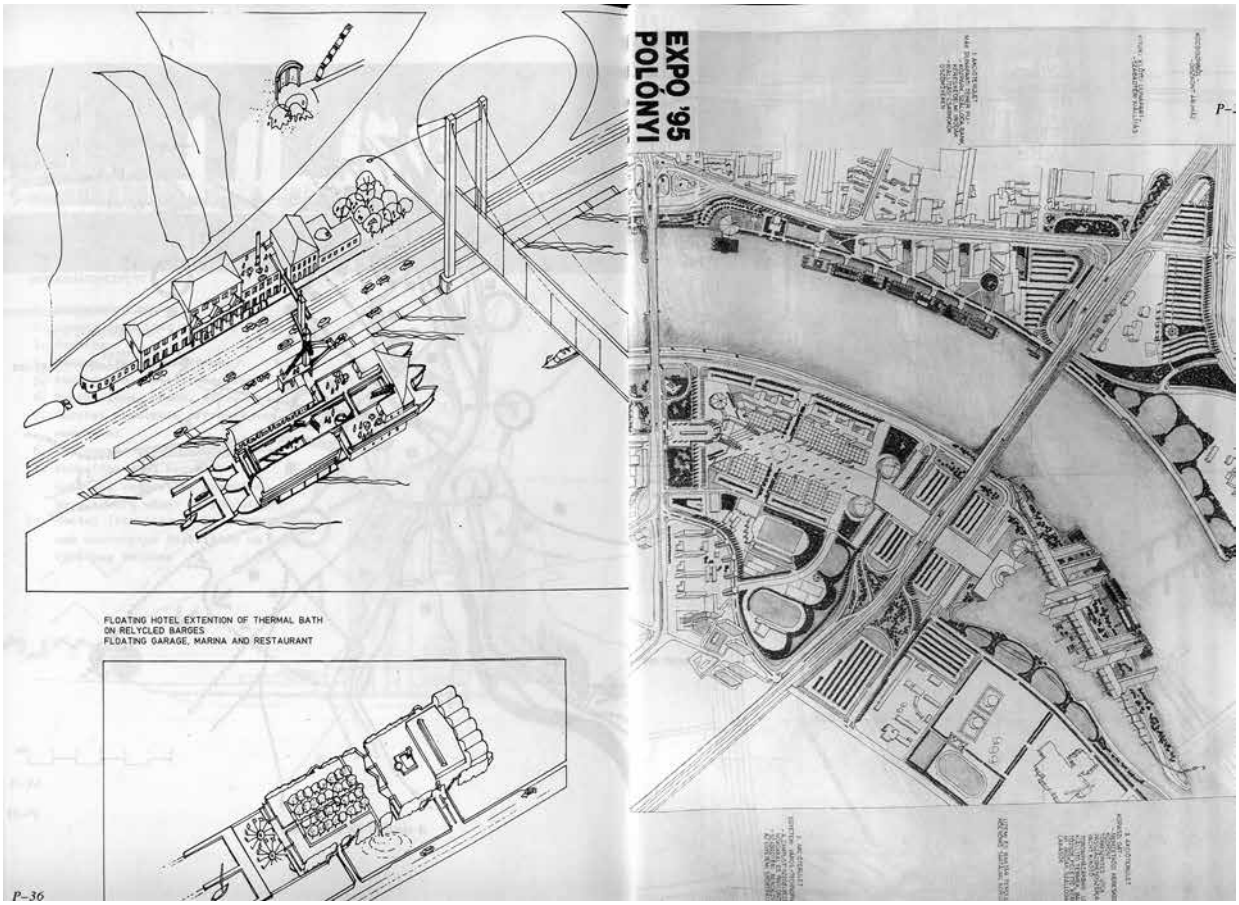


Fig. 12 Charles Polónyi in collaboration with a team of Liverpool Polytechnic, Plan for the EXPO'95 in Budapest, 1988.

In Hungary, historian Jenő Szűcs attracted a great deal of attention with his essay "On the Three Historical Regions of Europe", published in 1981. It appeared in France in 1985 as *Les trois Europes* with an enthusiastic preface by Fernand Braudel, which contributed to the book's international success (Szűcs, 1985).

The geographic scale and the issue of borders is the theme of a recent version of the "Cosmic View", presented as a project of two Swiss photojournalists, Alban Kakulya and Yann Mingard and titled *East of a New Eden: European External Borders* (Kakulya, 2010). Kakulya and Mingard combined data collected by sensors on satellite platforms orbiting at an altitude of more than seven thousand kilometers, with photographs taken at the latitude / longitude coordinates from the satellite dataset. The coordinates link landscapes, border posts, patrols and the faces of refugees. The authors describe their intention as alternating "between the rigors of geopolitics and a personal vision; and though it does not provide any answers, it does, we hope, raise questions in a spirit of openness" (Kakulya, 2010, p. 59). As block-thinking and block-politics is the order of the day again, the third category of the Central certainly deserves reconsideration.

1 → Original quote: “Cette humanité planétaire est solidaire du monde”. Author’s translation.
2 → Author’s translation.

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Irina Davidovici ETH Zürich

Tafuri on Hous-'ing': Housing History as City-making Praxis

One of the most powerful agents of urban transformation in the twentieth century has been the mass production of housing, both in the inner densification and outward expansion of European cities. For this reason, historical accounts of urban housing programmes of any significant scale cannot be innocent: they trace the transformation of theoretical discourses into practices of city-making. The ideas for residential districts described in the experimental interwar urbanism of Le Corbusier and Ludwig Hilberseimer transitioned, under the pressures of post-war reconstruction, into actual, vast quartiers of prefabricated towers and slabs. This centrifugal growth was achieved with wildly varying degrees of success, depending not so much on architectural quality as on issues of social mix, soundness of supporting infrastructure and efficiency of administrative networks. More recently, in reaction to the scale and ubiquity of urban decentralisation, earlier and quantitatively lesser efforts towards densification have come under renewed scrutiny. Previously ignored on account of their anonymity and pragmatism, they have attracted attention for their consolidating effect on the urban as well as social fabric. The compact, fortress-like reform estates built during the late 19th century on slum clearance sites in London, the idealist yet compromised *ceinture rouge* blocks that rose in place of the demolished Parisian fortifications between the wars, the speculative and typologically diverse developments on the outskirts of Rome, or the peculiar episode of Red Vienna's networked *Gemeindebauten* evoke more nuanced relations between housing and cities, individuals and communities [1]. While proportionately few in comparison with suburban housing, those ensembles that retained by various means their continuity with the adjacent urban fabric are qualitatively, historically and ideologically significant. The appeal of such projects resides in the tension between their desire for internal coherence and the various ways – spatial, morphological, typological – in which they are anchored in a larger urban and cultural continuum.

Unlike the history of houses, that of hous-*ing* is inescapably political, which means that its correct understanding and interpretation poses specific challenges to the historian. Due to its subject's reliance on policy, housing historiography performs an endless balancing act between the resolution of forms and the immaterial determining factors, political, ideological and administrative. Manfredo Tafuri was the first to formalise this movement in his research at the Institute of Architectural History in Venice, part of the Istituto Universitario di Architettura IUAV [2].

Tafuri argued that a general "crisis of the object" was reflected by a methodological crisis in the history of architecture, in which the formal qualities of projects remained at odds with their involvement in a political, social and historical context (Tafuri, 1980, p. 85). This applied most clearly to the study of housing, that architectural embodiment of the industrial urban masses to which the Marxist critic dedicated some of his most convincing historical tracts. Tafuri's assessment of the German modernist *Siedlungen* as "oases of order... built utopias

Frontispiece Mario Ridolfi and Wolfgang Frankl. INA-Assicurazioni residential towers in Viale Etiopia, Rome, 1950–54.
Photo: Irina Davidovici

at the edge of an urban reality little conditioned by them" laid bare the tension between the rational order of architectural visions and the potent disorder of their actual settings (Tafuri, 1976, p. 109). His commentaries on post-war Italian housing exposed a parallel predicament, as the "islands of realised utopia" intended by architects were eventually caught up, and ultimately compromised, by ubiquitous processes of speculative urban growth around them (Tafuri, 1989, p. 33). Tafuri's pronouncements on German pre-war and Italian post-war models starkly summarised the dilemma of autonomy and integration still faced by urban housing production throughout Europe. From the various pronouncements that Tafuri made on the history of housing, one might be able to reconstitute a trajectory of ideas regarding city-making throughout the twentieth century.

This paper attempts to sketch out this history of housing as urban practice. At the same time, it re-evaluates the critical instruments at the disposal of the housing historian, distilling from Tafuri's analyses of twentieth-century housing a research methodology that can be reproduced. Concentrating on the modernist failure to gain control over urban contradictions, Tafuri's housing histories submitted projects to structuralist readings with Marxist and Freudian overtones, oscillating between form-oriented and process-oriented methods of analysis. How did this pendulum between the object and its framework affect the understanding of housing production? How can his concept of historical analysis as a contradictory, complex and constantly renewable operation form the basis of a more general methodology? How can static morphological and typological classifications be placed alongside the more dynamic constituents of social and political reality?

Tafuri's and his collaborators' studies on European housing combined object critique with ideological analysis to illustrate the confrontation between mass housing, urban strategy and the all-conditioning capitalist apparatus. Instead of advancing a generalised understanding of the avant-garde as a modernist phenomenon gliding across national and political boundaries, the historical writings addressed the local specificity of parallel developments, such as those of interwar German, Austrian or Dutch housing policies (Tafuri and Dal Co, 1980). Distinctions were drawn on the basis of specific political and administrative conditions, rather than chronological or geographical contexts. The individual architectural approaches identified within each of these separate cultural and political tracts opened a discursive range, rather than illustrating one defining attitude. All such distinctions were subsumed under a greater phenomenon, which Tafuri repeatedly described as a series of successive, and ultimately failing, ideologies. Beneath the various scenarios offered by European and US housing histories, he thus articulated the common, recurring drama of a misalignment between architectural means and political ends.

Housing received special attention in Tafuri's 1969 *Contropiano* article "The Critique of Architectural Ideology", later expanded as

Architecture and Utopia (Tafuri, 1969, 1976). In these pieces, Tafuri used big strokes to articulate, in K. Michael Hays' words, "the entire cycle of modernism as a unitary development in which the avant-gardes' visions of utopia come to be recognized as an idealization of capitalism, a transfiguration of the latter's rationality into the rationality of the autonomous form" (Hays, 1998, p. 2). In contrast, the more detailed historical tracts of the *Vienna Rossa* anthology (Tafuri, 1980), *Architettura Contemporanea*, co-authored with Francesco Dal Co (Tafuri and Dal Co, 1980), and the *History of Italian Architecture* (Tafuri, 1989) articulated a more nuanced commentary, oscillating between the analysis of housing projects as built artefacts and as visible manifestations of particular ideologies. In order to extract a common method, we should begin by reviewing some of these commentaries on social housing experiments: in the 1920s Weimar Republic and Vienna, and in 1950s Rome.

Tafuri on housing during the Weimar Republic

For Tafuri and his collaborator Francesco Dal Co, the *Siedlungen* built around Frankfurt and Berlin in the 1920s were a development from the anarchic-libertarian utopias of Expressionism. They embodied a radical alternative avant-garde that gave primacy to the rationalization of territory and industrialization of building processes. Renouncing the role of high priest in the cathedral of the future, the architect willingly demoted himself to technician controlling building production and territorial development (Tafuri and Dal Co, 1980, p. 153). This rationalist avant-garde retained from its earlier incarnation a concern with the totality of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, manifested in the attempted accord between architectural language and the conditions of production. The modularity and prefabrication of Weimar housing were conceived as metaphors for the Fordian assembly line. At the level of urban planning, Ernst May in Frankfurt and Martin Wagner in Berlin retained this parallel by developing *Siedlungen* as satellites disconnected from the nuclear city centres, replicating the decentralization of industry, and relying on infrastructural network for cohesion.

May's visions in Frankfurt and Wagner's in Berlin were utopian in their efforts to root out speculative building, in insisting on housing as a purely social provision rather than commercial commodity. Tafuri believed that the problem with this model of "direct urban control" was its ideological opposition to the principles of modern planning, articulated as a corrective to, rather than the radical rejection of, free-market inequalities. Ludwig Hilberseimer's *Grossstadt* was more perceptive in its acknowledgment of the extent and depth of capitalist operations (Tafuri 1976, pp. 104–107). If, for May, the residential unit replicated a mechanistic logic, Hilberseimer extended the conception to the entire urban realm as an integrated, compact and stratified "city-machine" (Tafuri 1976, pp. 107, 114). This conception of an alternative to the fragmented islands of the *Siedlungen* came however at a cost.

Fig. 1 Hans Scharoun (masterplan) with Fred Forbat, Otto Bartning, Walter Gropius, Paul Rudolph Henning, Hugo Häring. Berlin-Siemensstadt, 1929–30. *Zeilenbau* by Gropius. Photo: Irina Davidovici

Fig. 2 Bruno Taut and Franz Hillinger for GEHAG. Wohnstadt Carl Legien, Berlin, 1928–30. Photo: Irina Davidovici

The acceptance of the metropolis as pure system, as the expression of concentration of capital, rendered it "anonymous, compact, stratified": a naked infrastructure for impersonal processes, "a city without qualities" (Tafuri and Dal Co, 1980, p. 162). The ambiguous locations of dwelling and work became interchangeable, caught in the expression of the same inexorable logic.

Tafuri posed the dual strategies of Weimar urban policy as extreme solutions with no median ground. In Hilberseimer's machine-city, the question of housing remained abstract, a matter of skeletal infrastructure as impersonal as the Taylorian production processes to which it owed its existence. Whereas, in their search for communal values, as the embodiment of their planners' social democratic values, the *Siedlungen* represented an anti-urban ideology, based on the utopian order of autonomous garden cities: "the closed economy of the settlements reflected the fragmentary character of the undertakings that left intact the contradictions of the city" (Tafuri, 1976, p. 115). Even with political support and the elimination of private enterprise, this "closed economy" failed to address the dynamic of the capitalist city or the financial aspects of real estate. The impossibility of controlling economic aspects, such as credit and cost materials, effectively neutralized its results. So, while the production of housing progressed significantly in intellectual and architectural terms, its actual limits were set out by the underlying ideology.

Tafuri on Red Vienna's *Gemeindebauten*

The circumstances of post-Habsburg Vienna as a socialist capital, cut off from the rest of the country and unable to expand outwards in politically inimical territory, dictated an intensive housing program focused, by necessity, on urban densification. Working against the dispersion of working classes into garden cities, the authorities supported the construction of superblocks combining residential and communal facilities located in central urban areas, close to transport infrastructures. The radical policy of the Viennese socialist authorities was financed through land and property requisitions and the levy of taxes as a way to redistribute wealth. Almost 64,000 units were built between 1923 and 1934, which accounts for the strong presence of the socialist *Höfe* in the city. Here, ideology was coupled to an explicit iconological program, meant to bestow upon working-class housing a dignity and scale previously reserved for aristocratic palaces. However, the price tag of this policy was both economic and political, intensifying the national financial crisis, leading to economic stagnation, and estranging entrepreneurs and property owners, who contributed in turn to the rise of right-wing extremism.

Throughout Tafuri's work, Red Vienna's *Höfe* and *Gemeindebauten* recur as counterparts to the *Siedlungen* being built at the time in Germany: eccentric of the avant-garde agenda, and conspicuously absent from *Architecture and Utopia*[3].This deliberate omission is more

Fig. 3 Heinrich Schmidt and Hermann Aichinger. Julius-Popp-Hof, Vienna, 1925–27. Internal courtyard.
Photo: Irina Davidovici

Fig. 4 Heinrich Schmidt and Hermann Aichinger. Rabenhof, Vienna, 1925–28. Arch passageway to internal courtyard.
Photo: Irina Davidovici

than made up in the substantial *Vienna Rossa,* hailed by Eve Blau as surpassing all previous historical accounts in its "impact [and] critical authority" (Blau, 1999, p. 11). For Tafuri, the Red Vienna "project of reclaiming" the city for the working classes was from the outset a "dead end", animated by idealistic intentions without considering their long-term feasibility. This naïve idealism was, for him, the outward manifestation of an underlying conflict caused by the misalignment of technology, ideology and form (Tafuri, 1980, p. 7). The scale and outward opulence of the "people's palaces" was largely rhetorical, embodying the illusory attempt to re-configure the capitalist metropolis as an educational and welfare institution (Blau, 1999, p. 12). Tafuri and Dal Co presented the grandiosity and scale of these projects as a political provocation, "pugnacious islands proclaiming themselves proletarian monuments of very different dimensions and form from the architecture of 19th century Vienna surrounding them", "eager the exalt the autonomous values of a residential democracy that was placed under the aegis of the working class" (Tafuri and Dal Co, 1980, p. 164).

Apart from the urban strategy (mostly inner-city consolidation rather than decentralization), what distinguished the Red Vienna projects from the contemporaneous German housing was a reliance on cultural, rather than technological, symbolism in the formation of their typology. The appeal to the local motif of the connected urban courtyard, at once nostalgic and politically provocative through its emphasis on autonomy, was symptomatic of a recovery of 'place' that prefigured the postwar re-emergence of history as design source. Thus, the Viennese *Höfe* represented an ambiguous position, at the same time closing within their walls the idealized fragments of a better society, creating an impressive urban presence in scale, and seeking to remain legible to the wider public through 'local' and familiar references. While Tafuri construed this formal consistency as pure isolation, implicitly critical of the speculative piecemeal urban reality surrounding them, Eve Blau saw it differently. To her, the network of pathways that consistently opened up the interior of these blocks connected them to the public realm. Sometimes open to, other times engulfing the street network, the *Höfe* created a more ambiguous spatial continuity, "like a figure-ground inversion of the traditional city street and block" (Blau, 1999, p. 270).

Tafuri's focus on moments of rupture led him to characterize the housing of Red Vienna as the embodiment of a conflict between ideological content, technological possibilities, and regressive forms. The eschatological monumentality of the *Höfe* masked a reality of backward industries, political ambivalence and economic crisis. Marxist and utopian, defined by the tension between reform policies and revolutionary aims, Red Vienna remained a political impasse, "a declaration of war without any hope of victory" (Tafuri, 1980, p. 7).

Tafuri on post-war housing in Rome: The case of INA Casa

From the complementary interwar experiments of Weimar Germany and socialist Vienna, Tafuri turned his attention to a nearer setting, both historically and geographically, in his *History of Italian Architecture* (1989). Here, the vehicle of the historical survey was used as a means to construct a wider critique of Italian postwar reconstruction, seen as posing a "difficult dialectic between knowledge and action", based not only on contradictions within architecture but with its wider conditioning (Tafuri, 1989, p. 3). After the war, as part of the intellectual production, architectural practice was viewed as inexorably political. It was distinguished by successive ideologies, connected by the ethical imperative of what Tafuri called "the pursuit of a program of truth" (Tafuri, 1989, p. 4). The contents of this truth and the basis for action remained, however, open to interpretation. In a program of cultural cohesion, the dilemma of having to choose between the emulation of appropriate historical models and erasing the recent past opened, Tafuri argued, an intellectual conflict with tradition. The need to overcome the problematic political connotations of interwar idioms, whether rationalist or neoclassical, led to the adoption of a popular language, relatable to the experience of inhabitants. In this intellectual context, the postwar production of INA-Casa was subsumed under the agenda of Neorealism. In its appeal to the common symbols of an untainted past in order to purify the future, Neorealism represented a "contamination between individual and collectivity, between parts and whole" (Tafuri 1989, p. 10).

The Tiburtino district in Rome is a case in point: for Tafuri, its Neorealism was symptomatic of the identity crisis besetting at this time the Italian creative classes. Through immersion into rhetorical nostalgia, the design sought solace in the familiar confines of traditional forms and details. The Tiburtino's distance from the city centre, while the result of INA CASA's ill-conceived, financially motivated urban strategy of urban sprawl, was re-construed as a form of freedom to claim the life of a real village (Tafuri, 1989, p. 16). This rural fiction was formally translated into the sinuous planning of streets and piazzas, predominantly one-family house types, with a profusion of vernacular details only vaguely related to traditional architecture. The necessary reliance, at the time, on low-tech construction was likewise transformed into a celebration of craftsmanship as "antidote for alienation" (Tafuri, 1989, p. 17). Tafuri remained sceptical of this fabricated rural idyll, problematized by the recycling of its artificial cosiness and populist detailing as a "facile formula offering materials for easy use and consumption" (Tafuri, 1989, p. 3).

Ridolfi and Franckl's ensemble of residential towers on the more urban location of Viale Etiopia, on the inside of the Circonvallazione, represented for Tafuri "one of the greatest testimonies of the intellectual anxiety experienced in the 1950s" (Tafuri, 1989, p. 18). In the new quartier, the artisanal enamel panelling and pastel colour

Fig. 5 Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi (project leaders), Carlo Aymonino, Carlo Chiarini, Mario Fiorentino, Federico Gorio, Maurizio Lanza, Sergio Lenci, Piero Maria Lugli, Carlo Melograni, Giancarlo Menichetti, Giulio Rinaldi, Michele Valori. INA-Casa District on Via Tiburtina, Rome, 1949–54.
Photo: Irina Davidovici

Fig. 6 Mario Ridolfi and Wolfgang Frankl. INA-Assicurazioni residential towers, Viale Etiopia, Rome, 1950–54.
Photo: Irina Davidovici

scheme amounted to a kind of prettiness, only to be undercut by the tectonic heaviness of the dominant structure. Through the contrast between the austere concrete frames and soft decorative scheme, the project commented on a disjointed urban reality, expressing its architects' "painful participation in a human condition that cannot be assuaged with architectural 'certainities'" (Tafuri, 1989, p. 18). This drama was expressed in the intuitive, picturesque placement of the towers, denying the positivist agenda associated with modernist high-rise, and acknowledging instead an older, more decorous urbanity through the softening effect of their chamfered corners. For Tafuri, the project's adaptation to the social and climatic conditions of its locale moved beyond a regressive utopian narrative to announce instead "the architect's passage from neorealism to realism" (Tafuri, 1989, p. 19).

As consistently in the case of housing, Tafuri subsumed the assessment of purely architectural decisions under the wider problematic of territorial planning. From an administrative point of view, the historian was quick to question the soundness of INA Casa's urban expansion policies, pointing out that their building developments and infrastructural networks, paid for with public money, served to stimulate an objectionable kind of building speculation, which soon engulfed INA Casa districts within inferior, piecemeal and chaotic spread. Moreover, the neorealist rejection of clearly defined, abstract representational means gave rise to a sense of visual confusion, making it difficult to distinguish between populist and popular, between the feigned spontaneity of neorealism and the problematic spontaneity of

speculative development. Whereby Tafuri had been able to read the earlier examples of Weimar Siedlungen and Viennese Höfe as "oases of order", here the very possibility of order, however fragmentary or compromised, was renounced:

> *The encirclement of the "districts" by the speculating city – a predictable and calculated phenomenon – soon revealed that architectural design had not managed to produce even islands of realized utopia. Realism showed itself for what it was, the product of a useless compromise* (Tafuri, 1989, p. 33).

White Writing

While his housing analyses focused on specific historical contexts, Tafuri's conclusions repeatedly arrived at a common underlying narrative of conflict, fragmentation and crisis. The inability of parallel and successive ideologies to acknowledge the operations of capital and fully engage with their consequences in the industrial city confirmed, time and again, the limitations of architectural operations when conceived in aesthetic isolation. The following passage from *Architecture and Utopia* – moving from the historical towards the critical end of the Tafurian spectrum – summarized this dilemma:

> *Beside the oases of order that were the* Siedlungen *– true* constructed utopias*, on the margins of an urban reality little affected by them – the old cities continued to accumulate their contradictions. And for the most part, these contradictions would soon appear more vital than the tools established by the architectural milieu to control them* (Tafuri, 1976, p. 109).

It is precisely this spontaneous vitality that became the elusive goal of architecture in the 1970s, not least in dialogue with Tafuri's own discourse. Massimo Scolari's Tendenza manifesto, in 1973, for a new architecture "without compromises, but also without dreams", acknowledged a sense of "renouncement" grounded in "historical awareness" (Scolari 1973, p. 131). Aldo Rossi's question / answer session, at the beginning of his *Scientific Autobiography*, conveyed a similar spirit: "To what, then, could I have aspired in my craft? Certainly to small things, given that the possibility of great ones was historically precluded" (Rossi, 1981, frontispiece). Tafuri incorporated the historical awareness of his contemporaries in the framework of an irretrievably fragmented culture, setting in motion an exasperating dialogue of reflections mirroring each other. Rossi's 1975 watercolor *L'Architecture assassinée*, poignantly dedicated to Manfredo Tafuri, was subsequently placed onto the cover of *Architecture and Utopia*, acknowledging Rossi's project as effectively architectural criticism – that is, a critical attitude expressed by and through architecture itself (Stoppani, 2010, p. 218).

The Tafurian dilemma of a modern architecture whose aesthetic and operative possibilities are constantly under threat was seen by Fredric Jameson as formulating a "dialectical history of architecture" (Jameson, 1985). For Jameson, *Architecture and Utopia* belonged to a critical genre of dialectical histories, as articulated in Theodor Adorno's *Philosophy of Modern Music* (1947) and Roland Barthes's *Writing Degree Zero* (1953) (Jameson, 1985, p. 57; Adorno, 2003; Barthes, 1984). All three shared the recognition of "necessary failure, of closure, of ultimate unresolvable contradictions" as the very basis of artistic production (Jameson, 1985, p. 58). The artist starts anew with what Jameson called "white or bleached writing", a neutral production that escapes "the nightmare of history" by placing itself outside established stylistic tropes, traditional institutions and particular audiences (Jameson, 1985, p. 61).

To be sure, white writing is a utopian condition that must perpetually re-invent itself. Barthes showed that the discovery of such "a sort of basic speech" becomes inevitably re-engulfed into history: through consumption, "society demotes writing to mere manner, and returns [the writer] as prisoner to his own formal myths" (Barthes, 1984, p. 65). In the end, "writing is a blind alley, because society itself is a blind alley" (Barthes, 1984, p. 72). The dilemma is yet more visible in architecture, given its dependency on social, economic and political factors outside of the discipline. Thus Jameson:

> *If the outer limit of the individual building is the material city itself, with its opacity, complexity, and resistance, then the outer limit of some expanded conception of the architectural vocation as including urbanism and city planning is the economic itself, or capitalism in the most overt and naked expression of its implacable power* (Jameson, 1985, p. 61).

Moving between scales

Where does this leave, then, the architectural historian, specifically the historian focused on the intricate web of dependencies and ideological narratives underpinning the history of hous-*ing*? In *Theories and History*, Tafuri presented the architectural crisis of the modernist avant-garde, in which the formal qualities of projects are at odds with their involvement in a political, social and historical context, as replicated at a methodological level in a crisis of architectural historiography. The limited effectiveness of ideologies and architectural semantics was paralleled by the limited effectiveness of critical tools, which must be continually reinvented. Tafuri's dialectical historiography shifted the focus of analysis from buildings to the historical phenomena they symptomized; from criticism, to the study of history. In an interview with Richard Ingersoll, he advocated an understanding of architectural form in the context of its determining societal and economic processes:

> *As to how to select buildings that are worthy of history, it is the problem and not the object that concerns the historian. The works selected are irrelevant on their own and only have meaning in the way they relate to the problem.... As to the problems of architecture, it is more interesting to note cycles – series of things – rather than individual works of architects. The historic cycle tells us more than stylistic taxonomies* (Tafuri, 1986, pp. 8–11).

Thus, the strategy required of housing historians goes beyond the, by now, self-evident imperative of subsuming the analysis of the architectural object under the analysis of its historical, political, social and cultural conditions of production. It requires them to operate with the recognition that, rather than reflecting society, housing inscribes itself in self-perpetuating cycles of consumption and investment, which explains its inability to meet the more dynamic needs of changing demographics. Housing is by definition tied into standardization, rendered repetitive and limited in configurations, becoming a major contributor to the monotony of cities (not by any means the worst that an urbanization operation can do).

This is however not enough. In a wider understanding of architecture, housing is tied into processes that determine urbanization, and thus impacts on the character of emerging cities. David Harvey identified another level of inevitability, besides the 'micro' problem of white writing or degree zero architecture, at the macro scale, in what he called "the capital surplus disposal problem" (Harvey, 2007). Harvey argued that the economic need to perpetually reinvest profit leads, with implacable logic, to urbanization as an outlet for capital. The capital surplus problem is cyclical for it is unresolvable, providing ever "temporary solutions" that nevertheless, in the course of implementation, impact irreversibly and in the long term upon the quality of urban life (Harvey, 2007, p. 17). As a result of such operations, under global neo-liberalism "cities have increasingly become cities of 'fortified fragments'", in which the barriers between social classes are ever more strongly articulated (Harvey, 2007, p. 23; National Research Council, 2003, p. 379).

The "fortified fragments" that Harvey cites are altogether different from Tafuri's reading of reformed housing as "oases of order" in interwar Frankfurt, Berlin or Vienna. They are more a sequel to the "uselessly compromised" developments he identified on the outskirts of postwar Rome (to which one might easily add London, Paris, Amsterdam and almost any other European city). Experimental housing reforms, both before and after the Second World War, proposed models of democratic and equalitarian societies, whether nostalgic or utopian, through the design of orderly and controlled pockets of utopia. In Harvey's current account, the urban fragmentation is yet more profound, as demonstrated by the aggravation of social inequality and potential conflict in the neo-

liberalist metropolis. More than ever, therefore, the historian of housing must learn from Tafuri the difficult but indispensable skill of lucid analysis of housing in its complex contexts. Jean-Louis Cohen noted how Tafuri "ceased to exalt the heroism of pioneers and the radicalism of avant-garde manifestos, inscribing their production in a vaster history: not that of architectural movements, but of the consolidation of capitalist modes of production that metropolitan culture gives expression to" (Cohen 2015, p. 161). A necessary stage in the history of housing might thus be to explain the rapport of architects to existing political and financial hegemonies: their role as active collaborators and shapers of policy, or, as is increasingly the case, as unquestioning service providers, cladding over ever more normalized and generic configurations. The historian of housing should offer a reflecting surface for its practitioner by articulating and clarifying these rapports.

Marco de Michelis comes closer to identifying, within Tafuri's historical project, his methodological approach. "For Tafuri", he writes, "the peculiar aim of history is not a mere 'hermeneutic' production of interpretation, but rather much more a production of meanings through the 'constant struggle between analysis and its objects'... an analytical construction that is never definitive and always provisional" (de Michelis, 2017, p. 16). Analysis must constantly shift between, on the one hand, the articulation of built forms within the urban fabric, and on the other the societal and economic processes that shape both building and city. Thus, it may identify the misalignments produced by the juxtaposition of obdurate capitalist logic against more fluid processes of technological and societal transformation. Housing is not only about industrial production, but also, fundamentally, social reproduction. The historian's perspective thus engages with cycles of cultural production and economic enterprise, intertwined in endless discourse. Understood as a discursive practice, the history of housing as a history of ideas reveals fundamental mechanisms in the production of urban space.

1 → See for example Panerai, Castex, Depaule, Samuels 2004; Sonne, 2017.
2 → For the activities of the Istituto at Tafuri's time see Cohen, 2015, pp. 137–166.
3 → The brief but intense attention accorded to Red Vienna in Tafuri and Dal Co's Architettura contemporanea (1977, English translation 1980) was supplemented by closer-grain analysis in the anthology Vienna Rossa. La politica rezidentiale nella Vienna socialista (1980). Both were outcomes of a longer-term project, starting in 1969 with investigations into the Viennese residential type as "anomalous" in the context of European avant-gardes (Tafuri, 1980, p. 5). Tafuri's earliest article on this topic was "Austromarxismo e città 'Das Rote Wien'" (Tafuri, 1971), and it was lastly visited was published in "Realismus und Architektur: zur Konstruktion volksbezogener Sprachen" (Tafuri, 1987).

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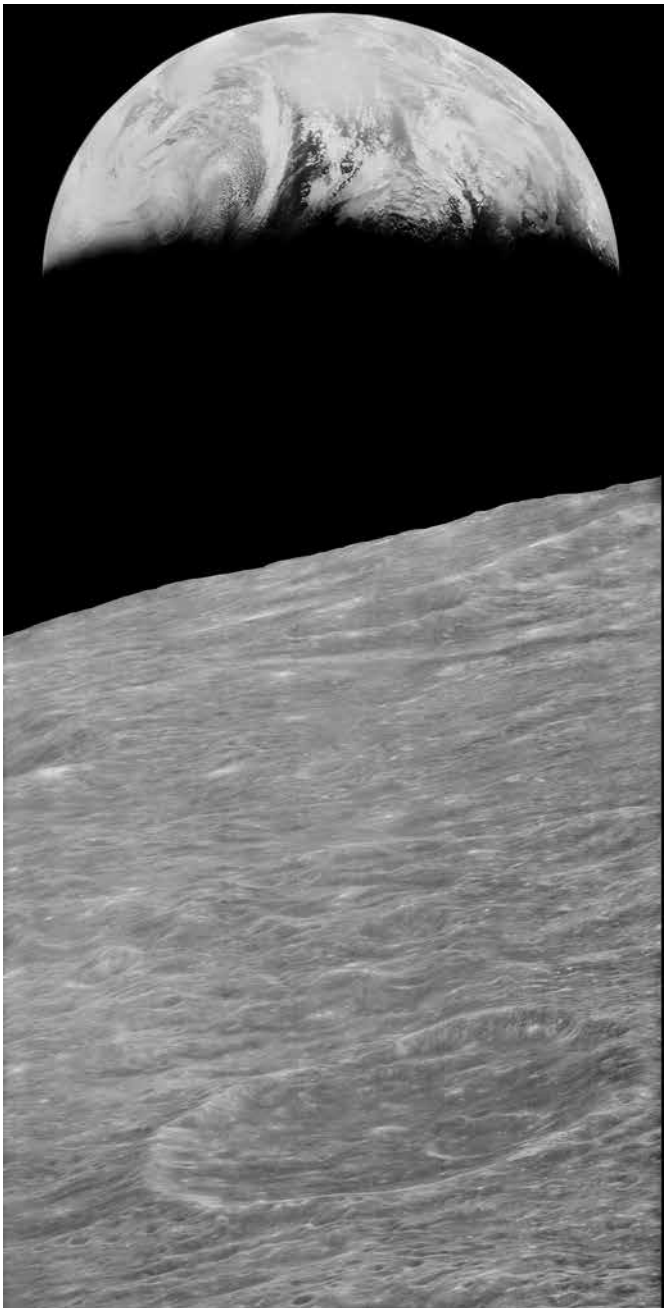
An Ideological City
Koolhaas' Exodus in the Second Ecumene



Introduction

In 1968 the Apollo 8 spacecraft became the first manned vehicle to orbit the moon. This mission is perhaps most famous however, for a photograph called *Earthrise*, taken by astronaut William Anders. Deemed by Life Books as 'the most influential environmental photograph ever taken' (Rowel, 2003, p. 172), it is purportedly the first photograph of our globe in-the-round. Earthrise had been preceded, however, by a 1966 black-and-white image taken by the Lunar Orbiter 1 robotic probe. Marking a seminal shift into an era signified by universal globalization, the world's first view of Earth appropriately originated from beyond its surface.

Six years later in 1972 when Rem Koolhaas created his theoretical project, 'Exodus, or the Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture', he created an architecture against geo-economic forces of globalization. Critical to Exodus is an opposing spatial impenetrability designed to keep people in, while keeping goods, capital, and politics out. Both architecture and city, Exodus ideologically resists a newly emergent globalized world, manifest in an interconnected world-city that Greek architect Constantinos Doxiadis prefigured as 'Ecumenopolis'. Using Peter Sloterdijk's spatial analysis of globalization, I will place Exodus within this economic and historical context — a counter-cultural space at odds with global architecture and cities. As a discordant proposition, however, Koolhaas provides a place in which humans enter into an ontological space: Sloterdijk's *Sphären* (Spheres).

Frontispiece Lunar Orbiter 1: August 23, 1966 at 16:35 GMT, *Moonviews*.
Source: Retrieved 22 April 2014 from Official website of the Lunar Orbiter Image Recovery Project (LOIRP) http://www.moonviews.com/lunar-orbiter-1-i-or-a/.

The Global Second Ecumene

Originally published in 2005 as *Im Weltinnenraum des Kapitals* and later translated in 2013, *In the Interior World of Capital* outlines a philosophical account of the history of globalization. In this book, Peter Sloterdijk posits that humanity has entered a new epoch he terms the Second Ecumene. Sloterdijk borrows this term from Eric Voegelin's *Order and History vol. 4: The Ecumenic Age*. Voegelin's ecumene is largely tied to religion and faith, Christianity in particular, and exhibits similar characteristics to Sloterdijk's First Ecumene. Sloterdijk, however, posits that a new conception of civilized humanity has taken hold: a Second Ecumene.

Eric Voegelin's 'ecumene', one might surmise, stems etymologically to Hellenistic Greek. *Oikumene* is the classical name for 'inhabited world', and first came to signify development of cities, religion, and law in early eras of human history. Sloterdijk claims this First Ecumene is characterized philosophically as a period of time where humans became 'ontologically unified as members of a species that shares a single world secret beyond their respective local symbolisms' (Sloteridjk, 2013, p. 144). For Sloterdijk (2013, p. 145) species unity is critical for the development of a spatial collective. Ancient Rome is the emblematic city of the First Ecumene, insofar as Rome spread a spatial conception of an the inhabited world around the Mediterranean Sea. Consequently, the Second Ecumeme likewise is defined through a unity

of the human race (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 147). In the Second Ecumene the inhabited world has achieved an alternative level of species unity – one that moves beyond religion and is collectively whole throughout the global world. The Second Ecumene unites the various peoples of earth through a new global language: the universal language of money.

The Second Ecumene may be understood economically as globalization. By globalization I mean a process through which a world-capitalist economy has been incorporated into a single decentralized, interconnected, and dependent system that stretches beyond traditional national boundaries. As a means of extracting capital, globalization forms uninterrupted networks from one part of the newly-conceived globe to another. According to Sloterdijk, the 'most effective totalization [of the globe], is the unification of the world through money' (2013, p. 7). Paradoxically, it was a unilateral, asymmetrical taking of the world (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 10) that European powers sought to universalize Earth's population through a singular economic system.

The spread of capitalism via colonialization homogenized societies into universal sameness under the guise of equality. Through globalization we see not only perpetual capitalism, but also dependency as a means of ensuring continued economic benefit. While Sloterdijk posits the result of globalization is the logical synthesis of humanity, I argue, rather, it is the purpose of globalization driving this self-same synthesis. Whereas Sloterdijk implies that globalization is the result of European capital imperialism, whose *effect* has been a universalization of world cultures and economic systems, I would argue that world universalization is at the root of European expansion from its onset – which began as religious homogenization and evolved into economic pursuits. The result of this synthesis of humanity, European powers anticipated, is an increased participation and reliance on a world-economic system. The more interconnected and universal the system – through the movement of goods, capital, and persons – the higher the impossibility of isolation from it. Furthermore, the apparatus through which globalization operates (commodities, banks, politics) is sublated into this larger and global milieu.

A globalized world has secondary consequences beyond economics, effecting social, cultural, and political spheres. The Second Ecumene bears similarities with Hardt and Negri's theoretical apparatus, *Empire*. Hardt and Negri describe Empire as a spatial coalescence of global societies, where the 'divisions of the three Worlds (First, Second, and Third) have been scrambled so that we continually find the First world in the Third, the Third in the First, and the Second almost nowhere at all' (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. xiii). Whereas Martin Albrow's *Global Age* (1996) proposes that globalization has concluded, and Jean-Luc Nancy (2007) states that it can never actually be reached, Hardt and Negri agree with Sloterdijk that an interconnected globalized Empire begins an ahistorical epoch – ongoing in perpetuity.

Globalized[1], however, differs from the process of globalization, insofar as the process has become ever-reaching and absolute. Sloterdijk indicates that '(w)hat the sixteenth century set in motion was perfected by the twentieth: no point on the earth's surface, once money had stopped off there, could escape the fate of becoming a location' (2013, p. 140). Sloterdijk (2013, p. 10) feels that after five centuries of slowly globalizing, humanity reached a saturation phase in the mid-twentieth century. World War II reconfigured spatial territories across the globe – destabilizing and de-territorializing colonial societies – ending colonization and bringing forth equilibrium[2]. The result was the end of colonization, and the completion of the process of territorial globalization[3]. The years immediately following WWII is an era marked by Sloterdijk as post-historical and globalized. He says if 'one takes the definition of 'history' seriously, it follows that only the sequence of events between 1492 and 1945 can be characterized thus, while the existence of peoples and cultures before and after this does not display 'historical' qualities – though the exact dates remain open for debate' (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 157). Architect Constantinos Doxiadis describes this changing temporal and spatial conception – the way in which humans cognize their spatial existence – when he says civilization enters 'a completely new phase of its history and a system of life with completely new dimensions' (Doxiadis, 1974, p. 272). At such time, the tropes of modernity retracted into remission. A global ideology emerged. Terrestrial colonization ended. Space exploration began.

Ecumenopolis:

Doxiadis (1968) proposed a speculative future city in *Ekistics*, written in 1968, he called 'Ecumenopolis', in which we see a totalized interconnected world-city with a globalized world-view. Ecumenopolis (Fig. 1) is a city that literally spans the lengths of the globe, creating a complete circulation, communication, and trade network manifest in a one-city world. Doxiadis claimed in *Ekistics* that humans are irreversibly moving toward an inevitable Ecumenopolis. He points toward four futures, which coalesce into a singular and interconnected world-city.

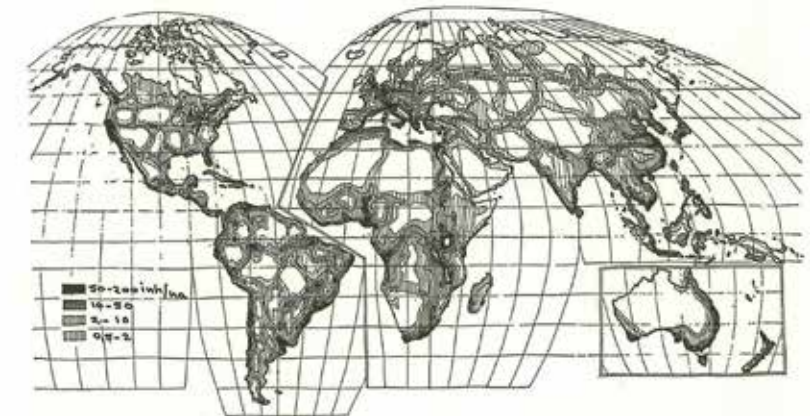


Fig. 1 Doxiadis' Ecumenopolis (1968). Source: Retrieved 10 November 2017 from https://funnelme.wordpress.com/2012/01/03/doxiadis-04-ecumenopolis/.

Through the lens of Sloterdijk one might interpret Ecumenopolis as a city of interconnected points without place. It stretches across the surface of the earth, finally reducing the last remaining sphere — our globe — to a singular world-existence.

