

A Quarterly Journal  
of Environmental Design

# PLACES

**Transformation  
and  
Conservation**

Volume 8 • Number 1  
Summer, 1992

\$12.00





CARING ABOUT PLACES

- 2 **Transformation and Conservation**  
*Donlyn Lyndon*

SPEAKING OF PLACES

- 4 **Scarpa's Castelveccchio: A Critical Rehabilitation**  
*Tamara Coombs*
- 8 **Conflict of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalems**  
*Michael Turner*

TRANSFORMATION AND CONSERVATION IN HISTORIC ENVIRONMENTS

- 12 **A Chinese Village in Transformation**  
*Joseph C. Wang*
- 24 **Bazaars in Victorian Arcades**  
*Rahul J. Mebrotra*
- 32 **Planning, Preservation and Polyculture**  
*David Vanderburgh*
- 42 **The Writing on the Wall**  
*Leslie Rainer*
- 46 **The Purpose of the Past**  
*Richa Wilson*  
**Riga Faces its Future**  
*Interview with Sigurd Grava*
- 58 **A Little More Gingerbread: Tourism, Design and Preservation in the Caribbean**  
*William R. Chapman*
- 67 **Renewing Old Havana**  
*Interview with Eusebio Leal Spengler, by Juliet Barclay*

- 70 **Water and Culture: The Canal de Isabel II Elevated Reservoir**  
*Roque Gistau*  
*Maria Fuentes*

- 72 **Preservation and Progress in China's Largest Port**  
*Jeffrey W. Cody*

- 80 **Cultural Hurdles for Adaptive Re-use of Historic Buildings in Japan**  
*Cherilyn Widell*

- 82 **Buddhist Priests 2: Developers 1**  
*Cathy Tuttle*

STANDARDS

- 84 **The Burra Charter: Australia's Methodology for Conserving Cultural Heritage**  
*Graham Brooks*

DISPATCHES

- 89 **Castle and Context**  
*Ronald Lee Fleming*
- 90 **An Australian Wool Store, A World Tragedy**  
*Robert G. Colosimo*
- 92 **Contributors**

## Transformation and Conservation

The transformations through which our world is passing have been especially vivid in the last several years, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the eastern bloc, the shifting balance of German and Japanese economic power, the rise of ethnicity as a compelling political force and the increasingly repellent duality of homelessness and excess in our own cities.

The tensions between global change and local identity are a persistent theme in current affairs. On the one hand are the ostensibly inexorable forces of economic development, compounded by the increasingly rapid diffusion of ideas, technology and culture. On the other hand is the wish to hold steady the traces of a known and familiar order, the persona of a given place and culture.

To hear some of the protagonists tell it, the choices are stark; the battle, once joined, is consuming and apocalyptic. Preservation advocates are often characterized as narrowly focused and intolerant of difference; the forces of development are taken to be thoroughly opportunistic and heedless of the geography into which they insert new patterns or of the consequences for those who live and work there.

To set these conflicts in an international perspective, *Places* circulated a call for papers inviting authors to address issues of conservation and transformation in countries outside the United States. We received a

Donlyn Lyndon  
**editor**

James F. Fulton  
**publisher**

Todd W. Bressi  
**associate editor**

Alice Wingwall  
Allan B. Jacobs  
Randolph T. Hester, Jr.  
**consulting editors**

Charlotte Sproul  
**assistant to the editor**

Eric Allison  
Tricia Solsaa  
Jennifer Stern  
**editorial assistants**

André Schütz  
**designer**

Cindy Poorbaugh  
**production manager**

Pam McGeary  
**business manager**

### Contributing Board

Stanford Anderson  
Richard Bender  
Christine Boyer  
Catherine Brown  
Donald Canty  
Clare Cooper Marcus  
Lois Craig  
John de Monchaux  
John Habraken  
Frances Halsband  
Raymond Lifchez  
Roger Montgomery  
William R. Morrish  
John R. Myer  
William L. Porter  
Ron Schiffman

large number of abstracts, invited the authors included in this issue to submit papers and encouraged others to develop material for subsequent issues.

The stories told here reveal the scope and pervasiveness of the dilemmas that accompany the wish to conserve cultural properties: To whom do they belong? What sociopolitical forces do they serve, and what purpose is served by conserving them? How can places persist without the life forces that created them? How can we conceive a landscape that encompasses purposeful, modulated change?