Sloterdijk's perpetual desire for immersive enclosures cannot be separated from his notion that interiority is itself a spatial creation. As he describes in *Bubbles* (Sloterdijk, 2011b), humans build existential shells or spheres for protection, grounding us within a place of another with others. Sloterdijk's (2011a) theories claim that architectural space, through encapsulation, enclosure, or containment, is crucial to human existence. Architecture itself is immersive as it produces an environment into which its inhabitants enter — mind and body. The globalized Second Ecumene, however, differs, insofar as it offers no place. No longer do humans live or dwell within a given place; rather, location is marked by points on a map — a point among points — all of equal value (Sloterdijk, 2013, pp. 27–28). Doxiadis contributes to this spatial conception with his portrayals of Ecumenopolis. Drawings of the city are devoid of form, human scale, or place, instead Ecumenopolis is represented via world maps showing abstract information such as densities, flows, and movement.

As a utopic representation of a continuous globalized society, Ecumenopolis is symptomatic of the emerging ideology of its time: homogenous globalization. Terry Eagleton, in *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (1992, p. 3), suggests that aesthetic objects run parallel with dominant ideologies, especially when these involve the masses. Although stemming from a Marxist position, Eagleton maintains that modern ideological sentiment is appropriated in forms of art, whether in a capitalist or socialist society. As the globe has been consumed by the movement of money, goods, and people, the city and its representation, transform their structure to meet this new global spirit. Ecumenopolis projects a globalized ideology into the first truly global city. It is an urban representation of the globalized Second Ecumene, which is emblematic of the similar notion that all people are synchronized as 'points in the homogenous space' (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 147). An unequivocal perspective of the planet as the sole globe brought about a singular 'shared situation' (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 147) of its inhabitants. Ecumenopolis is a city where all life happens equally.

Four years after Doxiadis published *Ekistics* — stemming from the same global situation — a young architect proposed an alternate, polemical ideology in London.

Exodus, or the Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture:

Exodus is a proposition, not a built project. As Rem Koolhaas says, it requires a 'fundamental belief in cities as the incubators of social desires, the synthetic materializations of all dreams' (2005, p. 253). To Koolhaas, our world is a phantom world that bears little resemblance to reality. A social commentary about the state of global London, Exodus is an

ideological project in narrative, collage, and drawing form. A supposition that individuality can resist collectivity, Exodus offers an alternative urban space to the global and universal sameness beyond its walls.

Antoine Picon, professor of architecture of Harvard's Graduate School of Design, suggests in "Learning from Utopia" that Exodus is utopian, but not a utopia. Exodus exhibits utopian engagement but is not itself a utopian city, as utopias are 'about social change and the possibility of a radically different future, ideology tries to stabilize the dominant features of the present' (Picon, 2013, p. 21). Utopias began as an iteration of 'an island far away, on which an ideal society had developed, a perspective which owed a lot to the discovery of the New World, a giant remote island where strange societies could be found' (Picon, 2013, p. 17). As Picon (2013, p. 17) elucidates, architecture's discourse shifted toward utopic and ideological speculation in the 1960's and 1970's. No longer was architecture an isolated object within a given urban context; rather, architecture began to address its own estrangement from growing political and social concerns. Architecture once again became a means of revealing, often satirically, the current state of affairs.

A city disconnected from a newly-forming global network of cities, Exodus operates in two opposed directions. Its function is a prison, which is designed to keep people in. Exodus inverts this role, on the other hand, insofar as its ideological purpose is to exclude. Its two walls keep the traffic of goods, capital, and politics out. This principle of exclusion likely stems from Koolhaas' time in Berlin, where he was struck by the naive notion that the wall did not run from North to South; rather, that it 'encircled West Berlin' (De Cauter & Heynen, 2005, p. 263). Like West Berlin following World War II, Exodus is an inverted prison.

Unlike Doxiadis' Ecumenopolis, which forecasts a utopic future world, Exodus comments on global affairs of its present. Exodus offers an interpretation and resistance to a global-socioeconomic ideology that is biased and limited. As such, Exodus is more ideological than utopic. Contrasting with the points, lines, and abstract maps of Ecumenopolis, the series of eighteen representations of Exodus are spatial. In spite of its large-scale urban strategy, Koolhaas represents Exodus at the scale of place, using three-dimensional drawings and perspective collages[4].

Physically and programmatically, Exodus (Fig. 2) differs from globalized urban structures. Contrary to De Gauter and Hilde Heynen's claim in "The Exodus Machine", that Exodus infers some resemblance to 'familiar urban forms', Exodus is a complete upheaval of normative society: a critique on the universal banality of the Second Ecumene (De Gauter & Heynen, 2005, p. 265). The project is divided into separate, distinct parts: the central strip, the secondary strips, the walls, and the voluntary prisoners themselves. The central strip is separated from old London by two walls which 'enclose and protect this zone to retain its integrity, and to prevent any contamination of its surface by the cancerous organism which besieges it' (Koolhaas, 2005, p. 239).

Fig. 2 Aerial view of the central strip of Exodus (1972) interrupting London. In the distance are the secondary strips that extrude into the slums. Source: Retrieved 26 April 2014 from http://socks-studio.com/2011/03/19/exodus-or-the-voluntary-prisoners-of-architecture/

Each of the ten square zones within the central strip are particularly programmed spaces in which people exist – if you will – through a narrative beyond the remit of capitalist apparatus. There is no market, bank, or stock exchange. There are no office buildings. The squares of Exodus, whether it be the reception area, the baths, or the park of the four elements, carry a certain character in opposition to symbolic connotations of the global.

The reception area of Exodus (Fig. 3) is where newly volunteering prisoners enter the prison. The roof of which is a viewing platform where incoming inmates view the 'decay of the old town' (Koolhaas, 2005, p. 243). Koolhaas' representation of Old London is a repeated montage of identical Empire State Buildings – conjuring direct metaphors with the equalizing singularity of capitalism, herding society like identical sheep. Even the humans are wearing indistinguishable uniforms of white, as if to reinforce this agricultural metaphor of automation. Humans outside no longer exists; they are automatons

in a controlled society of sameness – each person a blip amongst other blips, forming a population of the larger city Doxiadis' prefigured in Ecumenopolis.

Koolhaas' aim was to promote diversity and contrast (De Gauter & Heynen, 2005, p. 264). Although collective and communal, the activities that take place in Exodus remain voluntary and individual. Located near the reception area, the baths further rid inmates of the invisible shackles of socio-cultural protocol. Inmates perform debauchery on stage, where 'the freshness and suggestiveness of these performances activate dormant parts of the brain, and trigger off a continuous explosion of ideas in the audience' (Koolhaas, 2005, p. 245). As with the rest of Exodus' individual zones, Koolhaas glorifies the morally wretched parts of society. All that is claimed morally virtuous remain outside of the walls. Inmates act on their own accord.

Fig. 3 The viewing platform in the reception area with Old London in the Background. Source: Retrieved 26 April 2014 from http://socks-studio.com/2011/03/19/exodus-or-the-voluntary-prisoners-of-architecture/.

An Ideological Ontology

In the same year Doxiadis published his initial thoughts on Ecumenopolis, and only four years prior to Koolhaas' Exodus, NASA disseminated the now infamous picture of Earth rising from behind the barren moon. Supposed to represent Earth as our one and only globe, the accounts of *Earthrise* are confused. In the photograph we see not earth's 3-dimensionality but its demoted reproduction as a 2-dimensional circle, bereft of scale, place, and life. In the distance of *Earthrise* rests the earth, like in Superstudio's Continuous Monument, now reduced to a flat image in the background of activity[5]. Its spherical origins only a circular residue.

In the shadow of Doxiadis' Ecumenopolis and *Earthrise*, Koolhaas presents a world where there is no globe, only remnant illusions: connected points and lines of infinite magnitude small and large. Relying on the form, urban strategy, and grid of the Continuous Monument, Koolhaas promotes the idea of the globe itself disappearing, only to be replaced by a flat, infinite grid. Except for one perspective, each collage used to portray Exodus includes a circular image representing either the moon or Earth. In one of these (Fig. 4) we see an indirect reference to a missing eleventh zone called the 'Square of the Captive Globe'. Walls on either side, this image includes actual globe models of the earth and moon. In this illustration, the globes are confined within a second boundary fence. Inscribed on the right side of the collage is written, 'an ode to the architecture that forever encloses them'. While one might presuppose this comment refers to the male musicians in the collage, it is possible it also refers to the globes themselves.

Fig. 4 Collage of Exodus with globes. To the right of the image includes the text '… an ode to the Architecture that forever encloses them…' Rem Koolhaas, in *Exit Utopia_Architectural Provocations 1956–76* (Prestel Publishing, 2005). Source: Retrieved 26 April 2014 from http://socks-studio.com/2011/03/19/exodus-or-the-voluntary-prisoners-of-architecture/.

Present in Koolhaas' thesis, yet removed from early publications of Exodus, the 'Square of the Captive Globe' was later transferred to *Delirious New York* as the 'City of the Captive Globe'. The Captive Globe is confined in a square and will not permit ideologies to consume the world (Koolhaas, 2005, p. 243). A microcosm of Exodus itself, the Captive Globe's role is to promote social change and to 'destroy and restore the World of phenomenal reality' (Koolhaas, 2005, p. 243). In the dialogue between Exodus and *Delirious New York*, we see both a metaphorical and literal disappearance of the globe, one that was subsumed by globalization, represented by Doxiadis, and later described by Sloterdijk.

Urban and architectural forms, while not causing the globalized-world, gives an emergent spatial conception shape — both representational and illegible — through its type. Counter to globalized cities, Exodus represents an alternative spatial conception through an ideological space. As a thick-walled container Exodus melds physical space with existential place through ideology. It ideologizes ontologically.

Through its representations, Exodus articulates a globalized society consumed by capitalism; on the other hand, Koolhaas creates programmed architectural space that resists this self-same capitalism. As a discordant proposition, Exodus acknowledges the global ideology in London proper, but counters these geo-economic forces of globalization through the creation of opposing ideological place. While Koolhaas is not intending to present an ontological or existential proposition, in his resistance to a globalized society devoid of place-fulness, he inherently creates place. Resistance is most-aptly offered in the form of direct opposition. In other words, to oppose what Sloterdijk (2011b, p. 25) calls the 'shelless' or placeless Second Ecumene, Exodus creates its antithesis: a shell in which to *be* — in an ontological sense. Exodus is therefore both an ideology and an ontological place. Through its polemical standpoint, Exodus creates a possibility for a world in which to exist.

Like Sloterdijk's existential spherical enclosures, Exodus is an ideal provocation with spatial consequences. Exodus offers a critique of the Second Ecumene — asserting a polemical alternative to alienating shellessness in global, postmodern cities. Resulting from its opposing position, Exodus intrinsically imbibes qualities of spatial immersion, which affords place-fulness. The inmates of Exodus are citizens of a new city. They vanquish limitations and protocol of moral suffocation, and open their arms to an incarceration of re-emerged physical presence. As such, Exodus is not merely restricted to the context of its time. Through a certain ideology, architecture can instantiate the context itself. In other words, Exodus resurrects place and time.

1 → Sloterdijk also uses the term “globality” in passing when describing a globalized world (2013, p. 156), which was a term that has been traced and cited back to 1942 by William Safire in his book, No Uncertain Terms (Safire, 2004).
2 → In Chapter 32 ‘Post History’ of In the World Interior of Capital, Sloterdijk gives an account of how quickly decolonization flowed across the globe (2013, p. 166).
3 → Sloterdijk also mentions that the end of territorial globalization could be considered to have ended in 1944 with a gold-based monetary system, and at the latest in the 1960s and 70s with global communication satalites (2013, p. 12).
4 → Exodus was developed by four individuals: Rem Koolhass and Elia Zenghelis as designers, Madelon Vriesendorp and Zoe Zenghelis as illustrators. Koolhaas’ name is used here for simplicity (De Cauter & Heynen, 2005, p. 263).
5 → Superstudio produced an image with the Continuous Monument extruding out into space with the earth in the background. This image bears resemblance to Earthrise.

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The City, The Suburb and The Rest. The Earth

It has always seemed difficult to speak about the city in the sense of a transforming project, once all of the reforming urban intervention, as the name suggests, never enters into structural rupture with the system that manages it as a representation of the domination, or in other words of the social imperfection, that does not even research it, so beguiling has it become to build the veil hiding the varnish of seduction with which we help it to impose and reproduce itself.

There are questions that one could and maybe should place before all project actions. I do not do this with easy alibis, but I cannot avoid that the strategic vision becomes imposing when I deal with the urban problem, carting me off, at times, with a temptation of totalitarian visions. This leftism becomes more acute when faced with my *compagnons de route* entangled in the tactics of the possible intervention, the commitment, the technocratic/humanistic discourse.

This is said in a self-critical manner, because I do not feel untouched by the crisis of ideologies. The absence of serious debate leads me frequently, in the despair of solitude, either to History or to Poetry, and to increasingly valuing in my readings the former poetic values of and less the operatives that I still have to discover with clarity unless they are those continuing to guarantee the construction or maintenance of survival identities. And, being unviable for Order, and on guard in relation to nostalgia and even nationalism, the consideration of Freedom as a supreme value has been a guarantee of the justness of the paths of thinking. Without Order and with Freedom it is the conscience of the urgent necessity for an Ethic that should mark the difference. Until I can speak of our Moral and that of others with the same conviction of Trotsky or Breton. Being accused of being utopian or poetic I thus refuse the pragmatism in my readings of the transforming hypotheses of contemporariness with which, finally, all are satisfied or unsatisfied. Pure satisfaction can be found amongst the new barons of the regime, the dynamic executives of liberalism, without past or future, living the timeless circle of the present for which they are the holders of office. The others, young or old, go between unemployment and memory, recovering some dissatisfaction.

Except for the dissatisfied militant of the opposing political parties, the dissatisfied person is not so much subject to the stages of age as it is one who has that more or less spontaneous critical sense where hope dwells. Because I find myself in that group, I have pushed away the pragmatism and strict rationalism of those aligned with power who have done no more than sectorially reutilize the same global criteria that launched the foundations of modernity. Their objective, in reproducing infinitesimally pure satisfaction, is, as José Mattoso said the other day in Oporto, to give form to what they demagogically and caringly call the global village, a concept forged to hide the genocide, racism, chauvinism, hunger, social and sexual differences, or those between north and south, Africa or Asia, the destruction of the environment and the state of siege of the cities.

Frontispiece Vale do Ave. Photo: Álvaro Domingues.

Having explained my difficulties before this theme, I will just give you some clues that will surely be academic. I will use in my text some segments of others, in order to better say what I intend, and not because I wish to impose their authority. For this reason I will not name them at every opportunity. I will re-use fragments of Italo Calvino's *The Invisible Cities*, of Douglas Coupland's *Generation X* and of Carlos Morais's *A Library for Gaia*.

The city was man's greatest creation, from spontaneous and defensive gregariousness to the Ideal City, still closed, a world inside a world. Following the destruction of the walls, there emerged large baroque, infinite and overwhelming perspectives, a totalitarian design of the world completely from the centre. It was the beginning of the end for cities. There remained the conviction of the possibility of design, still in the regular, rationalist and democratic urban fabric. Equality became regulated and, without limits, since then the center is missing. The growth was faster than the hesitations of the design; degradation grew and impiously portrayed the conflicts of class, divided on the open terrain.

Le Corbusier declared his aversion to the laws of the city and, doubtlessly, to all contextual groupings along many generations. Modern architecture really began to destroy the city. *Unité* is the mythical heroic antagonist, not just of the comfortable city life, but also of nature. One feels its attraction and its destructive character, the impatience and the violence.

The suburb grew at the same time as the new-cities were failing for being cities, and the non-cities for being still half-cities. Brasilia is a remaining-city, in spite of having been conceived as a suburb, trying to recover the lost centre and limit. It was surrounded by the spontaneity of authentically suburban growth. This growth itself confers the real character of a remaining-city upon it today. The error it represents is the paradigm of the conceptual fragility of the Modern.

> *In the time of the cities, objects on the land, one could say: The man who rides long through wild lands feels the wish for a city. Try walking for days between trees and stones. Rarely will the eye come to rest upon something. Trees and stones are only what they are. Finally the journey leads us to the city. Outside of it the empty land stretches to the horizon.*
> *In the time of the countryside, the negative or opposite of the city, a shepherd could say to me:*
> *– Sometimes I happen to cross cities, but I cannot tell them from one another. Ask me the names of the pastures: I know them all. Cities for me do not have names: they are places without leaves that separate one pasture from another. I travelled, visited cities and continents. One day being lost among houses and buildings I asked a passer-by where I was. It was the shepherd of other times.*

– It's not possible, I shouted. I don't know how long ago I entered a city and since then I have continued to increasingly penetrate its streets. How can I be where you say if I was in another, far removed from this one? – The places mix with one another. This city is everywhere. This should have been the Green Slope. My goats recognise their grass in the islands separating the traffic lanes (Calvino, 1993).

How will our 21st century be, after all?

To speak to you about Oporto I would have to start by describing the entrance to the city. Certainly we imagine seeing a walled enclosure rising from the dusty plain, and, step by step, we approach the gate guarded by the controllers. As long as we do not enter, we remain outside of it.

If you believe this, you are wrong: in Oporto it will be different. We advance hours and hours and it is not yet clear whether we are in the city or still outside of it. From time to time on the sides of the road there is an increased density of houses with thin facades rising, either very high or very low, that appears to indicate that from then on the city fabric will become tighter. But as we continue we find more empty plots, and then a rusty agglomeration of workshops and warehouses, a cemetery, a funfair with carrousels, a slaughterhouse, a street of emaciated shops.

Some people will say: we come here to work every day; others will say: we return here to sleep. But in the city, where does one live? We proceed, passing from one periphery to another. Finally we ask the way to leave the city. Once again we pass through a string of scattered suburbs. Night falls. What we abdicate to understand is whether there exists an Oporto, obscured in some hidden place, recognizable and memorable to those who have been there, or whether Oporto is just a periphery of itself and its center is everywhere.

The question that begins to cause us anguish is different; is there an outside, outside of Oporto? Or is it that the more we distance ourselves from the city, we limit ourselves to passing from a limbo to another limbo and will never again manage to leave?

The greatest creation of our time, before the 21st century, is the suburb. It tends to spread its uniform model over all of the territory. At the beginning it leans against what we called the city, and then it advances upon it, destroying it to construct itself and in another sense to follow the various profit-earning structures that the market commands. The suburb has no site; it defined itself when man stopped making cities, in the doubt that remained in him when the countryside stopped defining itself as the city's opponent. The suburb has no inventors because it was never accepted as a non-city, it is something else that nobody ever wanted to programme. And when Le Corbusier designed the non-city, his interpreters and followers used

his project in the city. We began loosing the city without replacing it, neither creating city nor something new. That is how the suburb was born, by spontaneous generation, where it has been possible to continue living, integrating, even, some advantages of progress. This new habitat, designed by speculation, cannot but be one of the programmatic models of the future. Its great quality is the mixing of people, professions and memories that could cause a new culture, one we can provisionally call suburban, to flourish, if freedom gives origin to an ethic that transforms violence into solidarity, that works the jungle so that new grain fields can be sown. There, there is no collective memory; one lives in the construction of the circumstantial consensus. The only possibility is to give form to this consensus, the provisional forms of a new desirably ephemeral architecture. And no group need be forced to have memories that in reality they do not have, nor do they need to be told that the only time in which living was worthwhile is the past and that the only time that might become interesting is the future.

Yes, but what future? I, one of the unsatisfied but not a militant, feel that I should leave some signs of hope that the Oporto of the 21st century should not be the limbo I imagined earlier. As an architect and without overcoming the atavisms of my neo-realist education, I leave you three moralistic notes on three themes I am thinking of developing in future academic lectures and on various utopian or science fiction projects: the city, the suburb and the rest.

The city

The city should have a rigorously limited area and should constitute a space closed upon itself. It should be carefully restored, preserving all the indications of its historical journey as a city. All the elements that provoke rupture on the tranquil reading of its process, that is to say that break with its urban lifestyle should be mercilessly demolished. The city is a monument inhabited by people that like it and like to tell it. A place of memory, of roots taking hold and authenticity, the city should be the object of a cultural and artistic operation of suggestive, aesthetic and critical high potential: University, pure research, small commerce, culture and leisure, the little remaining industrial production, the local administration, the commemoration, the festivity, the parade, the tourism, the regional gastronomy, the hospitality. The collective transports will be underground and individual mechanical transport will be discouraged. The stations for transporting people out of the city will be carefully hidden, in order to reaffirm through every possible means the concentrating power of the urban space. How was it possible in Brasilia to imagine the centre as an ostensive bus terminal?

Whenever its inhabitants feel attacked by tiredness and no longer can put up with their jobs, their relatives, the house and the street, the debts, the people one should greet, they will decide to transfer to another city, where each one of them will take another job, another wife, will see another landscape outside of the window, will spend the

night with other gossip or other friends. In this way life renews itself from change to change, between cities that present themselves each with something different from the others. This is the only pact existing between cities, the exchange. Associations such as "metropolitan area" should be avoided at all costs, in order to prevent the risk of planning that might diminish the city's identity or that might rank its respective importances. Master plans of all types are not admissible. All is resolved in the City Office of History that produces BP's and IP's, respectively Beautification Plans and Improvement Plans.

The suburb

The suburb will deserve our special affection since it consists of the first constructed manifestation of the supersession of the traditional city and an unsubstitutable document of contemporaneity, the greatest monument of the 20th century.

Building licences for construction are definitively suspended. Only demolition projects are allowed or in very special cases those of restitution. On the rare situations of unconcluded sub-urbanisation it will still be possible to construct with maximum profit-earning criteria. The objective is to clarify the discontinuity, the fragmentation, it is to give modern architects the possibility of realising what they always desired: to destroy History and create added value.

Public transport and suburban stations should dominate the landscape. Routes should not be hierarchized, privileging high speed routes that cross the space in all directions. The underground passages and viaducts will help to resolve the circulation whenever possible, increasing its complexity. Care should be taken so that the empty spaces existing or resulting from demolitions should not be not paved and even less planted with trees. The dwellers will receive incentives to abandon the suburb, and are only to be substituted by non-Europeans. Sectorial plans to increase value will be elaborated by the various district management committees to improve living conditions for the suburbanites who wish to maintain their category, clearly defining the special zones to be demolished. Flat roofs will substitute all the tiled roofs, nor will it be permissible to use natural materials such as stone or wood or paint with lime. This is the place for the market, street peddlers, exotic restaurants, Nick Cave concerts, experimental and vanguard shows, applied research, polytechnic education, the luna park, trendy bars, headquarters of ethnic or sexual minorities' associations, which comprise the whole population. The popular idea that shopping malls only matter on the inside should be maintained, their exterior should be kept irrelevant. This will sustain the pretence that the volumes of large hypermarkets thrown onto the land do not in fact exist. Along their walls will be slogans of the kind "to buy is to create", "stop History", "fly by jet while you still can", "re-invent the middle class", "less is a possibility".

In the suburb the people wandering through the streets do not know one another. When they see one another they imagine a thousand

things of one another, the encounters that might take place between themselves, the conversations, the caresses. But nobody greets anybody, looks are exchanged for a second and are then diverted, seeking new looks, they do not stop. A vibration of lust continually moves the suburb, the most chaste of places. Campaigns should be launched so that men and women begin to live their dreams. Thus all the ghosts will become people with whom one could begin a story of pursuits, misunderstandings, shocks and oppressions and end decisively with what remains of the atavistic fantasy.

The rest

The dwellers of the suburb are the inhabitants of the present. At times they think of the future and what reminds them of the future is the next city. Sometimes they go to it to think and once in a while they go to the desert, the name they give to the rest because they have yet to understand it.

Some of these people have made depositions:

– We live our lives of periphery; we are marginalised and there are many things in which we prefer not to participate. We wanted silence and now we have silence. We arrived here covered in wounds and sores. Our system had stopped working, broken down with the smell of copy machines, letter paper and the interminable stress of jobs with no objective in which one works unwillingly and nobody thanks us. We suffered conditioning that led us to confuse going shopping with creativity, to take anti-depressants and to think that renting a video on a Saturday night is enough. But now things are going a lot better.

– Either our lives have history, or we have no way of fulfilling them.

– I agree. We know that that was why we left the lives we were living behind us and that we came to the desert – in order to tell stories and thus turn our lives into novels worth telling (Morais, 1994).

The new centurionisation of the territory, without Imperial Rome, will have to hear many stories to be designed. Sometimes a little interval in the midst of an incongruent landscape will be enough, a flourishing of lights in the mist, the dialogue of two passers-by meeting in the middle of their wanderings, to think that from there we can join piece by piece, fragments mixed with the rest, instants separated by intervals. Even after interviewing Artur Soria y Mata and Milyutin, it is risky and demands a continuous attention and apprenticeship: to try and know how to recognise, in the midst of hell, whom and what is not hell, and to make it live and give it a place. That is what I called hope.

The Earth or the virtual city

The large scale planning intervention (the largest of which will be the Earth itself), done with rigidity and precision, will be terrible. The

complexity of Earth, the entanglement of its balances, some subtle and imperceptible, others tectonic and colossal, allied to the chronic foolishness of man, lead one to push away the hypothesis of traditional planning systems for the large scale intervention.

A system of planning presupposes a strong rational system of management. The Earth is not manageable as a whole by man, but on the contrary, it evolves with balances and re-balances that transcend it like an isolated species. Its self-regulation is induced by its conservation.

If the contrary were true it would be an inert object piloted by man, a space ship on its way to other distances.

This is the story that should be told to the first children of the rest, so that they might understand that they should free themselves from the images that until now have advertised the things they wanted.

After the successive failure of mega-projects requiring high levels of concentration and homogenisation, that is reduced diversity, it would be nice to romantically return to the concept of the attractive, intelligent and incomplete concept of "small is beautiful". The turbulence and mutation of the environment, the growth and demand for our intelligent capacity to understand the world, presents us, in the meantime, with new problems that affect the individual and small groups, that demand synergies that might mobilise and demobilise themselves within the scope of more extensive groups, or vaster problems that demand an understanding of everything.

If I tell you that the rest is discontinuous in time and space, either more dispersed or denser, do not believe that we can stop searching for it. What will unite us men from diverse places and crazy characters? Probably the 21st century will be one of a reticulated planet or of the planning of virtual space.

Perhaps the electronic highways represent an indispensable technological infrastructure in order to achieve the great aspiration to connect what can not and should not be objectively connected.

We will leave, certainly, many virgin lands, reserves, no man's lands, indispensable hotbeds for the creation of diversity. It will be between the systems and the chaos that humanity will have to engender the indispensable equation for understanding the third millennium.

CODA

The first part of this article (including the sections "the City", "the Suburb", "the Rest", and "the Earth or the virtual city") was originally written for a round-table debate held at the University of Porto in June 1994[1]. The guest editors of *Joelho* 8 asked me to publish it once again for its relevance in a discussion on ideas and practices for the European City, the theme of this issue. For me, the original aura that this text might have had in a time of transition or little awareness is now lost. Today, I think the metaphors I have used in 1994 should be replaced by the reality observed in the Vale do Ave region. Hence, I've decided

to extend the original text with a coda, "Practiced places versus places of memory", which I've originally written in 2013, and published in Portuguese in the magazine *Património*.

Practiced places versus places of memory

As a first warning, we affirm that we are neither interested in, nor find operative, the distinction between the so-called "historic center" and the rest of the city. Everything is city and all of it is, nowadays, inherited city. In fact, the very term "historic center" itself constitutes a trap.

We continue by pointing out that, for architects, History is of particular interest when some of its aspects help to recognise and understand the territory for the exercise of the discipline. As this exercise stems from the capacity to imagine solutions for the future, it is these possible solutions that provide the analytical matrix. They affect, define and limit the field of analysis, and therefore, not all History is of interest. Even when the future of the city, as a social fact par excellence, is still a nebula without clear contours, it is then that only design can display, in a process that gradually conforms it, pointing it to a rigorous

Fig. 2 Vale do Ave.
Photo: Álvaro Domingues.

definition. It is, therefore, our intent, that which makes the need for analysis clear: historical and all others, geographic, morpho-typological or sociological and anthropological, or even political, as we are in the field of citizens' rights.

This starting position implies the neglect of any inescapable fatality in the design of the territory in transformation. This would, anyway, detract the architect from any intervention, rendered useless within the already stabilised and preserved historical centres, as a result of their heritage classification, which identifies them as well defined and limited special places, defended from rampant fury, be it from speculation or from the exercise of the vital needs of contemporaneity. The parentheses that imprison historical centres and take them out of the wider context of the expanding city have produced the greatest misunderstandings.

These considerations justify the ambition and, perhaps, the responsibility, to reflect, outside the vest-of-forces that so often imprisons us — to speak of the old stones, leaving the new ones for the cartography of the diffuse or for the books of Álvaro Domingues[2], seizing the opportunity to try to discuss the concepts underlying the phrase of the back cover of the book quoted in the note that we reproduce here: *The urban is an unconfined and unstable "outside", as opposed to the image of the walled city* (Domingues, 2009).

Departing from the analytical processes in their connection to the design, we are convinced that, even if we base the analysis of the city on apparently objective techniques and procedures, this does not prevent it from being sequestered by desire, imagination and remembrance. This is where the key that allows us to consider the analysis as part of the design will reside.

Analysing is tantamount to re-describing. Only with a patient work of re-description of the city, we can get to know its intimate substance. To observe, to imagine and to design is, perhaps, the only passable route to reach an interpretation of the city that, at the same time, presupposes an idea of transformation and design.

This mixture of rigor and invention may shed some light on the everlasting discussion on the connection between analysis and design.

The bond we establish with the city and its enigmatic condition is complex and unstable: either it quickly settles in complicity, or it drifts towards rebuke and regret. But, as we perform our experience of the city, it gradually becomes an imaginary construction for which we can and should provide a form.

In fact, although not excessive, our confidence in the exercise of architecture is sincere, provided we have the courage and, above all, the willingness, to talk about politics once again.

We will attempt an approximation to the concreteness of our territory, the coastline of the peninsular northwest, stemming from disciplinary beliefs, neither putting aside the essential role of theory and criticism, nor forgetting the importance of new technologies.

The recent concept of *diffuse urbanism*, stimulating and apparently innovative as it is, has, from our point of view, grounded academic reflections that do not deepen the knowledge of the real, rather making it unknown, with its cartography being a purely formal exercise. The worst being that it neither seems to be operative, nor instrumental, in the transformation of the real, rather even imposing a certain fatalism that deflates the function of design.

When the Romans depopulated the hillforts (*castros*) and gave land to its inhabitants, in a gesture of great economic impact, the population scattered across the countryside.

The colonisers did not build "aldeias da luz"[3] to rehouse the new citizens of Rome, rather dispersing them across the fertile lands, all the while building villas for themselves. A network of paths was gradually drawn on the territory, connecting houses, fields and mills, pigeon houses or small handcraft workshops, chapels or sanctuaries and cemeteries. The Roman roads, previously drawn as less organic, linked the main urban centres independently of that particular network.

This dispersion was *diffuse* and was already studied by Alberto Sampaio[4].

We contacted a small group of young people from the Vale do Ave region, in the parish of Lordelo from the Municipality of Guimarães, next to Covas, bordering Santo Tirso.

These young people, averaging 18 years old, belong to the diffused movement of the outraged, *peace and love*, *facebook*, hoodie, no violence in their gaze, behaviour or talk. They are factory workers, students, freaks with moderate BPM[5] and a joint ready to be lit. Self-named "warriors of peace".

Asked about their own reading of the Vale do Ave, they explained that, being all from Lordelo, they belonged to different places, even offering some stimulating names, Chamusca, Alto, Rua Nova, Atainde, Monte, Lubazim, Paço, Escalheiros, etc..

They were unable to explain how the borders of these places were defined (*great question!* they said), promising to do some research, *consulting the elders and the internet*.

I, myself, knew that on the rural path to my primary school, I went through four places and that on a granite table, placed in a key, but enigmatic, place, there was an annual lunch of representatives from the six places of the parish.

One of these youngsters, a resident of Rua da Estrada 105, sent us an e-mail a few days later. *We researched, and on the maps of the parish the places are not noted, only names of streets and alleys...* concluding: *they have been modernized!*

It is true that they have been modernized. The Postal Office forced all streets to be named and all houses to have a number and thus, the signs of the old roads or paths, that announced the places, gradually disappeared. Traces still remain in some markedly rural areas: Mosteiro, Testorio, Carretouro, Riolongo, Pardelhas, Chãos, Costa.

Meanwhile, we recall the SAAL program and the plots of territory that we called operational units [6], we remember Fernando Távora, Architect, and his Detailed Masterplans that anticipated the General Masterplan of Guimarães... but we remain doubtful! Times are changing, some colleagues keep telling us. The ways of the present must go through other paths, as our time corresponds to a new and still not recognizable paradigm!

Despite our doubts, we persevered on the path we had taken, encouraged by the perplexity of the "warriors of peace", who had also informed us that there is, in their parish, a factory so large that it sits across two parishes at the same time. A virtual borderline goes across the building, separating places, and this line is visible for some, i.e. them.

First conclusion; without them, we will never understand anything, except the spectacular images of disorder that are the mysterious expression of a territory that must be deciphered, analysed, before acting (badly) or giving up (worse)!

That is to say – second conclusion – it is paramount to give meaning to cartography, to infuse it with content and, for this, enter all the aforementioned disciplines, including History and citizens' participation!

Planning, which has also been ironically termed "territorial planning", has thus different methodological hypotheses which, in extreme cases, can be characterised in two different ways.

Either create a structure that encompasses everything, establishing a new grid or network that overlaps the territorial reality, without seeking any of its particularities, as if proposing a new super-place, a new world with value in itself, a-historical, timeless, modern, as a design by Paulo Mendes da Rocha.

Or designing or redesigning the territory, from its deciphering, which we used to name re-description, trying to identify its fragments, explaining and encompassing them, and from the casuistry of this specific reality, carry out its restructuring. In this option, the design intervention should consolidate or reinvent "practiced places" which, like the old, inventoried and classified places, should be promoted alongside them as "places of memory".

For the architects who have refused the first process, and with the inescapable laziness caused by the burden of deepening knowledge that the second implies, the easiest way will be to continue designing the public spaces, without understanding continuities or discontinuities, as if they were automatically generating new sociabilities, always fearing some connotation with the so-called "historic city", considered an irreversibly lost model. This intermediate process, which has been called "urban design", has been allowing architects / urban planners to give themselves a "taste" free from major dramas that would require them to reflect more deeply or to consider their solutions facing the citizens.

By placing ourselves in the second methodological hypothesis, we consider the "historical center" one of the places, among others,

perhaps still sub-divisible, with the advantage over other places to have, from the outset, a clear definition of limits, usually corresponding to the medieval wall, even if it no longer exists.

As in any of the other places that today constitute the so-called *diffuse*, to be deciphered, it will be, therefore, from its inner logic that the processes will be grounded and the references searched, so that in the casuistry of each and every one the appropriate design to redefine and qualify them can be determined, without any mechanical morpho-typological transposition, from one place to any other.

Even if it has the dignity and symbolic value of the medieval city.

We must confess that, in the heterodoxy of our personal conformation, insoluble contradictions emerge between bourgeois taste and the torment of History, which reconsidered, represents some sort of postmodern updating of this very same conformation.

The vanguards realized the dynamics of a revolutionary acceleration in the ways of living, producing and leisure. They applauded the new metropolis framed in concrete and steel, in the nudity of glass. The new city was the geometric, luminous and timeless city of de Chirico's metaphysical painting; the vertical and towering city of Sant'Elia.

The sight of the collapse of the past is as bleak as the stinginess of its survivors, and Marinetti therefore proposed, as a shock therapy, *to release the country from its fetid gangrene of teachers, archaeologists, cicerones, and antiquarians* (Marinetti, 1909).

For the architect of today, it is no longer a question of the continuous extinction and total renovation of the grand proposals of the Modern, nor of the contemplation or reorganisation of vacant sites in between its scattered debris, or of the proposals of its revision. The possibilities of History are especially enriched when the disciplinary exercise is taken as social cause, tending to respond to the aspirations of Man, who has the right to the recognition of his past, his place of residence and the right to participate in the process of its transformation.

1 → This debate was held at Reitoria da Universidade do Porto, in June 1994, in a session with the title “A cidade em estado de sítio” (The City in a state of siege), with the participation of Nuno Portas, Jorge Figueira, Álvaro Domingues, Guilherme Ferreira, Isabel Duarte and Paulo Varela Gomes. The article was originally published in Alexandre Alves Costa, Candidatura ao Prémio Jean Tschumi, UIA 2005, Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2005. The text was translated into English by Paul Bernard. The translation of the CODA into English was made by Manuel Montenegro and published in this issue of Joelho for the first time.
2 → Among other works, Álvaro Domingues is the author of A Rua da Estrada, Dafne Editora, 2009.
3 → Reference to Aldeia da Luz, built to rehouse the inhabitants of the former village of Luz, submerged by the waters of the Alqueva Dam. The new village was built between 1998 and 2002 in order to maintain, in essence, the characteristics of the previous village.
4 → Alberto da Cunha Sampaio, historian, was born in 1841, in Guimarães, graduating in Law from the Universidade de Coimbra. He gained recognition throughout his life as the pioneer of economic and social history. He began studies on the agrarian history of Portugal, with the 1885 publication in the Revista de Guimarães of the first article in the series, A propriedade e a cultura do Minho, which he would further elaborate with one of his best known works, As Villas do Norte de Portugal.
5 → BPM, “beats per minute”, set the rhythm and, in a way, the intensity of the music they listen or produce.
6 → The “operational unit” should be an area with some architectural and urban unity, coinciding with the area of influence of the Residents Commission, that is, with other identities of a sociological or even political nature. It would, therefore, be an identitarian, relational and historical place. It would have the potential, within its strict and rigorous limits, to solve all its housing problems. The design should thus consolidate, or reinvent, a “practiced place”.

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PARTES

Section 2

Projects for the European City

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Towards the 'People's Home' First Housing Districts in Stockholm

The apt metaphor "People's home" (*Folkhemmet* in Swedish) was first employed in 1928 by Per Albin Hansson, leader of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, to express the first step in the developments of the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s, which would make the novel Swedish achievements in urban policy and spatial practice an inspiring model for the rest of war-ravaged Europe. Starting from the "modernism's breakthrough" (Rudberg, 1999) marked by the 1930 Stockholm exhibition and favourable socio-political circumstances, Sweden had progressively impressed the world at large, embodying a peculiar marriage of capitalism and socialism applied in many respects. The ambition was also to build good homes for a new society, "a nation-family living under the shared roof of social equality and welfare solidarity" (Creagh, 2011, p. 5). Functionalism and social-democratic ideals have often been considered as overlapping concepts, but this observation is only partly true. Functionalist ideals were imported and properly interpreted in the first green settlements of parallel-sited houses scattered in the suburban areas of the 1930s.

However, this architectural framework does only partial justice to Sweden's modern mass-housing production, since the two poles "people" and "home" caught the attention of planners, architects, co-operatives, and politicians well before the celebrated advent of functionalism. In fact, the "collective resolution to individuals' problems had deep roots of the Swedish society, a striving towards a loyalty that found partial expression in the cooperative movement" (Rudberg, 1998, p. 110).

In this regard, Gregor Paulsson – theorist, social reformer and mastermind of the Stockholm exhibition – pointed out in the preface of the volume *Ny svensk arkitektur/New Swedish architecture*[1] how the Swedish "social emphasis" (1939, p. 5) and working-class focus had already found expression in an earlier exhibition *Hemutstallningen* (The home exhibition) in 1917 and went from strength to strength in the ensuing years gaining momentum in the housing projects of the 1930s. Against this background, the aim of this paper is to trace the origins of the Swedish social core-concern as well as the first instances of promoting land policies, programmes of mass housing and improvements in living standards.

Beyond any merely stylistic interpretation of Swedish architectural movements in the first half of the 20th century (National romanticism, Modern classicism or Swedish Grace, Funkis[2] and New Empiricism), one can recognize a certain degree of continuity, especially in the first three decades. The transition between tradition and modernity can be regarded as soft and painless (Ortelli, 2014) unlike other European countries. By the 1910s, Sweden started seeking a common language to frame the character and identity issues related with the emigration to the United States, and, mainly, with the imported cosmopolitanism. It was not merely a question of stylistic purification from the past, rather an urgent need for a proper formal language being able to span over a variety of new themes and circumstances.

Frontispiece HSB organised an exhibition into one of Röda Bergen's furnished apartments in the block Humleboet for the members of the housing cooperative, 9th August 1925.
Source: Digitala Stadsmuseet.

In the same preface, though, Paulsson lamented the little participation by leading architects of the 1920s in designing the first mass housing complexes. The whole enterprise, Paulsson argued, was rather taken over by "less qualified and less capable architects" showing "a fault both of the community and of the architect" (1939, p. 6). Considering Paulsson's blunt allegation, it is thus important to bring about the work of some of the few "capable architects". This was the case of Sven Wallander, who became undoubtedly the more distinguished architect as well as the driving force of the housing cooperative *Hyresgästernas sparkasse -och byggnadsförening* (Savings and Construction Association of the Tenants, henceforth HSB)[3]. Next to discussing the work of people like Wallander, this paper will also give special attention to the "minor" planners and architects – a label coined by historians generally denoting a secondary role –, who nevertheless played an important role in the Swedish context. These names contributed actively to transforming the face of the outskirts of the modern city – as is still visible today – contributing to create a real continuity between the existing urban pattern and the peripheral housing developments.

> *The residential district is a piece of the city's form. It is intimately bound up with the city's evolution and nature, and is itself constituted of parts, which in turn summarize the city's image. [...] In social terms, it is a morphological and structural unit characterized by a certain urban landscape, a certain social content and its function* (Rossi, 1982, p. 65).

This study focuses on unbeaten paths, practically unknown outside Sweden: the first spatial experiments with housing districts located on the outer fringe of Stockholm, conceived in the 1910s and 1920s. It is in this period that some Swedish planners and architects started to shape the social and aesthetic identity of Swedish housing by proposing new urban and architectural models, as Paulsson points out. Acknowledging the existence of multiple modernities, this article will discuss some "forgotten" experiences, such as the Modern classicism or Swedish Grace (Elmlund, Mårtelius, 2015). The label attributed to the movement was coined by the British architect Morton Shand at the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes,* which was held in Paris in 1925, to describe the Swedish simple, light and elegant interpretation of classicism. Further, others critics alluded to their timelessness and humanist approach to the classical architectural vocabulary.

Despite their struggle to cope with the housing shortage, housing estates developed in those years could reveal a pre-history of the subsequent successful spread of the *folkhem* concept. From a quantitative point of view, the Swedish solutions dating from that time were less numerous than other coeval European experiences, e.g. the

noticeable case of the municipality of Vienna [4]. Those Swedish housing estates, however, deserve attention for their peculiar ability to combine Sitte and Unwin's theories, which present some points in common. The attention here goes to two valuable examples: Röda Bergen (1909–1929) and Vasastaden (1913–1924) situated in two nearby North-West hilly sites of Stockholm, where the previous East-West oriented grid-plan (*Lindhagenplanen*) actually ended (Fig. 1 and 2).