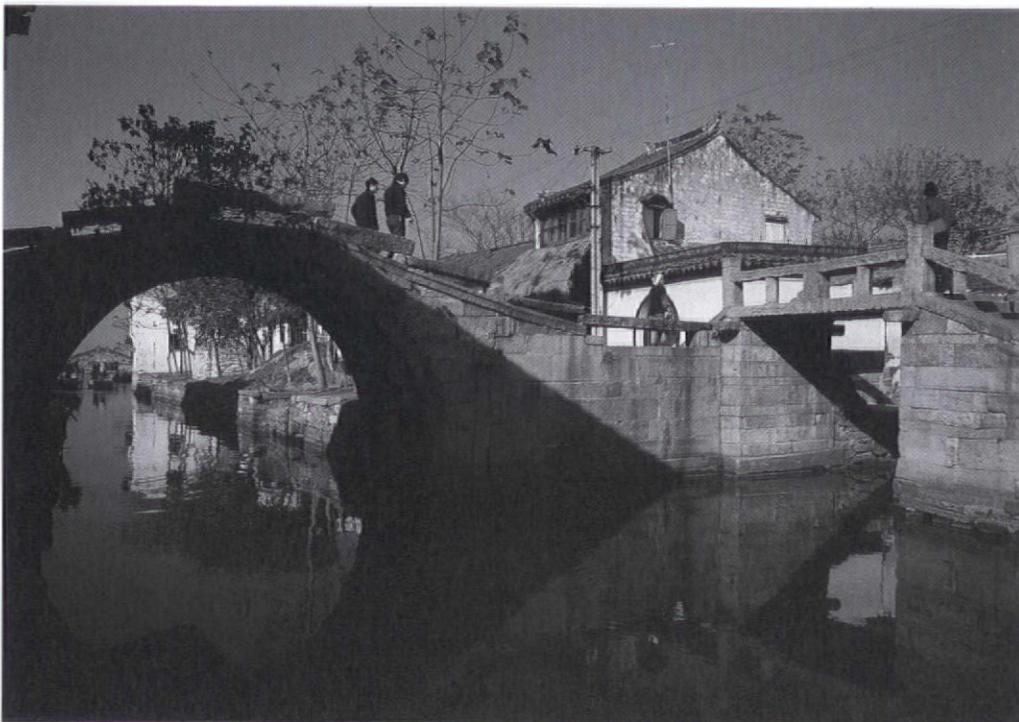
One story we could not present told of a sensitive plan for conserving the historic center of Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, which fell under siege during the production of this issue. While this omission reminds us of the senseless change that often is wrought by military and political turmoil, other articles chronicle the hopeful determination people show in regenerating

devastated places, respecting their memories but also using them as frameworks for moving forward.

The places these articles describe are on several continents, in cultures of varying complexity and with differing economic and political conditions. Together, they remind us of the tremendous fertility of human imagination and the scope of the cultural transformations in which we are taking part. They also show the numbing power of generalizations and the incessant need for careful design — for discerning the quite particular qualities of a place and bringing them to the fore as a guide for conservation and a stimulus for the imaginative accommodation of change.

We wish to acknowledge the National Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Property and the National Endowment for the Arts, which inspired this issue and whose generous support made it possible.

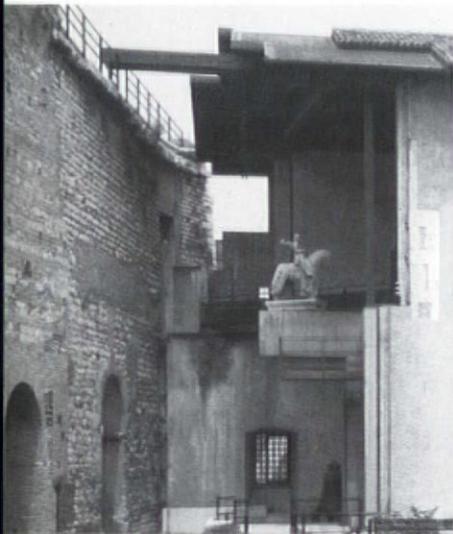
— *Donlyn Lyndon*



Twin Bridges, Zhouzhuang,  
China.  
Photo by Joseph C. Wang.

## Scarpa's Castelvecchio: A Critical Rehabilitation

*Tamara Coombs*



1 Scarpa demolished part of a barracks added by the occupying French during the nineteenth century.

The first time I visited Verona's fourteenth-century Castelvecchio, I was ignorant of the castle's history and both puzzled and delighted by Carlo Scarpa's 1958-64 rehabilitation of the art museum within it. I was delighted by the rare sensual and cognitive experience he had created, puzzled because there seemed to be more going on than the obvious juxtaposition of new against old. The new seemed to comment on the old, at times intentionally detracting from the beauty of the historic forms.

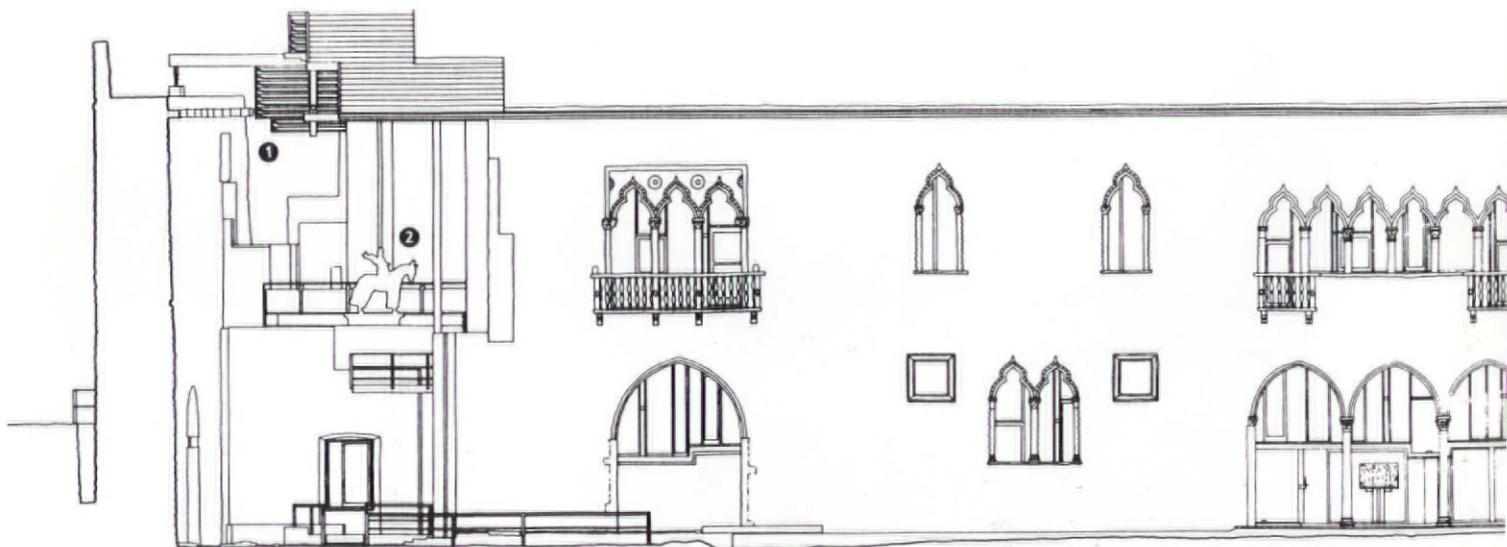
I later learned that my instincts were right: Scarpa was offering not only a rehabilitation of the castle but also an interpretation of its complicated history,<sup>1</sup> which I believe includes a critique of the Fascist myth of Italy's past. Scarpa's Castelvecchio has caused me to question the assumption (common in historic preservation) that architectural preservation should take precedence over consideration of the social or political history of a place.

Scarpa's work became compelling to me when I stumbled across a reference to the trial of Count Ciano, Benito Mussolini's son-in-law, which had been staged at Castelvecchio. Mussolini came to power in 1922 in an



2 Cangrande against backdrop of the Commune wall.

Italy that had existed as a unified nation for only 50 years. He celebrated imperial Rome as a glorious model for future expansionism, invoked Dante to justify Fascist imperialism and touted the exceptional artistic contributions of the Italic peoples as cultural proof of their national superiority. Respected archaeologists and art and architectural historians provided evidence of the far-flung presence of Italic peoples, arguing that on the basis of art, architecture and artifacts, Malta, North Africa, Crete and Nice should be returned to Italy; the entire Mediter-



ranean, they implied, could be considered *Mare Nostrum* for Italians.<sup>2</sup>

Count Ciano was a member of the Grand Fascist Council, which caused Mussolini's fall in 1943. The successor Italian government became a "co-belligerent" with the Allies, who soon held all of southern Italy; Mussolini, meanwhile, was rescued by the Germans and installed as the leader of a newly formed puppet government,



3 Napoleonic and Gothic windows. Also, exterior plaster has been stripped from wall to reveal underlying materials.

the Fascist Republican Party. In November, 1943, the party held a congress in the large hall at Castelvechio, the Sala Boggian. Two months later, Ciano and his co-defendants were tried for treason in the same hall. The Council members' actions had been wholly constitutional, the charges and the trial dishonorable. The trial ended with guilty verdicts for those tried in absentia; Ciano and four others were executed on January 11, 1944, four days after the trial began.

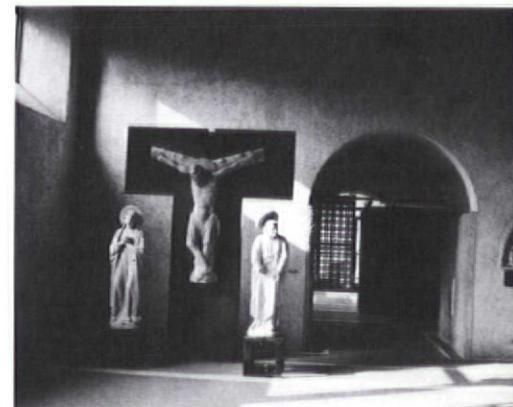
#### Castelvechio before Scarpa

The Castelvechio Scarpa found had already undergone four major periods of construction. The original construction, the wall of the Commune and Republic of Verona, was built in the twelfth century. In 1354, the della Scala family, the Lords of Verona, incorporated the Commune wall into their compound, Castelvechio; the wall separated the compound's residential and military compound functions.

Napoleon's troops occupied the area in 1797. They left their utilitarian barracks along the north and east walls of the military compound, as well as a grand staircase built against a covered-



4 Scarpa backed the Gothic windows, added during a 1920s renovation, with modern windows.



Interior exhibition space.