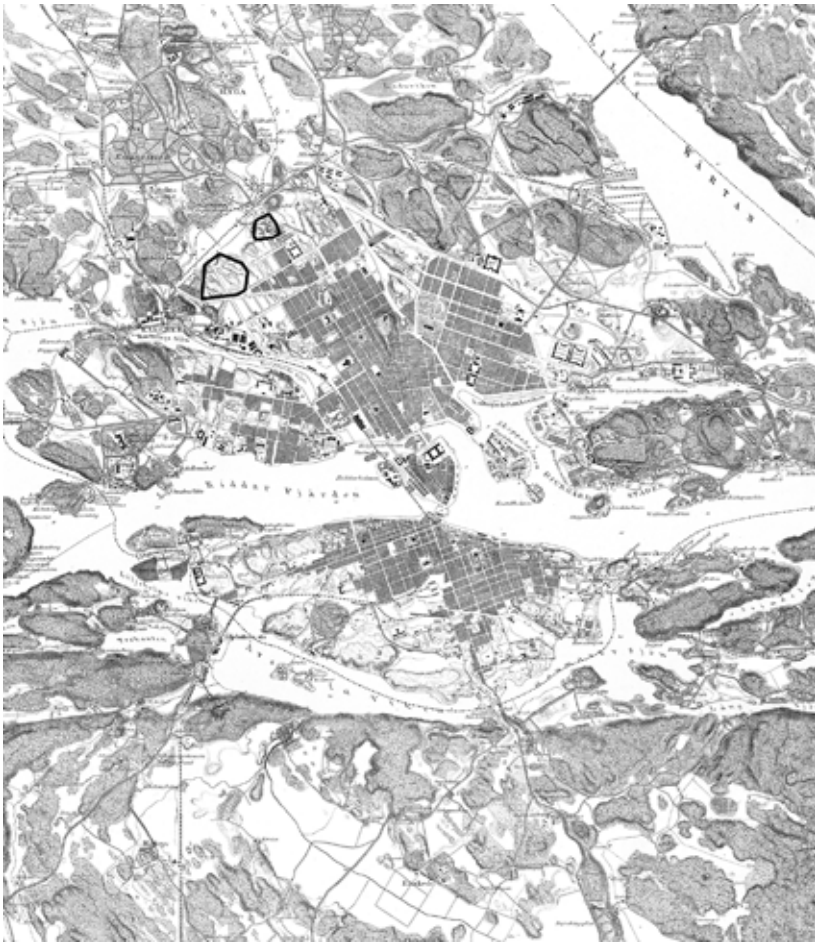

Fig. 1 Map of the regular urban fabric pattern and natural surroundings of Stockholm archipelago, 1891. Röda Bergen and Vasastaden have been highlighted with black contours. Source: Digitala Stadsmuseet, Stockholm, edited by the author.

Metamorphosis of the urban block and the practise of space

At the turn of the 20th century Sweden was still viewed as a separate province on the fringe of the European debate. Nevertheless, together with the rest of Europe, Sweden tackled the issues of accelerated metropolitan growth, acute housing shortage, dramatically unhealthy living conditions and soaring building costs. The response came first in the form of high density and congested buildings (*hyreshuset*) and provisional wooden barracks (*nödbostad*). In 1916, Paulsson devoted a chapter to the issue of tenement houses in his *Den nya Arkitekturen*

(The New Architecture). Their current form was less the result of city growth than of dire urban policy, where land speculation went ahead unregulated by authorities. *Hyreshuset* were built following basic building requirements focused on sanitary standards and fire safety. Social, spatial and aesthetic aspects were not taken into account (1916, p. 106).

The demand for land reform became acute as housing gained the status of a public utility, unquestionably one of the most important issues of modernity, involving many actors and vigorous public initiative. It thus became crucial to seek an alternative urban planning and architectural answer to the over-exploited town, the result of 19th century speculation. Sweden's housing revolution was triggered by a Building Decree (*Byggnadsstadgan*, 1874) and a Town Planning Act (*Stadsplanelagen*, 1907). In 1903, a few social democrat representatives entered the City Council and the *Centralförbundet för Socialt Arbete* (National Association of Social Welfare) started to hold meetings fostering co-operative housing and social reforms.

Starting from 1904, the national government devised a mean of controlling the urbanization of suburban sprawl by granting direct support for small cottage settlements. The so-called *Egnahemsrörelsen* (owner-occupied home movement) encouraged agricultural workers to acquire small cottages with the municipal supply of a certain plot of land. Later, other social groups became involved, like industrial workers and middle-level officials, attracted by the neighbourhoods' real potential as an alternative to the congested metropolis. They were inspired by English Garden City ideals, though now tailored to urban dynamics. Since 1917 the Parliament took several measures to facilitate and support the municipalities in planning and housing construction. Tenant societies became vital organizations, as shown by the first housing cooperative *Stockholms Kooperativa Bostadsförening* (SKB), established in 1916. Throughout the 1920s direct state housing subsidies were progressively reduced, so that co-operative ventures, principally through the prominent HSB founded in 1923, emerged as an alternative to private construction. Röda Bergen was mostly built by HSB, while Vasastaden by SKB.

Parallel to such predisposing factors, one must also take into account the peculiar morphology of Stockholm, to which it historically owed the appellation of *staden vid vatten* or *staden inom broarna* (city on the water or city within the bridges). Stockholm had always stood out from other European cities for being scattered over the islands of an archipelago. In the second half of the 19th century, new infrastructures and the *Lindhagenplanen* from 1866 shaped the appearance of the metropolis of the North. This urban plan did not cover the whole area of the city's fragmented structure, though. Extended areas at the fringes of the 19th century urban fabric remained unplanned.

Towards the end of the 19th century, new planning principles imported from England and Germany made a strong impact causing a sharp break with previous ideals. As previously stated, the Garden

Fig. 2 Map of the central parts of Stockholm elaborated by the Stockholms stadsingenjörskontor (Stockholm City Engineer Office) in 1938. The two nearby housing complexes are here highlighted. Source: Stockholms Stadsarkiv, edited by the author.

Cities model was a source of inspiration for garden suburbs around cities, but it also held significant potential for application to the design of urban residential districts on the rocky fringes. One thinks of Unwin's exhaustive contribution in cataloguing house groupings, particularly the "close, this collective space surrounded by houses and separated from traffic, which reinterpreted the traditional courtyard of the farm of manor house" (Panerai, Castex, Depaule, 2004, p. 145). What was fascinating for Scandinavians was how curving streets, parklands and gardens, and residential buildings contribute to marking out spatial differences.

As for the German influence, the urban planner Per Olof Hallman[5] was the first to introduce Sitte's theories in Sweden. He produced overall plans of a traditional kind for inner parts or suburbs of many cities. In Stockholm, Röda Bergen and Vasastaden are valuable examples of his numerous projects.

In the German magazine, *Der Städtebau*, he stressed his aim to combat the old gridiron planning system and replace it by new town planning ideas as displayed in the two schemes depicting the opposite urban patterns (1905, p. 106). Street patterns differing in terms of shape and width played a key role in giving variety and vitality to urban blocks.

The importance assigned to greenery would help to create a peaceful atmosphere, a complete novelty when it came to enclosed spaces and city blocks. Few years before, in the essay "Großstadt-Grün" (Metropolitan Greenery), Sitte had already turned the attention on improving the "sanitary greenery" in the interior recreational spaces of large blocks centred on human activities and relations, rather than in amidst the dust and noise of the streets (Collins and Collins, 1986, p. 319)[6].

Sitte's town planning model "appealed to Scandinavians in a pragmatic way, because of its ethical content and interpretation of the city as a unitary expression of collective identity [...] They tried to balance practical urban requirements with artistic and civic needs" (Porfyriou, 1990, p. 103). The search of this peaceful coexistence aimed to wear collective spaces and squares in their "Sunday best" in order to represent the pride and joy of district inhabitants and to awake their civic spirit (Collins and Collins, 1986, p. 230).

Hallman exercised a long-lasting influence on town planning until the late 1920s, although many of his plans would be partly revised, like Röda Bergen by Wallander and Sigurd Lewerentz.

Before the World War I an extensive portion of Röda Bergen South blocks – particularly those T-shaped buildings facing onto the wide alley of Karlbergsvägen – were built. They stressed symmetry and regularity more than before. However, the separation between traffic-bearing roads and residential streets remained. The merging of two topographically different areas – the two halves of the hexagon – by means of two main orthogonal axes was kept as well. What really changed was the dwelling type employed: multi-storey mass-buildings substituted semi-detached houses. In Hallman's proposal there was a kindergarten, a church and a school, but afterwards buildings for the community (featured in black in the first row of schemes in Fig. 3) were changed in position and function. Also, the layout of the ten housing blocks (Humleboet, Sigyn, Verdandi, Kakelugnen, Urnan, Pokalen, Kannan, Fatet, Bikupan and Myrstacken) was slightly modified, especially in the N-W portion of the neighbourhood.

Due to its extensive size, Röda Bergen called more than forty architects, of which Wallander, Erik Lallerstedt, Cyrillus Johansson, Albin Stark, Björn Folke Hedvall, Åke E. Lindqvist, were the highest qualified and brilliantly capable. Unlike the layout of Röda Bergen, the Vasastaden housing blocks remained nearly unvaried, especially the form of the three large courtyard blocks (Bälgen, Motorn[7] and Vingen) and the N-S axis of Upplandsgatan which splits Motorn and Vingen. The monumental building proposed on the peak of the hill, occupying one of the ends of the axis, was never built. In the 1950s a kindergarden / primary school took its place. Hallman revised the first plan proposal by designing a park in that northern area, thus slightly reducing the key role of Upplandsgatan (see second row of schemes in Fig. 3). The intervention was designed by two figures who mostly worked for the SKB: Edvin Engströms and Gustaf Larson.

From a typological point of view, Europe's modern housing experiences showed a determined search for suitable models. The debate "usually accepts as a fact the myth of the dissolution of the dense urban fabric of the 19th century city and the subsequent invention of new types of green settlements" (Sonne, 2010, p. 123). The dispersion of urban dwellings was propagated by the avant-garde motto "from the block to the bar" (*vom Block zur Zeile*). But the interwar period also produced other less radical, though modern, spatial experiments. Such was the "intermediary" step[8] of the reformed urban block: "a perimeter block which introduced light, air and greenery into the block with a large courtyard while still defining the public space with continuous facades" (Sonne, 2008, p. 249).

This typology derived from a long-standing tradition in many European cities, Stockholm included. The arrangement around a courtyard employed in the 1920s was "a real transformation, a deep modification not only of the block as a formal, abstract unit, but also of the block as a place for the location of activities with a clear and hierarchical articulation between interior and exterior space" (Panerai, Castex, Depaule, 2004, p. 131).

The metamorphosis of the closed urban block was also described in *acceptera*, the manifesto of the Swedish functionalism published in 1931.

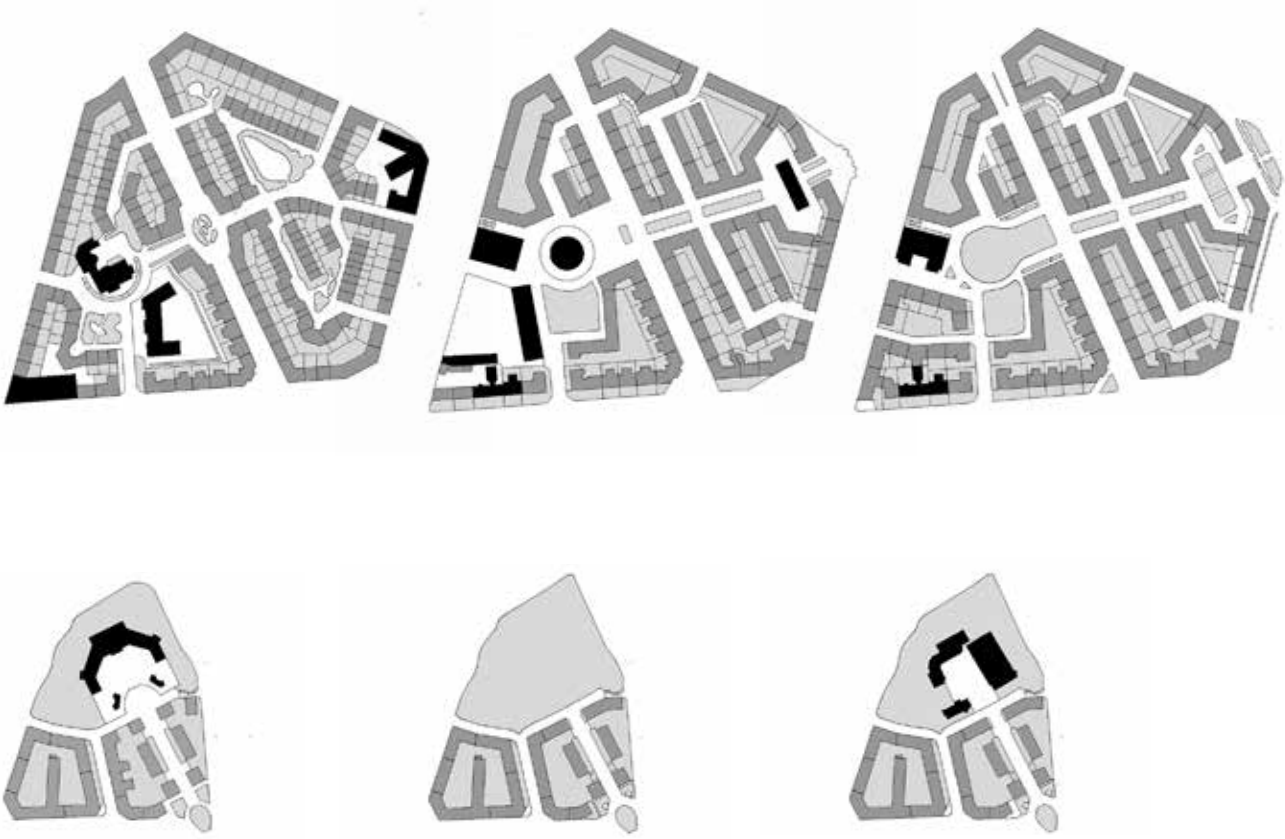

Fig. 3 From left to right: the evolution of the layout of Röda Bergen (1909, 1923, 1974) and Vasastaden (1913, 1916, 1958). Drawings by the author.

In line with the soft transition between movements as previously stated, it can be interpreted as a tepidly positive comment on the intermediary typological step. The group responsible for the Stockholm Exhibition – Asplund, Markelius, Paulsson, Sundahl, Gahn, Åhrén – invoked the need for a radical change in planning and housing, which to a certain extent had already started thanks to the 1920s housing experiments.

> *We begin to work from the inside outward, and with the perfect apartment as the building block construct the entirety, the body of the city. Developments in recent decades reveal a clear progression towards a totally new type of town plan. The interiors of the blocks have been cleared of overshadowing protrusions. T-shaped buildings have vanished and instead of a patchwork of small yards and protruding wings, there are now one or two large communal courtyards per block, often with garden. Certainly, there has been long hesitation about taking this tendency to its conclusion and abandoning the closed block*[9] (Creagh, 2008, p. 191).

Somewhat in contrast to these moderate lines, the group used the scathing rhetoric of an avant-garde manifesto to discredit few examples of perimeter blocks in Stockholm: Nörr Mälarstrand (1917–23) by Cyrillus Johansson and others as well as Wallander's housing block in Helgalunden (1913–1926)[10]. Their words need to be interpreted as critical of the decorative features of so-called Swedish Grace rather than hostile to the typological features of such housing developments.

Curiously, in 1974 the Swedish critical panorama provided an early and important study on the partly understated typology of the reformed perimeter block, testifying its pivotal role in modern housing production. The dissemination of Björn Linn's analysis was limited and it has never been translated. He coined the term *Storgårdskvarteret* (large courtyard block) to describe all such European examples. He put the focus on the form of the block and the inner common space used for improving community contacts and activities. It is also because most of the dwellings are small one-room apartments that they need communal facilities (e.g. shops, ateliers, laundry-rooms and collective showers, etc.) on the ground floor and within the courtyard. The novelty of the collective courtyards consisted also in the progressive elimination of separation walls (Fig. 5 and 7), which were the main features of the external areas of the speculative high-dense buildings. In fact, the practise of erecting walls reinforced the separation in blocks – and consequently the separation of inhabitants too – within the large courtyard block derived from the cadastral system.
Due to the greater complexity with its variety of the courtyards layout, often irregular in shape, Röda Bergen can be considered the highest synthesis between English and German models of city planning.

It is a balance between the modern monumental scale and a far more intimate spatial conception. The urban environment is characterized by continuous variation of street-views, attractive squares, parkland and private vegetable gardens. Of the ten large courtyard blocks, the two partial symmetrical ones (Humleboet and Sigyn) – situated in the Eastern entry side of the district (see second and third schemes in Fig. 3) –, represent the more remarkable examples of this metamorphosis of the closed urban block. In Humleboet five / six-storey buildings encircle wide green courtyards facing the wide roads, while some narrower one-way streets and urban staircases are framed by lower buildings. The block set interrelations between the sequence of three semi-opened spaces of different shapes, sizes and usage (Fig. 5): the trapezoidal urban square and avenue planting between Humleboet and Sigyn, the irregular triangular plot which follows the slope of the terrain and the rectangular garden between the parallel blocks.

Vasastaden presents a more modest scale, mainly 3-storey. It hinges on the relation between curved streets, crossroads and composition in three blocks. As dictated by the rocky lie of the land, the blocks layout (Motorn and Vingen) was non-symmetrical to the road axes.

Fig. 4 Röda Bergen. Collective green trapezoidal courtyard and the strip of private gardens in the block Humleboet, 1928.
Source: Digitala Stadsmuseet, Stockholm.

Fig. 5 Humleboet, ground floor plan.
Drawing by the author.

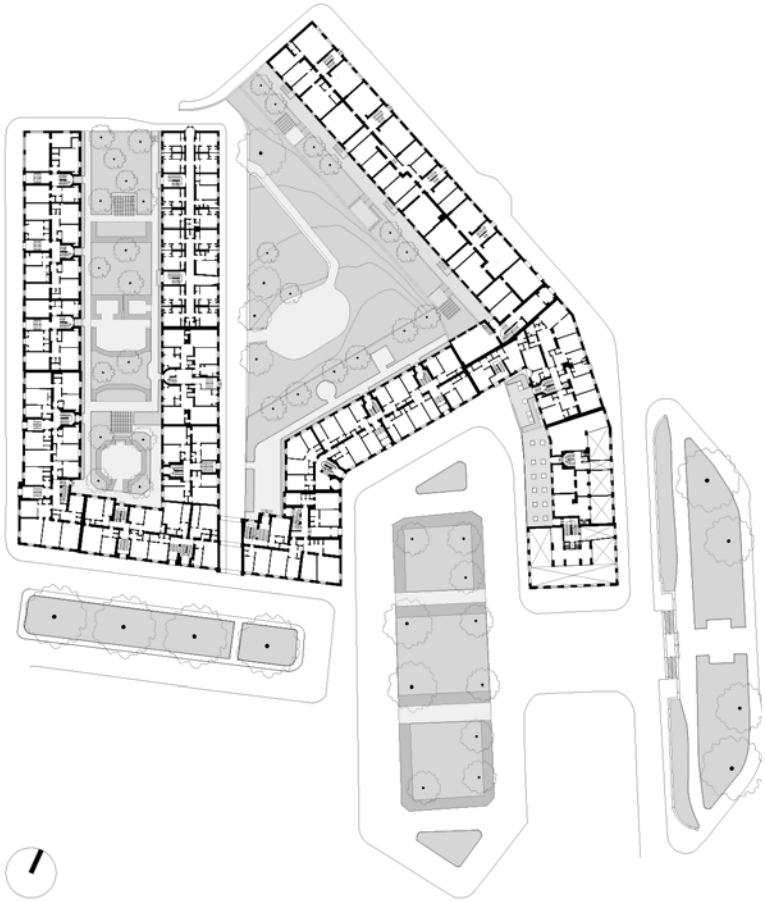

Fig. 6 Humleboet, the arch-passageway giving vehicle and pedestrian access to the trapezoidal courtyard, 2017
Photo taken by the author.

By contrast, Bälgen marked the boundary between exterior and interior as a separation for the inhabitants between public and private (Fig. 8). Five corridor-passages gave access to the courtyard, matching up with doors on the external façade, while access to dwellings was from the courtyard (Fig. 7).

To sum up, the typological assemblage of the ground floor of Humleboet and of the three blocks of Vasastaden clearly illustrates how housing dictated design and use of space between streets and the courtyard as well as the layout of green and paved areas. One should note that there were courtyards shared by inhabitants of all the quarters and others exclusively accessible to people living in the blocks facing the courtyard. Two housing instances also evidently demonstrate how the Swedish attitude to town planning was based on "a careful study of the terrain: the idea was to adapt the blocks and street networks to the lie of land, and to exploit the topographical opportunities for planning a varied urban landscape" (Hall, 2011, p. 191).

Fig. 7 Vasastaden: Bälgen, Motorn and Vingen ground floor plan. Drawing by the author.

Constructing the metropolitan image by housing districts

Besides its morphological and typological aspects, the character and architectural language of the residential unit were also central concerns in the process of "reformation". Together they would contribute to creating the metropolitan image, in which the individual and society can identify themselves. In this regard, Walter Behrendt in 1911 explored how uniformity (*Einheitlichkeit*) in modern housing block façades would be a key spatial element in the urban design for overcoming the fragmented character of speculative blocks and, consequently to a larger extent, the atomization of individuals too. This was also a revealing feature of the modern metropolitan society which called for a formal upgrading of social status and search of ideals of community. In the contribution on *Hyreshuset*, Paulsson accepted Behrendt's statement, because employing a uniform character can reinforce togetherness among individuals living around a common courtyard (1916, p. 121). But, he recognized that applying overall uniformity would damage the relationship between dwelling unit and street so that the block might feel closed off, unwelcoming outwardly, for all its lively inward openness. He proposed the remedy of incorporating design principles derived from modest-scale housing into the concept of the

Fig. 8 Vasastaden. A corridor-passage giving access to Bälgen's courtyard, 2016. Photo taken by the author.

residential estate. Tall and low façades, wide and narrow streets, larger and smaller blocks dialogue together in the overall neighbourhood. Anyway, owing to the Swedish cadastral system and the high cost of land, each large courtyard block had to be sub-divided into lots / blocks of different shapes. According to Paulsson, they sought to express variation within the rather uniform architectural language and character dictated by the large courtyard block itself. Legitimately, it recalled the varying shapes and coloured plaster of the historical city, like the central island Gamla stan, whilst avoiding mere imitation or the anarchy of ornamentation.

Looking at Röda Bergen one see a superior order setting the architectural principles for the entire residential unit, especially thanks to overall supervision of site planning, conducted principally by Wallander. Only secondarily did the architect responsible for each block of the large courtyard block propose slight variations in the overall complex. Both the urban façade and the courtyard-facing side of each block were treated with the same colour of warm range of plasters. On the contrary, Motorn and Vingen of the Vasastaden, presented a continuity in terms of language, colour and motif between exterior and interior, while the block Bälgen set a twofold dialogue: a uniform urban façade very similar to the one of the other two, while inside declared the individuality of each block that constituted the urban courtyard block by painting their façades in different colours.

Swedish residential districts of the 1920s are often associated with the architectural language of Swedish Grace, but despite some stylistic reservations, their "popular classicism" (Linn, 1987, p. 66) became a useful aesthetic tool to explore. In addition, quite apart from the idyllic appearance of the two interventions, there was a clear rational layout in the apartments: high-standard kitchens and already standardized doors, windows and carpentry.

> *The 1910s and 1920s are a period of contrasts and contradictions, and in many respects, are characterized by changes and conflicts at many levels. The creation of the architecture and the design of decoration is a part of the overall character of the period – of the intellectual attitude of the metropolis or the critical reflective attitude to history* (Knauff, 2015, p. 100).

Röda Bergen and Vasastaden accomplished a collective goal sought after by many architects that succeeded in accommodating people from the low ranks of the social ladder in housing complexes conceived as complete organic neighbourhoods, that is, an integral unit for planning, an economical unit for construction and administration, and a social unit for living (Bauer, 1934, p. XV), still successfully performing that function today.

Fig. 9 Röda Bergen. The corner of Humleboet in correspondence with the avenue planting and the one-way street along the perimeter of one of the Western bars of the block, 2017.
Photo taken by the author.

Fig. 10 Röda Bergen. On the foreground, the rocky and green circular area; in the backdrop, the Bikupan block faces the crossroads between the avenue planting of Rödabergsgatan and the wide road of Torsgatan, 2017.
Photo taken by the author

Fig. 11 Vasastaden. Trapezoidal courtyard of the block Motorn characterized by sloped terrain, 1918.
Source: Digitala Stadsmuseet, Stockholm.

Fig. 12 Vasastaden. Semi-open corner of Motorn and the road axis Upplandsgatan, 1927.
Source: Digitala Stadsmuseet, Stockholm.

1 → As stressed by Paulsson, the book opens with an examination of lower and middle-class housing estates, which were not included in the monumental volume Swedish modern architecture of the Twenty century authored by Hakon Ahlberg and the English photographer F. R. Yerbury and published some years earlier, in 1925.
2 → In Sweden, Funkis is a colloquial translation of “functionalism”.
3 → Paulsson admired Wallander’s efforts and together they engaged in a fruitful dialogue on housing issues. For instance, at the 1930 Stockholm exhibition, Paulsson invited the HSB office to build a series of housing models in order to demonstrate its contribution to modern planning and standardization in the 1920s.
4 → From 1850 to 1930 Stockholm’s population increased from 93,000 to 502,200 inhabitants. The quantity of dwellings built in inner Stockholm down to the end of the 1920s was not sufficient. Most of them were small; around half were comprised of one room and a kitchen.

5 → He took part in the first Town Planning Conferences and arranged the first IFHTP seminar in Göteborg (1923).
6 → Sitte's masterpiece (Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen, 1889) was translated in English in 1945 for the first time. The translation curated by Collins and Collins (1986 [1965]) includes also two significant essays written by him in the ensuing years.
7 → At the Hemutstallningen, Morton block designed by Gustaf Larsson was published together with other housing buildings in the special catalogue Svenska stadsförbundetsavdelning Kommunala byggnadsföretag.
8 → "Intermediary" from the position that urban perimeter blocks occupied in well-known schemes of housing layout evolution, drawn up by Gropius and May. See: Gropius, W. (1929). Die Wohnformen: Flach-, Mittel- oder Hochbau?. Das Neue Berlin, 4, pp. 74–80; May, E. (1930). Fünf Jahre Wohnungsbaut tigkeit in Frankfurt am Main. Das Neue Frankfurt, 2–3, pp. 21–55.
9 → The English translation of the manifesto is published in the key contribution Modern Swedish Design. Three Founding Texts (2008).
10 → Hallman did the Helgalunden plan, which it was later revised.

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Public Housing in Fascist Rome
A European Perspective

Today, publicly subsidized housing development in the Europe of the interwar period is largely met with broad appreciation. This appreciation stems from the social orientation of the housing programme as well as its urban design and architectural form. Actually, some of these housing projects have been ranked as World Heritage Sites – such as Berlin's 1920s modernist estates. Studying the historiography of architecture, one is likely to think that such estates were typical of the interwar period. In fact, it is implicit that these estates were planned for the working poor. Conversely, it is assumed that dictatorships of that time were woefully neglecting public housing programmes in order to build large monumental buildings. The little public housing that may have taken place in those countries is equally considered to be of poor quality and therefore not worth of further research. There are thus no comprehensive studies on public housing in Berlin during the Nazi regime, and the larger part of students still think that there was hardly any public housing being built at all. This phenomenon underscores an overly simplified understanding of dictatorships, which ignores that these regimes were sustained by the endorsement of parts of the population, by "consensus" as the Italians would put it.

It is my assumption that public housing was key in securing the consensus of the supporting middle classes for dictatorial regimes. It is therefore imperative to look at public housing not only from an architectural or urban design point of view but as well in terms of its social addressees. Public housing for whom? Putting it more complexly: which architectural and urban design forms in what location were offered to the various social classes by a given dictatorial regime? Maybe the answer to this question is not surprising. However, it is surprising that this issue is hardly ever debated[1]. This article introduces the most important public housing programme in a dictatorship during the first half of the 20th Century in Europe, the public housing in fascist Italy illustrated by the example of Rome. For it is in the capitals that the societal project of each dictatorship is represented in its clearest form[2].

Frontispiece Public housing in Garbatella (built by the Istituto per le Case Populari during the 1920s).
Photograph: Harald Bodenschatz, 2009.

1. Publicly subsidized housing in Mussolini's Rome

Just as in other European cities, the question of housing became paramount in Rome in the aftermath of World War I. During and after the war, housing conditions deteriorated in the Eternal City, too. The number of slum dwellings clearly underlines the dire housing shortage. An estimated 45,000 to 100,000 people lived in slums or in very basic housing in the wake of World War I.

1.1 Agencies of publicly subsidized housing in Rome: ICP, INCIS and private companies

The Mussolini regime, as well as other European nations, focused on large public housing companies. Founded in 1903, the *Istituto per le Case Popolari* (Institute for Subsidized Housing, ICP), oversaw the

centralization of various institutions and during the 1920s undertook a vast array of activities. In 1923, it was consolidated and brought under fascist control. In terms of class, it was not only providing for the working and the sub-proletarian classes with housing, but the middle classes as well, especially between 1923 and 1930. In the second half of the 1920s, the ICP produced some 1000 apartments per year and in 1927 it reached 2000 apartments. In 1930, out of Rome's 900,000 inhabitants more than 60,000 lived in apartments provided by the ICP. The housing development for middle classes carried out by ICP was deprived of its foundation when, in 1928, the private sector started to be subsidized. Thus, at the end of the 1920s, the ICP focused on providing housing for the poor, for immigrants, for slum dwellers, for the homeless and for other marginalized populations.

Established in 1924, the Roman *Istituto Nazionale per le Case degli Impiegati dello Stato* (Institute for Housing Development for Government Employees, INCIS) was intended to represent a model institution of fascist efficiency and economy. Its aim was to build apartments so as to ensure the desired mobility for government employees. It favoured highly valued central sites with an urban character and an architecture which was supposed to mirror local architectural traditions. The INCIS was technically a national institution, but Rome was clearly its main focus. The programme for the capital included 1500 new apartments which made up for 37 per cent of its national programme. In the years between 1924 and 1939, the *Istituto* built 4941 apartments in Rome and 11,209 throughout Italy (including Rome).

Housing policy during the Mussolini regime was not coherent. In 1923, a couple of drastic but contradictory measures were decided: the partial elimination of rent control, tax exemptions for 25 years for new buildings and the elimination of a tax on development sites. Subsequently, housing development, which had been stagnant in the post-war years recovered, just to decline again in 1925. It took another reversal of housing policy to jump start housing development in 1929 to 1930. Private development companies that until then had mainly built apartments for high-income households were then subsidized under certain conditions. Their new product, the *Case convenzionate*, a type of apartment built within the framework of contracts with the public sector, was introduced in 1928. Through this new product, private housing development was privileged at the expense of the ICP. At the same time, the addressees changed. Instead of "poor families", who were still provided for by the ICP, it was now "families living in modest circumstances" those who were subsidized.

The development of the *Case convenzionate* was subsidized at the rate of 100 Lire per living unit under the following conditions: rent had to be restricted to a certain amount; that level had to be sustained for at least 5 years; the public sector had to be guaranteed a right of occupancy. This measure was intended to buffer the planned elimination of rent control for 1930. Owing to the fact that

the municipality provided technical and transport infrastructure, the programme promoting high-density building proved attractive to private investors and it was thus relatively successful. These apartments benefited selected social groups, especially the lower ranks of the middle classes that disposed of regular income. This was a group cherished by the regime morally as well as politically. In fact, victims of war and of the so called "fascist revolution", families with many children, medalled soldiers, retired employees of the Roman municipality and those evicted from their apartments by no fault of their own were among the favoured for these new apartments.

The decisive turnaround in Roman housing development occurred at the end of the 1920s when the private sector ousted public development companies due to the distribution of state subsidies. Since then, large companies such as the Società Generale Immobiliare, the Impresa Federici, the *Istituto Nazionale Immobiliare* and the *Istituto Nazionale Assicurazioni* (INA) were key players in developing both private and publicly subsidized housing.

1.2 Urban design types of publicly subsidized housing in Rome

Publicly subsidized housing development in Rome can be differentiated into four main urban design types: firstly, the garden suburb that is situated outside city expansion areas and built by public development companies. This type was used only during a short period in early 1920s, to build a housing development for working and middle classes. Secondly, the compact urban quarter built within city expansion areas, developed by public companies, which dominated the second half of the 1920s. This was a housing development primarily intended for the middle classes. Thirdly, the *borgata*, a basic settlement developed by public companies far away from the city, which became significant in the late 1920s and was built until the end of the dictatorship. This was a development aiming marginalized, unemployed, homeless, sub-proletarian classes, in short, classes who were not welcome in the capital. Finally, the insular, high-density estate that was developed by private companies within the city expansion areas, a typical product of the 1930s, a type of housing development meant for the lower middle classes.

1.2.1 Garden suburbs

At the beginning of the 1920s, Roman housing policy followed the emerging European trend to disperse populations according to the garden suburb concept. Two significant examples of the short-lived decentralization policy are the Garbatella and the Aniene garden suburbs, initiated in 1920.

The "*garden-borgata*" Garbatella is the most commonly known housing estate of the *Istituto per le Case Popolari* (ICP). Completely isolated, it was built near the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura and in the vicinity of a potential development axis, the Via Ostiense, leading

from Rome to Ostia on the coast. Along this axis, an industrial zone included a gasometer and the central market. The social addressees of this garden suburb were the poorer classes. The development of Garbatella did not occur according to one coherent plan, but was rather the result of several partial plans.

The first sections, built from 1920 to 1922, covered only a tenth of Garbatella and only this section was built according to the garden suburb design principles. It is the housing estate with the lowest density of any ICP estate in Rome. The development comprised of a suburban quarter with 204 apartments arranged around a small central square, the Piazza Benedetto Brin. The square was connected to the broad radial road Via Ostiense by a flight of stairs at the end of which the main building rises in a theatrical manner. The Piazza Benedetto Brin itself is composed as a small centre with a slightly higher degree of density and mirrors the popular local architectural style of the *barocchetto*.

Fig. 1 Public housing in Garbatella (built by the Istituto per le Case Popolari, 1926–1928). Photograph: Harald Bodenschatz, 2009.

Since 1923 the housing estates developed by ICP would become gradually denser. At the Piazza Bartolomeo Romano two remarkable public buildings were erected, the Bagni Pubblici and the *Cinema-Teatro*, designed by Innocenzo Sabbatini, the most important architect of public housing in Rome. Both complexes reference ancient Roman archetypes in terms of their architectural style. These two buildings dominate the Piazza Bartolomeo Romano and form a second centre for the neighbourhood. From 1926 to 1928, the famous four *alberghi suburbani* with 997 living units and communal sanitary facilities were built by Sabbatini and were intended for those affected by demolitions. These *alberghi* were grouped around a third centre, the Piazza Michele da Carbonara, and represent a peculiar type of public housing development. They were originally intended only as temporary accommodation, but due to housing shortage were repurposed for long-term accommodation. The ground floor levels were occupied by service facilities such as police station, kitchens, dining halls, kindergartens, and emergency rooms. Later, playgrounds and a cinema were added to integrate leisure into the communities. The Piazza Damino Sauli ultimately became a fourth centre where the monumental Michele Bianchi School (1929–1930) and the San Francesco Saverio church (1931–1933) were erected.

At the beginning of the 1930s, the development of the "garden-borgata" which was entirely built by the ICP came to its end. The development of this suburb had the mark of many architects and thus displayed a vast artistic scope. This is why Garbatella is often called the "drill ground of housing development". This formerly isolated garden suburb encompasses indeed an extraordinary diversity in urban design and architecture that is rarely found outside historically grown quarters. This is where it differs greatly from settlements in Germany or elsewhere. Even today, the exceptional social and urban character of Garbatella can be experienced.

Within the framework of the Consorzio Città Giardino Aniene, established in 1919, the *Istituto per le Case Popolari* (ICP) in cooperation with another company developed the "English-type garden city" Aniene, on 150 hectares in the Northeast of Rome at Monte Sacro. The addressees of Aniene were more privileged classes than those in Garbatella. The plan comprised 500 small houses with two to three storeys and a garden, structured along the bend streets typical of garden suburbs. There were also numerous areas for sports and green space as well as an archaeological park. The garden suburb of Aniene had a small and picturesque centre, the denser Pizza Sempione with a church, some palazzi, a school, post office, cinema, shops and a small park. The suburb was well connected to the rest of the city by a new bridge and several tram lines that ran over the Via Nomentana.

1.2.2 Urban housing complexes

The decentralization policy that aimed at establishing garden suburbs was soon abandoned and later, due to its low density, harshly criticized as being wasteful and monotonous. As the garden suburb concept was no longer supported, public housing development in Rome concentrated on compact urban estates built in blocks. This was the most important type of public housing development in Rome, a type that had already influenced the latest part of the development in the Garbatella garden *borgata*. Estates of this type were of varying size: they could comprise part of a block, an entire block or even shape a whole quarter. And they were primarily informed by regional architectural styles. The block itself was built in a varying form, in contrast to housing developments before World War I. It was not completely closed and had generous and beautiful green spaces within. The estates addressed the working poor and the new middle classes, aiming the patronizing integration of these classes into the city. The housing estates were therefore well integrated into the urban context, as they did not stand out from other products of private housing development.

Besides the two garden cities, the ICP developed a series of larger estates in the urban context, in the second half of the 1920s, which the Tiburtino II estate is an example. The Tiburtino II quarter stretched between the Piazza Bologna and the Stazione Tiburtina in the east part of the city. Its 667 dwelling units, mostly smaller public apartments, were built in a hilly area, according to the plan designed by Ignazio Guidi and Innocenzo Sabbatini. Built at lower density, the quarter spread across a traditional layout with hierarchically ordered squares, streets and paths, but abstained from a schematic perimeter block development. By varying the building types and adding several special building types, it created an impression of diversity, which was further accentuated by the landscaping of the complex. There is a striking richness of public and semi-public spaces, whose centre is the Piazza Pontida. A distinctive entrance situation and landmark buildings emphasize the relative closeness of the area. Tiburtino II is a great reference of an urban design concept that matches its context.

West of the neighbourhood, there is a famous housing estate, the *casa a gradoni,* with 89 public apartments and shops on the ground floor. This high-density estate with up to seven storeys was built in 1929 and 1930 on a triangular plot by the ICP following the plans designed by Innocenzo Sabbatini. The so-called "stair house" gets its particular form from its stepped terraces that cover a narrow and bent yard.

The Savoia neighbourhood, near Piazza Verbano, is a reference of the housing complexes developed by the *Istituto Nazionale per el Case degli Impiegati dello Stato* (INCIS). It was planned by the engineer Dario Barbieri for a site in the northeast of Rome. It was developed between 1925 and 1931, and it is one of the largest contiguous housing

Fig. 2 Public housing at Piazza Verbano, quarter Savoia (built by the Istituto Nazionale per le Case degli Impiegati dello Stato, 1925–1931).

estates of the 1920s, accommodating 2,000 apartments for 10,000 inhabitants. To build it an existing settlement, the Villa Lancelotti, had to be dissolved. Planned for government employees, this housing estate differs greatly from those developed by ICP. It is even more urban and embedded into the city expansion as planned in the master plan of 1909. Its streets are lined by trees and defined according to an hierarchical structure. The main road includes the tram line, shops, restaurants and other facilities. The octagonal Piazza Verbano, designed in 1930 by Raffaele De Vico defines the natural centre of the quarter. Within or at the edge of the estate there were a cinema, a church, a post office, a school and a city park, the Parco Virgiliano, also designed by Raffaele De Vico, who was the most important landscape architect of the Mussolini era in Rome.

The quarter surrounding Piazza Verbano was not comprised of simple perimeter blocks, but rather of a variety of buildings with large planted yards with playgrounds. The six to seven storey buildings are decorated in a traditional style. Parts of the quarter show a modernist architectural style but follow the traditional street layout.

1.2.3 Borgate

The inner city projects of the public housing development were not sufficient to house the many immigrants from rural areas and the poorer inhabitants of the old town who were affected by the isolation of antique Roman monuments or by the construction of new avenues. As it became obvious that the demand for housing could not be met with current policies, the development of housing estates outside the city expansion areas was reintroduced. These new settlements were called *borgate*. But this new form of decentralization, promoted the marginalization of unwanted populations, instead of their social cohesion.

Due to their location, far away from the city and their poor transport connections, the *borgate* were totally isolated, in contrast to the inner-city projects. They were neither connected to the city nor to their surrounding countryside. The buildings were manufactured using inferior materials and in many cases had no running water and no toilets. In order to maintain the "security" of the housing complexes, police stations were installed in many *borgate*. As the housing shortage continued during the fascist regime, despite the poor sanitary and social conditions these *borgate*, once planned as temporary accommodation, became permanent housing. Aside from these official *borgate* planned by the regime, illegal and unplanned *borgate* were also created and had to be legalized subsequently. Legal and illegal basic settlements are not limited to the era of the Fascist regime but are part of Rome's modern development history, even today.

In spite of their infamous reputation among the Italian public, there is still little knowledge on the history of the *borgate*. Derived from "borgo", a word that describes a small inner-city quarter or a small rural village, the term "*borgata*" carried the rather negative connotation of an unfinished settlement. This is what the *borgate* actually turned out to be. These planned basic settlements were developed to accommodate the urban poor that were no longer given the right to live in the city, those who were evicted to give way to the renovation of Rome's centre as a showcase for the fascist regime. This represents a drastic turn in housing policy: unwanted or unpopular populations were supposed to be moved out of the city and into the regional "backyard".

The introduction of the *borgate* was a direct consequence of the change in housing policy favouring private development companies and the factual ousting of the *Istituto per le Case Popolari*. The Roman municipality aimed at radically lowering building costs by using cheap materials, inferior standards in technical equipment and social facilities and lower land prices which were only available far out of Rome. The switch to building cheap and simple housing gave rise to unprecedented social segregation and the de-urbanization of the poorest.

The *borgate* accommodated not only victims of demolitions in the city centre. The *borgate* collected a diverse social mix: the poor, victims of the abandonment of rent control, inhabitants of illegal settlements, poor migrants from rural areas ("rural exodus"), unemployed or partially employed, and those who returned from the Italian colonies in Africa, among many others. The living conditions were not homogenous as it is often reported. In fact, the allocation of the apartments, the provision of social facilities, construction materials as well as building types differed greatly as did the connection to the city by public transportation. Whereas some *borgate* looked like camps, some showed particular layouts with remarkable production of space within their urban design. Due to their remote location, the *borgate* functioned as catalysts for urban sprawl. As private development companies were able to use their

infrastructure – albeit a poor infrastructure –, the *borgate* enabled those companies to develop the area between them and the city in a profitable way. This effect was calculated by the Roman municipality hopping to demolish the *borgate* and sell the land once its price had risen. In this respect, the *borgate* were a temporary fix and not a final solution.