Photos by Channell Graham.

Elevation courtesy Richard Murphy.

over Commune wall. The French also demolished part of medieval Castelvecchio, lopping the tops off all five of its handsome towers as an act of retribution for a 1799 citizens' uprising against French occupation.

Castelvecchio was rehabilitated in 1923-6 by museum director Antonio Avena and architect Ferdinando Foriati. Avena and Foriati's ideological intentions remain unclear, but the end result supports the Fascist myths of Italian cultural pre-eminence. The towers were rebuilt and the utilitarian barracks was reinvented. Many of its simple openings were replaced by Gothic door and window surrounds salvaged from a local *palazzo*. Rooms that the French had added for soldiers' cots were transformed into lavish seventeenth- and eighteenth-century-style rooms, complete with fake fireplaces that covered the gun embrasures and ceilings embellished with elaborate fake beams. Outside, a medieval fountain was installed in the facade, and the military courtyard was turned into a courtyard replete with fountains,

grass and narrow pathways. When Avena and Foriati were done, Castelvecchio's history appeared to consist of the della Scala castle as later modified by Gothic additions and Renaissance art, as if the subjugation by the French had never taken place.

### Scarpa's Commentary

In 1957 Licisco Magagnato succeeded Avena as museum director and arranged the appointment of Scarpa as architect for another rehabilitation of Castelvecchio. The Commune Council funded the project but left all design decisions to Magagnato and Scarpa, who shared the same vision of the museum Castelvecchio could become.

In Scarpa's hierarchy of architectural values, the Commune wall came first. To him, the wall was the foundation of what followed and a symbol of a time during which Verona, in contrast to the feudal countryside, offered its inhabitants a measure of individual freedom. (Those who were enfranchised in twelfth-century Verona

enjoyed individual freedoms that were denied under Fascism's societal controls, a point that surely was recognized by Scarpa.)

To reveal the full sweep of the Commune wall, Scarpa demolished the Napoleonic staircase and one bay of the barracks (perhaps also engaging in some ironic retribution of his own). The roof of the demolished bay continues but is peeled back to reveal layers that seem temporally reversed: Roman tile on top, then copper, then steel beams — the modern steel resting on the medieval Commune wall, upon which all else depends.

In the space created by the demolition, Scarpa both honors and critiques the Lords of Verona. Beneath the roof is a statue of Cangrande, the greatest of the della Scalas, the one to whom Dante dedicated the *Paradiso*. The statue is cantilevered one story above ground, as if held out at arm's length to be viewed from all sides. It is best seen from viewing platforms that bring visitors into intimate proximity with the sculpture; previously, the statue had been placed on a high pedestal, from which it could be viewed from a respectful distance.

Cangrande, seen against the backdrop of the revealed Commune wall, hangs suspended above the material evidence of the ignoble side of the della Scalas (which was uncovered by archaeologists during Scarpa's rehabilitation). A corner of the statue's base overhangs the cantilevered support, emphasizing the seeming precariousness of Cangrande's position. Castelvecchio itself was built to protect the increasingly tyrannical Lords of Verona from disgruntled Veronese, not foreign invaders. At the base of the Commune wall is a protective moat, dug for the della Scalas. Within the Commune wall is a doorway that was



5 Sacello exterior.

used by local citizens until it was covered over when the della Scalas built the approach to their private bridge. Indeed, the della Scalas' military courtyard was open to the river; its high walls and moats were barriers only against attack from the city.

Scarpa draws attention to historical fact — the presence of the Commune, of the French and even of those who left no architectural remnants on the site — and alerts the visitor to the fakery of the 1920s rehabilitation. He visually undermines the Gothic door and window surrounds by backing them with separate windows with discordantly modern mullions.

From one Gothic door surround, a modernistic cube the size of a large closet appears, as if extruded into the courtyard. Scarpa called this a *sacello*, or shrine; some Italian architects had designed shrines called *sacrarios* for fallen Fascists. This shrine holds artifacts from Longobardic tombs, evidence of the presence of Teutonic tribes around Verona in the long centuries between the Romans and the Renaissance. The Germanic tribes are now thought to have played an important role in the reinvigoration of the north and the development of a system of law that led to the communes. This view contrasts the Fascist lack of interest in the period, which was regarded as a dark age of Germanic barbarians.<sup>3</sup>

A visitor who steps between the two parallel hedges that traverse the courtyard enters an axis. The tall hedges focus the visitor's view upon the entrance to the Sala Boggian, where Ciano's trial was held. Scarpa's studies of the courtyard explored the use of the double hedge as the main approach to the museum entrance: The visitor who enters the axis today initially is unable to see anything on either side — experiencing the single-

minded forward movement, the lack of choices, the limited vision that are analogous to Fascism itself. But as the visitor walks forward, the ground slopes downward and the museum is gradually revealed, as is Scarpa's visual interpretation of Castelvecchio.

Within the museum there is an interior axis that echoes this exterior one, but it is broken by the incursion of art objects. Instead of authority, directionality and efficiency, Castelvecchio invites thoughtful observation and individual judgement. Each visitor is encouraged to pause and consider, to participate, as architect Richard Murphy commented, in an "... act of discovery ... the antithesis of the mute observer of the prewar era."<sup>4</sup> Scarpa's critique is contained in the individual's experience of architecture, landscape and museum exhibits.

### Castelvecchio Today

Today the pressing concerns at Castelvecchio are additional exhibit space, improved lighting, handicapped access and the problems of environmental pollution. The emphasis in the literature is on the formal beauty of Scarpa's design, not on its ideological content. Ironically, this appreciation of the formal qualities of Scarpa's Castelvecchio means that his rehabilitation will be treated more respectfully than he treated what preceded his work.

Scarpa viewed the past without nostalgia or exaggerated respect and left a mark on Castelvecchio that is more than the usual functional or stylistic imprint of rehabilitation. Castelvecchio is significant more for its history than for its historic architecture; in buildings of greater artistic value such interventions could be questioned.

Scarpa's commentary through design is a provocative and welcome

alternative to the usual practice of preserving the architectural form and fabric of a historic place without considering that place's social and political history. His rehabilitation of Castelvecchio shows the force of preservation work that incorporates a critique of the past, particularly a past in which that historic building played a role. And it suggests that projects that do not consider this broader historical context are conveying a message of their own.

But as our world again turns upside down; as issues of myth and history, fiction and fact are argued once more, it is well to consider this issue. As Milan Kundera writes in *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*,<sup>5</sup> the struggle of the individual against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting. It seems important that sometimes clues to that memory are visible in stone and concrete, awaiting the curious visitor willing to exchange myth for reality and to cast a critical eye on visual history.

### Notes

1. Richard Murphy, *Carlo Scarpa and the Castelvecchio* (Boston: Butterworth Architecture, 1990), 4-9.

2. Henry A. Millon, "The Role of History of Architecture in Fascist Italy," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24 (March 1965): 53-59.

3. W. F. Butler, *The Lombard Communes: A History of the Republics of Northern Italy* (New York: Haskell House, 1967), 37.

4. Murphy, 60.

5. Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (New York: Penguin, 1981), 3.

## Conflict of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalems

*Michael Turner*

*Jerusalem — it is a city unique, and before all things a city of idealists, a city moreover in which the idealists through succeeding generations have torn each other and their city to pieces. Over 40 times has it changed hands in history. And perhaps partly because of all this and partly because of the grandeur of its site and surrounding landscape it is a city of singular romance and beauty.<sup>1</sup>*

Planners are forever idealists creating heavenly and ideal cities on earth, perhaps at the expense of citizens who are simply striving for an easier way to accomplish mundane chores. Jerusalem provides unusual insight into the way that the images different cultures have of a place come together in that place. The question about Jerusalem is not where the city is, but what the city is. Jerusalem is considered the navel of the earth, the fountain of cities, the alpha and omega. The consideration of what Jerusalem is can be divided into two approaches: empirical-historic and existentialist. Jerusalem is the merging of myth and reality; it is the disassociation of dreams and deeds.

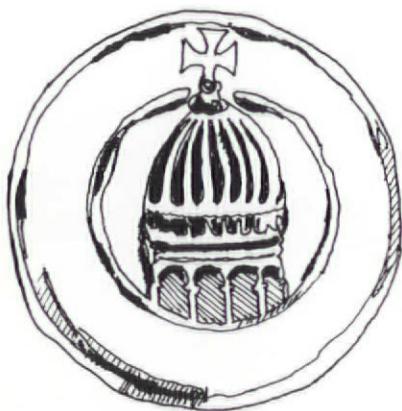
### Jewish Jerusalem

Jerusalem became the Davidic capital of the Jewish state in 993 B.C. Founded on Mount Moria, where Abraham offered to sacrifice Isaac, Jerusalem was identified as the place where "God appears,"<sup>2</sup> thus establishing the rationale for asserting that the Axis Mundi, a connection that links Earth with Heaven, passes through the city. During the first 450 years of Jerusalem's existence, a tradition of envisioning it as a Holy City emerged, with the regular annual appearance of God in the Temple.

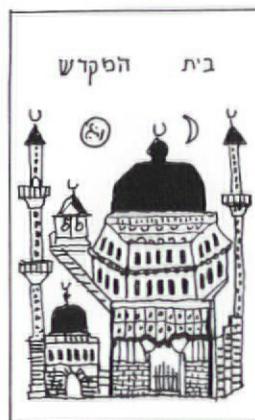
With the First Exile of Jews from the city, after the conquest of the city by Nebuchadnezzar in 564 B.C., Jews started yearning for a city that became increasingly disassociated from the reality of Jerusalem.