While the decisions to build the *borgate* were made in 1929, the first generation of these basic settlements was not built until the first half of the 1930s. They were directed and built by the Roman municipality, and not by the ICP. A reference of this meagre generation was the *borgata* Gordiani in the east of Rome. The buildings of the *borgata* were one storey barracks without toilets. A record of a contemporary parliamentary investigative committee into poverty in cities describes the *borgata* as follows:

> *The buildings are neither equipped with running water nor toilets. Wells (that serve as washing facilities as well) and toilets are rare in the area, and to a certain number of flats is allocated one such facility. The doors of the flats connect directly onto the streets [...]. Built in extreme haste and with little resources, the buildings are run-down by use and deterioration, roofs are leaking and due to the lack of maintenance water seeps into the rooms below and soaks everything – household items, linens,... There are no trees, no grass ... Only the main road is paved... every now and then there are concrete boxes along the side roads: 25 toilets for 5000 people. They are open on all sides without doors or only so much as a thin screen. They are dirty beyond description as they belong to everyone and no one and are therefore rarely cleaned. The water pipes that provide the population with water are in direct vicinity to the latrines. Sometimes these pipes burst and water runs to the houses' doors. Equally unhygienic are the three public washing areas where the entire population does its laundry as there is no water in the houses. Streets – that is if one should call the narrow alleys between the barracks such – are not paved, are nothing but uneven ground, dusty in summer and muddy when it rains, covered in puddles and rills. The low and rectangular buildings are lined along these streets. The walls have two or three windows and one door. There is no market... no pharmacy, no post office, there is not even a butcher, though due to their poverty inhabitants do not regard this as a huge loss on their part*[3].

In 1935, the conditions of housing production in the *borgate* changed as the municipality of Rome underwent a change of power: the second generation of *borgate* was no longer built by the municipality but by ICP. Hence, the ICP regained its role as the main provider of housing for poorer classes, even though hopes for large-scale subsidized housing development programs were disappointed by the regime.

Fig. 3 Borgata Primavalle (built during the 1930s). Photograph: Harald Bodenschatz, 2015.

Between 1935 and the downfall of the regime in 1943, more *borgate* were built, among which are the Tiburtino III, Acilia and Quarticciolo. Some of the ICP's newer *borgate* were clearly different from the first generation *borgate*. Some areas were planned with more elaborate layouts and interesting space productions. Often, not always, what was built were "houses instead of barracks" with running water, toilets and communal facilities, which functioned poorly and were insufficient. From 1936 to 1937, the Tiburtino III *borgata* was constructed, according to a rationalist architecture designed by Giuseppe Nicolosi.

The urban structure is organised by a shifted axis, where the buildings of one to two storeys are oriented in north-south and east-west direction. Nevertheless, due to its meagre architecture, the estate offered little in terms of public space. Acilia was installed to the south of the capital, between Rome and Ostia, in a malaria infested area. Its urban design, with no central area, as well as its building types, was very simple and made it seem like a camp. Built from 1940 to 1943, the Quarticciolo *borgata*, designed by Roberto Nicolini, director of the design department at the ICP, is one of the best *borgate*. Thanks to its diverse building types and rather complex production of space with numerous squares and open spaces, the usual monotony of the *borgate* was overcome.

Already in the 1930s, the *borgate* became object of fierce criticism. Innocenzo Costantini, director of the ICP, described them at the "V. Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani" in 1938, as unworthy, counterproductive to the most elementary principles of hygiene and moral, as a waste of money and centres for hazards of all kinds, as places that actually degrade the price of land in their area instead of elevating it.

1.2.4 High-density housing estates

Against the backdrop of a dramatic aggravation of the housing shortage, the early 1930s were years of partially extreme increases in density for inner-city projects. As a result, large and monotonous complexes were built as high-density islands housing a magnitude of functions, including sometimes cultural facilities. These complexes were often developed by private companies as part of the subsidized *Case convenzionate*. The abandoned traditional architectural style had been replaced by often simple, very strict and undecorated variations of modernist architecture.

Fig. 04 Palazzi Federici near Piazza Bologna (built by the Impresa Federici, 1931-1937). Photograph: Harald Bodenschatz, 2013.

The most striking and probably the largest example of one such high-density block can be found at the Piazza Bologna, near the Villa Massimo: the Palazzi Federici. Its promoter was the Impresa Federici and it represents publicly subsidized private housing development, the so-called *edilizia convenzionata*. Built from 1931 to 1937, on a nearly rectangular plot of 15,400 square meters, included 442 apartments that were developed surrounding two larger connected yards as planned by Mario De Renzi. The ground floor level, housing 70 shops and a

cinema, was repurposed in 1968 to become a supermarket. The height of the "futurist" complex varies depending on the location, the main façade along the main street is distinctively higher than those facing the side streets. This way, the housing colossus reveals the intention to fit into its context.

In the first half of the 1930s, another two such large high-density blocks with smaller apartments were developed by the ICP. These were the Donna Olimpia complex in the southwest of Trastevere (Monteverde) and the Val Melaina complex in the northwest of Rome. Donna Olimpia was built from 1930 to 1932 in an isolated location and formed a large undecorated and strict housing block. Called "skyscrapers" (*Grattacieli*) by their inhabitants, the buildings dominated a square, the Piazza Donna Olimpia. This housing complex underscored an important architectural principle of the public housing development of the 1930s: an unprecedented austere simplicity in the housing development for the middle classes. The location of the Val Melaina complex, also developed from 1930 to 1932, was even more isolated. Its architectural design, however, was not as austere. In its compact layout, buildings were grouped around rather generous green yards. Inhabitants of these two ICP housing complexes were poor but did not belong to the very poor who had to live in the inferior *borgate* of the first generation.

2. Perspective: Housing development and dictatorships in interwar Europe

The output of Rome's housing policies was, as in other European countries, quite substantial. However, considering the city's immense housing shortage, it was utterly insufficient. In total, some 197,000 apartments were built from 1924 to 1930. This is similar to the production of public housing during the so-called "Red Vienna", as it is emphasized by Italian researchers. In contrast to the German case, the Italy of the interwar period concentrated on urban and compact city expansion, as was usual before World War I, and not on decentralization in the form of settlements. The fascist regime aimed at and succeeded in implementing a remarkable societal concept: the urbanization of the supportive middle classes. The regime bound these classes by providing attractive housing in the form of compact city expansions. At the same time, city centres were modernized and the regime was able to offer employment in an attractive urban environment.

Thereby, a particularly Roman way of urban housing development in the 1920s was initiated, a project of the urbanization of the middle classes that is unique in its dimension. This was complemented by another particularity since the mid-1920s in Europe: the very early introduction of residential property. Italian public housing development of the 1920s is therefore a peculiar urban form of mass housing development regarding its social, economic, architectural and urban

design aspects. It joins the ranks of the settlement development in Germany, the proletarian fortresses of "Red Vienna" and the suburbanization in the USA. This particular aspect of Roman housing development policy is, still today, little known outside of Italy. But other aspects of the fascist housing policy may not be overlooked. For example, the remotely located *borgate* were used to dispose of unwanted poor immigrants or those pushed out of the city centre. Therefore, de-urbanization in Italy actually means the segregation of the undesirable social classes out of the city.

The housing development during the Mussolini era in Rome is surely unrivalled in both dimension and variety, but is it truly unique? Looking at Portugal, it is not unique at all. In Lisbon too, during the dictatorship of António de Oliveira Salazar, public housing programmes were socially differentiated. The upper middle classes, just as in Italy, were offered large urban apartments in the city expansion areas, though built by private investors. For the middle classes with lesser incomes, nucleated, more isolated low-rise settlements were on offer and for the poor migrants from rural areas only isolated camp-like developments. Aside from those, there were illegal slums as there were in any larger city.

It is interesting to see that even the Soviet Union under Stalin did aim at the urbanization of its elites during the 1930s. Only in the early 1920s, the concept of garden suburbs was popular, like in Italy. Later on, housing palaces were built for the privileged social classes. The majority of the inhabitants had to live in apartments in older buildings that had to be shared with other households due to the housing shortage. The new cities of Siberia were even more segregated: there were mansion-like accommodations for foreign experts and top workers, some new buildings for skilled workers and accommodation in tents for unskilled workers, even worse accommodation for those in forced labour.

Looking at the housing development in Nazi Germany, one can quickly gather that there was no comparable socially differentiated public housing programme. The large and compact, semi-urban settlements in Berlin for example – still referencing the housing development typical of the Weimar Republic – aimed at the egalitarian mass development of housing. They addressed loyal German populations, though. The housing developments during the Nazi era in the larger cities remained strangely undefined in respect to their intended social addressees. They were orientated towards achieving the uniform city that was not attractive to privileged Germans. On the other hand, the suburban model settlements, built in the early 1930s, were strictly ordered, socially homogenous alternatives for the privileged middle classes.

There is however another form of Nazi housing policy that is often overlooked. Not just in Germany, but elsewhere, too. This kind of housing development was not represented in the publications of the

propaganda bureau, and is still today seldom shown in architectural historiography. The Nazi new town of Wolfsburg, for example, was mostly a shantytown. The development of camps for forced labour was the last stage of Nazi housing development. Or the penultimate, if one were to consider the building of apartments for those made homeless by the bombs as the ultimate stage.

Regarding the camps for forced labour, they seem to underscore that one should make no connection between the housing policies of the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany. But it should not be forgotten that the first generation of Nazi housing development was a continuation of housing development of the Weimar Republic: the so called settlements for the unemployed. These basic settlements were comparable to the *borgate* in Rome: very remote, promoting self-help, without bathrooms, running water, service or communal facilities and deprived of appropriate transportation connections to the city. A product of a de-urbanization policy, they had a clear addressee: unemployed workers. The legal foundation for this type of settlement that was established as an answer to the world economic crisis was an emergency decree of the Brüning government in 1931. After 1933, the program was continued by the Nazi regime. In Berlin, for example, the settlement of Marienfelde was built according to this program in 1932/33. This settlement was mostly composed of single-storey semi-detached houses and complemented by some detached houses. In total, some 394 settler's holdings were established, which resulted in a uniform and regular townscape.

The settlements for the unemployed of the late Weimar Republic differed from the famous settlements of the 1920s in important aspects. They differed in their appointment and architectural form as well as their social addressees. But they also had common features, such as their contribution to promote the suburbanization of housing. They did aim at different goals, though. Many reformers and the housing policy of the era before the world economic crisis of the late 1920s dreamt of the suburbanized city region as exemplified in England. After the world economic crisis, housing policy – not only of dictatorships – led to the emerge of multiple examples of the city region with an urban core for the middle classes and isolated exurban islands of housing for unwanted inhabitants.

The new building code of the Weimar Republic did not allow the traditional courtyards and demanded lower density and the separation of functions. Due to these regulations the urban design changed radically as the compact and mix-use blocks were dropped so did the urban streets and places. Bit by bit, suburban living in the midst of green areas replaced the inner-city housing. The developers favoured by the new housing policy were non-profit organizations. Their new subsidized housing developments had narrowly defined the addressee: the new middle classes, especially white-collar workers. This relatively social homogeneity of the new housing types

of the 1920s is often overlooked. This is however a critical point, the programme that resulted in this homogenous settlement landscape is based on the mistaken view that egalitarian buildings could result in more equality. In an unequal society such development does however promote something completely different: the large-scale segregation in a sprawling city region, segregation that was further promoted by the settlements for the unemployed.

In conclusion, these arguments can be characterized in four hypotheses. Firstly, dictatorships are not only based on terror, but on consensus as well. Housing development for the all-important middle classes was a decisive catalyst in order to secure consensus. Secondly, housing development is not only a built form, but a form that addresses a particular social class. Form follows the addressees. In architecture history, the addressee of housing developments is often overlooked, disguised or embellished; the form is often striped of its social meaning. In regard to this, the housing policy of dictatorships can be summarized as follows: urbanization of the middle classes, de-urbanization of unwanted classes. Thirdly, housing development of the interwar period was not static, but rather changing depending on the political, economic and societal changes. In particular, the world economic crisis had an immense influence on housing policy in democracies and dictatorships alike. Finally, the interwar period did not only produce low rise settlements. There was – not only in dictatorial regimes – the development of barracks. And there was also – predominantly in dictatorships – the development of urban housing that is still attractive today, but largely ignored in architectural historiography.

1 → In fact, this is equally true for the debate on public housing during the Weimar Republic in Germany.
2 → This article is based on research on public housing during the Mussolini regime. Cf. Bodenschatz, H. (ed.) (2011). Städtebau für Mussolini. Auf der Suche nach der neuen Stadt im faschistischen Italien. Berlin: DOM publishers; Bodenschatz, H. (2013). Städtebau für Mussolini. Auf dem Weg zu einer neuen Rom. Berlin: DOM publishers. Cf. also: Benedetti, S., & Cavallari, P. (2005). Qualità architettonica e qualità urbana nell'edilizia borghese e popolare a Roma (1890-1930). Roma: Regione Lazio, Direzione regionale piani e programmi di edilizia residenziale; Cocchioni, C., & De Grassi, M. (1984). La casa popolare a Roma. Trent'anni di attività dell'I.C.P.. Roma: Edizioni Kappa; IED edizione; Fraticelli, V. (1982). Roma 1914-1929. La città e gli architetti tra la guerra e il fascismo. Roma: Officina; Masini, E. (2009). Piazza Bologna. Alle origini di un quartiere "borghese". Milano: FrancoAngeli; Vanelli, V. (1981). Economia dell'architettura in Roma fascista. Il centro urbano. Roma: Kappa; Villani, L. (2012). Le borgate del fascismo. Storia urbana, politica e sociale della periferia romana. Milano: Università di Torino.
3 → Insolera, I. (1976). Roma moderna. Un secolo di storia urbanistica. Torino: Einaudi. pp 139-140.

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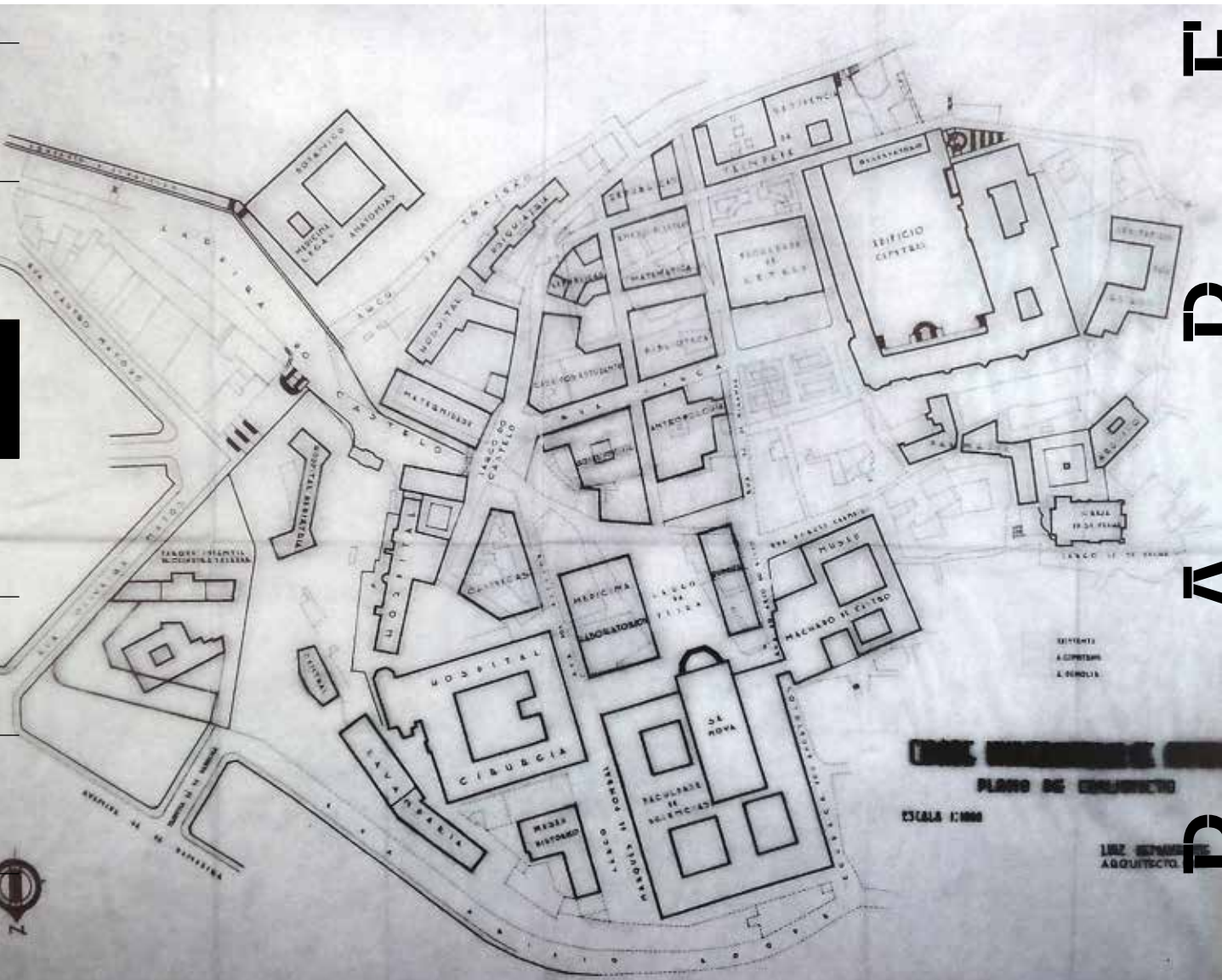
University City of Coimbra, 'tabula rasa' as a Project Methodology



Introduction

Portugal and its image experienced a re-foundation process in the 30's and 40's of the 20th century promoted for ideological propaganda, which expressed itself as a profound regulation of urban intervention, lead by the Ministry of Public Works and Communications.

Simultaneously, the University of Coimbra, a national symbol and an overseas cultural exchange platform, had to follow that change for modernization, which represented the national capacity of entrepreneurship and evidenced the nation's strength and power on the international political stage and also its global influence.

The upper part of Coimbra, the *Alta*, suffered a significant transformation due to a process occurring from 1934 to 1975, manifesting it by turning into a *mono-functional citadel*. These transformations started in the 40's, when several demolitions, determined in the master plan, marked the beginning of the works.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the project's purposes that were used throughout the process of transformations from that period of that part of the *Alta* in the University City of Coimbra (UCC), taking into account the role that public space assumed in the new urban spatial organization. Through analyses of the master plans of the University City works, it is possible to verify the connection and fusion between the university citadel and the city, that is, between the university space and its urban context.

Fig. 1 Master plan of COCUC, Luís Benavente, 1939 (IAN-TT, 1997, p. 21).

While, in Europe, *tabula* rasa was a consequence of the destruction caused by war, in Portugal it was a project methodology to achieve the necessary space for construction. That was quite evident in this case, where the "blank slate", so precious for the creative process of the Modern Movement, was made possible due to an assumption of power by the state.

Contextualization

Any intervention in a city should be a conscious action respecting the city's own space and urban context, which has been absorbing different transformations throughout its history. In that sense, an urban space could be read as an evolutionary text representative of: the urban policies, the sociocultural dynamics and the technological knowledge of each contemporaneity as well. So, it is the result of transformations and development, not only of its evolutionary urban morphology, but also of the evolutionary practices of appropriation by its populations and communities.

However, some events permit us to consider new solutions and new approaches, mainly those which are the consequences of a traumatic loss, self-imposed or not, of broken bonds and emotional links or habits that everyone establishes in their own comfort zone and environment. And the destruction wreaked in several territories during the wars in the 20th century provided the foundations for a growing consciousness about the sociocultural legacy that is a city, especially, a European one.

Although, in Coimbra, that consciousness was reversed and contradicted when the government of the dictator Salazar decided to construct a new UCC, upon the old original one that had performed those functions since the 16th century. The UCC was projected as a space isolated from the rest of the city and above it, like a citadel, which watches over its surroundings to protect and create a refuge. However, the creation of the university citadel imposed an invisible delimiting line on its urban context that has a real impact on its own autonomy in the city.

Firstly, the first and second master plans and the contextualization of the theory behind them (similar to the theory of Athens Charter of 1931[1]) before the urban transformation of the *Alta*, since 1934 to 1940 are considered. Secondly, in contrast with the former, the theory related to the master plans of the third Commission of Works (CAPOCUC[2]), since 1941 to 1975 (similar to the concepts of Athens Charter of 1933[3]), and its decisions and actions are highlighted concerning the *tabula rasa* project methodology assumed since the very first design to construct the new UCC.

This case, simultaneously, leads us to think about the influence of a political decision concerning a city and its capacity for resilience, making it able to absorb any urban intervention with the passing of time. If each decision, that is taken for a specific space in a specific historical time, with some contingencies, has urban consequences within its urban context, then this case is pertinent. The decisions taken were related to a way of thinking about the city and the dichotomies of the 20th century and also changed the paradigm for understanding the city.

Coimbra between Athens and Athens

When in 1934, the Minister for Public Works, Duarte Pacheco, decided to construct the University City of Lisbon, Coimbra protested vehemently and demanded public investment for the UCC (Capela & Murtinho, 2015; Correia, 1946; Rosmaninho, 2006).

The period for the implementation of the ideal of a delimited area for the constitution of a university city in Coimbra was from 1934 till 1975. It is possible to distinguish two different moments during this time related to the theory of dichotomy proclaimed in the two Athens Charters, experienced by the group of architects that were chosen to develop the master plan of the UCC.

The first moment overlaps the first and second Commission of Works (COCUC[4]), from 1934 to 1940, which contain the theoretical approach defended by the Athens Charter of 1931, "to build in the constructed city", meaning that the urban context is a fundamental principle for the project design.

The architects Raúl Lino and Luís Benavente were nominated to study an urbanization project within the existent facilities of the university in the *Alta* for the first COCUC in December of 1934,

which demanded its isolation from the rest of the city (MOPC, 1934; Rosmaninho, 1996, 2006). This stipulation was fundamental for the future plans of the university because it was assumed that university scholars' results would be better with no external influences on the students. There should be rigorous discipline within the space designated for study, just as Ribeiro Sanches had suggested before in 1759 (2003). It is very pertinent to note the contrast between the values expressed in Sanches' concepts and ideas in Salazar's discourse in 1937. For Salazar, Coimbra, and the *Alta* in particular, was already a university city simply waiting for some adjustments and improvements, in the form of new spaces and facilities appropriate for the students and which would isolate the "holy hill" just for university activities (1945, pp. XIX–XX).

Meanwhile, the transformation of the area into a main square, or *praça de armas* according to Sanches' proposal and in a profane sense, should be contrasted with Salazar's, into a citadel, more sacred vision, he considered himself *a spiritual son of the school*[5] (1945, p. XIX) and legitimised his desire to develop the University of Coimbra by providing better conditions. The consecration of the sacred myth becomes a glorification on three levels: the space, its image and its creator[6].

The second COCUC began at least administratively in 1939 (MOPC, 1939) with the function of revising and reformulating the former master plan of 1936. That is why, officially, there were no architects nominated in this reformulating team. Nevertheless, Benavente collaborated in the new formulation of the plan but only in an informal way (Fig. 1).

Both Lino and Benavente had a background and a *cultural and intellectual* perspective (Bandarin & Oers, 2012; Choay, 1965), which shaped their way of thinking about architecture and took into account the urban context, in parallel with the theory of the Athens Charter of 1931[7]. They worked in Coimbra and knew the city very well (Craveiro, 1983; IAN-TT, 1997). What already existed and its importance to the identity of the place was too strong and too evident to be ignored, therefore neither of them could design a master plan of the UCC without being influenced by the urban context.

Benavente set out the principles that should guide the project: to benefit the value of the university's existent architectonic heritage in harmony with its urban context, making sure that any intervention should be done carefully and new buildings should not interfere with the historic visual perspectives which had been a permanent value for centuries (IAN-TT, 1997, pp. 51–52). More than making reformulations by demolitions or new buildings, it was essential to reorganize the layout and surroundings of the university colleges. It was imperative to redesign the structure of the urban area of the *Alta* that had lots of problems related with hygienic and sanitary conditions. Also, a concentration of the university facilities was necessary, as the pre-existing mixed urban network was an unsatisfactory solution.

However, the most significant interventions occurred in the public space whether in the widening of the streets or in the constitution of the main axes. The proposal to demolish the houses imbedded in the aqueduct of *São Sebastião* was intended to achieve two purposes. On the one hand, to widen *Rua Martins de Freitas* (known as *Ladeira do Castelo*), which would be the privileged access to the *Largo do Castelo*, which would also be enlarged and levelled, as a spatial distribution point for the university area. This was also done to free the aqueduct, in an attempt to restore its structural, constructive and patrimonial value.

Another proposed intervention designed an access street to both the residential area and to buildings re-designed for university use, thereby highlighting the *cardus maximus* of the *Alta*, between the *Museu Machado de Castro*[8] (MMC) and the *Colégio de Jesus*, ensuring that the landscape on the *Mondego* could be seen at the southern top without interference, since the *Pátio das Escolas* was "enclosed" by the building of the *Observatório Astronómico*. This proposal was intended to be an attempt at spatial clarification that, without imposing a physical limit and without a functional separation, gave a greater dimension to the university space in the *Alta*.

However, in addition to the master plan presented not freeing the UCC from existing buildings, despite the many demolitions proposed, it did not promote its isolation either, therefore the design was not capable of representing the government's aspirations (Correia, 2015). Thus, the first plans of 1936 and 1939 were rejected by Duarte Pacheco because of not corresponding to the ideological purposes of him.

The Minister already had other plans, with other solutions, expressions and languages. Several national and international events were happening and being prepared (Acciaiuoli, 1998; Almeida, 2002), giving rise to a so-called *ephemeral architecture*[9] (Telmo in Telmo & Santos, 1938) that fulfilled the aspirations and designs of a true *Estado Novo* imposed by Duarte Pacheco.

The *tabula rasa* paradigm as a project methodology

The second moment corresponds to a mono-functional citadel, theoretically close to the Athens Charter of 1933, which can be differentiated into two phases: the first, from 1941 to 1966, during which the interventions were more purposeful, and the second, from 1967 to 1975, with more resigned and conformed actions.

The third attempt to carry out a plan that corresponded to the Minister's ideals took place in 1942 (Fig. 2), by the CAPOCUC (named in 1941). The head-architect Cottinelli Telmo was responsible for the various general plans, from 1941 to 1948. His successor, the architect Luís Cristino da Silva (until 1966) allowed the construction of the works to be continued according to the guidelines in Cottinelli's master plan and continued with the trend of a *monumentalist* character[10].

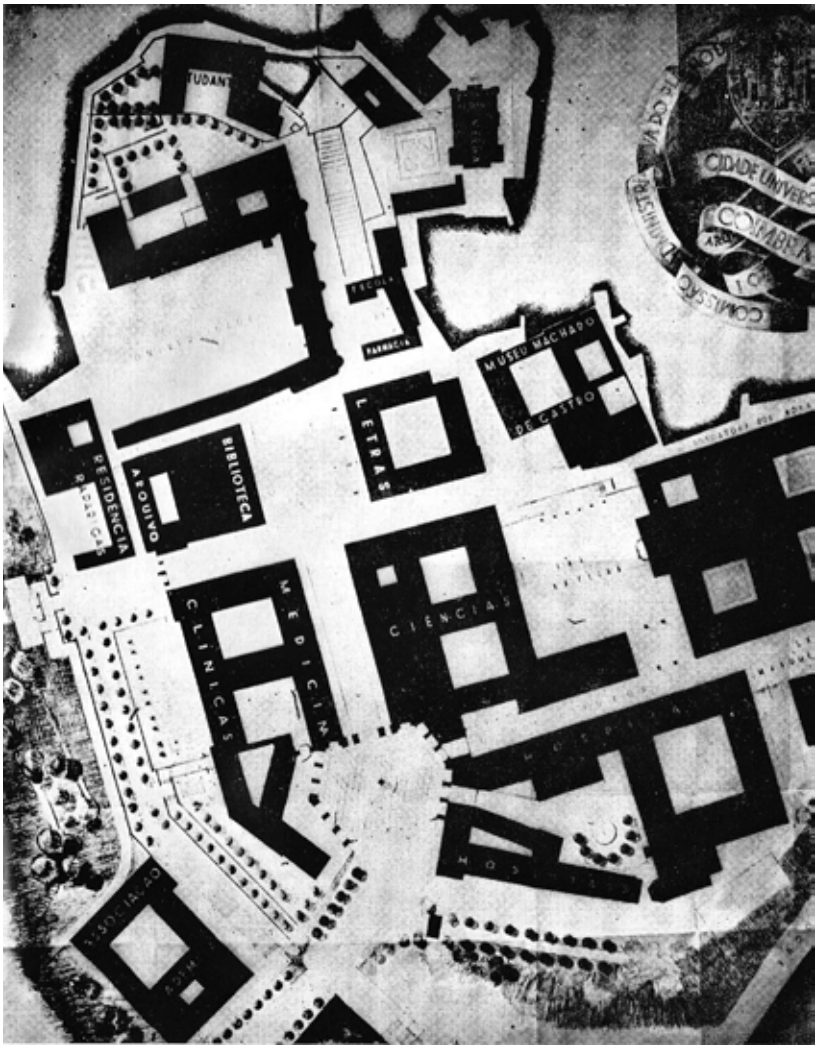


Fig. 2 Master plan of CAPOCUC, Cottinelli Telmo, 1942 (Correia, 1963).

CAPOCUC can be considered as a continuation of the previous Administrative Commissions of the Portuguese World Exhibition (CAPOEMP[11]), between 1938 and 1940 (CNC, 1939, p. 5), held on the occasion of the commemoration of the nation's centenaries (Acciaiuoli, 1998) and the commission working on the plans for the marginal area of Belém (CAPOPIZMB[12]), between 1941 and 1945. In fact, the *atelier* located in the *Praça do Império de Belém* for the first CAPO, was used as main atelier for the others two commissions (from now on it is referred to as the *atelier de Belém*). While the first CAPOEMP had an ephemeral mandate, suitable for only one exhibition, the other two functioned longer and more consistently than the requirements of the urban programmes in question.

In any case, the three master plans were based on the same choice concerning the operating guidelines and the methodological and conceptual approach were delineated in a kind of *tabula rasa*, which was made possible by several demolitions, a reflection of the ministerial support that the *atelier de Belém* had (CNC, 1939, p. 6), because, *designing degree zero is an essential and constant value of the modernist movement* (Zevi, 1982, p. 41). In this case, the process of the transformation of the existing urban fabric was only possible through a complex process of the demolition of buildings, the reorganization of streets and extensive topographic remodelling (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4).

Analysing the three plans, the assumptions claimed by Cottinelli Telmo about the straight line can be verified as a *symbol of order, of orientation, of the goal attained, of apprehension, of dignity* (Telmo, 1936, p. 24). The architects at the *atelier de Belém* imposed a particular kind of monumentality, order and axiality through the design of the several projects. For the head-architect it was essential to institute a new order on the picturesque disorder, by means of the geometrical imposition and creation of a new image or scenario in the existent urban context, thus restoring its lost dignity to the city (Telmo, 1936).

In formal terms and spatial conception, the UCC's master plan is similar to the University City of Rome – built on a level area, where the buildings assume a hierarchical and compositional position for the adjacent spaces, *with disciplinary memory as a strategy of approach and justification*[13]. Taking advantage of its local topographic conditions, the UCC's master plan assumed the overlap and imposition of a monumental

Fig. 3 Alta's demolitions in several streets and *Largo da Feira* (AAEC, 1991, p. 95).

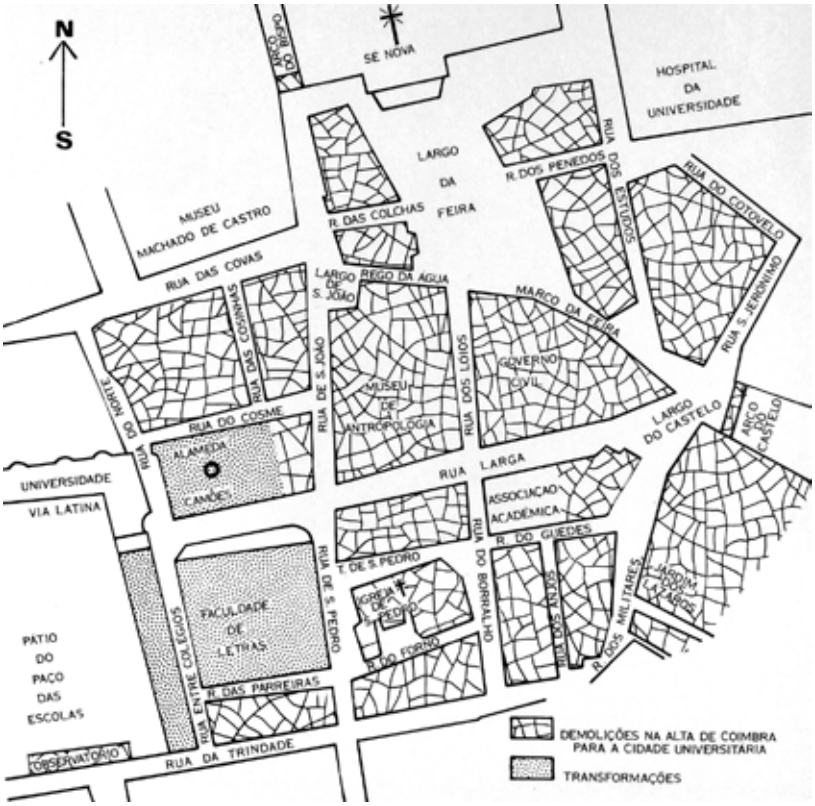


Fig. 4 Plan of Alta's demolitions (AAEC, 1991, p. 3).

language, intended to stand out, in a dominant and controlling position over the city, without being contaminated by the common occurrences of urban daily life – a university citadel crowning the *lusa Atenas*.

However, in the case of Coimbra the intention was for the UCC's master plan to expand its dominance to the city. And in this aspect, there was a direct influence of Albert Speer's master plans for Berlin and Nuremberg, whose monumental axiality and scenic idealization were designed to create perspectives and cinematographic effects that greatly appealed to Duarte Pacheco and Cottinelli Telmo (who also was a filmmaker).

Faced with the spatial limitations of the main axis of the project, the *Porta Férrea – Rua Larga – Praça D. Dinis* (former *Largo do Castelo*), the outcome was that the axial expression that was intended to establish a new order over the city would also be limited. This lacuna in the project was solved with the introduction of the *Escadas Monumentais*, which, in addition to solving a marked difference in the levels of the topographical dimensions, allowed the UCC's main axis to be extended. In fact, the axis has repercussions on the city. It projects beyond the *Escadas Monumentais*, to *Rua Venâncio Rodrigues* and *Rua de Tomar* both planimetrically and visually, since, at the top of the street next to the penitentiary building, there is a visual axis with the University Tower (Fig. 5).

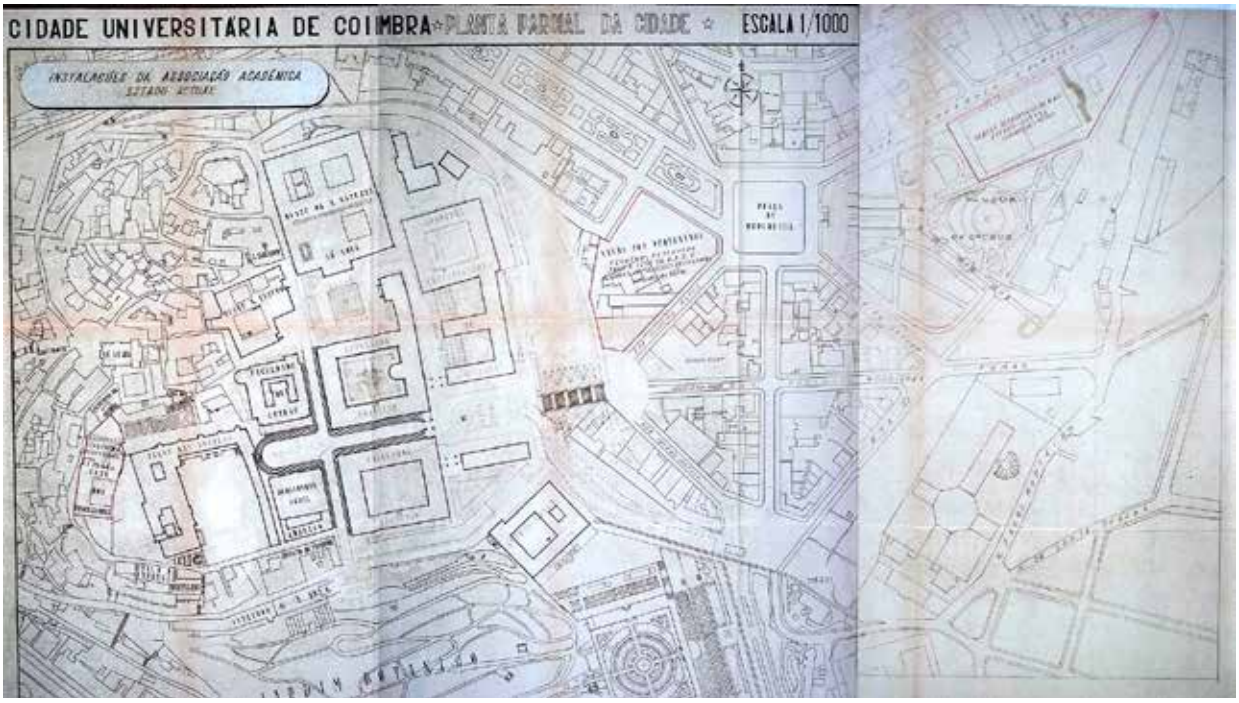


Fig. 5 Plan of CUC, Cristino da Silva, 1954 (UC, Process of WHA UC–AS to UNESCO: AUC, CAPOCUC, File 364).

But the *Escadas Monumentais* still have another symbolic purpose – direct access to the reception area reserved for those who intend to ascend to the "*select persons*" of the nation (Salazar, 1945, p. XXII). In this sense, the concept of "University City" assumes the connotation of a university citadel within the city by eliminating urban functions, that the organization of space was the purpose for the "specialization" of university functions within the stipulated limits[14].

A second phase, already signalling a resignation and later conformity, was assumed from 1967, with the appointment of the architect Vaz Martins (until 1969, with the end of CAPOCUC), ending with the conclusion of the last building in the master plan, in 1975. A resignation to the evidence that, despite all its design strength and monumentality, the project implemented would no longer correspond to the new demands looming on the horizon that the University would have to respond to in the last decades of the millennium.

Conclusions

There was a diachronic sequence corresponding to the proposals for the construction of the UCC during the process of intervention on *Alta*, which involved different sets of plans, presented by the two teams of architects.

The first moment corresponds to Raúl Lino and Luís Benavente's plans, the intervention in the *Alta* tried to be an exercise of "building in the constructed city", establishing a dialogue between the pre-

existing and the new. In a second moment (the UCC's master plan), which corresponds to the design and construction of a mono-functional citadel, exclusively for university use. In this moment two differentiated phases may be observed: the former, a more vigorous proposal and the latter a more resigned and conformed activity.

The purpose of the intervention carried out in the *Alta* during the 20th century is still experienced today. The wall imposed by the citadel on the old city was replaced in the Cottinelli's master plan by the street, which in this case is not an element of connection but rather an element of rupture with the city space, contributing to the isolation of the UCC. The difference of scale between the university space and its urban context with adjacent private constructions was promoted by the ideological imposition of the *Estado Novo*. Through its design, it becomes a contribution to achieve an intentional spatial rupture and a redefinition of the urban landscape, using the contrast between the conceptual and formal scale and also the language of architecture.

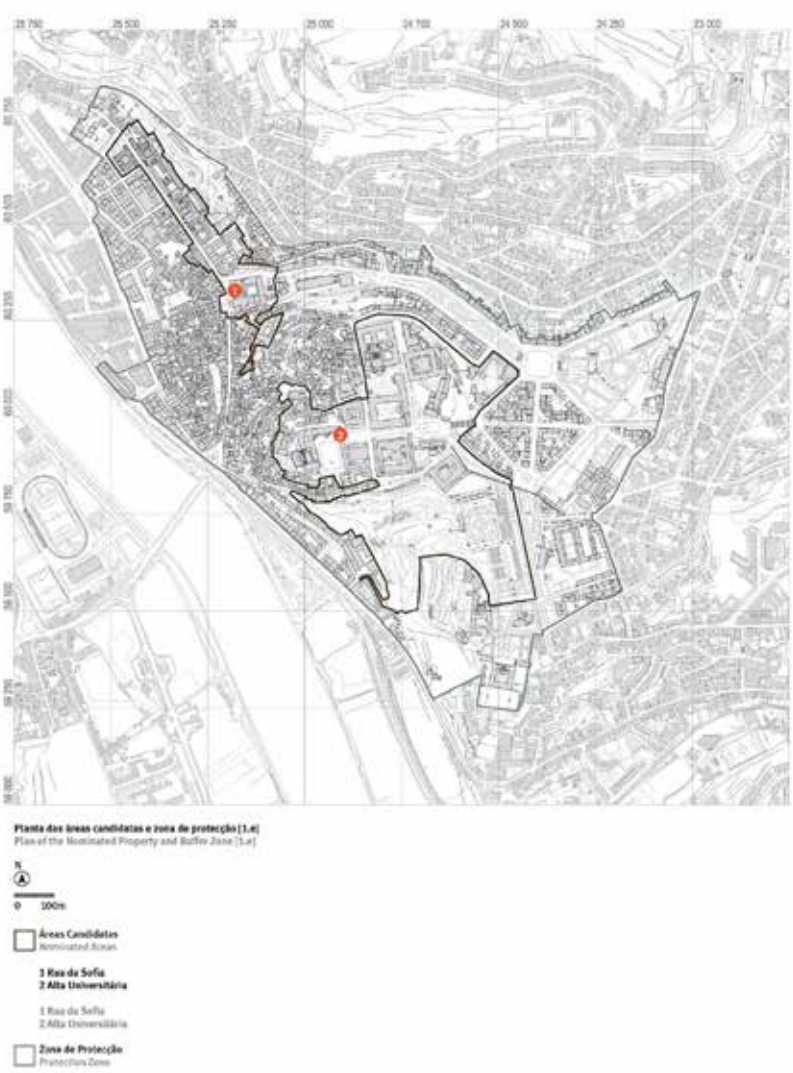
In Coimbra, the concept "university city" prevailed in the master plans proposed, although its concept was not overtly discussed. The sense of the violence of the implementation of the UCC, in its contemporaneity, extended for many decades and is commonly assumed to have been injurious to the country. It is pertinent, however, that in one of the most detrimental moments to its condition as a city, in terms of the permanence and spatial continuity, it was assumed as a (university) City when a delimiting line was instituted by the settlement of the mono-functional citadel.

If, at first, the *tabula rasa* methodology was a sign of progress, it quickly turned into a sense of the loss of spatial identity, without the territorial and spatial markings that had been permanent features until that moment. There was only resignation concerning what had already been done, from then on.

The project methodology of *tabula rasa*, or the creation of a completely blank slate, the new start, promoted by the *atelier de Belém*, is pertinent for its dichotomies, paradigms and choices that influenced the spaces, the uses, the behaviours and, above all, the life of the city.

In the present case, the imposed urban development works, which were not very respectful of pre-existing heritage values, are part of the basis for the subsequent recognition of the University of Coimbra – Alta and Sofia as a World Heritage Site (Fig. 6), due to their contribution to the history of architecture, the city and the country. In a total of 21 classified buildings in the designated area of the UCC, 6 have been the subject of renovation / extension within the scope of this extensive urban operation, which has significantly transformed an important and central zone of the city of Coimbra. And that remembers what Yourcenar has set out in writing, Time (is really) *that mighty sculptor* (1996).

Fig. 6 University of Coimbra – Alta and Sofia World Heritage Site (UC, Process of WHA UC–AS to UNESCO).