*By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down: yes, we wept when remembered Zion ...*

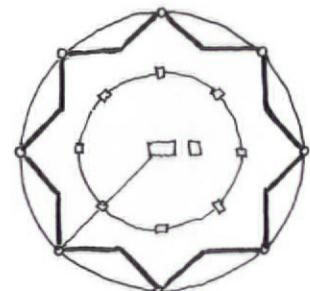
*If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand lose her cunning.<sup>3</sup>*



Seal of the Knights Templar, twelfth century.



Temple, 1850.



Plan of Ideal City, Filarete, 1464.

The return of the Jewish people to Jerusalem in 538 B.C. under rule of the Persian kings prompted the first recorded public dispute in conservation, between those propagating a work of restoration and dissenters recommending a new and better style.

It was under the prophet Zacharia that one finds the first mention of Jerusalem as a metaphysic city — the city as an ideal place and as a dream:

*And I lifted my eyes and saw, and behold, a man with a measuring line in his hand. Then I said, "Where are you going?" and he said to me, "To measure Jerusalem, to see what is its breadth, and what is its length." And behold, the angel ... came forward to meet him and said to him, "Run and say to that young man, "Jerusalem shall be inhabited as villages without walls, because of the multitude of men and cattle in it. For I will be to her a wall of fire round about, says the Lord, and I will be the glory within her.""*<sup>4</sup>

The city is no longer a physical entity — its walls now consist of the Lord's fire. Later, Zacharia quotes "the Lord of hosts" counting 10 pledges

relating to the City of Truth, all relating to metaphysic and human qualities, for example:

*... Thus saith the Lord of hosts: There shall yet old men and women sit in the broad places of Jerusalem, every man with his staff in his hand for very age. And the broad places of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the broad places thereof ...*<sup>5</sup>

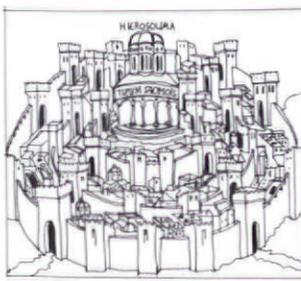
But Jews showed little interest in returning to Jerusalem, and financial incentives had to be offered to encourage families to relocate there. The Jewish community was enjoying living in the financial and cultural centers of Persia and Egypt, and the percentage living in the Holy Land dropped greatly. By the end of the Second Temple period, as documented in the writings of the Mishna in the first century B.C., Jerusalem was portrayed as a talisman: A question about ornaments being worn or carried on the Sabbath is accompanied by a list including a bracelet and a "city of gold" — this is interpreted as a gold headband inscribed with the word "Jerusalem" or an image of the city.<sup>6</sup>

## Christian Jerusalem

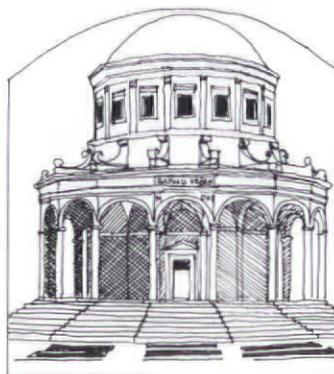
The Jerusalem of the New Testament also was held to be the City of God:

*And in the Spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. It has a great, high wall, with 12 gates. And he who talked to me had a measuring rod of gold to measure the city, its gates and its walks ... twelve thousand stadia; its length and breadth and height are equal.*<sup>7</sup>

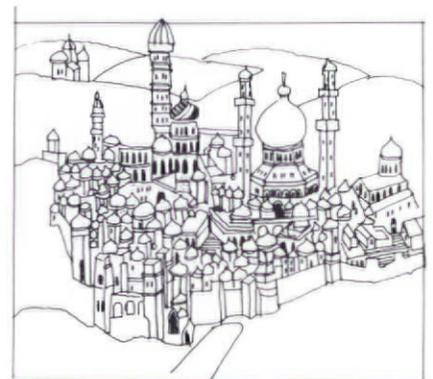
The measuring rod and the "city of gold" are familiar as Zacharian images from the Old Testament, but Jerusalem is again described as a tangible city with foundations, walls and ornament; a cube linking heaven and earth through its Axis Mundi. This is not to say that Jewish philosophy was metaphysic while the early Christian philosophy was physic, for we find that in the Talmud a discussion takes place as to what would be the ruling if the Temple would descend on a festival:



"Jerusalem," H. Schedel, 1493.



Marriage of the Virgin,  
Raphael.



Jerusalem, French fifteenth-century manuscript.

*The building of the Temple cannot supersede the Sabbath or Festival; this refers to a Temple built by human hands, but the Temple of the future is built by God and will be revealed and descend from Heaven.*<sup>8</sup>

It was during this same period of the Talmud, about 400 A.D., that St. Augustine wrote his treatise *The City of God*. He developed the “threefold meaning of the prophets, referring sometimes to the earthly Jerusalem, sometimes to the Heavenly City, sometimes to both at once.”<sup>9</sup> And while the Celestial City depicted by Augustine set on fire the minds of the Christian community of Europe, Queen Helena, Emperor Constantine’s mother, was making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to survey the real places in the Holy Jerusalem.