1 → Due to the considerable levels of destruction resulting from the 1st World War, the first Athens Charter "was drawn up in the proceedings of the 1st International Conference of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, in 1931, where some theories and experiences, particularly the Italian, for example Gustavo Giovannoni's, were debated" (Capela & Murtinho, 2015, p. 129). The conference was organized by the International Museums Office (21st–30th October), in Athens and for the first time, the city was understood as a whole with Giovannoni's rationale (Jokilehto, 2005), rejecting "the idea of a 'historic centre', as a hermetic place protected from further urban influence; on the contrary, the whole city should be developed and considered as an integrated system of spaces and linked places" (Capela & Murtinho, 2015, p. 128).
2 → Comissão Administrativa do Plano de Obras da Cidade Universitária de Coimbra.

3 → The second Athens Charter was a contrasting perspective to the Athens Charter of 1931, about the assumptions of the construction of cities. It "was drawn up in the proceedings of the 4th International Conference of Modern Architecture, in 1933. It is also known as the Town Planning Charter, which said that heritage should be taken into consideration if it could contribute to urban development" (Capela & Murtinho, 2015, p. 129). The Modern Movement theory highly influenced by Le Corbusier's rationale, developed a "new ideal for the city, which denied the academic style of copying the past for the existent city" (Capela & Murtinho, 2015, p. 128). It was based on the tabula rasa approach, developed by Le Corbusier, expressing the ideal way to build a new city upon the ruins of the traditional one and considering the blank slate as "the only solution capable of meeting the social, hygienic and moral requirements of a European city" (Capela & Murtinho, 2015, p. 128).

4 → Comissão de Obras da Cidade Universitária de Coimbra.

5 → Salazar chose to be presented in some sculptures and statuary with the insignia of a Professor of the University of Coimbra (Amaral, 1938, p. 25), using the seventh ideological myth of the foundation of the Estado Novo, the catholic essence of the national identity (Rosas, 2012, p. 328), to consider himself "the chosen one" to govern the nation (Salazar, 1945, p. XXI), which happened from 1932 to 1968.

6 → "In the citadel the new mark of the city is obvious: a change of scale, deliberately meant to awe and overpower the beholder. Though the mass of inhabitants might be poorly fed and overworked, no expense was spared to create temples and palaces whose sheer bulk and upward thrust would dominate the rest of the city. The heavy walls of hard-baked clay or solid stone would give to the ephemeral offices of state the assurance of stability and security, of unrelenting power and unshakeable authority" (Mumford, 1961, p. 65).

7 → The Athens Charter of 1931 leads to the well-known text of the Venice Charter, adopted in the II Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, in Venice (from 25th to 31st May of 1964), where Luís Benavente played an active part collaborating in the production of the document.

8 → Benavente took part in the Commission of the works of the MMC.

9 → The experience at national and international events, such as the International Exhibitions of Paris (1937), New York and San Francisco (1939) and the Portuguese World Exhibition (1940) or the exhibition of Modern German Architecture in Lisbon (1941), created a dynamic allied with the constructive impetus applied to the whole country. This dynamic did not disappear without culminating in the Exhibition of Public Works of 1948, where the first Congress of Portuguese Architects took place.

10 → These architects would be responsible for the guidelines and general indications that were assimilated in the specific projects, where many architects intervened, such as: Alberto Pessoa, Baltazar de Castro, Lucínio da Cruz, Walter Distel and Cristino da Silva.

11 → Comissão Administrativa do Plano de Obras da Exposição do Mundo Português.

12 → Comissão Administrativa do Plano de Obras da Praça do Império e Zona Marginal de Belém.

13 → Piacentini defines that to work the organization of space was the purpose of the project; working with the architectural and volumetric composition and evoking the conception of the agora and the forum (Persitz, 1936, pp. 12–20).

14 → This intervention had other repercussions at the level of the expansion of the city. It was necessary to relocate all the residents of the Alta, who had been displaced by the extensive demolitions therefore social and residential neighbourhoods were built in Celas (1945–1947), Cumeada (1945–1951), Lomba da Arregaça and Fonte do Castanheiro (1946–1950) and Conchada (1948–1952) (Rosmaninho, 2006, pp. 324–327).

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Platon Issaias

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From the Flat to the City
The Construction of Modern Greek Subjectivity

Introduction

Athens is not built by large scale masterplans[1]. Large public or private housing projects are nowhere to be found. Even an empirical observation of the city makes one thing immediately apparent: the city is defined by a construction model that is actualised by a singular building unit. These buildings, "*on average four to five storeys high, are organized in irregular, fragmented plots in a patchwork of discontinuous grids, made of in situ, labour-intensive concrete frames, filled with bricks, plastered, something that ultimately looks like a stack of slabs with rather continuous balconies*" (Issaias, 2017, p. 223).

This essay develops a critical reading of this model, presenting the way this domestic environment and distinct architectural typology mediated social conflict and economic development in post-war Greece. Architecture and urban management are presented here relating production with the role and the function of family and inheritance, the real estate market, law, and the construction industry.

How is it possible to introduce a particular archaeology, an attempt to trace the situation Greece is currently into in a series of decisions and projects that had to do with space and urban development? Ultimately, how can we re-position the pure macro-economic reasoning of the crisis, how can we move beyond all the issues that have to do with public debt, state insolvency, institutional functions, corruption, etcetera and to think if there is a link between this kind of urbanity, the way it has been produced spatially, economically and socially and the problems that emerged and framed the ongoing economic crisis?

The following is an attempt to break a social consensus that effectively suspended any attempt to relate space, architecture, city making, the function of the family and the modes of existence defined by and through this built environment with the economic problems in this later phase.

Frontispiece ***Gyzi*****, 2012. Aerial view of Athens, Greece.**
Copyright: Yiorgis Yerolumbos.

Why the Troika cares about flats in Athens?

From the 1950s until the mid-2000s, construction in Greece stood for an average 10% of GDP, 50% of which located in the secondary sector and, until 2007, investments in housing consisted of 75% of total investment in construction. From 1997 until 2007, the year that the global economic crisis commenced, housing prices in Greece had increased by 175%. From 2007 until 2011, the combined decline of investments in construction of housing units reached 65%. From 2007 and until the first quarter of 2014, the combined decline of capital investment in the Greek economy was €42,5bn, from which, 61%, or €26bn, were lost in the construction industry. This translates to about 250.000 jobs losses in the sector and an average decline of housing prices of around 35%. From 2007 until the end of 2016, the combined decline of construction activity reached 165%[2].

It's obvious that the above figures described a dramatic situation in the construction industry in Greece. Historically one of the most

important sectors of the Greek economy, organized in small scale, fragmented teams of builders and local developers, collapsed during the past ten years of the economic crisis.

On July 13, 2015 and after 17 hours of negotiations, the SYRIZA-led government agreed to sign a third memorandum, a new €86bn bailout plan. This was a humiliating development that followed months of intense negotiations, political and media drama, and of course the referendum on July 4, 2015. This third memorandum required very similar things to the previous two: a new wave of extensive pension cuts, tax increases, and the mandatory privatization of multiple public companies and assets. However, the agreement requested a few other things, extremely crucial for architecture, housing development and city planning. Firstly, the lift of legal provisions that protected primary residence in Greece, i.e. the introduction of income criteria in relation to the value of assets. Secondly, the introduction of a new law that would allow for immediate foreclosures. And thirdly, to maintain the property tax that was introduced as part of the previous memoranda. These three requests, de facto cancelled one of SYRIZA's most important and anticipated reforms on housing and the real estate market. One could even argue that SYRIZA actually won the elections of January 2015 running on a platform that had to do with these three issues, mainly the cancellation of the universal property tax that was introduced in 2010.

The bailout agreement that included the above was almost impossible to pass from the Greek parliament. After new national elections in September 2015, the package was finally passed two years ago in mid-November 2015, following brutal and almost totally unsuccessful last-minute efforts to adjust some of the Troika's requirements.

The dispute between the Greek government and the European institutions, but also the dispute that formalized certain political conflicts within the Greek society was about two laws that define a series of algorithmic calculations with profound effects on the real estate market, individuals and families.

The first legal protocol, the 3869/10 law of the Greek state called for the regulation of over-indebted natural persons; legal entities and private companies were excluded from the provisions of this framework. The law covered and protected individuals that could not pay back any type of housing loan or mortgage, credit card, or any other type of bank loan. The key thing is that this arrangement was meant to happen without defaulting of one's private debt, and all the consequences this has for one's credit history. Individuals could declare their inability to pay back the bank, or the state and, after a not so lengthy and straight-forward procedure they could arrange either a beneficial arrangement, or the overall write off of their private debt. These provisions were particularly important for primary residencies, i.e. for the house that someone or a family lives in. In Greece, like in most countries, primary residence is a subject of various benefits, reduced taxation and the like.

The provisions of the 3869/10 law meant that foreclosures were literally impossible in Greece. To give a sense of the scale, almost half million people are exposed to mortgages in Greece and the non-serviced housing loans last year represented an overall capital of more than €28bn, of which €12bn refer to primary residence[3].

The 3869/10 law was a desperate act from the socialist party government to counter-balance the devastated effects of the May 2010 first bailout package and the Troika was against it since the very beginning. On July 2015, and with its majority votes on November 2015, the SYRIZA-led government agreed to suspend most of these provisions, especially the ones related to housing and housing mortgages. They came up with a set of new numbers, the 4346/15 law, a more refined, yet brutal algorithmic calculus. This new legal protocol makes things slightly more complicated. This new form of calculation was put in place precisely to counter-balance or to define what kind of property is "big" enough, i.e. what kind of property in terms of capital represents a kind of asset that belongs to a wealthy individual, or a wealthy household. Most importantly, the algorithm considers the current price of the estate in relation to a projected value, or more precisely, the prospect of an individual to pay back more than the current value of her/his own house. It calculates risk, in benefit of the bank. If the algorithm can prove it, you lose your house.

A properly sinister machine this. The law protects primary residence only circumstantially, again in relation to the value of the property, not the actual market value but the fair market value, one that the tax authorities calculate and adjust according to various parameters.

Numbers are important, or more precisely, the way figures are calculated. They are important because around them they organize a series of disputes. They bring into proximity, they spatialize and re-territorialize a financial problem, capital, a seemingly abstract algorithmic calculation to something very concrete: few walls that define someone's flat and his or her own life and survival. Monetary value, financial value is not anymore something distant but is put into conflict with other forms of calculations: of use value, of life, of comfort, of social conduct and habits. These numbers and the way they are measured have the potential to organize conflict and set up a variety of struggles in an entirely different way.

The second issue was the Uniform Property Tax, or ENFIA in Greek. Greece had no property tax until 1997. There were moments of minimal taxation, for example, in relation to inheritance, or asset transfer, but Greece was characterized by a condition within which space was not contributing through taxation to the public books. The Greek state therefore didn't gain directly any capital from the construction industry. We must add to the above that until 2005, the construction industry was extensively VAT exempt, or that individuals didn't have to declare the source of capital to buy or build a primary residence, and of course, the fact that municipal tax is also no-existent.

It is still paid as a minimal percentage of electricity bills and goes directly to the central government and not to local municipalities.

In 1997, the socialist government introduced the 2459/97 law on Large Real Estate Property Tax, which very few individuals had to pay, in any case, with quite large properties. In 2008, there was an attempt to regularize and expand it, something that finally happened a year later. The limit at that time was set to 400.000 Euros, i.e. someone was asked to pay property tax if the combined value of his/her real estate was more than 400.000 Euros fair market value, calculated according to areas, location, age of the property etcetera. In 2010 and as part of the first memorandum, these limits went down until we reach an unprecedented decision. The property tax was generalized to every property and was included as an emergency measure to electricity bills. If you did not pay, the consequences were that the company was cutting your electricity.

In 2015, SYRIZA was elected insisting on a single promise: the uniform property tax will be cancelled, and if some form of property tax continues to exist this will only affect large real estate holders. This promise was de facto cancelled, and Greeks start receiving again the ENFIA spreadsheets, Asking them to pay according to a series of criteria. Again, a form of calculation is put at play: how big is the property, how many do you have, where, how much percentage, are you married or not, is it a shared property or not, is it land or built space, or both combined, do you have kids, are they over 18, are you retired, have you paid your taxes, if not, since when, do you owe any money to the state, to the bank, or anyone else.

Now, the dispute here, one that defined parliamentary politics in Greece since 1997, could be outlined with this very simple question: how big is large?

These new measures and conditions are already initiating a new property regime, one that is profoundly unfair. The events since the summer 2015 have been marking the end of a previous model that defined the urban horizon of Greece since the 1950s. Horizontal over-taxation and the more than real potential of hundreds of thousands of loans payment defaults and foreclosures, in a process presented as a further "rationalization" of economic transactions related to real estate, housing in Greece is de-valorised such that large corporations and banks may acquire and accumulate it from the hands of the indebted, the class paradoxically made up of its original producers and owners. Space, the flat of the typical household enters the realm of financial calculation and the machines of the debt economy.

Prehistory

But, what was the model before?

This part will trace the evolution of aW system of building, the foundation of a housing market and an economy of construction, protocols of inheritance and inter-family relations that defined this

urban environment. Melinda Cooper's work is crucial here (Cooper, 2017). Although her exceptional study refers to the ways neoliberalism instrumentalized family, familial relations and inheritance in real estate and a new political life in America since the 1970s, the "Greek case" seems to be an extreme example where very similar processes have been tested in a rather peripheral economy. A free-market model has been developed since the 1950s in Greece, within which space and small-scale land accumulation played a fundamental role in economic and urban development, to achieve social peace. This is the model that now turns against itself. I will trace the evolution and the different phases of this project, speculating on the relation between architecture, economic models and the politics of reconstruction, before concluding again with few more thoughts on the contemporary situation.

Let's go back to the late 1920s. Athens experienced two extensive internal and external migration waves. The first, was stimulated by the rise of industrial and manufacturing centres in the city's metropolitan area. The second, is the aftermath of the Greek-Turkish war of 1919–1922 that brings into Greece about 1,5 million people as part of an agreed population exchange between the two countries (Fig. 1). In few months of 1922 and 1923, Athens received more than 250.000 people, de facto raising its population by one third. This early migration and incredible refugee crisis necessitated immediate humanitarian actions, especially tackling the problem of housing. At the same time, Athens attracted more white-collar workers too, mainly public servants, military, individuals in private / public companies (Issaias, 2014).

Fig. 1 Tent village in the shadows of the Temple of Theseus, Athens, where Greek refugees make their homes. Date 1922. (Unprocessed). Repository: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA.

This is when an experiment of social engineering started materializing. Working class and the pure segments of the refugee population were either left to live in self-built, unregulated settlements, with a permission to use and occupy a piece of land, acquiring titles rather quickly, or were given access to different types of housing, again getting the entire share of the property, both land and the house. They were not renting, they were not recipients of subsidies, they were owners of their own family home. Petit bourgeois and middle-class refugees and natives were spread in a network of garden-city like settlements around Athens. This happens either through the international humanitarian aid that assisted the refugee settlement committee, or through a planning protocol, the July 27, 1923 about "*Plans for Cities, Towns and Settlements of the State*", that allows for a group of individuals to acquire land and implement a plan outside the official limits of the city and its municipality. These suburbs introduced an extremely opportunistic and speculative treatment of land and property. It is precisely the mechanism that working-class cooperatives would use after the war and until at least the 1970s to regulate and legalize their settlements, formalizing and monetizing their real estate properties.

Two rings started to form by the late 1920s. Most importantly, a project was unfolding setting up the root of our problem. This pattern of urban development initiated and prescribed the foundation of a mode of production of residential space, very similar to the partially outlawed sub-market of the poor. We are talking here about a method of "self-building", a mechanism with which, from this moment on, the Greek cities expanded. It fitted the form of landownership and the organization of labour within the building industry. Small groups of builders, local-scale developers, and a large petit bourgeois class of technicians, engineers and architects are the ones that actually built the modern Greek city, "*piece by piece and section by section*" (Philippides, 1999, p. 67).

However, there is an additional consequence of this "informal" method of urban growth. In all the different variations that appeared, from the refugee settlements, to the working-class satellite neighborhoods, to the high-bourgeois "private suburbs", this mode of production of residential space institutionalized private property in the Greek social context. From the two-storey, family-owned types for the refugees, to the poorly built shacks for the proletarians, to the large villas for the high bourgeoisie, the different housing units were private assets of the inhabitants, which possessed both the land and the building on top of it. The particularities of each case, like the different ways each land piece or housing type had been acquired or assembled, did not contradict the essence of the strategy, which directed simultaneously all social classes to the realm of private property.

Two other problems emerged: How is it possible to densify the city centre of Athens? The second issue had to do with the 1929 economic

crisis (Sarigiannis, 2000). How is it possible to allow for and to direct investment in real estate of capital that was accumulated by high bourgeois subjects, mainly Greek speaking refugees from Turkey and merchants from the Greek diaspora, de facto offering a kind of safer possibility to deposit money outside of stock markets and protecting it from violent fluctuations of international trade?

The answer was sketched by two regulatory protocols. The first building regulation in the country introduced the radical modification of the allowed building heights and numerous provisions that dealt with the three-dimensional, permissible object, mainly the ways adjacent structures approach or make contact, which is a key element of how you relate an architectural object with land property divisions and forms of building development. Additionally, it included many hygienic and organizational requirements, such as minimum openings, size and location of light wells, design directives and minimums for entrances, staircases and the like (Sakelaropoulos, 2003).

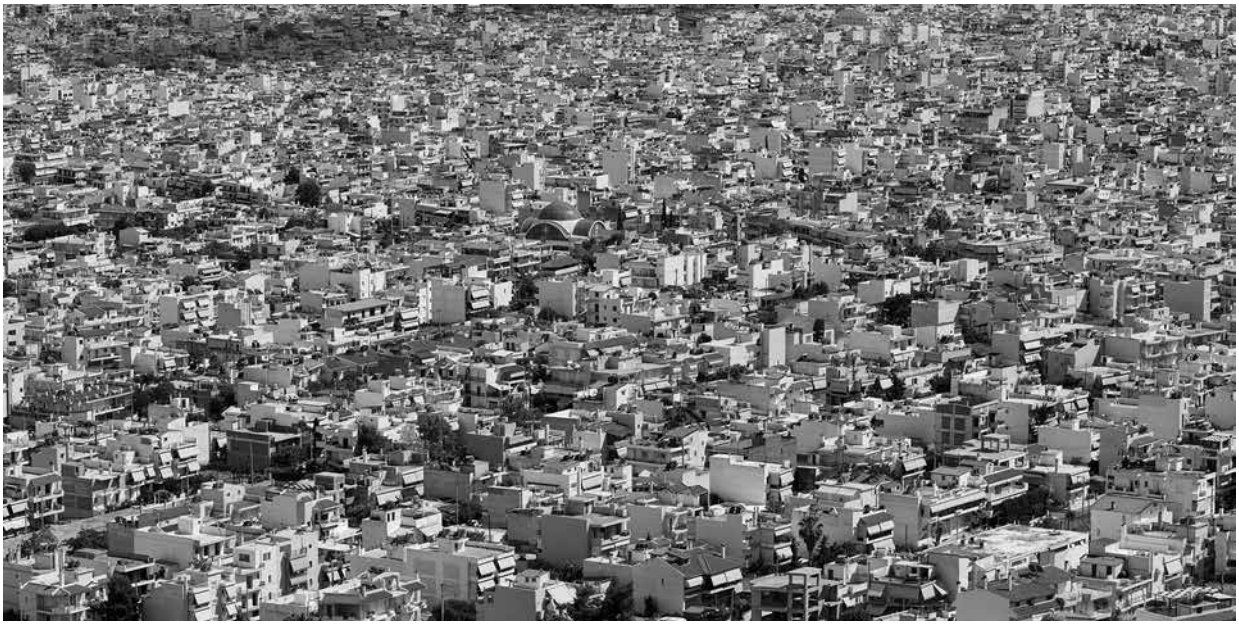
If the General Building Regulation allowed for a new architectural form to emerge, the second legal text, the law on property divisions, provided the framework that radically modified the private ownership status in Greece, achieving the "*transition from the institution of freehold ownership to the one of horizontal and vertical property*" (Marmaras, 1991, p. 10). In this new system, a group of individuals co-owns a single property in predefined percentages. Gradually, the residential buildings in Greece were not anymore singular, undivided estates, but complex, highly fragmented equities, with multiple owners per property. The formation of this new property regime allowed a new domestic architectural type to emerge, one that acquired the central role in the introduction of a particular form of residential space and property i.e. the rented apartment. Interestingly, an individual's percentage corresponds to an actual property that has literally no thickness since it consists of the interior surfaces of a flat. Everything else, from architectural elements to building materials are subject of collective ownership that cannot be located. This mean that an individual owes X amount of cement, of a staircase, of the building's foundations.

From 1929 until 1941, 450 buildings of that kind were built within the limits of the municipality of Athens, an area smaller than 12 square kilometres (Marmaras, 1991, p. 126). If in the interwar period, these two texts opened the possibility for high-rise, luxurious, modern apartment buildings to appear and to eventually present an alternative architectural and urban model for mass housing in Greece, it would be in the aftermath of the Second World War where the full potential of this typology would be exploited.

The second World War didn't end in 1945 in Greece. Following the liberation from the Nazis in October 1944, the country entered a devastating Civil War that lasted in phases of various intention until October 1949 (Fig. 2)[4]. From official documents and reports written by foreign officials of the International Aid and the Marshal Plan and

Fig. 2 A paratrooper from 5th (Scots) Parachute Battalion, 2nd Parachute Brigade, takes cover on a street corner in Athens during operations against members of ELAS, 18 December 1944. NA 20863. War Office Second World War Official Collection (photographs). Made by: No. 2 Army Film & Photographic Unit.
© IWM (NA 20863)

Fig. 3 Ilion, 2012. Aerial view of Athens, Greece.
Copyright: Yiorgis Yerolumbos



by local experts and bourgeois politicians it is evident that a particular project was being formulated. The purpose of this plan was to transform and to present the country as an exemplary operation. Differently to other European countries, the decision was to promote a postwar reconstruction strategy without the direct interference of the state, i.e. without a public welfare agenda, based on the capabilities and interests of the private sector. Foreign large-scale capital, in the form of aid programs and transnational loans, would take over major productive sectors, infrastructure and natural resources. The main strategy, not just for Athens but every city in Greece, was the guidance of the population's economic activities to the small-scale building industry, which would eventually allow the working class and the poor to enter the realm of private property. The development of a mass, petit-bourgeois consumerism accompanied this condition, where the possession of a single-family house or of an apartment in a newly built apartment building, was presented as the ultimate social achievement (Fig. 3).

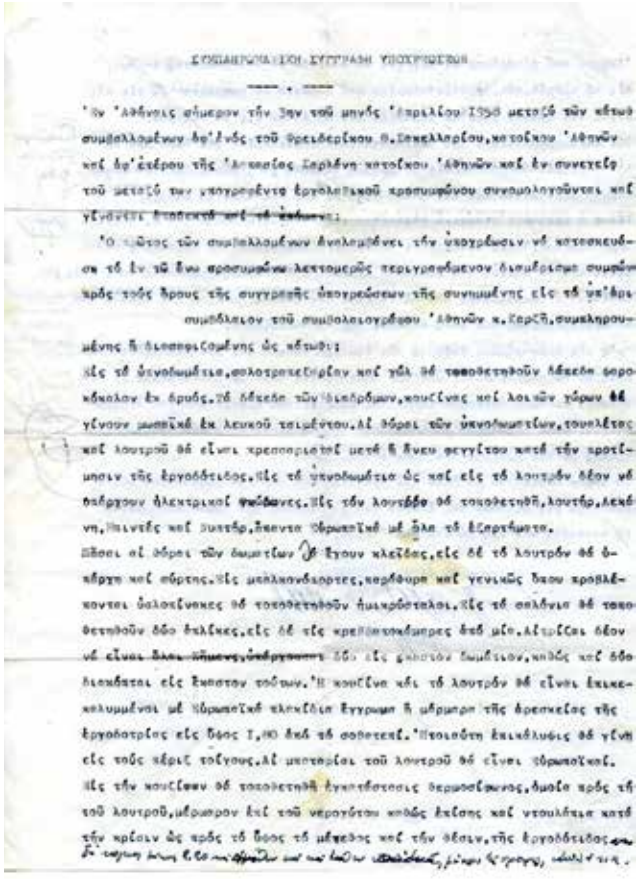
And this is what happened. In 2006, Greece had an 84,6% homeownership rate, (Rousanoglou, 2006), second only to Spain in the entire EU. From the group of homeowners, 74% had assets of a combined value of up to 100.000 Euros, consisting to a large extent, of percentages of property assets, i.e. products of inheritance (Hatzinikolaou, 2014). Greek governments modify building regulations in crucial social and economic moments, (Woditsch, 2009) gradually transforming the high bourgeois apartment building of central Athens to a generic frame, adaptable to different environments of different densities and areas in the city, eventually becoming a quasi-"classless" residential unit.

Apart from regulations, the main tool was the interpretation and the consecutive application of provisions described in the 1929 property law that hasn't changed. This process is called "antiparochi", a form of barter exchange applied to the construction industry. It consists of a form of economic agreement between landlords and contractors. This mechanism merged the self-building mode of production of residential space with the speculative housing market (Fig. 4).

It provided the framework where, a respective land piece, owned by a family, or a single person, was exchanged, without any further tax, with built space, in most cases, a number of apartments. It was a private agreement between a local contractor and a property owner to trade the plot with a percentage of the built surface in a new building. The landowners had the opportunity to increase their income, by renting the apartments that they did not use as their own house, and the contractors to obtain land without bank loans. Poorer people were either buying or renting the remaining surfaces from the contractors.

Figure 5 is a preliminary contract between a member of my family and a contractor. The flat was never acquired. What we see here is astonishing (Figs. 5a, 5b). On the left, a detailed description of the flat, its materials, the number of plugs, the doors, if and which ones will have

Fig. 4 Apartment building in 129 Vas. Sophias Ave., 1957. Nikos Valsamakis personal archive.



ΣΥΜΒΑΣΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΥΠΟΧΡΕΩΣΕΩΣ

Ἐν Ἀθήναις σήμερον τὴν 3ην τοῦ μηνὸς Ἀπριλίου 1958 μεταξὺ τῶν κάτωθι συμβαλλομένων ἀφ' ἑνὸς τοῦ Θρασυβούλου Β.Σακελλαρίου, κατοίκου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἑτέρου τῆς Ἀντιγόνης Σαρδένη κατοίκου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ τοῦ μεταξὺ των ὑπογραφέντος ἐργολαβικοῦ προσυμφώνου συνομολογοῦνται καὶ γίνονται ἀποδεκτὰ καὶ τὰ ἑπόμενα:

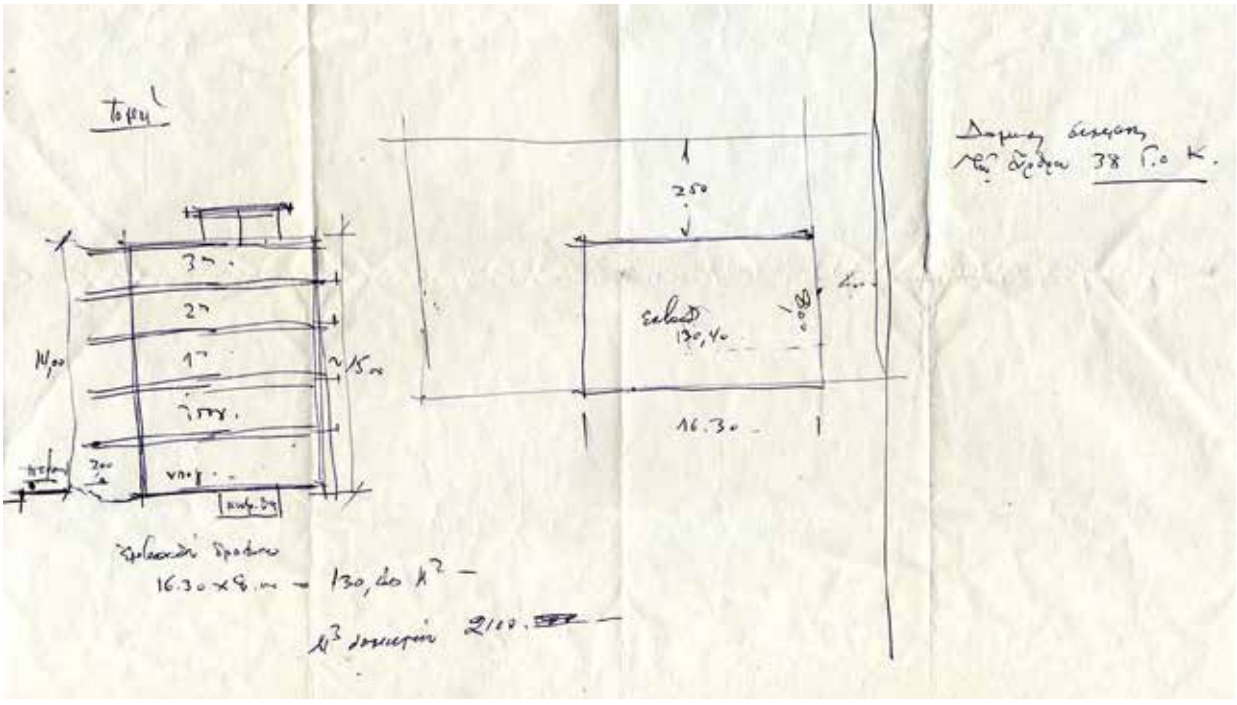
Ὁ μὲν εἷς τῶν συμβαλλομένων ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν νὰ κατασκευάσῃ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἄνω προσυμφώνῳ λεπτομερῶς περιγραφόμενον διαμέρισμα συμφώνως πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους τῆς συγγραφῆς ὑποχρεώσεως τῆς συνομολογηθείσης εἰς τὸ γραφεῖον τοῦ συμβολαιογράφου Ἀθηνῶν κ.Καρζῆ, συμπληρουμένης ἢ διασαφιζομένης ὡς κάτωθι:

Εἰς τὸ ὑπνοδωμάτιον, σαλοτραπεζαρίαν καὶ χὰλ θὰ τοποθετηθοῦν δάπεδα φορικόλων ἐκ ἄρυος, τὰ δάπεδα τῶν διαδρόμων, κουζίνας καὶ λουτρῶν θὰ γίνουν μωσαϊκὰ ἐκ λευκοῦ τσιμέντου. Αἱ θῆκαι τῶν ὑπνοδωματίων, τουαλέτας καὶ λουτροῦ θὰ εἶναι κρεπαπορτέ μετὰ ἢ ἄνευ φεγγίτου κατὰ τὴν προτίμησιν τῆς ἐργοδότριας. Εἰς τὸ ὑπνοδωμάτιον ὡς καὶ εἰς τὸ λουτρὸν θὰ ὑπάρχουν ἠλεκτρικοὶ διακόπται. Εἰς τὸν λουτρῶνα θὰ τοποθετηθῇ, λουτήρ, λεκάνη, πίνακες καὶ δοντήρ, πάντα πορσελανᾶ μὲ ὅλα τὰ ἐξαρτήματα.

Πᾶσαι αἱ θῆκαι τῶν δωματίων θὰ ἔχουν κλεῖθρα, εἰς δὲ τὸ λουτρὸν θὰ ὑπάρχῃ καὶ σύρτης. Εἰς μελανοδιαδρομὰς, κορνίζαι καὶ γενικῶς ὅπου προβλέπονται ξυλοκατασκευαὶ θὰ τοποθετηθοῦν ἡμιπρόσταλοι. Εἰς τὸ σαλόνι θὰ τοποθετηθοῦν δύο ἐπιλίκες, εἰς δὲ τὰς κρεβατοκαμάρας ἀνὰ μία. Αἱ σοῦβες θὰ εἶναι ἀπὸ ὑπόνες, ὑπόργανα δύο εἰς ἕκαστον δωμάτιον, κουζίνα καὶ δύο διακάτια εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων. Ἡ κουζίνα καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν θὰ εἶναι ἐπικεκαλυμμένοι μὲ πορσελανᾶ πλακίδια ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς ἡ μέχρι τῆς ἀρεσκείας τῆς ἐργοδότριας εἰς ὕψος 1,80 ἀπὸ τὸ σοφιτέ. Ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπικάλυψις θὰ γίνῃ εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας τοίχους. Αἱ μπανιέραι τοῦ λουτροῦ θὰ εἶναι πορσελανᾶ.

Εἰς τὴν κουζίναν θὰ τοποθετηθῇ ἐγκατάστασις θερμοσίφωνος, δηλαδὴ κρὸς τὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ, μέρμπερ ἐκ τοῦ νεροχύτου κάθε ἐκείσε καὶ ντουλάπια κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῆς ἐργοδότριας [illegible]

Fig. 5 Contract. Personal archive.



a key or not, the handrails, the kitchen, the tiles, the infrastructure of the toilet; it refers to the above as "European", which meant that they would be luxurious for 1950s Greece. On the right, you see the drawings included in the contract. A section and a plan. This is how and what built Athens and any other city in Greece until the recent economic crisis.

Conclusions — What Now?

The model of post-war reconstruction in Greece managed to privatize and to fragment cities and buildings to an extreme level. This is embedded in its very genetic code, a mechanism to divide, split, calculate percentages in relation to capital value. The fact that is conceived as an algebraic machine and not an algorithmic one, as in this later, post-memoranda reality, doesn't make it less dangerous. It is precisely what made it that powerful, its apparent innocence rendered in badly made sketches of non-existing buildings next to surreal descriptions of location of plugs and marble finishing fillets.

As we have argued elsewhere, the seeming "informality", which of course is based on the Maison Dom-ino model – applied in the most successful way to Greece and the polykatoikia system – is the paradigmatic scheme through which the organization of work of the assembly line merged with the organization of production of space and the particularities of the modern construction industry (Aureli, Giudici, Issaias, 2012). What we witness is a project that formalized the economy of construction and pushed Greeks to become asset managers, working and middle-class families being converted to real estate speculators.

What do we do now?

I don't think there are easy answers to that.

A hardcore adjustment project is already unfolding: in the last couple of weeks, online auctions organized by banks have devastated large number of households. How can an alternative project be conceived? In my point of view, what has to be confronted is the core of this project, which the role of family and inheritance, and property itself. Only then we could develop alternative models of ownership, re-calculating value and cost not only the way capital does. This is not only an economic problem. It is profoundly a political and a moral one that requires a full-frontal battle against the most primordial elements that define modern Greece.

1 → The article is based on the lectures delivered at "Existential Territories", a two-day symposium organized by the School of Architecture, Royal College of Art, 17–18/11/2017 and the City-Architecture PhD programme at the Architectural Association, 26/10/2016.
For more on Athens and this article's particular methodology can be found among others in: Issaias, P. (2014). Beyond the Informal City: Athens and the Possibility of an Urban Common. TU Delft, PhD Thesis.
2 → The above data are collected from the annual reports of the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) and the annual reports of the Bank of Greece. Reports available online.

Accessed, 10/11/2017: http://www.bankofgreece.gr/Pages/el/Statistics/realestate/publications.aspx.
Accessed, 09/10/2017: http://www.statistics.gr/en/home/.
For a detailed analysis of these data in the first years of the crisis (2007–2012), see: Collective (2012). I Agora Akiniton stin Prosfati Oikonomiki Krisi [Real Estate Market in the recent economic Crisis]. Athens: Bank of Greece.
3 → Annual report, Bank of Greece, 2016.
4 → The Greek Civil War lasted, in various stages and sub-periods, from December 1944 until September 1949. The inaugural moment of the first phase of the war is the Event of December of 1944, (known as Decemvriana), when, after a massive demonstration in the centre of Athens, English troops, together with the official National Army, attacked the military divisions of the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS), the military cluster of the National Liberation Front (EAM), controlled by the Greek Communist Party and other leftist coalitions.
The first phase ended two months later, with the Treaty of Varkiza, in which ELAS surrendered and declared obedience to the official government. The second and last phase was fought until late 1949, near the northern borders of Greece, in the mountains of Grammos and Vitsi. For further reading: Carabott, P., and Sfikas, T. D. (2004). The Greek Civil War: Essays on a Conflict of Exceptionalism and Silences. London: Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London-Ashgate; Clogg, R. (2003). Greece, 1940–1949: Occupation, Resistance, Civil War: a Documentary History. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Mazower, M. (Ed.) (2000). After the War was Over: Reconstructing Family, Nation and State in Greece, 1943–1960. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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PARA PENSAR

Section 3

Reviews

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The Politics of the Plinth: Notes on a Latent Ocularcentrism in Aureli's Theory of an Absolute Architecture

Foreword

Lately, the issue of architectural form has re-attracted attention from architectural theorists belonging to competing intellectual factions, and a focus on materialism unites many of these efforts. In his influential contribution, Alejandro Zaera Polo dreamt of nothing less than "*a political ecology*" that would enable "architecture to regain an active political role and overcome the division between nature and politics" (Zaera Polo, 2008, p. 86).

In contrast to Zaera Polo, a different kind of bridging matters to Pier Vittori Aureli, namely the reunification of the domains of urban planning and architecture under the umbrella of form. In the first chapter of Aureli's ambitious contribution to the development of a form-centred architectural theory, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (2011), a number of famous urbanists end up on the wrong side of History. Aureli identifies Ildefons Cerdà and Ludwig Hilberseimer with a longstanding modern (and sometimes Modernist) tradition that declares its allegiance to urbanism, not to architecture. Archizoom and Rem Koolhaas, in whose experiments the genericity of urban processes is critically exposed, occupy more ambiguous roles in Aureli's narrative. In contrast, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe emerges as the hero of Aureli's tale, because Mies's built practice fulfils his demand that the production of architectural form be an act of demarcation (Aureli, 2011, p. 41):

> *Unlike Cerdà, Hilberseimer, Archizoom, and Koolhaas, Mies is concerned not only with the generic quality of this form but also with its limit, with the finitude of its location. Architecture is thus reinvented by absorbing the compulsion to repeat, which is the essential trait of capitalist civilization, while increasing architecture's function as a frame, as a limit both to itself and to the forces and interests it represents.*

Frontispiece **The Seagram Building, New York. Photo: Iker Alsonso. Source: Flickr. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/finchermac/15174153854/**

To Aureli, the defining and limiting effects of architectural form and composition are also what allows a civic and political space to exist at all in today's globalized cities where rational and instrumental economic management (*technè oikonomikè*) is substituted for politics (*technè politikè*). Aureli (2011, pp. 29–30) claims that "it is possible to theorize a phenomenological and symbolic coincidence between political action and the making of the form of an object".

The plinth is central to Aureli's analysis of Mies's architecture, because he interprets it as an ideal example of agonistic form which makes possible, firstly, a dialectic of base and building envelope, and, secondly, the emergence of an absolute architecture in the otherwise technocratic modern metropolis. But by elevating the plinth to both a generator of absoluteness and a podium for panoramic viewing, Aureli overlooks the potential impact of ocularcentrism on his theory, I will argue. Furthermore, I hypothesize that this omission puts Aureli's theory

at risk of being enmeshed in a nineteenth-century European urban visual culture that was born out of the very 'museum city' model that he rejects, and which would later evolve into the disciplinary urbanism that he opposes.

Other reviewers of and commentators on Aureli's important tome have reproached Aureli for not exercising sufficient historiographical rigor (Leach, 2012) and for crafting a concept of ascetic minimalism that remains complicit in neo-liberalism in spite of the author's intentions (Spencer, 2017), while others have interpreted Aureli's project as a renewed interest in monumentality and as a promotion of architectural form as a tool for collective, civic anamnesis (Fowler, 2009).

In this article I will follow a different intellectual trajectory, focusing instead on the lack of attention given to the impact of visual culture on the disciplinary city of the second half of the nineteenth century in *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*. In the words of Christine Boyer, architecture and the "arts still carry within their visual imaginations the influence of nineteenth-century procedures and representational views of city building" (Boyer, 1994, p. 1), and even Aureli's theory cannot entirely escape this paradigm, I will argue.

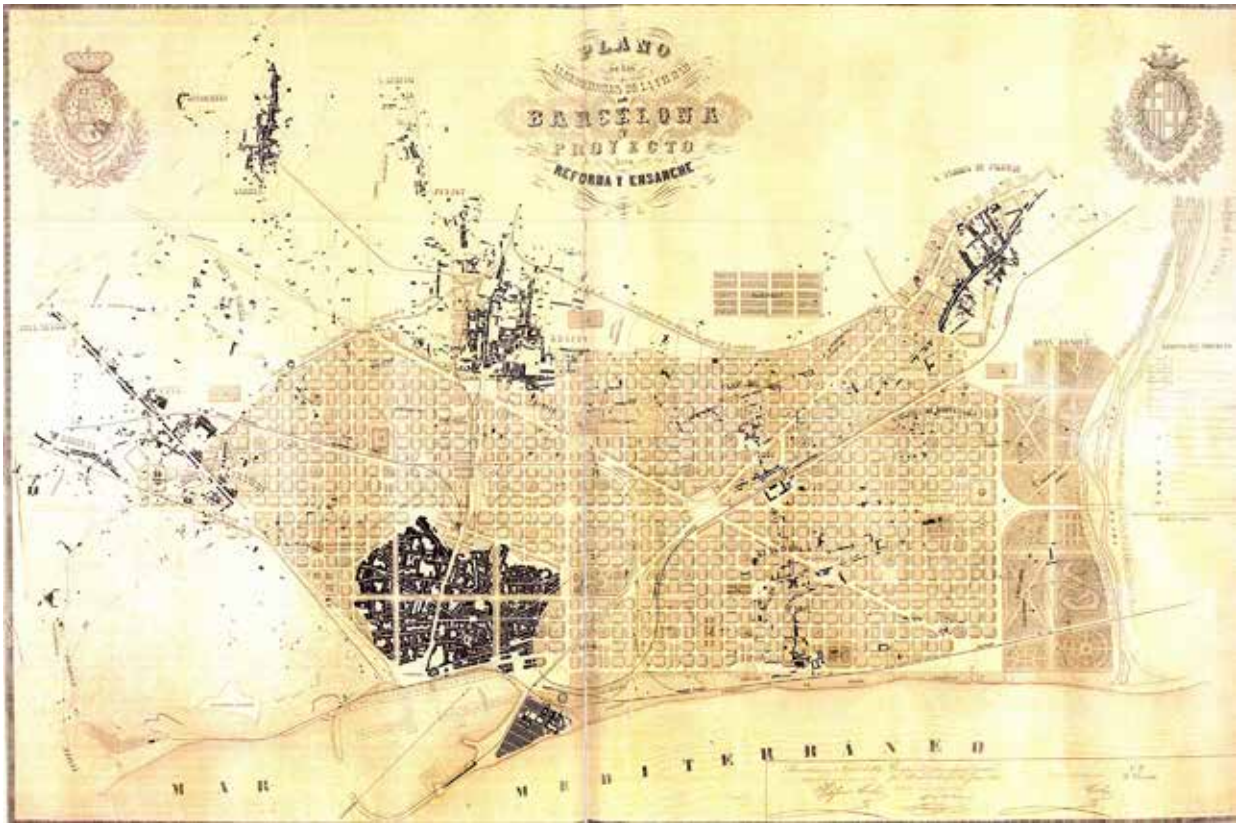

Fig. 1 Ildefons Cerdà, Enlargement map of Barcelona. Map of the neighborhoods of the city of Barcelona and project for its improvements and enlargement, 1859.
Courtesy: Museu d'Historia de la Ciutat, Barcelona.

The dialectic of urban form: Aureli's theory of insular and agonistic form

Aureli outlines a historical narrative of the European city anchored in philosophical, judicial, and technological events, all of which have led to the present predicament where cities are no longer shaped by architects, but by professional managerial urbanists. According to Aureli (2011, p. 9), urbanism has long been the archenemy of architecture, but its current breed came into being with Ildefons Cerdà's enlargement of Barcelona (the *Eixample*, 1859), followed by his *Teoría general de la urbanizacíon* (1867) as its theoretical groundwork.

Gradually, Aureli argues, economy and management have triumphed over politics exactly because of their embeddedness in the urban infrastructure. He traces the emergence of this development back to a fundamental divide between Ancient Greek and Ancient Roman conceptualizations of the city: the *polis* versus the *urbs*; the city-state versus the empire. This divide is again mirrored in the legal systems of these civilizations, where Aureli – by forging an unusual alliance of political and ethical concepts derived from Hannah Arendt and Carl Schmitt – contrasts *nomos* with *lex*.

At the end of his book, Aureli has made a giant leap through history, discussing now how the 'archipelago' model was taken up by Oswald Mathias Ungers et al. in their proposal for *Berlin as a Green Archipelago* (1977). This project is exemplary to Aureli, because, here Ungers envisions the city as an archipelago – as 'cities within the city' or 'a city made by islands', and in that sense, no singular typological principle is allowed to attain universal status, nor to become the basis for a utopian model (such as Hilberseimer's infamous *Groszstadt Architektur* proposal, 1927).

Within this 'archipelago', form is understood as insular, limiting, and agonistic. A dialectic emerges, both between the form-object and its surrounding urban environment and within the form-object itself, where the act of composition governs this duality.

Fig. 2 The Seagram Plaza. Photo: Joseph Buxbaum. Source: Flickr. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/91260116@N04/8335131757/

Mies's plinth as a state of exception

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe enters into Aureli's project because he never produced a systematic urban theory, unlike his compatriot and friend, Ludwig Hilberseimer. Aureli (2011, p. 36) aims to deliver a different reading of Mies van der Rohe's production than the one which dominates the reception of Mies's oeuvre. In other words, he is not searching for critical autonomy in Miesian 'silence', such as K. Michael Hays (1984), nor is he preoccupied with themes such as aesthetic minimalism, modularization, tectonic culture, or industrial mass production; what he instead proposes is to regard Mies's employment of the *plinth* in several works – Riehl House near Potsdam (1907), the Barcelona Pavilion (1929), the Seagram Building in New York (1954-58), and the Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin (1962-68) – as a way forward towards the founding of a theory of 'absolute architecture'.

In spite of its North American (and global) offspring, I will treat this plinth-plus-pavilion model as essentially European, because Aureli's analysis of the Seagram Building treats the footprint of the high-rise as an anomaly of space management in the pattern of the New York grid.

In emphasizing the bodily experience of a momentary disconnect from the forces of urbanization when "climbing a Mies plinth", Aureli inadvertently celebrates the temple-like quality of these plinths, and he describes his experience as being of the same quality, whether in New York or in Berlin (Aureli, 2011, p. 37). Whereas other theorists (Westheim, 1927; Johnson, 1979; Bergdoll, 2001; Stemshorn, 2002) have interpreted Mies's architectural project as a reformulation of a tectonic logic that would make Mies the successor not only to the builders of the Ancient Greek temple, but also to Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Aureli avoids such a poetics of the tectonic, and instead interprets the plinth as the 'classical' part of an architectural composition, where the building envelope has a different, more industrial, more artificial and more generic, origin than its base. He also bypasses any parallelization of the two architects' employment of frontality and axiality.

Fig. 3 The Seagram Plaza. Photo: Joseph Buxbaum. Source: Flickr. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/91260116@N04/8335144585/

Reprogramming the plinth

Aureli proposes not only a dialectic between the 'islands' and the entire 'archipelago', but also a dialectic between the building's base, its plinth, and its building envelope. Yet Aureli's dialectic only engages the exterior of the building. For some reason – maybe the lack of interest in functional program – Aureli's otherwise passionate exploration never takes him inside the Seagram.

It has not gone unnoticed by reviewers that "Aureli's methodology appears out of sync with his political motivations to block the circulatory mechanisms of urbanism, as anyone who has stood in front of van der Rohe's corporate palaces at Seagram or Toronto-Dominion will recognize immediately" (Diamanti, 2012, p. 2). However, as Jeff Diamanti points out next, such a critique would amount to a misreading of Aureli's undertaking of "*the autonomy of the project*" (Aureli, 2011, p. xiii), since Aureli's theory specifically allows for an understanding whereby form is not reducible to the (capitalist) conditions of its making.

What Aureli seems to share with the tectonic school of thought, such as Kenneth Frampton's, is the demand of visibility, of appearing, of the manifestation of certain innate principles in the physical and material structure of the work of architecture (Weiner, 1996, p. 502). "The forces of urbanization are made explicit", Aureli (2011, p. 40) writes, arguing that "the forces of urbanization in the form of the mass production of building technology" becomes "the very appearance" (Aureli, 2011, p. 34) of Mies's architecture (see also p. 212 in regards to Ungers). This optic dimension also pervades Aureli's description (Aureli, 2011, p. 37) of his own experience of Miesian architecture:

> *One of the most remarkable things felt by anyone climbing a Mies plinth, whether in New York or in Berlin, is the experience of turning one's back to the building in order to look at the city. Suddenly, and for a brief moment, one is estranged from the flows and organizational patterns that animate the city, yet still confronting them.*

The reinterpreted plinth facilitates the emergence of a novel visual culture, and one is reminded of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's 1829 perspective drawing of his projected main staircase in the stoa of the Altes Museum in Berlin (1823–30) where Schinkel has turned his back on the museum in order to show us, in one image, both the panorama of the Berlin skyline framed by two rows of Ionic columns, and the series of mythological frescoes welcoming the visitor. Christine Boyer (1994, p. 102) regards this structure as a decisive turning point in the history of urban culture, since Schinkel here not only combines classical spatial motifs in order to shape an entirely new institution, the public art museum; he also turns his edifice into one end of a powerful visual dialectic between building and city:

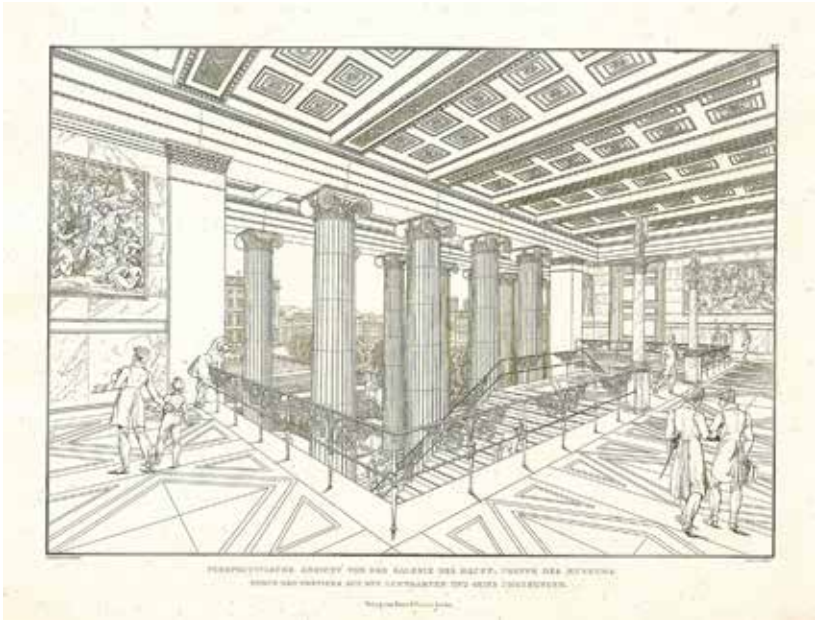

Fig. 4 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Altes Museum, Berlin, view from the main staircase toward the city, 1829. Engraving by Hans Fincke, from Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe 17, no. 103 (Berlin: Wittich, 1831).

Fig. 5 Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. Photo: Thomas Wolf, www.foto-tw.de. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alte_Nationalgalerie_abends.jpg

In Schinkel's work the perspectival stage had reached its ultimate achievement: the scenographic arrangement of the modern city.

Just like its supported glass pavilion, Mies's plinth in Berlin is much more omnidirectional than Schinkel's receptacle, and Mies's museum on the Culture Forum suggests no privileged direction for looking, nor does its plinth frame the visitor's visual perception. Nonetheless, Aureli's flashback to his experience on the various plinths can only be understood as his tacit acceptance of an urban visual culture in which buildings function not only as 'absolute' works in their own right, but also as means of activating the enjoyment of the city as spectacle.

Aureli's understanding of the plinth as a vast podium that enables spectatorship is alien to its documented use in the Ancient Greek temple, where the plinth was subjected to optical, illusionistic refinements (Penrose, 1888: Goodyear, 1912) that certainly evidence a sophisticated beholder orientation, but whose function had no relationship to the city whatsoever.

The city-as-museum

Incidentally, the receptive structure of Schinkel's pioneering museum edifice in the heart of Berlin betrays Aureli's theory by its lack of clear boundary between inside and outside; in other words, because of its spatial osmosis. The stairwell is opened up, both in order to receive the flow of visitors and to allow for a framing of the urban panorama from a perspective deep within the building volume.

To Schinkel, the didactical framing of this urban panorama made it inseparable from *Bildung*, and hence a radically new idea of the modern city as the sum of vistas and visual exchanges was born. As Schinkel anticipated with his innovative structure in Berlin, a cultural building could both serve the masses (by being physically opened up), act as an iconic *point de vue*, and itself be a framing device – all at one and the same time.

Aureli contrasts his favourite, Ungersian model of the 'city within the city' with the 'collage' model promoted by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter in their manifesto *Collage City* (1978), which Aureli critiques for being merely an instantiation of aestheticism and subjective cultures of taste, not a true dialectic between separate urban typologies in an 'archipelago' (Aureli, 2011, pp. 205–206; 212).

Although history and collective memory each play important parts in the background of Aureli's theory, he does not approve of Rowe and Koetter's infatuation with "a recurrent, and maybe not a repressive, nineteenth century theme: the city as museum". According to the two authors of *Collage City* (Rowe and Koetter, 1978, p. 126),

The city as museum, the city as a positive concert of culture and educational purpose, the city as a benevolent source of random but carefully selected information, was perhaps to be most abundantly realized in the Munich of Ludwig I and Leo von Klenze.

Schinkel's art museum next to the Lustgarten in Berlin belongs to this tradition, and by unknowingly subscribing to a novel visual culture that was born out the very 'city-as-museum' model for which Rowe and Koetter advocate, Aureli ends up trading one nineteenth-century invention for another. For although Rowe and Koetter abhorred totalizing urban interventions such as Wiener Ringstraße and Baron Haussmann's surgical incisions in the urban fabric of Paris, their favorite Klenzian model would eventually lead to such urban precepts.

Fig. 6 Wiener Ringstraße, view toward the Parliament Building. Print no. 6444, Detroit Publishing Company, 1905. Source: Library of Congress. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Parliament,_Vienna,_Austro-Hungary-LCCN2002708394.tif

The visual culture of the disciplinary city

While Aureli's historical analysis of the birth of the managerial dimension of the phenomenon of nineteenth-century disciplinary urbanism is to-the-point and more relevant than ever, it lacks its logical counterpart, namely an analysis of the visual culture of the disciplinary city.

As Camillo Sitte's critique of his contemporary city already evidences (Sitte, 1889), urbanistic schemes such as the Wiener Ringstraße were just as much the seeds of a new, panoptical visual culture as they were enablers of a new managerial practice in the city. Corinne Fournier (2005) has argued that the modern disciplinary city – Vienna, Barcelona, Paris – came into being through the threefold strategy of, firstly, the creation of vast, uniform spaces for transportation and commerce; secondly, the revivalist and eclectic use of historical styles; and lastly, the strive toward a transparent architecture. All of these aspects were active in shaping a new urban visual culture, parts of which live on until the present day.

As Fournier explains, the strategic and spectacular use of stylistic motifs from ossified cultures performed a necessary compensatory and reassuring cultural function in a city whose citizens were facing constant, massive changes in financial security, technological innovation, ways of living, and speed of perception. As many perceptive cultural critics of the era witnessed, the intensification of historicism masked the instability and flux of the new urban lifeworld. Hence the 'museum city' model came to the rescue (Fournier, 2005, p. 158):

> *As a result of these developments, historicism went hand in hand with a disciplinary mentality. Under the cover of restoring continuity with a lost tradition, it manipulated the past, archived it, museified and froze it in stereotypical forms that were juxtaposed according to a visual and well ordered scenography.*

Just like Aureli, Fournier also regards the nineteenth-century city as an environment where every activity is programmed to accelerate productivity. The surveillance component of modern society, theorized by Michel Foucault, was enhanced and extended into the actual urban space of boulevards and transparent public buildings of iron and glass, while at the same time the citizen gained a new possibility of himself or herself exerting a panoptic gaze. Visual mastery and spectatorship are thus indispensable to the functioning of this urban model:

> *The ideal of the disciplinary is that of a city of pure vision: a city that not only gives more importance to vision than to the other senses, but also one that favors the development of an abstract and intellectual vision to the detriment of a subjective and memorial one. There is, in short, a predominance of the optical over the tactile* (Fournier, 2005, p. 161).

Let us have a look at an example of a public, monumental building from this epoch beyond the provincial 'museum city'. With the Alte Nationalgalerie (1867–76), also located on the Museum Island in Berlin, architect Friedrich August Stüler faithfully recreated an octastyle Corinthian temple of the Roman type, but continued Schinkel's innovative practice of motivic and typological combinatorics. Here a grand ceremonial staircase, supporting an equestrian statue of King Frederick William IV of Prussia, has been attached to this new 'temple of the arts', allowing both for a solemn entry experience, for sequential panoramic viewing of Berlin, and for patriotic nation-building.

Absoluteness of form, ubiquity of ocularcentrism

All differences aside, the Seagram Building showcases the same innovative combination of architectural elements as the Altes Museum and the Alte Nationalgalerie. It is precisely the unusual hybrid project of a modern, rational, and dematerialized office tower and an ancient, cultic, and solid supporting base that draws Aureli's attention to this *exemplum*, for "the very condition of architectural form is to separate and to be separated" (Aureli, 2011, p. ix).

Analysing the impact of Palladio, Aureli praises the architect's "subtle references to ancient typologies" and he concludes that "the power of the exemplum resides in its ability to propose a general paradigmatic framework rather than a set of regulations or commands to be literally deployed" (Aureli, 2011, p. 82). In this way, Aureli distances himself from the orthodoxy of rules of proportion.

> *Matters of form, composition, materiality, orientation, spatiality, and program emerge from these pages as the latent means by which architecture might make some claim upon the city on its own terms.*

Leach's summary (2012, p. 38) contains the clue to the problem that I am addressing here: Aureli seems to insist that the plinth of the Seagram can perform the same exceptional quasi-political function as a plinth from any other time period. In other words, he values the eternal and abstract potential of form for territorial demarcation and political agonism over the historicity of form. This problematic divide is already evident when Aureli, as we recall, wants to arrive at a "phenomenological and symbolic coincidence" between the formal and the political. This leads to a situation where Aureli builds upon a Foucauldian line of thought as regards the managerial disciplinary nature of the modern metropolis (Aureli, 2011, p. 10, n. 23; 160) but at the same time downplays the historicity of architectural form and space, which are delivered into strictly phenomenological hands.

This split between historically structured society and transcendent form allows Aureli to claim "that architecture can act politically without (necessarily) being a tool of politics" (Leach, 2012, p. 39). Aureli thus imbues a particular kind of form with the potential to occupy a

position not only outside of capitalist hegemony, but also outside of history altogether, for the politically performative potential of formal demarcation seems to remain unchanged throughout history.

But just as in the case of the Alte Nationalgalerie, the structure in question is no longer what it used to be. In Berlin, we no longer face a Baroque staircase; we encounter a structure in the service of not only a sovereign, but also of a city, of a nation-state, and of an emerging empire. In New York, we no longer face an Ancient Greek plinth, but a modern reinterpretation of it, servicing a completely novel type of building.

That the true nature of the modern metropolis can only be revealed at a distance, in the act of stepping out of the crowds, raising oneself above the bustling streets and gaining panoptical overview, is not a new desire. Its most extreme manifestation is to be found in Michel de Certeau's critique of ocularcentrism, where scopic desire is famously embodied in the Icarian archetype of the city planner, who gains visual gnosis at the expense of being able to take part in everyday urban life (Certeau, 1984, p. 93):

> *The panorama-city is a "theoretical" (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices.*

In a recent essay Aureli discusses the ideological reorientation heralded by French President François Mitterand's *Grands projets* of the 1980s, and here he voices a clear and critical stance on the culture of spectacle first theorized by Guy Debord (Aureli, 2015, p. 51):

> *Culture, creativity, social exchange – the entire life of the metropolis – were no longer phenomena beside work, but the core potential for production. [...] Mitterand's Grands projets can be understood as a first attempt to put to work the urban spectacle in order to define a new metropolitan subjectivity.*

Thus, there can be no doubt that Aureli regards this modern culture of spectacle as a result of the very forces of urbanization that he problematizes, and my aim here is not to reproach Aureli for being unable to annul a visual paradigm that came into existence in the nineteenth century, and which still exerts influence on urban design (Boyer, 1994). Just as Aureli makes no claim to be able to halt global capitalism, I make no claim to be able to step out of this pervasive visual culture. Even in one of the major critiques of ocularcentrism in architecture, we find praise for the same visual arrangement that attracts Aureli's interest (Pallasmaa, 2005, p. 29):

> *In Mies van der Rohe's architecture a frontal perspectival perception predominates, but his unique sense of order, structure, weight, detail and craft decisively enriches the visual paradigm.*

Rather, my ambition is to demonstrate that the managerial and the representational aspects of urbanism are interwoven and that the quarantining of the one aspect through formal practice does not necessarily lead to the suppression of the other. And since Aureli (2011, p. 44) openly rejects the legitimacy of the iconic building, it seems relevant to ask of his theory what impact the visual paradigm of disciplinary urbanism has on 'the possibility of an absolute architecture'. While the spectacular effect of the iconic building is easily identifiable, it requires closer inspection to unravel the visual exchange in which an edifice – very often the art museum – has become "a machine for looking" (Baume, 2006, p. 118) that feeds on the attractions and centrality of the city. This contemporary visual correlate of managerial urbanism has recently been characterized as a culture generating a "stunned subjectivity and arrested sociality supported by spectacle" (Foster, 2011, p. xii).

Conclusion

Being a thematic collection of essays in 'operative criticism', *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* ends without a proper conclusion, and in this article I have attempted to fill out some of the gaps, primarily by shedding light on the latent – but very significant – operation of visual culture in Aureli's theory, which notably excludes nineteenth-century architects from its pantheon, but which remains affected by the spatial and representational models of this epoch nonetheless.

Aureli might leave the *physical* infrastructure of the city behind when climbing Mies's plinth, but in that very instance he enters into a particular *visual* culture, European in origin, which is the symbolic and representational counterpart to the material workings of urbanism that he has comprehensively analysed. And the fact that Aureli's theory ends up being inadvertently implicated in nineteenth-century visual culture suggests that even the most 'absolute' piece of Modernist architecture partakes in the "drama of architecture's own dissolution into the mediatic matrix", if we follow Reinhold Martin's (2001, p. 67) experience of the Seagram Building. What I thus hope to have demonstrated is the fact that even the most hard-headed materialist conceptualization of the European city has difficulty in leaving behind a visual culture that was just as much implicated in the birth of urbanism as Cerdà's revolutionary expansion of Barcelona.

This is not to say that I believe that Aureli's omission positions his scholarship within a scopophilic regime; quite the contrary. His book indicates rather an adherence to a hermeneutic paradigm built upon words, not images. Martin Jay has noted that "we have increasingly come in the twentieth century to distrust perception in general and vision in particular as the ground of knowledge, often turning instead to language in all its various guises as an alternative" (Jay, 1988, p. 318), and Aureli's work is no exception from this tendency.

Neither do I believe that an exit from the visual paradigm of the disciplinary city and a reformation of urban visual culture are easily

found. "The city is not a post-card", Alberto Pérez-Gómez (2007, p. 43) exhorts, objecting to "context as an objectified, picture-like lifeless form". But as this quotation implies, the mechanisms supporting the urban spectacle were never architectural only, but belong to a wider culture of technology and representation far beyond the command of architects, let alone professional urbanists.

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Neighbourhood: A Threatened Heritage in Contemporary Europe

Identity crisis[1]

Europe is experiencing troubled times in the face of ongoing geopolitical changes inside and outside its geographic space. As it is known, this space has changed over the last few decades, based on a process driven by the European Union's economic optimism, which has always seen its enlargement as an opportunity to extend the Eurozone and the Schengen Area to new countries and people, fostering transnational investment and trade in the context of globalization. In this process, cultural and social issues seem to have always been in the background; that is, the European Union grew geographically, politically and economically without ever critically reflecting on the impact of its multiple internal identities' growth. The recent and troubled reaction to the wave of Middle East refugees, the reappearance of nationalist sentiments in many countries, and the progressive ethnic and religious intolerance in many urban settings openly expose the absence of such cogitation. Nowadays, the European crisis is essentially an identity crisis.

However, currently and more than ever, there is a desire to safeguard Europe's historical identity (its cities' exceptional heritage, architecture, monuments and treasures), which dominates the "politically correct" discourses of the Old Continent rulers, from Eurocrats to national leaders, from asset managers to city mayors. Yet, it must be asked how this discourse on heritage (centred on the value of spaces, buildings and objects) can extend to human values represented by the old and new inhabitants of European cities, given the increasing processes of migration and cultural diversity? And what social heritage should we protect in view of such phenomena as "ghettoization", "gentrification" and "touristification" in these cities? The defence mechanisms of the material heritage are presently insufficient to preserve the significant European intangible heritage: people and their citizen relations, gradually conquered throughout history, based on values of proximity, tolerance and multiculturalism; in brief, on the basis of the "neighbourhood" exercise, a concept intrinsically linked to the idea of Europe. The identity crisis described above, which has fuelled protectionist, nationalist, racist and xenophobic visions and actions in many countries, is essentially a neighbourhood crisis in European cities.

Frontispiece (Fig. 1) Interior of the Portuguese Pavilion at the XV Venice Architecture Biennale, 2016 (© Nicolò Galeazzi).

The challenge of the Venice Biennale

By contrast, Europe has always promoted spaces to show and allow multidisciplinary debate on its civilizational, technological and artistic achievements. The Great International Exhibitions and the famous Art and Architecture Biennales are part of this legacy of display and reflection that comes from the 19th century. The Venice Biennale is a prominent example of this situation and it was precisely within the framework of this global stage that we have decided, as architects and architecture curators, to test the "neighbourhood" theme. After all, what better place to question social and cultural

European identities than in the quintessential "World Heritage City" of Europe? Responding to the invitation of the Ministry of Culture of the Portuguese Government to curate the contents of the Portuguese Pavilion at the XV Venice Architecture Biennale, in 2016, we have decided to make a proposal that interacted directly with the physical and social fabric of that city, simultaneously showing what occurs in other European contexts.

In view of the impossibility of having the Portuguese Pavilion at the heart of the Biennale (in the Giardini or Arsenal areas, where Portugal has no official space), our suggestion was to locate it in an unpredicted place in Venice, where the Portuguese representation could arouse the interest of the remaining Venetians. The chosen space was Campo di Marte, on the Giudecca Island, less pressured by the touristic and artistic frenzy brought about by the Biennale.

The idea for the Pavilion's theme came from a simple but very significant fact we wanted to discuss: since 1985, the renowned Portuguese architect Álvaro Siza coordinates an urban renewal plan at the east end of this island, a process that has suffered numerous setbacks. An integral part of that plan is a social housing project, whose construction was halted in 2010 due to the builder's bankruptcy. When we proposed to occupy this site under construction, by installing the Portuguese Pavilion inside the suspended worksite, it immediately became a motive of interest for the promoters of the project (ATER, the Italian Institute for Social Housing) but also of debate among the neighbours of Campo di Marte on the municipality's responsibility for the slow urban renewal of the island. Unexpectedly the request of the Portuguese Government to set up its pavilion in that particular site triggered the process of completion of Álvaro Siza's social housing project by the local authorities.

Fig. 2 **Álvaro Siza visits a resident of the neighbourhood that he designed in Campo di Marte, Giudecca Island, Venice (© Nicolò Galeazzi).**

In that same vein, Álvaro Siza's plan and project for Giudecca provided the basis for the Portuguese Pavilion's theme: to narrate the remarkable relationship of this architect with different urban cultures, showing how over more than 40 years he designed his social housing districts in cities as different as Venice, The Hague, Berlin and Porto. Our ultimate goal was to demonstrate how Siza was able to build real European neighbourhoods and, in a reverse reading, to assess the extent to which they are also subject to the crisis of neighbouring values in Europe.

The theme presented by Portugal responded directly to the challenge posed by the general curator of the 2016 Venice Biennale, the Chilean architect Alejandro Aravena, to the various countries present at the event, in order to report real cases, existing on different urban fronts (*Reporting from the front*), and in which the action of the architect has proved decisive for the life of the population.

Finally, adding to all these references, the Portuguese Pavilion celebrated Álvaro Siza's long-lasting connection with Italian culture and especially with Siza's contemporary architect Aldo Rossi (1931–1997); with whom Siza learned how to read the historical city from its long-time "invariants" and "collective memories", concepts explained by the Italian architect in the remarkable book *The Architecture of the City* (1966). Siza assigned to Rossi, as early as 1986, a portion of his plan for the Campo di Marte in Venice, in which Rossi designed one of his last buildings.

Therefore, the Portuguese presence at the 2016 Venice Architecture Biennale was named *Neighbourhood: where Alvaro meets Aldo*, regaining the idea that being a "neighbour" in any European city allows us the opportunity to enjoy the inspiring encounter with the "other", who so often comes from another geography, from another culture.

The neighbour Álvaro

The Portuguese representation at the Venice Biennale of 2016, as it is easily understood, surpassed its condition of simply being an architecture display to give rise to a manifesto on the concept of "neighbourhood". Between May and November 2016, the models, sketches and technical drawings of four neighbourhoods of Álvaro Siza were represented in various forms; but within the exhibition space, within that architectural work under construction, each of these places emerged as a "microcosm" of European cultural and social heritage.

That vision was only made possible because we have invited Álvaro Siza to return, decades later, to those cities he knew, and those districts he designed, analysing their evolution as a reflection of those societies' transformation. The challenge, which Siza accepted with great kindness, led us to travel in his company between January and March 2016, through the districts of Venice (Campo di Marte), The Hague (Schilderswijk), Berlin (Schlesisches Tor) and Porto (Bouça Neighbourhood).

The whole journey was covered by a team of television and print media reporters, coordinated by the journalist Cândida Pinto (SIC / Expresso), who used the extensive material captured in video and photography during the visits to produce four videos for the Portuguese Pavilion. Nevertheless, these documentaries were aimed at a wider audience because they are part of the series "*Vizinhos* (Neighbours)", screened on the television channel SIC Notícias.

In these recordings, we may observe (in a rare gesture in the international architectural panorama) a famous Pritzker architect walking through those quarters, being confronted with the unusual changes of his work, entering the houses he designed, talking to the residents, listening to their stories and their complaints. In all those moments Álvaro has become one of their neighbours.

We will thus analyse how this experience enabled us to understand and discuss the issues that threaten today's neighbouring relations in Europe [2].

Beyond Venice's "touristification"

Álvaro Siza's project for the Campo di Marte area resulted from a restricted invitation to an architecture competition, launched in the mid-1980s, for a very decrepit (and partially demolished) residential area of the Giudecca Island. Álvaro Siza designed an harmonious urban fabric, based on the long structure of the old cadastre, delineated from north to south, between the Giudecca Canal and the Lagoon, and returning to some of the architectural archetypes existing on this island: galleries, porticos, patios, *loggias*. To this end, he carefully studied the urban analysis developed by Egle Trincanato (researcher at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia), in her seminal book *Venezia Minore*, published in 1948. From that study he learned how to identify the typological invariants of this popular housing fabric, which formed the interior of the Giudecca Island, and from which emerged, by contrast, the churches and palaces placed at the borders of the canal and the lagoon. Acknowledging this influence, Siza opted for a cohesive urban composition in his general plan, based on height uniformity and windows arranged in a constant rhythm along the extensive facades. Only a part of this set of structures was built, which include projects by Álvaro Siza (one part until now), Aldo Rossi and Carlo Aymonino (blocks already finished).

Upon returning to Campo di Marte in February 2016, Siza met some of the residents living in the finished building of his project. The meeting made him understand how the population had appropriated these built typologies, but also the collective spaces. He visited, talked, smoked and drank with several neighbours throughout a cheerful afternoon of conviviality. There he heard, in local dialect, that Giudecca is the last island where the authentic Venetians live, in contrast to the accelerated "touristification" of the central island around the Grand Canal. In Campo di Marte, Siza realised how worth it was studying the

Fig. 3 Álvaro Siza visits a resident of the neighbourhood that he designed in Schilderswijk, in The Hague (© Nicolò Galeazzi).

urban form and the social life of this *Venezia Minore*, where it is still possible to build true neighbourly ties.

The "ghettoization" of social housing in The Hague

In 1984, Álvaro Siza was invited by the municipality of The Hague to redesign a derelict and stigmatised area of the city – the district of Schilderswijk – and build new social housing in it. In this neighbourhood lived, in equal proportion, Dutch and immigrant families, mainly from Turkey, Morocco, Cape Verde and Suriname. After visiting the quarter and listening to the inhabitants' wishes, together with a team of social workers, Álvaro Siza designed two construction phases: the Punt Komma area (1986–1989) and the Jacob Catsstraat area (1989–1993). In both, he took up the morphology of the city's historic blocks, using their more common cladding, the brick, and recreated a traditional access space to the buildings from the street: the *Haagse Portiek*. This portico allows, through a wide exterior staircase, to have access to a common landing for the apartments' entrances. This "culturalist" revisit to the history of The Hague was accompanied by the creation of flexible housing typologies,


BONJOUR

adapted to different family experiences and without spatial discrimination regardless of the cultural or religious origin of their inhabitants.

Siza's proposal was previously debated with neighbours of all origins, based on simulations of the interior spaces, carried out on a real scale, with which everyone was able to know the new apartments' layout and suggest possible changes, in a participatory method of true social empowerment.

In March 2016, we have returned with Álvaro Siza to the district of Schilderswijk, in the company of members of the old municipal council, and visited some Turkish, Syrian and Moroccan families who have settled there for the last 25 years. After crossing the *Haagse Portiek*, the group entered several houses, took off their shoes and sat comfortably in the living rooms, talking to the families and drinking tea. They told us that the Dutch *vox populi* has been disparaging the neighbourhood, considering it a ghetto and describing it as the "Sharia Triangle" (nowadays 90% of its population is Islamic). However, on that particular day, it was made clear to all of us that the so-called "ghettoization" of this district is, first of all, an argument of the more conservative political rhetoric, wielded by the Dutch right-wing factions. In Schilderswijk, good neighbourly relations are maintained and recommended.

The gentrification of the reunited Berlin

When Álvaro Siza visited Berlin in the late 1970s, the city had been enclosed for more than fifteen years by a physical and political Wall, one of the main symbols of the Cold War. Still marked by the wounds of World War II, Berlin was then beginning its "critical reconstruction" within the framework of the urban planning process IBA (*Internationale Bauausstellung*, 1979–1987). In that process, Siza presented an urban renewal proposal for one block at Schlesisches Tor, in Kreuzberg. This was an historic neighbourhood on the outskirts of West Berlin, close to the Wall, characterised by a changing population, partly due to the arrival of Turkish immigrants and young squatter artists.

Siza won the competition in 1980, based on a project that crucially interpreted the fragments and urban voids left by the war destruction, trying to combine them into a sensitive composition which did not completely rebuild the block, but rather allowed the discovery of its interior richness. Similarly, and avoiding excessive "social sanitization", Siza integrated some of the inhabitants' main ambitions by proposing two social equipments at the heart of the neighbourhood: a Nursery School and a Day Centre for the elderly. At last, in one of the corners of Schlesisches Strasse, the Portuguese architect designed a seven-storey residential building, once again learnt from the surrounding architectural richness. He diversified the housing typologies, making them flexible according to the social and cultural multiplicity of its inhabitants. An ironic, literary-inspired graffiti painted on the curved parapet of the building – *Bonjour Tristesse* – would inscribe the

Fig. 4 **Álvaro Siza visits the building dubbed *Bonjour Tristesse*, which he designed, in the 1980s, for the Kreuzberg district, in Berlin (© Nuno Grande).**

neighbours' first critical "appropriation", by questioning the regular design of the windows and the melancholy colour of the facades.

In March 2016, thirty years after the completion of this project, we have returned with Álvaro Siza to Kreuzberg. We walked through the Nursery gardens, climbed to the roof of the Day Centre and were greeted with a warm welcome by the elder users. In the *Bonjour Tristesse* building, today in slow rehabilitation, we have found some of its first residents, of Turkish origin, but we have realised that the property is in a process of cultural and social gentrification. Bought by an Austrian real estate fund, its apartments and shops now receive new tenants: thematic restaurants on the ground floor, architects, designers, actors and filmmakers on the upper floors; in most cases at the expense of the expulsion of pre-existing families and activities. In fact, Kreuzberg, once peripheral, has become the centre of the cosmopolitan life of the reunified Germany new capital. The Berlin Wall fell almost thirty years ago; new neighbours have occupied the district ever since, without necessarily creating true meanings of neighbourhood.

Inter-classist crossings in the centre of Porto

In the Portuguese summer of 1974, just three months after the April 25th Revolution, Nuno Portas, then Secretary of State for Housing and Urban Development, launched a governmental dispatch named SAAL (*Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local* / Local Ambulatory Support Service), which allowed the most deprived inhabitants to organise themselves and politically fight for the "right to housing" and for the "right to the city", that is, to remain in their places of origin or settlement. This programme led to the creation of housing projects designed by different architects, in an ongoing dialogue with the various residents' associations, established in the meantime. In Bouça, at the centre of Porto, many plots were then squatted by the population, a fact which would directly involve Álvaro Siza, author of a housing project intended for that quarter. Receptive to the new demands of the Bouça squatters, the architect readjusted his project so it could include a greater number of deprived residents.

Siza's proposal was based upon a double historical revisit: on the one hand he interpreted the forms and spaces of the old popular districts of Porto: the *ilhas*; on the other hand, he evoked learned models of working-class housing, developed by European modern architecture avant-gardes in the 20s and 30s. This fusion resulted in the "first life" of the Bouça Neighbourhood. Between 1975 and 1976, two blocks of flats were built, with four floors (2 duplex), with direct entrances from the street or from a raised gallery. Community relations were then established in the daily use of the different extended courtyards between the housing blocks, some marked by a succession of multi-functional outdoor stairs. The project was suddenly interrupted at the end of the 70s decade with the cessation of the SAAL programme. Since then, social housing policies passed into the municipalities' administration, in an electoral representation

Fig. 5 and 6 **Exterior of the Portuguese Pavilion at the XV Venice Architecture Biennale, 2016 (© Nicolò Galeazzi).**

system opposing the participatory democracy models, which had characterised the previous revolutionary process. For twenty years, the neighbourhood remained "amputated" and progressively derelict until the residents' association, in conjunction with another housing cooperative, proposed to the municipality to complete the project by Álvaro Siza. This action made possible to resume the work, giving opportunity to the author to finally demonstrate the sense of architectural adjustment and urban integration of his proposal. The neighbourhood's completion, inaugurated in 2006, inevitably brought new residents of different social and cultural conditions to the houses.

In 2016, a decade after the quarter's conclusion, Álvaro Siza visited the area and several residents' houses and questioned them how they lived inside those walls. There he met again some of the first inhabitants who, with his support, had fought for the founding of the residents' association in 1974. He heard their complaints about the construction completion process and how many of their fellow members had not wanted or been able to return to the houses that were meant to them. During other visits, Siza observed that the gentrification process was present at the neighbourhood by meeting young architects, designers and artists, who became the owners of those houses placed on the market by the housing cooperative. Avoiding any false moralism, Álvaro Siza realised that the district was no longer just part of his revolutionary imaginary of 40 years ago, but had become an inter-classist, inter-cultural and inter-generational fragment of the contemporary city. What better conditions, after all, to generate a real neighbourhood?

A Europe made of neighbours

The multiple experiences and issues we have just described were documented inside and outside the Portuguese Pavilion at the 2016 Venice Architecture Biennale, questioning those who passed through Campo di Marte to reflect on their own "neighbour" status. In the exterior palisade surrounding the building under construction, large-

scale photographs taken from the four journeys invited the passersby to "enter" the household environments visited by the architect and understand those citizens' life. Giudecca was thus "inhabited" by residents of The Hague, Berlin and Porto, and often we were able to observe the *giudeccini* facing their own portrayed environments. There was a sense of sharing that goes beyond geographies, cultures, religions or social conditions; there unfolded a Europe made up of neighbours.

The new palisade replaced another one, worn out by time, but where the community protest graffiti about the urban renewal of Campo di Marte, which had come to a standstill, were visible. This palisade was reused to overlay the inside walls of the Portuguese Pavilion, giving voice to the local neighbours. Some of the slogans on those panels stated: "No to evictions!"; or "Disgraceful, enough of speculation!"; or "The houses for those who need them!". They could actually have been written in any of the neighbourhoods and times depicted by the exhibition.

As we have noted, Álvaro Siza's professional career has been characterised by constant political and social conflicts' management, and he is the only Pritzker warded architect developing extensive social housing programmes in different European contexts and, more than that, wanting to debate the subject openly. This determination derives from his humanistic and universal understanding of European culture, resulting from the contact with disadvantaged or socially uprooted people, in particular ethnic minorities of different cultural backgrounds. Without ever being paternalist or moralist, Siza has always refused to design exclusive spaces to each of these ethnic groups, preferring to find common typological denominators where the same type of ambience may fulfil the needs of diverse inhabitants. This implies, on his part, a perceptive observation of the local living conditions.

Siza's social districts are now subject to phenomena that pose new problems to already established neighbouring relations. Venice's accelerated "touristification" will undoubtedly reach the local leases on the island of Giudecca, which may lead to the inhabitants' exodus of one of the few places where those ancestral relations still remain. The "ghettoization" of the Schilderswijk neighbourhood in The Hague is part of the political polarisation that is now being experienced in Northern Europe, as a consequence of the nationalism resurgence and the gradual ostracisation of Islam, seen by many xenophobic Dutch as the main origin of jihadism. The gentrification of the Kreuzberg neighbourhood in Berlin, or the Bouça neighbourhood in Porto, can generate, as we have seen, different results: the expulsion of the local populations and the replacement of proximity relations for more impersonal ones; or, at the other end, a new mixture of neighbours of different generations, cultures and social conditions, in an unstable but possible equilibrium.

European city centres are increasingly becoming spaces designed for city users and less and less for city tenants. In many of these centres, the sense of "belonging" is being replaced by totally uprooted tourist

experiences (like the uncritical and unregulated growth of the Airbnb phenomenon) or by totally precluding sectarian and safe experiences (like the proliferation of so-called "private condominiums").

It is crucial to revive the healthy exercise of "neighbourhood" as a contribution to overcome Europe's current identity crisis. To accomplish this rescue, it will be necessary to look at many of its historical and contemporary districts, as those of Álvaro Siza, where we still find strongholds of this citizenship exercise. On those neighbourhoods lies, we are certain, this Europe of many identities, made up of multiple neighbours.

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2 → The cases' description is based on the curators' texts written for the Portuguese Pavillon exhibition at the Venice Biennale of 2016. Refer to: Nuno Grande and Roberto Cremascoli, Vizinhança. Onde Álvaro encontra Aldo/ Where Alvaro meets Aldo. Lisbon/Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2017.

EXHIBITION

Exhibition

Department
of Architecture
University
of Coimbra

Biographies of Power: Personalities and Architectures

History of Architecture III | IV

Jorge Figueira (coordinator)
Bruno Gil

The course unit History of Architecture III presents the most decisive moments, authors and works from the history of architecture, beginning in the eighteenth century and then focusing on the nineteenth century and on the manifestations of the modern avant-garde in the early twentieth century. It is a history perceived from the best examples and the seminal features of the Western culture. The Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution are understood as determining the features of the historical process, and Europe as the central stage, with occasional detours to the United States of America. This period is understood as the search of an adjustment to the forces of modernity that are being unleashed, only fully achieved with the advent of modern architecture. This does not detract from the various attempts that occur; it magnifies them with a beauty of their own.

At the same time, contradictions are evidenced as cultural signifiers: between the advances of the iron and glass industry and the retreats of the medieval / pre-Raphaelites, Augustus Pugin and John Ruskin; in the idealization of the city by the utopian socialists, the reformists, the culturalists and the progressives; the modernity of the Chicago School and the reactionary stance of the Columbian Exposition with the 'betrayal' of Daniel Burnham; the encounter and mismatch between the master Louis Sullivan and the disciple Frank Lloyd Wright in the conception of an American architecture; the Art Nouveau ornament and the relentless criticism of Adolf Loos; the avant-garde in its various manifestations, futurism, expressionism, neoplasticism, constructivism. It opens the door to the modern movement, with which the course unit of History of Architecture IV begins.

In the transition from the avant-gardes to the institutionalization of modern architecture, a cycle is closed and another is opened, synthesized and projected by the respective 'masters', which remains today as a re-foundation of architecture itself. The several geographies and experiences of modern architecture are envisaged. It is particularly noted the process of 'revision' that will lead to postmodernism after the Second World War. Some lines of contemporary architecture are drawn from this process.

Starting with key episodes such as the expressionism of the Amsterdam School and the functionalism in Rotterdam, the Bauhaus events and the CIAM meetings, central personalities such as Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and Alvar Aalto are observed. Features that reveal the nuances of modern architecture up to Los Angeles are sought with Rudolf Schindler, Richard Neutra, Charles and Ray Eames. Modern architecture 'revisions' by Louis Kahn, James Stirling, the Italian experience vs. the English second machine age, and the Team X led by Alison and Peter Smithson, are pointed out. The mega-structures, the metabolisms, the Archigram's 'architectural telegrams', the unlimited manifestoes of Archizoom and the Superstudio are superimposed. Finally, it returns to architecture through Aldo Rossi and Robert Venturi, a return that is a synonym of the overcoming of modern architecture and the consequent placement of postmodernism.

In both course units, the practical classes allow a deepening of the topics and a direct dialogue with the students. Among the works developed, one of the most revealing experiences for students has been the reading of autobiographies written by architects (Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Richard Neutra, Aldo Rossi). Revealing the protagonists' life and work, their memoirs allow the deepening of their subjective paths in face of the objective conformation of the historiography of architecture.

In the academic year of 2016–2017, a main theme was conceived for the practical works of both course units: *Biographies of Power: Personalities and Architectures*. The work was exhibited in the Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra in September 2017.