By this time, the idea of Jerusalem as the City of God had become entrenched in Judeo-Christian beliefs and the representation of Jerusalem as such became a frequent subject of art and architecture. There was often little connection between these images of the ideal city and the realities of the earthly Jerusalem.

### Islamic Jerusalem

With the growth of Islam, the architecture of the earthly Jerusalem became influenced by a local Islamic vernacular architecture. The Dome of the Rock, the minarets and the stone-domed roofs of domestic architecture generated an ambience that for the European, Jew and Christian alike became symbols of the Heavenly City. This exotic architecture was depicted in various art forms as embodying the difference between the Bible of the past, the mundane of the present and the City of God of the future.

Three centuries of European Crusades to Jerusalem generated yet further myths about the city and identified the city with martyrdom. The Knights Templar used the architectural form of the Dome of the Rock as their seal; by transposing the Moslem crescent with the Christian cross, they made it very clear as to who was in charge. Jewish manuscripts and decorated religious books also used the image of the Dome of the Rock, not bothering to change the crescent but simply adding the Hebrew words *Bet Mikdash* (Temple).

### Images in Art and Literature

The images of Jerusalem that have been presented in various art forms throughout the ages have contrasted with the reality of the architecture of the earthly Jerusalem, many times using a synchronic manner. For the most part, these representations “treated the city as an organic whole and as part of a larger perceptual unity.”<sup>10</sup>

The ideal cities depicted in the fifteenth century highlighted the city’s circular form, with a single or double node usually identified as a church or market. The form proposed by Filarets in 1464 is just one of many examples. Not 30 years later the German scholar H. Schedel prepared a monumental history, *Liber Chronicarum*, depicting Jerusalem in the circular design of the ideal cities of the period, with the Temple of Solomon in the center.

The octagonal form of the Dome of the Rock, which the Knights Templar dedicated as the *Templum Domini*, influenced the design of temples and churches in Europe. The detail of Raphael’s *Marriage of the Virgin* (1604) depicts such a structure, although recreated in the characteristic Renaissance style of Bramante. After

the Great Fire of 1666, Christopher Wren convinced London’s Church Commissioners that the architecture of the Holy City was more in the spirit of the Renaissance than of the Gothic style, and succeeded in rebuilding London’s churches in the new Renaissance style.

Eighteenth-century philosophers “demolished the Heavenly City of St. Augustine only to rebuild it with more up-to-date materials.”<sup>11</sup> They, like St. Augustine centuries before them, wrote a new history, an imaginative reconstruction of vanished events. Becker contends that the Heavenly City had shifted to earthly foundations and responsibility for past events was transferred from divine to human hands, making it inevitable that God should be viewed differently — on the one hand scientifically, on the other with tangible reality.

Meanwhile, the physical image of the Islamic city image was visible into the nineteenth century. Mark Twain wrote in 1867 that “the appearance of the city is peculiar. It is as knobby with countless domes as a prison door is with bolt-heads.”<sup>12</sup> The representation of the fifteenth-century French manuscript comes to life in Twain’s words.

### Conflicts of Concept Between Differing Cultures

The Hebrew word *a’m’t* can mean “colleague” or “conflict.” St. Augustine considers the matter of conflict and peace in the earthly city with the resigned conclusion that if a war is won, no one survives to resist, and for that reason there will be peace.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps, as Woody Allen would have us believe, “history is written by the winners,” and the architecture that survives is living evidence of that point.

The division between the three religions with a claim on Jerusalem was very clear — the Jews prayed for Jerusalem, the Christians wrote about Jerusalem and the Moslems lived in Jerusalem. The architecture of Islam was the architecture of those who lived in Jerusalem, or the “winners.” But in the last 150 years, the camera has brought images of the real Jerusalem to everybody; the differing images of the city have merged and affected the present-day policies of conservation in Jerusalem. William Blake echoed the thoughts of a nineteenth-century pilgrim and planner about the city:  
*I will not cease from Mental Fight  
 Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand.  
 Till we have built Jerusalem  
 In England's green and pleasant land.*<sup>14</sup>

Development outside the city walls started after the Tanthamet, the procedures of land reform promulgated by the crumbling Ottoman Empire. The carving up of the world after the Crimean War in the 1860s resulted in the allocation of land in Jerusalem to the major powers and their allies. Each built compounds and colonies there (in a reversal of Blake, England was built in Jerusalem). The Russians, Germans, Greeks, Americans and Jews from central European countries, all exported their native architecture to Jerusalem, creating a city that differed dramatically from the biblical image.

#### Policies for Design and Preservation

The International Style bypassed Jerusalem. As architect C.F. Ashbee describes, the British Mandate, which saw itself as a latter-day Crusade, developed a historic sense towards the planning of the city. The planning controls in the Old City and its environs were intended to generate in a Jerusalem architecture of the British

school, with buildings faced in stone and stone-domed roofs. Ashbee, a strong supporter of the arts and crafts movement, brought to Jerusalem the love for detail in his architecture and supported Boris Schatz' newly created Bezalel Academy for Arts and Crafts. Patrick Geddes came from England to merge the ideals of the Garden City and Celestial City with the reality and earth of Jerusalem.