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Maria Arnaut
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Mariana Afonso
Mariana Vinha
Mercês Fernandes
Miguel Costa
Miguel Nogueira
Mónica Oliveira
Nicola Capozzo
Noémi Loureiro
Onésimo Cruz
Rafael Martins
Renato Leal
Renato Pinto
Rita Sousa
Rúben Jácome
Sara Alves
Sara Gonçalves
Sofia Soares
Soraia Vicente
Tatiana Carvalho
Teresa Serra e Silva
Vanessa Mendes

History of Architecture III
Biographies of Power: Personalities

EDITION

In the year of the 150th anniversary of Frank Lloyd Wright's birth, the general theme "Biographies of Power" focused on the passage of testimony between Louis Sullivan and Wright. While they crucially contributed to the identity of a modern and American architecture, they carried out a professional and personal relationship that was also guided by the measurement of forces.

The memoirs of both architects, written by them, were the instruments of work. Reading groups during the lessons deepened these memories, chapter by chapter. These are autobiographies that reveal what lies behind them, talking about the practice of the discipline, often reliving situations that sustained life and profession.

In addition to a written essay reflecting on the book, students collected a database of images, many from historical archives, illustrating some of the most determining passages cited by the authors. Based on these photographic records, the conceptual strength of the authors' words has thus been further reinforced by the visuality they experienced.

In this exhibition, a selection of this archive of images was presented, focusing on the authors' references to the architectural culture and the key moments that stand out from their memories.

[The images collected by students, here presented, are part of an academic process, for non-commercial ends]

Old chain bridge, Newburyport, Mass., first suspension bridge in America. Control Number: cas:000027113:PP © Detroit Publishing Co.

Papa lived in Ireland once; he knows what is true. "Now we will go to the bridge and see it all." "And what is a bridge, Papa?" "That is what you are to see. Don't be afraid. It won't hurt you." So they went to the nearby bridge. [...]
On their way to rejoin Mamma, the child turned backward to gaze in awe and love upon the great suspension bridge. There, again, it hung in air – beautiful in power. The sweep of the chains so lovely the roadway barely touching the backs. And to think it was made by men! How great must men be, how wonderful; how powerful, that they could make such a bridge, and again be worshiped the worker.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter V. 'Newburyport'. [Massachusetts, 6 years old, Summer 1881], pp 44-45]

Beadle's Dime Novels: Malaeska, The Indian Wife of the White Hunter. By Mrs. Ann S. Stephens.
© Special Collections, McFarlin Library, The University of Tulsa

Now it was time to return to Boston. The school must open soon. [...]
He was immediately placed in the newly organized Rice School [...] Here he learned nothing at first except in-so-far as there was a sort of mechanical infiltration going on. But, at a nearby book store, "Beadle's Dime Novels" appeared in a whirlwind of popularity. Louis Sullivan pounced upon them. He devoured the raw melodramas and cried for more. Here at last was Romance! Here again were great men doing great deeds. Here was action in the open. He could live these scenes [...] He got a thrill out of every page, which was more than he ever got out of the school.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter VI. 'Boston', [Massachusetts, 8 years old, Summer 1883], pp 90, 100-101]

Boston, as the Eagle and the Wild Goose See It. James Wallace Black. 100th Anniversary Number. 2005.100.87
© Ogilvie Collection, Purchase, Jean Tranchemontagne, Thomas H. Lee Gift.

Never – since the long forgotten days of Halifax – had he reached such a peak of observation. His father's love for "scenery" had taken them there. [...] he told his son, seriously, that the effect, the appearance, the illusion was, in fact, due to what he called PERSPECTIVE. [...] For behind the perspective that the father saw was a perspective that the child saw – invisible to the father. It was MYSTERY – a mystery that lay behind appearances, and within appearances, and in front of appearances, a mystery which if penetrated might explain and clarify all, as his father had explained and clarified a little.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter VI 'Boston'. [Boston, 8 years old, 1883], pp 101-102]

1852 Map of the City of Boston and immediate neighborhood. Henry McIntyre. Call Number: G3701.B8 1852 M33
© Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center

During these years, Louis Sullivan, always inquisitive and foolhardily curious, had ferreted out every street, alley and blind court, and dock and wharf from end to end and crisscrossed within the limits of Boston, and had made partial explorations of Charlestown, Chelsea, and South Boston. Thus there gradually arose within his consciousness a clearing sense of what a city meant objectively as a solid conglomerate of diverse and more or less intricate activities. He began indeed to sense the city as a power unknown to him before a power new-risen above his horizon, a power that extended the range and amplified the content of his own child-dream of power as he had seen it manifested in the open within the splendid rhythm of the march of the seasons.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter VI. 'Boston'. [Boston, 8 years old, 1883], pp 101-102]

Masonic Temple, Boston, Massachusetts. John P. Soule. Circa 1870. The J. Paul Getty Museum © Gift of Warren J. and Mary M. Neaf

Later on, say about the age of twelve, this same boy, to his own surprise, became aware that he had become interested in buildings, and over one building in particular he began to rave, as he detached it from the rest and placed it to his wonder-world. It stood at the northeast corner of Tremont and Boylston Streets. It was a Masonic Temple built of brown granite, light gray in tone and joyous of aspect. [...] Thus immersed, he returned again and again to his wonderbuilding, the single one that welcomed him, the solitary one that gave out a perfume of romance, that radiated joy, that seemed frank and full of laughter. How it gleamed and glistened in the afternoon sunlight. How beautiful were its arches, how dainty its pinnacles; how graceful the tourelle on the corner, rising as if by itself, higher and higher, like a lily stem, to burst at last into a wondrous cluster of flowering pinnacles and a lovely, pointed finial.

[Louis Sullivan (1918) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter VII 'Boston - The New Rice Grammar School' [Boston, 12 years old, 1868], pp. 117-118]

Commonwealth Avenue, looking northwest from Clarendon ca. 1875, photograph taken from the Brooks House (First Baptist) Church tower © Boston Public Library

One day, on Commonwealth Avenue, as Louis was strolling, he saw a large man of dignified bearing, with beard, top hat, frock coat, come out of a nearby building, enter his carriage and signal the coachman to drive on. The dignity was unmistakable, all men of station in Boston were dignified, sometimes insistently so, but Louis wished to know who and what was behind the dignity. So he asked one of the workmen, who said: "Why he's the architect of this building."

"Yes? and what is an architect, the answer?" "Now, he's the man what drawed the plans for this building." "What! What's that you say, drawed the plans for this building?" "Sure. He lays out the rooms on paper, then makes a picture of the front, and we do the work under our own boss, but the architect's the boss of everybody." Louis was amazed. [...] How great, how wonderful a man must have been the "architect" of his beloved temple! So he asked the man how the architect made the outside of the temple and the man said: "Why, he made it out of his head, and he had books besides." The "books besides" repelled Louis: anybody could do that; but the "made it out of his head" fascinated him. How could a man make so beautiful a building out of his head? What a great man he must be; what a wonderful man. Then and there Louis made up his mind to become an architect and make beautiful buildings "out of his head."

[Louis Sullivan (1918) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter VII 'Boston - The New Rice Grammar School' [Boston, 12 years old, 1868], pp. 118-119]

Corner of Parkers and Pearl Streets, Looking to Broad Street. By James William Black. American, Boston, Massachusetts, 1872. Albumen print. 7 11/16 x 9 7/16 in. © The Getty

Come the great conflagration of 9 and 10 November, 1872. Louis saw this terror from its trifling beginning: a small flame curling from the wooden cornice of a building on the north side of Summer street. [...] As far as the eye could reach all consuming fire, and dire devastation; an inferno, terrible wonderful to look upon. Louis here and there, retreating as the holocaust advanced ever northward. All the city seemed doomed but it was not. [...] When the ruins cooled Louis found it difficult to locate the streets. They seemed labyrinthine, lost in a maze of wreckage and debris; bit by bit he found his strange way about.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter X 'Farewell to Boston' [Boston, 14 years old, 1873], pp. 181-182]

Boston circa 1902. "Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Rogers Building. © Detroit Publishing Company

This mood began when Louis settled in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology – familiarly known as "Tech" – pursuing his special course in Architecture. [...] The school was housed In Rogers Hall, adjoining, on the south, the Museum of Natural History, at Boylston and Berkeley streets. The quarters were pleasant and airy, the long drafting-rooms or atelier broadside to the south. There was also a Library and a Lecture Room. At this date the school was comparatively new, having been opened in 1865. Louis therefore was among its early students. This one building housed the Institute entire.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter X 'Farewell to Boston' [Boston, MIT, 16 years old, 1873], pp. 170-184]

William Robert Ware (1832-1915).
© Pennsylvania Capitol Preservation Committee

Louis Sullivan, Portrait, 22/1876. Collection Association Amateur 1851 / © Tallmadge Collection, 1740-1949

The School of Architecture was presided over by Professor William R. Ware, of the Boston architectural firm of Ware & Van Brunt. [...] There were perhaps not over thirty students, all told, in the architectural course, and Louis found them agreeable companions. [...] A photograph of that date shows him [Louis] as a clean-cut young man, with a rather intelligent expression, a heavy mop of black hair neatly parted for the occasion, a pearl stud set in immaculate white, and a suit up to the minute in material and cut. [...] Louis had gone at his studies faithfully enough. [...] But Louis by nature was not given to that kind of faith. His faith ever lay in the oft-seen creative power and glory of man. His faith lay indeed in freedom. The song of Spring was the song in his heart. These rigid "Orders" seemed to say, "The book is closed; Art shall die." Then it occurred to him: Why five orders? Why not one? [...] And it should not be forgot that the unique Parthenon was builded by the ancient Greeks, by living men. [...] Now after centuries of ruin the Parthenon is dead, therefore all is invalid; Art is dead

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter X 'Farewell to Boston'. [Boston, MIT, 16 years old, 1873], pp 184-187]

Bricfle Square Church (First Baptist, Commonwealth and Clarendon Streets, built 1871, *H. H. Richardson, Date: 1873.*
© Boston Public Library

Hence he spent much time in the library, looking at pictures of buildings of the past that did not have pediments and columns. He found a few and became acquainted with "styles" and learned that styles were not considered necessary, but merely human. That there was a difference in the intellectual and therefore social scale, between a style and an order. [...] his thought was mostly on the tower of the New Brattle Street Church, conceived and brought to light by the mighty Richardson, undoubtedly for Louis's special delight; for was not here a fairy tale indeed? Moreover, as time passed he began to discover this school was but a pale reflection of the Ecole des Beaux Arts; and he thought it high time he go to headquarters to learn if what was preached there as a gospel, really signified glad tidings. For Louis felt in his heart that what he had learned at "Tech" was after all but a polite introduction to the architectural Art, as much as to say, "I am glad to meet you." [...] Louis made up his mind that he would leave "Tech" at the end of the school year, for he could see no future there.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter X 'Farewell to Boston'. [Boston, 16 years old, 1873], pp 187-188]

520 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Architect Frank Furness designed the original house (1872-74). Architect Charles M. Burns added the French Renaissance facade (1900). © Philadelphia Museum of Art

On the west side of South Broad street a residence, almost completed, caught his eye like a flower by the roadside. He examined it with curious care, without and within. Here was something fresh and fair to him, a human note, as though someone were talking. He inquired as to the architect and was told: Furness & Hewitt. Now, he saw plainly enough that this was not the work of two men but of one, for he had an instinctive sense of physiognomy, and all buildings that made their direct appeal to him, pleasant or unpleasant. He made up his mind that next day he would enter the employ of said Furness & Hewitt, they to have no voice in the matter, for his mind was made up. [...] In looking back upon that time Louis Sullivan gives thanks that it was his great good fortune to have made his entry into the practical world in an office where standards were so high where talent was so manifestly taken for granted, and the atmosphere the free and easy one of a true work shop savoring of the guild where craftsmanship was paramount and personal. [...] One day in November Frank Furness said: "Sullivan, I'm sorry, the jig is up. There'll be no more building. The office none is running dry. [...] I wish you might stay. But as you were the last to come it is only just you should be first to go.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter X 'Farewell to Boston'. [Philadelphia, 17 years old, 1873], pp 190,194,196]

The Great Chicago Fire of 1871 reduced State and Madison Streets to piles of ash and rubble. © Chicago Historical Society photo

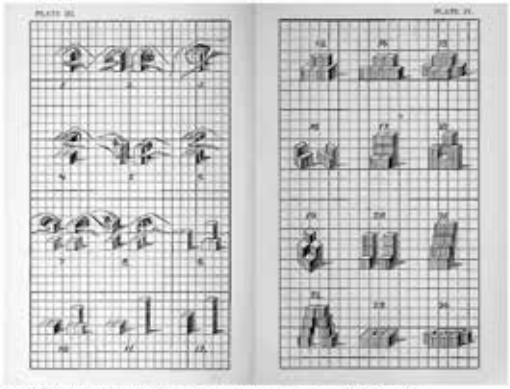
The train neared the city; it broke into the city. It plowed its way through miles of shanties disheartening and dirty grey. It reached its terminal at an open shed. Louis tramped the platform, stopped, looked toward the city, turned around him; looked at the sky; and as one alone, stamped his foot, raised his hand and cried to full voice.

THIS IS THE PLACE FOR ME !

That day was the day before Thanksgiving in the year Eighteen Hundred Seventy-three. [...] For the first week in the strange city, Louis was the prodigal returned, and the fatted calf was offered up in joy. The next week he spent in exploration. As everybody said: "Chicago had risen phoenix-like from its ashes." But many ashes remained, and the sense of ruin was still blended with ambition of recovery. [...] In spite of the panic, there was stir, an energy that made tingle to be in the game. So he bethought him he would enter the office of some architect: for a few buildings showed talent in design, and a certain stability.

[Louis Sullivan (1924) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, Chapter XI 'Chicago'. [Chicago, 17 years old, 1873], pp 197,200,202]

Frank Lloyd Wright, *An Autobiography*, 1943

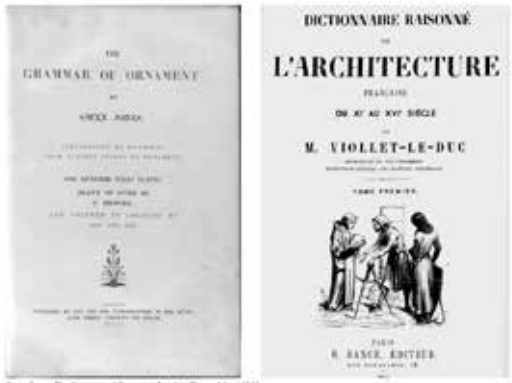


Plates III, IV. Froebel, F. (1895). *Froebel's Froebel's pedagogics of the kindergarten*. New York: D. Appleton and Co.

She [Wright's mother] had seen the 'Gifts' in the Exposition Building. The strips of colored paper, glazed and "matt," remarkably soft brilliant colors. Now came the geometric by-play of those charming checkered color combinations! The structural figures to be made with peas and small straight sticks: slender constructions, the joinings accented by the little green-pea globes. The smooth shapely maple blocks with which to build, the sense of which never afterwards leaves the fingers: 'form' becoming 'feeling'. The box had a mast to set up on it, on which to hang the maple cubes and spheres and triangles, revolving them to discover subordinate forms.

Mother would go to Boston, take lessons of a teacher of the Froebel method and come home to teach the children. [...] Music he adored . . . and the Gifts. Meantime he was learning to play the piano. Going to his mother's kindergarten. Learning to paint and draw a little. Learning to sing a little. Reading much all the while. [...] Her son was to be an architect. He was to get beautiful buildings built. Bridges and doors were fascinating him now. Any construction whatsoever would do to pore over. And he would make what he called "designs".

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943) *An Autobiography*, Book I: 'Family' [11 years old, 1878], pp.13,14, 35]

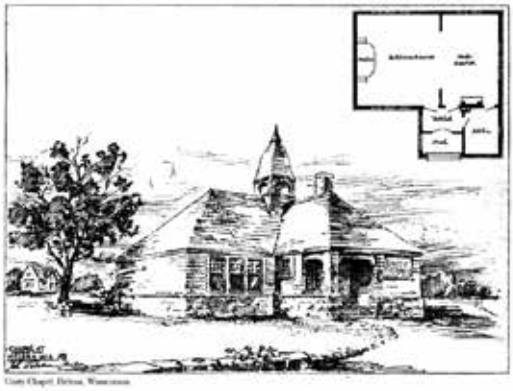


Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*. London, Day and Son, 1856
Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de L'Architecture Française du XI^e au XVI^e Siècle*, Paris: Bance Editeur, 1854-1868

From the library of All Souls I got two books you would never expect could be found there. Owen Jones' "Grammar of Ornament" and Viollet-le-Duc's "Habitations of Men in All Ages." I had read his "Dictionnaire," the "Raisonné" at home, got from the Madison city library. I believed the "Raisonné" was the only really sensible book on architecture in the world. I got copies of it for my sons, later. That book was enough to keep, in spite of architects, one's faith alive in architecture. The Owen Jones was a reprint but good enough. I read the "propositions" and felt the first five were dead right. I didn't know about the others. It seemed those five were equally sound applied to human behavior. And they were. [...]

Next morning, turned by the party toward Victor Hugo, I remembered a chapter in "Notre Dame," The Book Will Kill the Edifice," wherein the dazzling Frenchman had disputed of the European Renaissance as 'that setting sun all Europe mistook for dawn'. When I got up I went to the Church library. Found a different translation. This chapter-heading, instead of using as to the original French, Ceci Tuera Cela (This will kill that), was "The book will kill the edifice". I took it home and read it again instead of going to church.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943) *An Autobiography*, Book II: 'Fellowship' [18 years old, 1888], pp. 71, 72]



Unity Chapel. Delton, Wisconsin

Chicago. Wells Street Station. Six o'clock in late spring, 1887. Drizzling. Sputtering white arc-light in the station and in the streets, dazzling and ugly. I had never seen electric lights before. Crowds. Impersonal. Intent on seeing nothing. [...] Awakened rudely to the fourth day. Got started again, pavement-sore, gaunt. Something had to happen today. Tired again, three more offices. Same result. There was still Silsbee's office. He was building my uncle's "All Souls" church, but he needn't know who I was. After noon I went there. Liked the atmosphere of the office best. Liked Silsbee's sketches on the wall. Liked instantly the fine-looking, cultured fellow with a pompadour and beard, who came forward with a quiet friendly smile – Cecil Corwin. [...]

The office system was a bad one. Silsbee got a ground-plan and made his pretty sketch, getting some charming picturesque effect he had in his mind. Then the sketch would come out into the draughting room to be fixed up into a building, keeping the floor-plan near the sketch if possible. But the sketches fascinated us. 'My God, Cecil, how that man can draw!' I saw Silsbee was just making pictures. And not very close to what was real in the building – that I could see, myself. But I adored Silsbee just the same. He had style. His work had it too, in spite of slipshod methods.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943) *An Autobiography*, Book II: 'Fellowship' [20 years old, 1887], pp. 61, 62, 70, 71]

Family Wright. Cass e Estella em Oak Park, 1889 (Esq. para Dir.: Anthy Lloyd-Jones, Jenkin Lloyd-Jones, Jane Wright, Catherine Wright (Lloyd Wright e seu amor), Anna Lloyd Wright, Miguel Wright, Frank Lloyd Wright, Anthy's daughter)
© Frank Lloyd Wright Preservation Trust

The little home was ready to move into and we moved into it. Young husband more interested in the house than in his bride, as the young wife said to him. No – no children were provided for, but of course they came. The first one came within the year. A son – Lloyd. Then, two years later, another son – John. The several grandmothers came in often to help and advise and keep domesticity working right side up. In two years another. A girl – Catherine II. Two years later, another! Boy, David. [...] But just the same, two years later, another. A girl – Frances. Five years went by and Llewelyn came. The young husband found that he had his work cut out for him. The young wife found hers cut out for her. Architecture was my profession. Motherhood became hers. Fair enough, but it was division.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943) *An Autobiography*, Book II: 'Fellowship' [23 years old, 1890], pp. 110, 111]

Glass window panel from Adler & Sullivan's firm. © Richard Nickel Committee / Auditorium Building, Adler & Sullivan, Chicago, 1889 © Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HLC/U.S.GNBG/19-13

They were just beginning to build the Chicago Auditorium. The papers were full of its wonders. Adler and Sullivan, the architects, were frequently mentioned. I wondered how I had come to miss that firm in my search for work. […] They were foremost in Chicago. Radical – going strong on independent lines. Burnham and Root their only rivals.[…] Mr. Sullivan was a small man immaculately dressed in brown […] He was immediately interested. Said nothing. […] Thus began an association lasting nearly seven years. Mr. Sullivan had been interested and interesting. His drawings a delight to work upon and work out. His manner toward me was markedly different from his manner toward the others. […] Now went along these matchless early years of master and apprentice. Louis Sullivan, the Master and I, the open-eyed, radical and critical, but always willing apprentice. We had already moved to the top floor of the Auditorium tower, where I had a small room next to him, and a squad of thirty draughtsmen or more to supervise in the planning and detailing that was now my share. The Auditorium interior was the first great room for audience that really departed from the curious prevailing traditions. The magic word plastic was used by the Master in reference to his ornament, and the room itself began to show the effects of this ideal. […] I could not follow up because I did these houses out of office hours, not secretly. And Mr. Sullivan soon became aware of them. […] Nor for more than twelve years did I see Louis Sullivan again or communicate with him in any way. The deed to the home duly followed, by Mr. Adler's hand. From now on the young architect's studio workshop was on Chicago Avenue.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943) *An Autobiography*, Book II 'Fellowship' [36 years old, 1889], pp 89-97,97,100,111].

Glass window panel from Adler & Sullivan's firm. © Richard Nickel Committee. Bâtiment de l'Auditorium d'Adler © Wikimedia Commons. Bâtiment de Louis Sullivan, circa 1895. © Wikimedia Commons.

The Winslow house was to stand across the drive from Mr. Waller's own house in the Waller park in River Forest. […] Mr. Waller brought about a meeting with "Uncle Dan", as they all called Daniel H. Burnham –inviting Catherine and me to meet Mr. and Mrs. Burnham at his home. "Uncle Dan" had seen the Winslow house and straightway pronounced it "a gentleman's house from grade to coping". After dinner Mr. Waller led the way to his cozy library. He wanted to show his friend some work in it I had done for him. I saw him turn to lock the door after we were in. I wondered why. Then and there began an argument which I have never forgotten.

Sitting there, handsome, jovial, splendidly convincing, was "Uncle Dan". To be brief, he would take care of my wife and children if I would go to Paris – four years of the Beaux Arts. Then Rome – two years. Expenses all paid. A job with him when I came back. It was more than merely generous. It was splendid. But I was frightened. I sat embarrassed, not knowing what to say. "Another year and it will be too late, Frank," said Uncle Dan. That was my cue. "Yes, too late, Uncle Dan—It's too late now I'm afraid. I am spoiled already. I've been too close to Mr. Sullivan. He has helped spoil the Beaux Arts for me, or spoiled me for the Beaux Arts, I guess I mean. He told me things too, and I think he regrets the time he spent there himself."

Uncle Dan: "You are loyal to Sullivan I see, Frank, and that is right. I admire Sullivan when it comes to decoration. Essentially he is a great decorator. His ornament charms me. But his architecture? I can't see that. The Fair, Frank, is going to have a great influence in our country. The American people have seen the Classics on a grand scale for the first time. […] We should take advantage of the Fair." "No, Mr. Burnham, no, Mr. Waller—I can't run away […] from what I see as mine, I mean what I see as ours in our country […] You see—I can't go, even if I wanted to go because I should never care for myself, after that."

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943) *An Autobiography*, Book II 'Work', Taliesin [Taliesin, 17 years old, 1894]], pp [11-117].

Sala da Robie House, Oak Park, Chicago, 1904-1910. Willet family in Living Room looking Southeast, 1913 © Frank Lloyd Wright Preservation Trust.

I had an idea that the horizontal planes in buildings, those planes parallel to earth, identify themselves with the ground – make the building belong to the ground. I began putting this idea to work. […] Taking a human being for my scale, I brought the whole house down in height to fit a normal one – ergo, 5'8 1/2" tall, say. This is my own height. Believing as no other scale than the human being I broadened the mass out all I possibly could to bring it down into spaciousness. It has been said that, were I three inches taller than 5'8 1/2" all my houses would have been quite different in proportion. Probably. […] My sense of "wall" was no longer the side of a box. It was enclosure of space affording protection against storm or heat only when needed. But it was also to bring the outside world into the house and let the inside of the house go outside. In this sense I was working away at the wall as a wall and bringing it towards the function of a screen, a means of opening up space which, as control of building-materials improved, would finally permit the free use of the whole space without affecting the soundness of the structure.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943) *An Autobiography*, Book III 'Work' – Building the New Home [37 years old, 1908], pp 140-182]

Taliesin, Spring Green, Wisconsin, 1911. © Wisconsin Historical Society: Taliesin Preservation Inc

Work, life and love I transferred to the beloved ancestral Valley where my mother foreseeing the plight I would be in had bought the low hill on which Taliesin now stands and she offered it to me now as a refuge. Yes, a retreat when I returned from Europe in 1911. I began to build Taliesin to get my back against the wall and fight for what I saw I had to fight.

TALIESIN was the name of a Welsh poet, a druid-bard who sang to Wales the glories of fine art. Many legends cling to that beloved reverend name in Wales. […] Literally the Welsh word means "shining brow". This hill on which Taliesin now stands as "brow" was one of my favorite places when as a boy looking for pasque flowers I went there in March sun while snow still streaked the hillsides. […] And "Romeo and Juliet" still stood in plain view over to the southeast. […]

And architecture by now was quite mine. It had come to be my actual experience and meant something out of this ground we call America. […]

I knew well that no house should ever be 'on' a hill or 'on' anything. It should be 'of' the hill. Belonging to it. Hill and house should live together each the happier for the other. […] Yes, Taliesin should be a garden and a farm behind a real workshop and a good home. […] The hill-crown was thus saved and the buildings became a brow for the hill itself. […] Taliesin was to be an abstract combination of stone and wood as they naturally met in the aspect of the hills around about. And the lines of the hills were the lines of the roofs, the slopes of the hills their slopes, […]

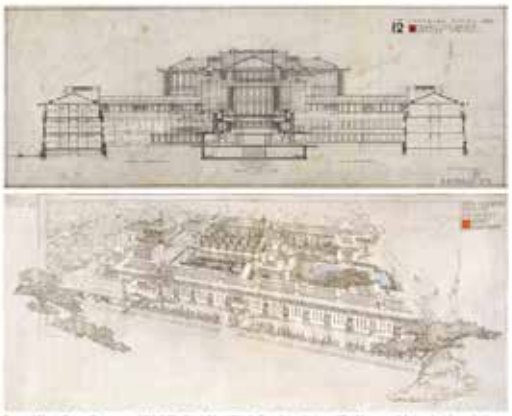
[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943) *An Autobiography*, Book III 'Work', Taliesin [Taliesin, 19 years old, 1911]], pp [97-113].

Taliesin, Spring Green, Wisconsin, September 1914. Esq. Primeira página The Ogden Standard com fotografias de Borthwick and Wright. Do Taliesin depois do incêndio e massacre. IMAGE ID: 53870 © Wisconsin Historical Society

When the Midway Gardens were nearly finished [...] at noon as we were sitting quietly eating our lunch in the newly finished bar, came a long distance call from Spring Green. "Taliesin destroyed by fire". But no word came of the ghastly tragedy itself. I learned of that little by little on my way home on the train that evening. The newspaper headlines glared with it. Thirty-six hours earlier I had left Taliesin leaving all living, friendly and happy. Now the blow had fallen like a lightning stroke. In less time than it takes to write it, a thin-lipped Barbados Negro, who had been recommended to me by John Vogelsang as an ideal servant, had turned madman, taken the lives of seven and set the house in flames. In thirty minutes the house and all in it had burned to the stone work or to the ground. The living half of Taliesin was violently swept down and away in a madman's nightmare of flame and murder. The working half only remained [...]

The great stone chimneys stood black and tall on the hillside, their fireplaces now gaping holes. They stood there above the Valley against the sky, themselves tragic. [...] She for whom Taliesin had first taken form and her two children – gone [...] All I had left to show for the struggle for freedom of the five years past that had swept most of my former life away, had now been swept away.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1932), An Autobiography. Book III "Work - Taliesin [Taliesin, 37 years old, 1911]], pp. [81-103].



Imperial Hotel, Corte e Perspectivo, 1922. © The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation Archives (The Museum of Modern Art | Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York)

The German Monograph published by Wasmuth had duly appeared in beautiful format. The work was a success in Germany and Darwin D. Martin helped me to control the sale of the book in America. But the 500 copies reserved for that purpose went up in smoke when Taliesin burned.

Some thirty copies only were saved. The pile in the basement smouldered and smoked for three days after the house had burned to the ground. Now came relief, a change of scene as – promptly – I was called to build the Imperial Hotel in Tokio, Japan. A commission including the Japanese architect, Yoshitaki, and the intelligent manager of the Imperial Hotel, Atsuta Hayashi. Both had gone around the world to find a model building. [...] So they came to the reconstructed Taliesin, Taliesin II, to see me. Taliesin itself impressed them. [...] Several months after the terrible catastrophe at Taliesin had come a short note expressing sympathy in kindly terms that understood suffering. It came evidently from a developed artist-intelligence. [...] That was how Miriam Noel appeared in my life. It was she I had taken to Japan.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943), An Autobiography. Book III "Work" [1911-1932]], pp. [101-194, 208].

The architect Frank Lloyd Wright enjoys a musical performance with members of his family and the Taliesin Fellowship at Taliesin East in Spring Green, WI, December 1935. The fellowship includes Jessica Dunbar Kevin Lynch, Jerome Thompson, William Wesley Peters, Robert Mosher, J. C. Carmody, John Lautner, John Henry Howe, Eugene Masselink, Elsie Jacobs, Wayne Dryden, Herbert Peet, Barnet Sinsabaugh, and Edgar Tafel. © Photo by Hedrich Blessing Collection/Chicago History Museum/Getty Images

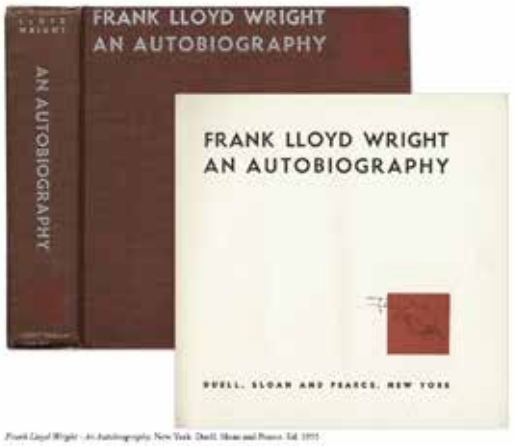
Again Taliesin! Three times built, twice destroyed, yet a place of great repose. [...]

As the Taliesin Fellowship therefore, we now propose to extend apprenticeships from the several draughtsmen to whom it has been limited to include seventy [Changed to twenty-three] apprentices working under leadership as described. Each apprentice will work under the inspiration of direct architectural leadership, toward machine-craft art in this machine age. All will work together in a common daily effort to create new forms seeded by machine work and modern processes if we are to have any culture of our own worth living. A number (a hundred or more) of such young workers in Architecture have already come to Taliesin from various parts of the world [...]

We dream and are planning great things. Good music is essential to our life at Taliesin. A grand piano stands by the living room fireplace, a cello resting against its hollow side, a violin on the ledge beside it. There are several recorders there also. A harp is coming.

Olgivanna plays Bach, Beethoven, old Russian music. I let the piano play itself a few moments sometimes while the feeling lasts, knowing nothing. Something comes out. And I can never play any of the things, such as they are, a second time. Olgivanna says she likes to hear me play. Hers is a gentle encouraging soul and she would not hurt even such outrageous pride as mine.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943), An Autobiography. Book IV "Freedom" [Taliesin, 70 years old, 1937]], pp. 458, 473].



Frank Lloyd Wright - An Autobiography. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Ltd. 1955

Writing these pages trying to be honestly autobiographical, telling only what is true, I see why all autobiography is written between the lines. It must be so written. No matter how skilled the writer or how spontaneous he may be, the implication outdoes his ability or undoes his intention. The line of change is at work as he writes and the circumstance flows from beneath the fixation at the point of his pen into endless other forms and significances – except as a single facet may catch the gleam of the reader's intelligence and he writes truth in between the lines for himself.

Autobiography is impossible except as implication. And for the life of me, I cannot see why I recounted so many episodes that were far inferior to those I delight to remember and tell now. I do not know why I have not written of many features and incidents of my life so much more deeply intimate, so much more suggestive even to architectural thought. More picturesque certainly. They come crowding into mind at odd moments.

[Frank Lloyd Wright (1943), An Autobiography. Book IV "Freedom", p. 507].

History of Architecture IV
Biographies of Power: Architectures

EXHIBITION

In recent years, iconographic architecture, faced with the culmination of the frenzy of its consumption, suffered the consequences of a symbolic erosion as a result of the crisis of an ideological support that sustained it, that of capitalism. Most probably, after September 11, the architecture of the *decorated shed*, as proposed by Venturi and Scott Brown, has lost its true meaning.

No longer architecture arose linked to a narrative or an ideology, without a critical approach to its supports and representatives, which profoundly transformed the historiographic contours of architecture in recent years.

Thus, in the general theme 'Biographies of Power', the work done by the students in the second semester resulted from an observation of a set of buildings that goes beyond their architectural and physical contours, or which precisely searches for their actual description, in the light of any ideology that is ultimately represented or even reinforced by its own architectural condition. Thus, the buildings studied have in common the fact that they respond to the highest program of representation of a national identity. These are royal palaces, national parliaments, presidential residences.

The synthesis posters were presented together with a written work.

[The images collected by students, here presented, are part of an academic process, for non-commercial ends]

CASA BRANCA

Washington, James Hoban, 1800

Inserida numa sobrelotada, desregrada e caótica cultura americana que se parece perder na desinformação, no deslaire e no exagero, podemos encontrar pequenos exemplos que a definem ou que, não tão deoropositadamente não o conseguindo, a representam.

Olhando para a infinidade de imagens que imediatamente nos são apresentadas, se tentarmos procurar uma que seja icónica, e se, ao mesmo tempo, tentarmos que ela seja mais alegorado e mais séria, distingue-se, claramente, a Casa Branca, em Washington.

O edifício que alberga o membro mais importante do governo americano e a sua família representa, sem sombra de dúvida, o país dos 50 estados, não só pela arquitetura, mas pelo que se acaba, eventualmente, por lhe associar.

A residência oficial dos Presidente do Estados Unidos da América foi-se moldando ao longo dos tempos aos seus ilustres habitantes, e nela tomaram-se algumas das decisões mais fulcrais da história mundial, assumindo-se como palco não só da cultura, mas da política ao seu auge e, se lá fora o povo multicultural e agitado se pavoneia tanto como os media, lá dentro, o passado, o presente e o futuro dos EUA e do Mundo são discutidos entre as intermitências de mistérios e escândalos.

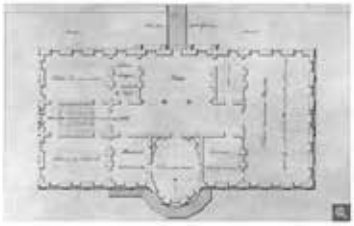
Perceber contextualizações históricas, fenómenos sociais americanos, a incessante informação muitas vezes de duvidosa pertinência, e a conjunção de conceitos como "american dream" e "land of the free", é essencial para delinear a grandeza do papel que a arquitetura, e os contornos em que está é vivida, tem de assumir ao tornar-se no ícone que é a Casa Branca.

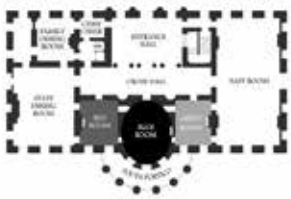
Numa sociedade de contradições fortes, em que muitas vezes o discernimento parece ser atormentado pela infeliz necessidade de uma opinião - que é sistematicamente ignorante ou simplesmente desinteressada -, a capacidade de se tornar ícone geral está apenas ao alcance de alguns exemplos que, no contexto da imensidão, acabam por ser de maior importância.

Com algum inbito, a Casa Branca acaba por ser, independentemente de momentos menos bons, um ícone de valor, pela persistência através do tempo e importância política que tende, por vezes, a passar um pouco despercebida no meio de holofotes apontados à cegueira mediática mais do que à razoabilidade e conscientialização social.

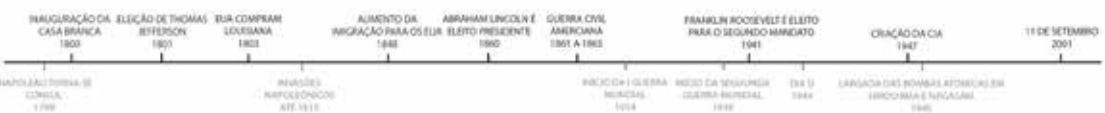
Eleva-se não só pela imagem concreta do edifício, mas pela imagem abstrata de patriotismo, liberdade, democracia e poder justo, culminando objetivamente numa arquitetura iconográfica e

assumindo a figuração de uma ideologia e narrativa que parecem agora desvanecer-se.





(De baixo para cima, respetivamente) 7. Vista da fachada sul da Casa Branca em 1956 8. Planta da Casa Branca em 1800 9. Planta da Casa Branca atual-mente

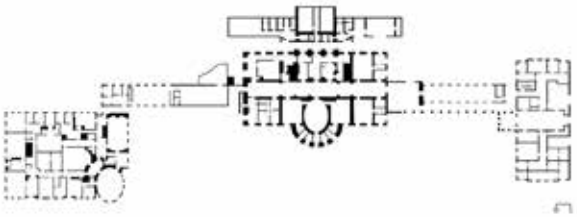


ANA CAROLINA RAMOS, BRUNA VIEIRA, FRANCISCO LOPES, MARIA ARNAUT | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

Celebrações da visita do público à Casa Branca, organizado pela família Kennedy, 1962

CASA BRANCA

Washington, James Hoban, 1800



A Casa Branca desempenha um papel fulcral no plano urbanístico de Pierre Charles L'Enfant's 1791 da cidade de Washington. No entanto, após George Washington ter sido dispensado o engenheiro e arquitecto francês, o desenho da Casa Branca - assim como do Capitólio - seria determinado por uma competição em 1792, o projeto de James Hoban vence. Surge assim o símbolo arquitetónico do Poder Americano, a Casa de uma Nação e o Sonho Americano. É necessário que este como outros edifícios representativos de poder, possam ser cultural e politicamente entendidos. É preciso que a Arquitetura se traduza em todos esses parâmetros delineadores de, neste caso, um país. É preciso que o edifício fale por si e conte uma história em todas as línguas. Passa à parte, o plano de Washington enfatiza a possível relação da organização territorial com a política. As suas partes, essas já mais decoradas à boa maneira europeia, visam a "inexistência" do que nunca foram projetando o que queriam ser: reproduzir essa cultura distante é o desejo assumido de criar uma sociedade baseada em princípios já antes testados.

A própria implantação e geografia do terreno escolhido para a nova capital refletem já em si uma idea democrática de organização do espaço, inclusive na forma como dicotiza os próprios monumentos pela cidade afastando-se de um "controle autocrático." Todos os edifícios de poder se encontram correlacionados, descrevendo um percurso. Criam uma planta de fácil leitura política e arquitetónica, e que assume um desenho cuidadosamente pensado e estrategicamente eficaz.

A localização dos pontos chave, urbanísticos e institucionais, está diretamente relacionada com os reais topográficos na geografia da cidade, fazendo com que esses marcos assumam uma hierarquia coletiva e fortes relações visuais recíprocas com o conjunto urbano. Esse processo urbanístico democrático, todavia, não foi alheio na articulação programática. O edifício do Capitólio foi colocado numa posição central à cidade. Num contexto social fragilizado pela Guerra Civil de 1812, também o seu progresso simbólico se tornou um símbolo estabilizador social e político.

Vários foram os inquilinos da Casa Branca até aos dias de hoje, e cada um deles teve a sua própria forma de habitar, organizar e influenciar esta que é mais que uma mera casa. Ao longo dos anos e do desfile de governantes, causas naturais como incêndios, ou humanas, como guerras civis, moldaram a Casa. Mais que isso, os próprios habitantes notaram necessidades de expansão ou renovação da mansão. Vamos foram os momentos que pautaram a Casa na História, inúmeros foram os acontecimentos íntimos do quotidiano dos seus habitantes. A Casa Branca é resultado destes mesmo acontecimentos, e não do projeto de James Hoban.

Para rematar, os edifícios governamentais são uma tentativa de construir governos e apoiar regimes específicos. Mais do que meros lares para líderes governamentais, eles servem como símbolo do estado, arquitetura com as quais podemos aprender bastante sobre os vários regimes políticos, de acordo com um "balanço cultural de poder".

INAUGURAÇÃO DA CASA BRANCA 1800

EXPANSÃO DA CASA PELO ARQUITETO BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE 1801-1808

A CASA É INCENDIADA PELOS INGLESES 1814

CRIAÇÃO DA SALA OESTE E DO ICÓNICO SALÃO OVAL 1901-1909

INCÊNDIO NA ALA OESTE 1929

SUBSTITUIDA A ESTRUTURA DE MADEIRA POR AÇO 1901-1909

KENNEDY FAZ TODA A REDECORAÇÃO DA CASA 1961-1963

TENTATIVA DE ATENTADO À CASA BRANCA 2001

WASHINGTON SE TORNA A CAPITAL DOS EUA 1800

GUERRA ANGLO-AMERICANA 1812-1815

GUERRA DE SECESSÃO AMERICANA 1861-1865

INÍCIO DA 1ª GUERRA MUNDIAL 1914

EUA ENTRAM NA 1ª GUERRA MUNDIAL 1917

GRANDE DEPRESSÃO ECONÓMICA 1929

EUA NA 2ªGUERRA MUNDIAL 1941-45

GUERRA DA CORÉIA 1950-1953

GUERRA FRIA 1981-1989

ATENTADO 11/9/01 2001

CAROLINA CERRATO | INÊS GALHOZ | JÚLIA VIEIRA | RITA SOUSA | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

PALÁCIO DE BUCKINGHAM

Londres, William Chambers and Winde (1703), John Nash (1820), Edward Blore (1840), Aston Webb (1913)

O palácio encontra-se em Westminster, no centro de Londres. Está implantado num espaço rico em zonas verdes, que se completam com vários pontos históricos de Londres. Tais como o grande eixo The Mall, que vai desde o Palácio até ao Trafalgar Square, passando pelo Victoria Memorial, James Palace, Admiralty Arch. O palácio de Buckingham é um edifício icónico de Londres, que representa a monarquia e que é ocupado pela mesma.

O palácio é conhecido por relacionar o poder com a sociedade, principalmente através da Varanda Real na fachada Este, onde a família real saúda o povo.

Ao longo dos anos o edifício sofreu várias fases e reformas de construção, por vários arquitectos. William Winde, em 1703, construiu a casa de Buckingham para Jonh Sheffield, que consistia num bloco central de 3 pisos ladeado por duas alas. Em 1820, Jonh Nash, acrescentou duas novas alas e revestiu o edifício com pedra Bath, transformando depois a casa num palácio. Edward Blore, na década de 1840, adicionou ao palácio a fachada Este, que viria a ser a principal, contendo a Varanda Real. Mais tarde, em 1913, a fachada Este sofreu mais uma alteração por Aston Webb, que consistiu na troca da pedra original por pedra Portland.

Foram várias as personalidades que passaram pelo palácio e várias marcaram a história deste, como é o caso da princesa Diana (princesa do povo) ou a actual Rainha Isabel II, eleita em 1953.

O edifício vem resistindo ao passar do tempo, e apesar dos ataques a que foi sujeito na II Guerra Mundial, continua a ser a residência oficial da família real e um dos locais mais visitados em Londres.

ALEXANDRA NORTE . ANA BEATRIZ BAPTISTA . ANDRÉ SANTIAGO . RENATO LEAL . SORAIA VICENTE | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

PALÁCIO DE BUCKINGHAM

Londres, William Chambers and Winde (1703), John Nash (1820), Edward Blore (1840), Aston Webb (1913)

RELAÇÃO COM A CIDADE

O palácio de Buckingham além de possuir uma importante proximidade com o rio Tâmisa, também marca o eixo principal de uma das mais importantes avenidas de Londres, a The Mall. O mesmo também está cercado por três parques reais, os quais formam uma importante e grande área verde de Londres. Verifica-se que o palácio atua como um divisor de fluxos e criador de perspectivas na cidade, uma vez que este pode ser visto de diferentes pontos da cidade de Londres.

ESPAÇO DE VISITAÇÃO X ESPAÇO PRIVADO

O Palácio de Buckingham é um dos principais pontos de Londres. O seu papel hoje, assim como o da família real é fazer a comunicação entre povo e Monarquia. Ele é o cenário da Monarquia e desde 1993 recebe visitações do público, que vai em busca de conhecer melhor a vida real. O palácio também é um grande ponto de controvérsias, mesmo parecendo ser um grande edifício de poder, sua função é simplesmente de habitação e museu. Outra é a relação de público e privado, embora a fachada leste pareça ser a de maior conexão com o público, por causa do Royal Balcony, ela é na verdade a ala mais privada do Palácio, onde as visitas não ocorrem.

SÉCULO XVII _ WILLIAN WINDE

Em 1603 o sítio onde hoje se situa o Palácio foi utilizadoc omo jardim para a plantação de seda. Somente em 1703 o Duque de Buckingham compra o terreno e contrata o arquiteto William Winde para a construção de sua residência, e então Casa de Buckingham.

SÉCULO XIX _ EDWARD BLORE

O início da Era Vitoriana, constata-se que pela primeira vez um monarca passa a ter o palácio de Buckingham como morada real oficial e tal fato resultou na necessidade de uma ampliação no palácio, a fim de que este pudesse abrigar toda a família da rainha. Assim, a rainha Victoria contrata o arquiteto Edward Blore para criar a fachada leste de forma a fechar o quadrangular.

SÉCULO XIX _ JOHN NASH:

O século XIX foi marcado pela Revolução Industrial o período de Belle Époque e pela supremacia inglesa. É nesse momento em que o rei George IV decide transformas a Casa de Buckingham no Palácio, assim contrata o arquiteto John Nash para criar 2 alas novas de maneira a formar um U. O rei nunca morou de fato no Palácio.

SÉCULO XX _ ASTON WEBB

A última mudança na arquitetura e na estética do Palácio se deu em 1913. Com o objetivo de reformar a fachada que estava danificada, criar uma nova estética menos simplista e objetivar uma maior conexão com seu entorno, o arquiteto Aston Webb cria um novo projeto de fachada o qual permanece até hoje. Essa obra foi responsável por criar o Royal Balcony como é hoje, um dos pontos mais importantes e conhecidos do Palácio.

ANACLARA CARVALHO_EDITE SOARES_ IZABELLA SOUSA | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

PALÁCIO DOS SOVIETES (Concurso)

Moscovo, União das Républicas Socialistas Soviéticas, 1931/33

Proposta Walter Gropius
- Modernista

Proposta Moisei Ginzburg
- Construtivista

Proposta Le Corbusier
- Híbrido

Proposta Ivan Zholtovsky
- Neo Clássica

«The Palace of Soviets should be a monument to our glorious era, a monumento which can only be expressed in the language of that era. Classical forms, however perfect they may be, are in the language of the past and cannot express the present.»

[illegible]

O Concurso para o Palácio dos Sovietes é uma história de um longo e tortuoso percurso, com participações numerosas e ecléticas, e mesmo um resultado final.

Mas é um conto de arquiteturas presas no papel. É um acto por concretizar, num processo que advém de fenómenos de guerra e é interrompido por ela. Não se trata de uma arquitetura palpável, apesar de real: os episódios bélicos têm o efeito de estagnar no tempo, como que tecidos numa tapeçaria, momentos únicos na história, e este concurso é um desses: é como se percorrêssemos uma galeria de imagens possíveis de um poder absoluto, para sempre adormecidas no seu anseio de concretização por realizar. Nem mesmo a proposta avaliada como mais adequada se conseguiu libertar do fetiço da decadência que a guerra lança.

Tratamos, aqui, pois, de um confronto intelectual de projectos que pretendiam pronunciar a Arquitetura que melhor representa o Poder - e o poder Comunista, dos Sovietes de Estaline. Tratamos, pois aqui, de um conto sobre um poder que não conseguiu concretizar a arquitetura onde se queria representar – sem final ou concretização, porque acaba em aberto sem ter começado: mas com catarse em si mesmo, porque o percurso deixou mais do que o destino.

A carga política e ideológica deste concurso é premente e inegável. Todas as propostas para ele concebidas pretendem, em maior ou menor grau, representar valores da filosofia e/ou dos feitos do regime. Ser símbolos. O seu legado não é, então, tanto o papel que representou na História da Nação como recipiente de momentos fenomenais, mas sem ser, por si só, um poderoso instigador interpessoal e exemplar de discussão de vários níveis da criação de arquitectura: forma, função, iconografia, validade, construção, simbologia... E mais, do próprio papel da competição de arquitectura como meio de consolidação e inovação de ideias, como desafio intelectual.

CRONOLOGIA COMPARADA

1914 Início da Primeira Guerra Mundial
1917 Revolução de Outubro. Início da Ditadura de Lenine
1918 Guerra Civil Russa. Fim da 1ª Guerra Mundial
1920 Fim da Guerra Civil Russa
1924 Fim da Ditadura de Lenine. Início da Ditadura de Estaline
1939 Início da 2 Guerra Mundial
1941 Alemanha invade a URSS
1945 Fim da 2 Guerra Mundial
1953 Fim da Ditadura de Estaline
1991 Fim da URSS

1917 Primeira abordagem de Malevich para descrever a arte do Rascheviko
1919 Início do Construtivismo
1931 Início da 1ªfase do concurso. Início da 2ªfase. Demolição da Catedral
1932 Início da 3ª fase. Início da 1ªfase
1933 Fim da 2ª fase
1937 Início da construção do projeto vencedor
1941 Interrupção da construção
1942 Demolição
1958 Construção de uma piscina a céu aberto
1995 Reconstrução da Catedral pré-existente

ANA PAZ DANIELA SILVA GONÇALO F. SANTOS IVAN BRITO MIGUEL NOGUEIRA | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

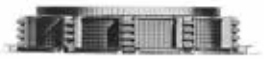
PALACE OF THE SOVIETS

Moscow, Boris Jofan, 1936

The Competition 1931

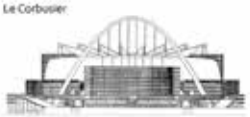
Ivan Zoltovskij

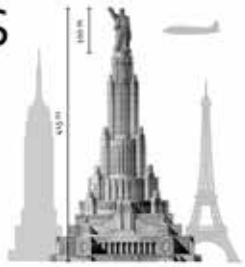
Walter Gropius

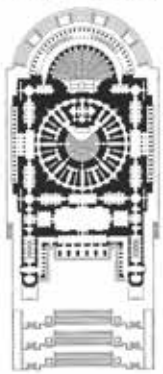


Mosej Ginzburg

Le Corbusier







The vision of the Soviet architecture in the Twenties was to influence the ideology of the masses and move towards a socialist reconstruction of the city. In those years, some projects are already bringing the implicit impossibility to be realized, carrying within themselves the germ of the Utopia. An example of this idea is the Soviet Palace in Moscow, the work that was never built, which wanted to be as the heart of the future Stalinist Moscow.

The competition for the Soviet Palace embodied the political, social and aesthetic ideals of his age, consecrating the definitive union between architecture and politics. In the beginning, the building had to reflect the people and the proletarian art, into a fusion of modern and classical architecture that aspired to verticalism.

The history of this competition is very complex and consists of several stages over a period of about twenty-five years, from 1922 to 1948. During the competition were expressly invited nine foreign architects (Mendelsohn, Poelzig and Gropius - Germans, Lamb Urban, Stenmore and Hamilton - US, Brami - Italian, Le Corbusier and Perret - French) and three Soviet architects (Jofan, Zoltovskij and Ivanov).

The council recognized as the best projects the ones presented by the Soviet architects Jofan and Zholtovsky and the American Hamilton. In 1933 the project of Jofan was finally chosen, which elaborates the definitive solution in 1936. It was a giant tower, high and compact, crowned with a monument to Lenin. In the final version of the project, the overall height would be of four hundred and fifteen meters, surpassing the Empire State Building, in New York.

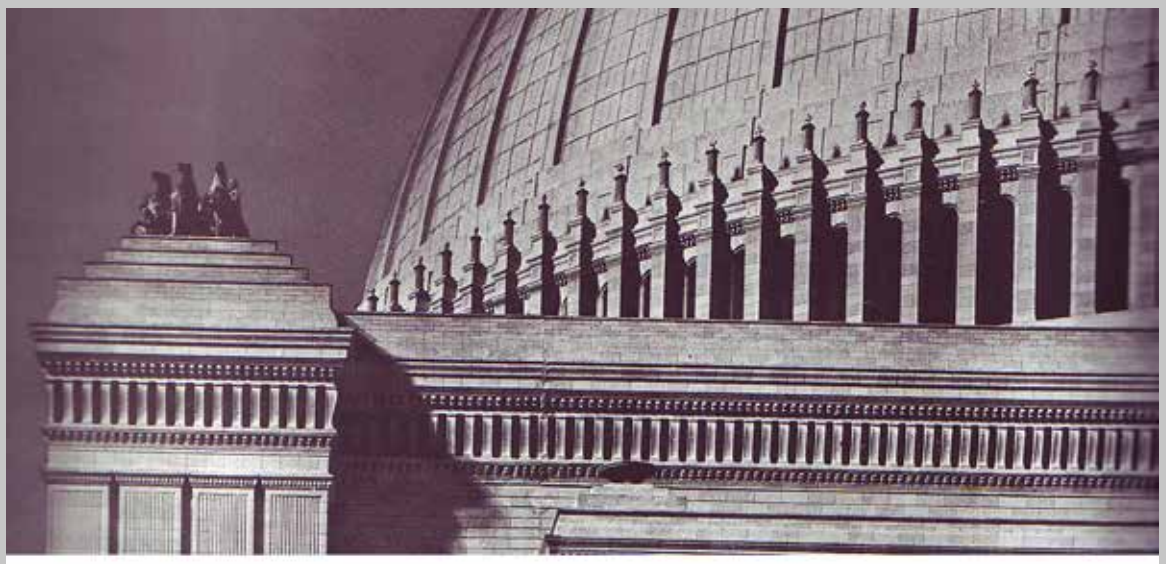
In 1937 the works for the Soviet Palace began and in 1939 the foundations had already been laid. But, with the start of war in 1941, the construction of the building was stopped. In the years between 1955 and 1960, the Cathedral of Christ the Savior was rebuilt.

During the competition, the idea behind the design of the Palace changed radically: if at first had to represent the working class, after appeared as the personification of those who had created the new communist society.

Project's phases

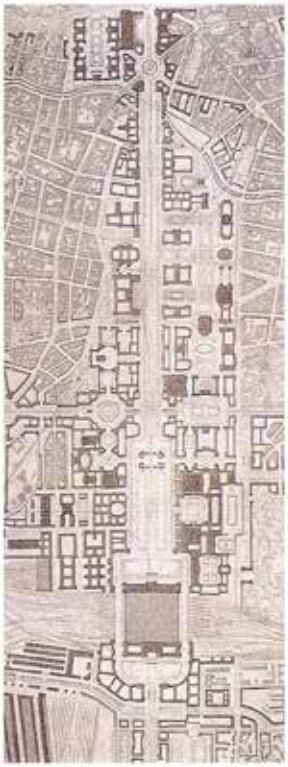
Boris Jofan

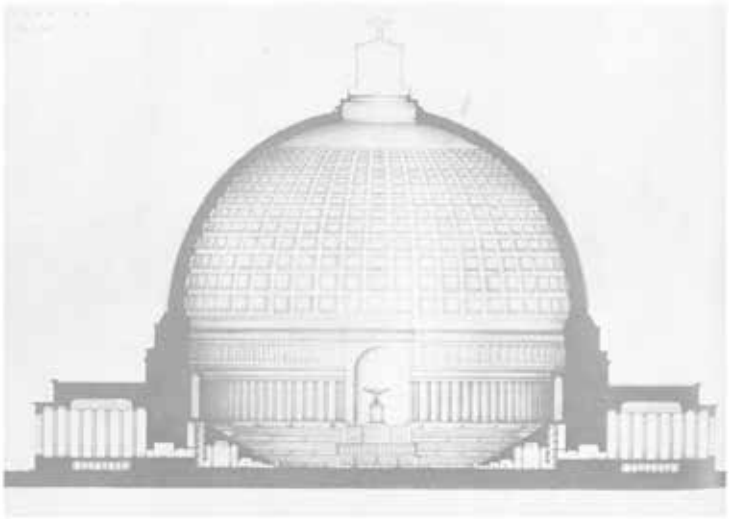
Antonella Mantegazza, Eleonora Capobianco | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC



GERMANIA, VOLKSHALLE

Berlin, Albert Speer, 1926-1943





Neste trabalho abordamos a história de uma ideologia que usou a arquitetura como um meio de maior comunicação política e de movimento de massas. Olhando criticamente desde a origem da cisão alemã, passando pelo Socialismo Nacional, por dentro do 'Terceiro Reich' e ainda compreendendo como a relação de Albert Speer com Adolf Hitler nos permitiu desvendar alguns segredos sobre este regime ditatorial.

Toda esta viagem para podermos melhor compreender a representatividade deste edifício e de todo o plano em que ele se insere, e de como eles moldariam grande parte do espaço físico a uma metáfora de sobre-poder com o objetivo de fazer ceder qualquer ser humano a tamanha monumentalidade.

Estes planos realmente eram a imagem do que foi o regime Nazi, uma sociedade que ideologicamente, ensina os seus cidadãos a admirar (política) a sua pátria, mas que ao mesmo tempo os faz lembrar do seu real lugar através da escala desmesurada e principalmente, através do medo.

PRIMEIRO SKETCH DO VOLKSHALLE 1925

INICIO DOS PLANOS PARA A GERMANIA 1926

HITLER SOBE AO PODER 1933

'RENTAL CONDITION FOR JEWS' 1939

FIM DOS PLANOS PARA A GERMANIA 1943

1918 FIM DA I GUERRA MUNDIAL

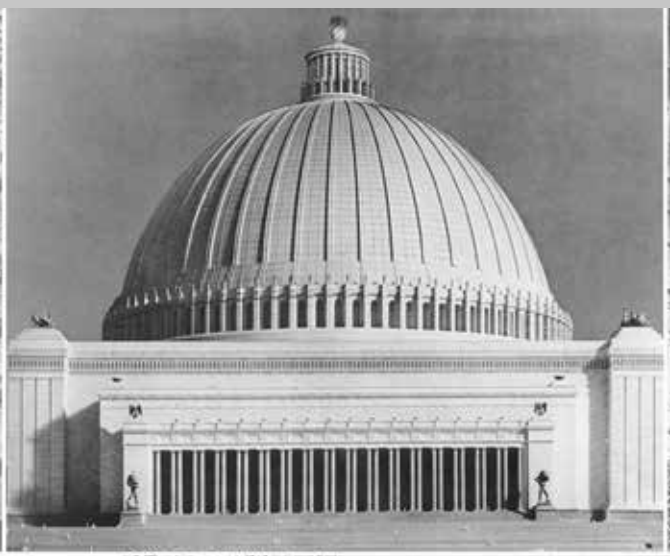
1920 HITLER ASSUME O PODER DO PARTIDO SOCIALISTA

1938 'A NOITE KRISTALLNACHT'

1945 HITLER SUICIDA-SE

ANA CASTILHO | BÁRBARA BATISTA | DIOGO SIMÕES | MARIANA AFONSO | SOFIA SOARES | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

EXTRA EDITION

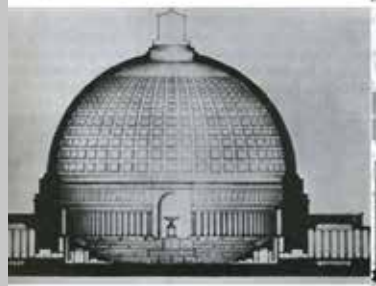


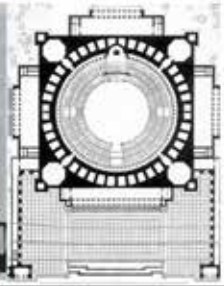
VOLKSHALLE

Berlim, Albert Speer, 1938

"If Hitler had any friends, I would have been his friend. I owe him the enthusiasm and the glory of my youth as well as belated horror and guilt."
Albert Speer, Julgamentos de Nuremberga, 1946

Germania teria de tornar-se para os nazis, o que Roma era para os Césares: o centro do poder universal.
Um projecto faraónico ao qual o próprio Hitler dedicou sua paixão pela arte e arquitetura. Este projeto de dois eixos triunfais, eixo norte-sul e eixo leste-oeste, que se cruzam no coração de Berlim,
perto o Portão de Brandenburgo. O eixo norte-sul era uma avenida de 7 km de comprimento, 120 m de largura.
A avenida desta parte do aeroporto de Tempelhof, e no lado sul, além do terminal ferroviário enorme, ia ser erguido um arco triunfal aproximadamente de 120 m de altura e 170 m de largura. No norte deste eixo, um complexo de monumentos teria que ser construído:
o palácio Führer, o Supremo Comando do Reich, o Volkshalle.





A palavra Volk teve uma ressonância particular no pensamento nazi. O termo völkisch (movimentos),
uma palavra alemã derivado do'Volk (que corresponde ao "povo" em português), o que corresponde a "grupo étnico" de uma população. Este projecto, também chamado de *Große Halle* (Hall) ou *Ruhmeshalle* (Hall da Glória), foi uma cúpula enorme de um edifício monumental desenhado por Hitler e Speer.
O projecto Volkshalle por Speer para Hitler apresenta um tradicional pronau triangular suportado por dez colunas, um bloco intermédio rectangular raso por trás da cúpula principal. A principal característica deste edifício é a cúpula de granito maciço e mármore de 320 m de comprimento, com um diâmetro de 250, que pode acomodar cerca de 200.000 pessoas.
O olho da cúpula de 46 m de diâmetro, e podia maciço de granito de 315 m de comprimento e de 74 m de altura.
Visualmente o Volkshalle foi pensado como a peça central da arquitetura de Berlim como capital do mundo (Welthauptstadt).
Seu tamanho era tão grande que ele iria superar todas as outras instalações em Berlim.
Este projecto e todos os outros edifícios concebidos para a "nova Alemanha" nunca foram realizados para ao início da Segunda Guerra Mundial.

"In my responsibility as a high exponent of a highly developed technological power, which used all and all its means, without conscience or brakes, against humanity, I tried not only to relate to what happened, but also to understand it."
Albert Speer, Julgamentos de Nuremberga, 1946

LUCIA GIARDINELLI, NICOLA CAPOZZO | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

CHANDIGARH

Punjab, Le Corbusier, 1951-1961

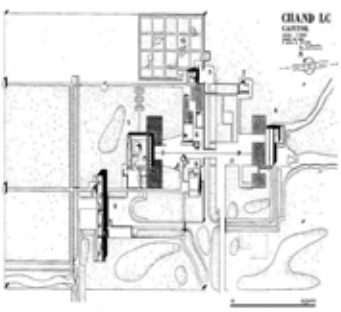
Em 1947 aquando da independência da Índia, torna-se definida a linha de fronteira entre a Índia e o Paquistão. O Punjab Indiano exigiu uma nova capital para substituir a antiga capital, Lahore, que se tornou parte do Paquistão. É neste contexto que se idealiza uma nova cidade, que não só serviria de capital mas também de refúgio a milhares de refugiados que vinham do Paquistão. Em 1948, o governo de Punjab e o governo da Índia, finalmente aprovam a área de 114.59 km2 para a construção de Chandigarh, mas só em 1952, quando Nehru visita o local da obra, é que o governo da Índia deu a aprovação final. Este afirmou, referindo-se à nova cidade "Que esta seja uma nova cidade, símbolo de liberdade da Índia sem restrições criadas pelas tradições do passado... Uma expressão da fé da nação para com o futuro".
Albert Mayer, acompanhado por Nowick, foram encarregues do plano para Chandigarh. Este plano acabou por não se concretizar pois Nowick morreu num acidente de viação.

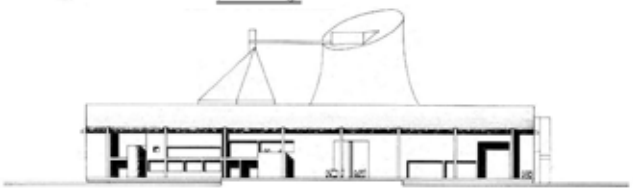
Após ter sido contratado, Le Corbusier criou um projecto para Chandigarh, que consiste na divisão de 47 sectores auto-suficientes numerados e categorizados em sectores residenciais, institucionais ou comerciais.

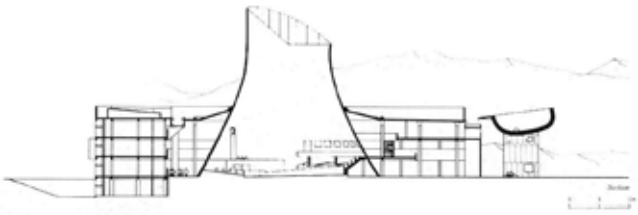
É no sector 1, à cabeça do plano da nova capital, que se encontra o complexo do capitólio, a área diretiva, organizada numa ampla plataforma em que se distribuem os monumentos urbanos representativos: Palácio da Justiça, Secretariado e Assembleia. Há um aspecto comum a todos eles que faz destacar todo o tipo de efeitos plásticos, e até poéticos, a partir do uso do betão "bruto".

O capitólio só viria a obter a sua forma e condição espacial definitiva quando Le Corbusier estabelece, com um traço alongado ortogonal aos Himalaias, o Secretariado. A geometria da sua forma final é demarcada por dois "grandes quadrados de 400 e 800 metros de lado, assinalados por obeliscos, como marcas primigénias do homem". O tema unificador do Capitólio é estabelecido pela cobertura de proteção sustentada por arcos, pilares ou pilotis, protegendo os edifícios do sol e da chuva, deixando as bordas abertas para capturar brisas e paisagens. Le Corbusier demonstra as possibilidades poéticas e cósmicas do brise -soleil em esboços que mostram a água cair da cobertura nos lagos.

Na fachada da Assembleia, há um enorme pórtico curvo de betão que se reflete na água, dando uma certa leveza ao imponente edifício e carácter marítimo.





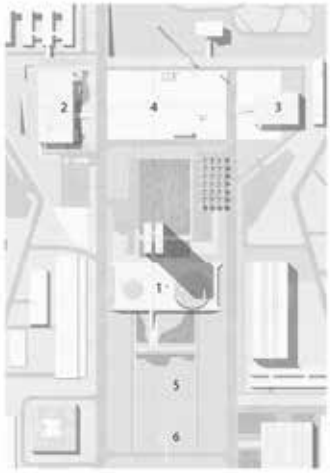


CRONOLOGIA

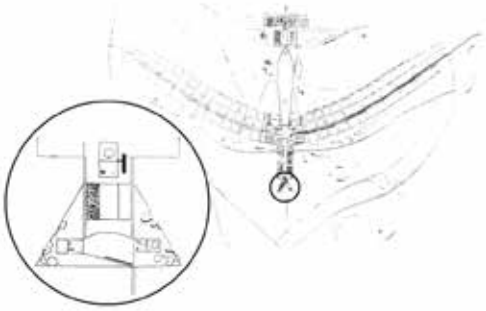
LAURA GASPAR | MERCÊS FERNANDES | RENATO PINTO | SARA ALVES | TERESA SERRA E SILVA | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

PRAÇA DOS TRÊS PODERES

Brasília, Oscar Niemeyer, 1960

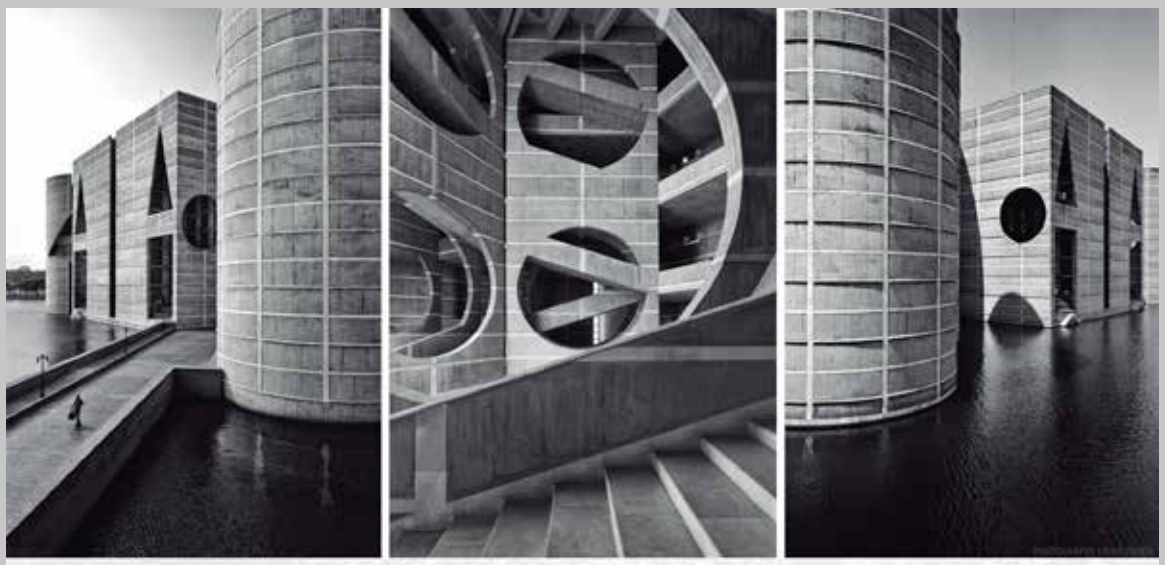


1. CONGRESSO NACIONAL
2. PALÁCIO DO PLANALTO
3. TRIBUNAL SUPREMO
4. PRAÇA
5. EIXO MONUMENTAL
6. MEMORIAL JK



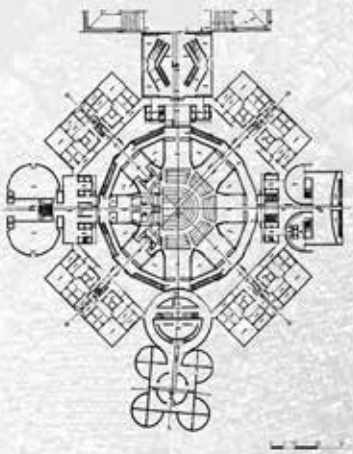
Apelidada de "a capital da esperança", a cidade de Brasília, construída entre 1956 e 1960, a fim de se tornar a nova capital do Brasil, tem como objetivo desenvolver economicamente o país e pôr fim à desigualdade social. Contou com o apoio do presidente eleito, Juscelino Kubitschek, que levou a cabo os seus ideais tendo como resultado um desenvolvimento exponencial da capital.
A Praça dos Três Poderes, ícone da cidade e do país, é uma obra idealizada por Lúcio Costa, autor do projeto vencedor em 1957 para o plano piloto da cidade.
A sua construção integra um moderno conjunto arquitetónico da autoria do arquiteto Oscar Niemeyer.

ANDREIA MIRANDA, CATARINA MARQUES, CLÁUDIA SANTOS, INÊS MASSANO, MARIA ARAÚJO | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC



ASSEMBLEIA NACIONAL DE BANGLADESH

Dhaka, Louis I. Kahn, 1983

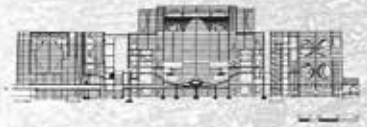


A Assembleia Nacional de Bangladesh, projectada por Louis Kahn, surge no seguimento de um percurso histórico interveniente no desenvolvimento territorial e cultural, do qual resultam inúmeros conflitos de cariz étnico e religioso, proveniente da colonização do Império Britânico e consequente queda do Império Mogol.

Em 1958, Muhammad Ayub Khan, assume a presidência do Paquistão e propõe, em 1961, a construção da Assembleia, tendo em vista a exaltação do domínio paquistanês.

A Assembleia Nacional de Bangladesh é proposta com o objectivo de representar o poder político e democrático das novas estruturas sociais e assume-se como a obra mais madura do percurso profissional de Louis Kahn, através da qual expressa as suas crenças e ideais arquitectónicos, bem como a sua lingual formal e filosófica, poética e espontânea.

Louis Kahn defendia a compreensão da Assembleia para além das intenções do arquitecto. A obra deverá ser compreendida como tendo como princípio base a sociedade que servirá. É um exemplo notório de uma obra que não revela importância apenas na definição e exaltação da carreira de um arquitecto, mas sim na afirmação e emancipação de uma nação.



AFONSO GUIMARÃES | ANDRÉ GALHARDO | CLÁUDIA RIBEIRO | HUGO SILVA | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITECTURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

PALÁCIO DO PARLAMENTO

Bucareste, Anca Petrescu, 1984-... regime de Ceausescu

Nos finais dos anos 70, Ceausescu começava a reconstruir o centro de Bucareste, fazendo a arquitetura reflectir a grandeza do comunismo romeno. Cerca de um quarto da cidade havia sido demolida, para a construção de um novo centro administrativo socialista, caracterizado por um grandioso palácio com a sua construção iniciada em 1983 , bem como uma larga avenida, rodeada por blocos de apartamentos neoclássicos. Obras que custaram bastante ao povo romeno, que foi obrigado a passar por dificuldades financeiras.

Ceausescu, obcecado por preservar o seu nome, tinha preferências contrárias aquilo que era a cidade, a sua obcessão pela própria grandiosidade o levou a começar um projecto do zero que reflatisse poder, removendo a ordem simbólica do sistema político anterior. Portanto, o Palácio do Parlamento, o segundo maior edifício do mundo e o maior dentre edifícios administrativos civis, era visto como símbolo da procura pela grandeza e regime, uma forma de assegurar uma visão deminante sobre a cidade, sendo visível de quase todos os pontos da mesma. Embora tenha recebido o nome "Casa do Povo", nunca foi acessível a este, enfatizando a sua enclausura.

Com a queda do regime de Ceaussescu, e as obras perto do fim, pôs-se a questão de qual seria o destino daquele enorme risco arquitectural.

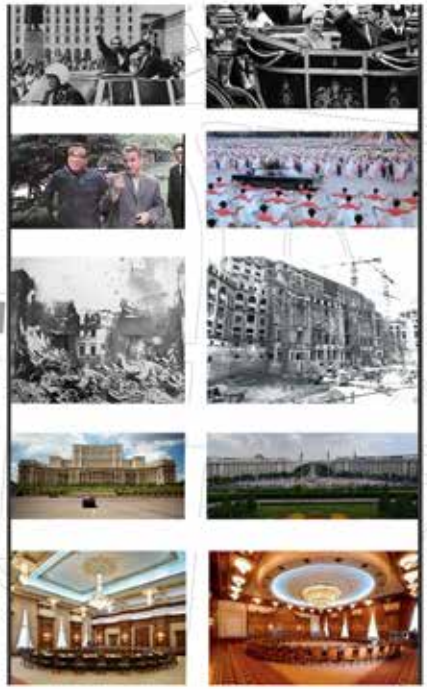
O novo regime acabara por decidir finalizar o projeto tornando o edifício como o local do novo parlamento e centro de congressos internacional.

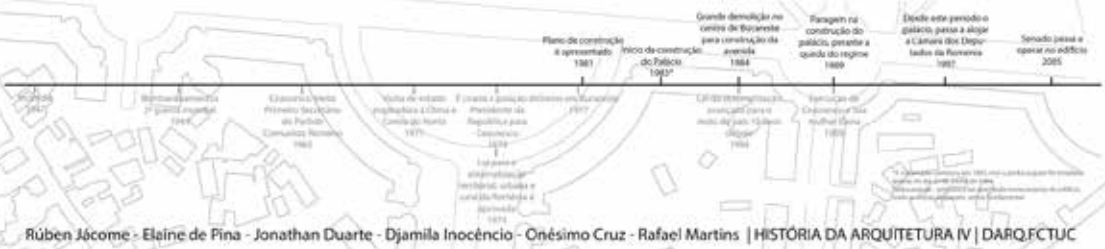
Bucareste sofreu várias influências a nível urbano, muitas delas do modelo veneziano, com algumas reproduções de limites espaciais dos modelos urbanos do império romano.

Desde sempre, ciclos de destruição marcaram e modificaram a imagem da capital Bucareste. Apesar da sua formação original, Bucareste procurou passar de uma estrutura policêntrica, a uma monocêntrica, própria do sistema ocidental. As autoridades sempre tentaram transformá-la numa "montra da modernidade", acreditando-se que a cidade tradicional tinha de desaparecer, a proveito de uma nova e melhor.

Ao contrário daquilo que se esperava, a vida popular não é feita nestas praças monumentais xcessivamente ocupadas por viaturas, que servem para distribuir percursos em várias direcções, mas sim nas ruas, pequenas e estreitas, de uma dimensão mais humana e mais adaptada à cultura da população.

Pode-se dizer que a avenida que vai de encontro com o Palacio "inclausurado" de Ceausescu constitui um vazio urbano na cidade pois sua escala moounmental, que reflete o enorme poder do comunismo intimida o povo que evitando este tal espaço.





Rúben Jácome - Elaine de Pina - Jonathan Duarte - Djamila Inocêncio - Onésimo Cruz - Rafael Martins | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

PALÁCIO DO PARLAMENTO

Bucareste, Anca Petrescu, 1984-...

Num período de instabilidade política associado à Guerra Fria, a Roménia começa a assumir traços mais independentes com a tomada de posse de Nicolae Ceaușescu. Um presidente do partido comunista romeno, com ideais instituídos desde jovem, aproveita o terramoto de 1977 para pôr em prática o conceito urbano do Centro Cívico, como manifestação do seu poder.

Inspira-se em cidades com um desenvolvimento arquitetónico já avançado, cidades que conhece durante as visitas de estado feitas com um propósito político. Desta forma, desenvolve o projeto para o Centro Cívico, com a intenção de renovar a imagem da cidade recorrendo à construção de uma grande avenida delimitada com novos edifícios administrativos que serviam o partido comunista. É rematada pelo/com Palácio do Parlamento, uma megaestrutura atualmente conhecida como a Casa do Povo.

Foi proposto um concurso público para a execução de um monumento que albergasse todo o poder político e transparecesse a era comunista de Ceaușescu. Anca Petrescu é a arquiteta vencedora para a concretização deste projeto. O Palácio para além da sua imensa área era também um local de alta segurança, medida que o ditador implementou temendo um possível conflito futuro. Nos dias de hoje, este é utilizado como museu e sede do Parlamento. Ainda que não esteja concluído, continua a ser uma grande referência histórica e simbólica de uma época de sofrimento do povo romeno.

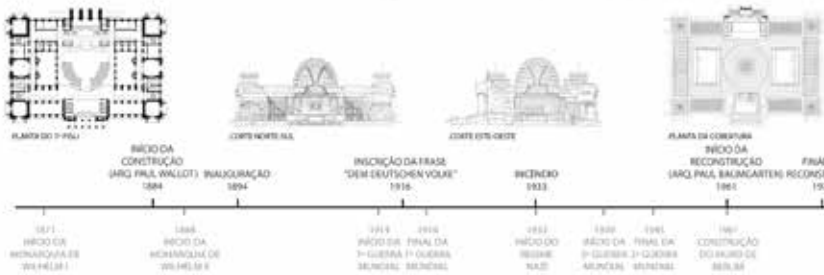
Planta Piso 0

CAROLINA MATOS | CAROLINA ANTUNES | MÓNICA OLIVEIRA | NOÉMI LOUREIRO | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

REICHSTAG

Berlim, Paul Wallot, 1884-94, Norman Foster, 1992-99

Edifício enigmático que se tornou veículo entre o poder e a sua imagem.
Incorpora as memórias de uma das histórias mais significantes da sociedade atual, porém com transparência e repercussão, oferecendo esperança.
Hoje, símbolo da democracia é figuração da forma como a Alemanha superou os factos e alcançou a hegemonia mundial.
O Reichstag é intemporalmente a expressão do poder.



ANTÓNIO FEITAIS E INÊS SARAIVA | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

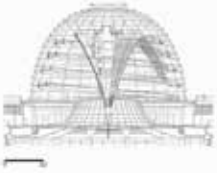
REICHSTAG

Berlim, Paul Wallot, 1884-94, Norman Foster, 1992-99

Após o final da II Guerra Mundial, a cidade foi dividida pelo célebre Muro de Berlim, do lado Ocidental formou-se a República Federal da Alemanha, que tinha como capital Bonn, e a Leste formou-se a República Democrática Alemã, da qual era capital. Com a destruição causada pelos bombardeamentos surge um projeto com a iniciativa de mudar o parlamento alemão de Bonn para Berlim e de realojá-lo no Reichstag. Cria-se um concurso no qual a seleção final outorgou a vitória ao escritório de Norman Foster. O encargo consistia em repensar um plenário no interior do Reichstag sendo que tinha de obrigatoriamente seguir 4 restrições: as obras do Parlamento, a história do Reichstag, a ecologia e eficácia energética e a austeridade económica.

O objetivo principal que Norman Foster tinha para o projeto era fazê-lo acessível e democrático. O edifício reconstruído mantém a ideia de claridade do antigo Reichstag. Apesar de partir do edifício original, foi necessário intervir com firmeza para que o delineamento do antigo edificado viesse à luz. A transparência e a acessibilidade pública foram as chaves da reconstrução interna do Reichstag. A nova cúpula de vidro é o ponto de partida das obras internas e possibilita abrir o edifício à luz natural e à paisagem. Atua como um componente essencial nas estratégias de economia energética e iluminação natural. Esta é concebida como uma "lanterna" com as amplas interpretações que o termo implica.

Quando a noite cai, a cúpula torna-se um farol no horizonte, sinalizando o vigor do processo democrático alemão. À noite, os espelhos, que trazem a luz do dia para a câmara, funcionam no horizonte para mostrar que

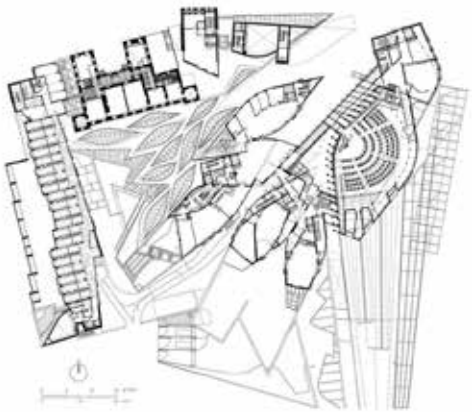


ANA RITA RODRIGUES | INÊS CORDEIRO | MARIANA VINHA | TATIANA CARVALHO | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

PARLAMENTO ESCOCÊS

Edimburgo, Enric Miralles, 2004

O Parlamento Escocês é um projeto que apesar de todas as controvérsias que levantou não deixa de ser considerado um projeto icónico e elucidativo daquilo que seriam os objetivos da sua construção.
Controvérsias estas que se devem essencialmente ao facto do arquiteto vencedor não ser escocês, algo que parecia ir contra a noção de que o novo Parlamento nasceu do patriotismo, provocando assim reações indesejadas mesmo antes do começo da construção, e também devido ao disparo do orçamento inicial em relação ao valor atingido no final da sua construção.
Outro dos motivos que levou a tal polémica foi a morte do arquiteto 2 anos após o começo da construção, o que acabou por levar a sua esposa a assumir o controlo do projeto.
Ainda assim o complexo acabou por receber elogios de vários críticos, apesar de ter sido criticado pela maioria do público. Este acabou por ganhar vários prémios, incluído o conhecido Prémio Stirling. No entanto, foi um dos edifícios da Grã-Bretanha que o público mais queria ver demolido numa sondagem realizada em 2005.



ALBERTO GOMES - JOSÉ PINTO - LUÍS SILVA - MIGUEL COSTA | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ.FCTUC

PARLAMENTO ESCOCÊS

Edimburgo, Enric Miralles, 2004

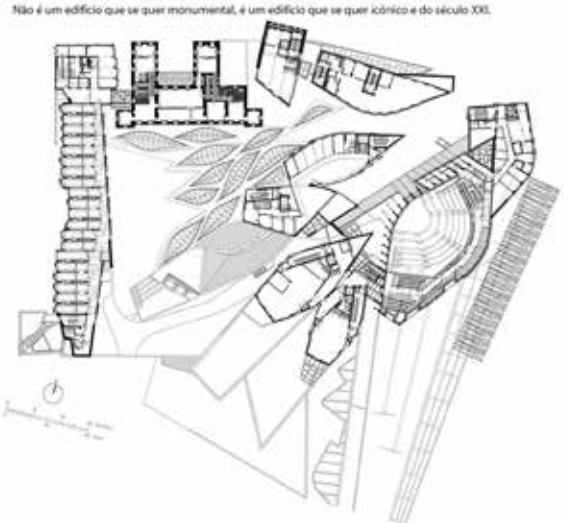
A Escócia adquiriu a sua autonomia política com o referendo de 1997, onde é votado, com maioria, a criação do Parlamento Escocês.

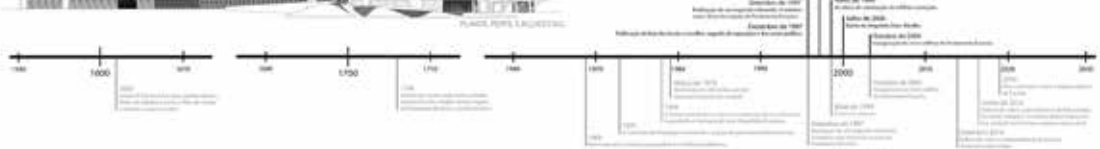
Logo no ano seguinte, é lançado um concurso para o edifício do novo Parlamento, para demonstrar a contemporaneidade da democracia escocesa como identidade nacional.

Este concurso tinha como intenção escolher um arquiteto e não um projeto. Foi um processo democrático e altamente transparente, em que a opinião do público foi bastante valorizada e tida em conta, na decisão final de escolher o arquiteto Enric Miralles como o vencedor.

Era importante para o arquiteto que o Parlamento fosse capaz de refletir o território que representa. Vai buscar referências à paisagem escocesa como os prados verdes, as montanhas, as folhas, os ramos, os barcos em terra, os edifícios, etc. Não quer um edifício centralizado mas um conjunto hierárquico de várias peças, para criar uma relação harmoniosa com o centro histórico e a paisagem envolvente.

Não é um edifício que se quer monumental, é um edifício que se quer icónico e do século XXI.





FILIPE GRAVE | JOÃO DIAS | JORGE PEREIRA | MARIAN PEREIRA | SARA GONÇALVES | HISTÓRIA DA ARQUITETURA IV | DARQ | FCTUC

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