The paradox is that Jerusalem is a city of the world, and being international it must develop an antithesis to context. In Jerusalem, the international is indigenous — the interdigenuous. Design policies should add and bring together the cultures of the world. They should not follow the lowest common denominator of mimicking the past, but gently allow growth, respecting both the past and the contemporary in place, time and activity. The Russian Church of St. Mary Magdalene, the English St. George's Chapel and the Italian Hospice all have brought their own architecture, making for the rich cultural and architectural mosaic of Jerusalem.

This Axia Mundi linking Earth with Heaven at Jerusalem has been best summarized by Ashbee:

*And one thing we whose concern is civics must always remember. In the conservation of a city, whether it be like London, Paris, Rome, or New York, well within the stream of the world, or whether like Jerusalem set upon a hilltop and remote: What we are conserving is not only the things themselves, the streets, the houses, spires, towers and domes, but the way of living, the idealism, the feeling for righteousness and fitness which these things connote and with which every city with any claim to dignity and beauty is instinct.*<sup>15</sup>

#### Notes

1. C.R. Ashbee, *Proceedings of the Pro Jerusalem Society, 1919-1922.*
2. Gen. 22:14.
3. Psalms 137: 1-5.
4. Zach. 2:1-5.
5. Zach. 8: 1-23.
6. *Misbna Sabbath*, chap. 6, para 1.
7. Rev. 21:10, 12, 15.
8. *Talmud Succab*; chap. 3, p41a, Rashi commentary.
9. Augustine, *City of God*, 17.3.
10. Arthur Kutcher, *The New Jerusalem — Planning and Politics* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973).
11. Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).
12. Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad* (1867).
13. Augustine, *City of God*, 15.4.
14. William Blake, *Milton, The Preface* (1844).
15. Ashbee, *Proceedings*.

## A Chinese Village in Transformation

When Occidental Petroleum chairman Armand Hammer visited China in November, 1984, he presented Vice Premier Deng Xiao-ping with an oil painting titled *Memory of My Hometown* by Chen Yifei, then a young Chinese art student in the United States. The painting used Zhouzhuang's Shuang Qiao (Twin Bridge) as its focal point.

At that time, Zhouzhuang, a small fishing community some 20 miles southeast of Suzhou, was virtually unknown to the outside world. Premier Deng had no knowledge of this place and, in fact, very few Chinese who lived outside the area had ever heard of it. Hammer's visit, and his gift, were a turning point in the fate of this fishing village.

The occasion became national news; Zhouzhuang was then visited by scholars, celebrities and high-ranking political leaders and was declared to be one of the few remaining well-preserved historic villages in southeastern China. A faculty-student team from the urban planning department of Tongji University, in Shanghai, prepared plans for preserving, restoring and re-designing the town. With its steady increase in national and international visibility, Zhouzhuang has become one of the most popular tourist spots in the Shanghai/Suzhou region, boasting from four to five thousand visitors each day during the tourist season.

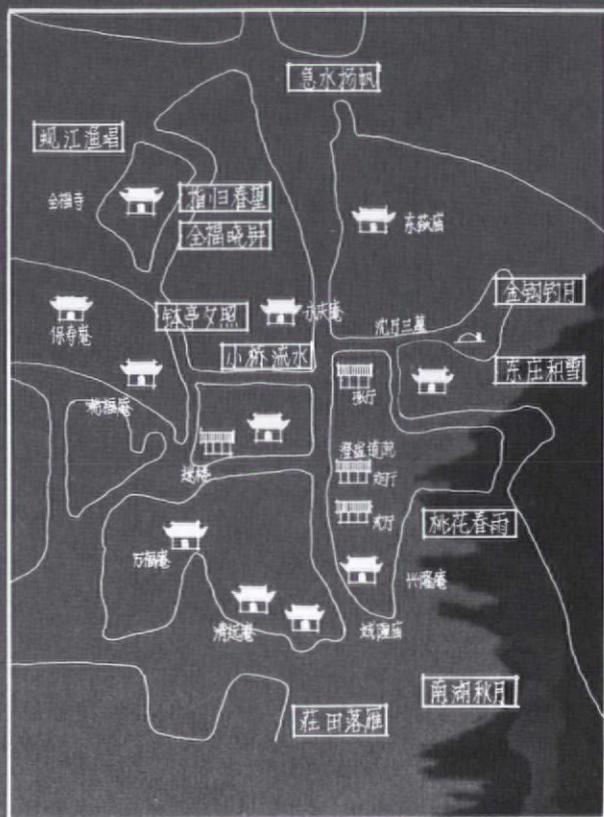
Ruan Yisan, an urban planning professor at Tongji, has been a leader of the preservation effort. Alerted by the alarming rate at which Chinese vernacular towns and villages are being spoiled by the country's modernization movement, Ruan is working on saving remaining, well-preserved historic townships. He identified Zhouzhuang as a test case and mobilized, almost single-handedly, resources and enormous support to advance his cause.

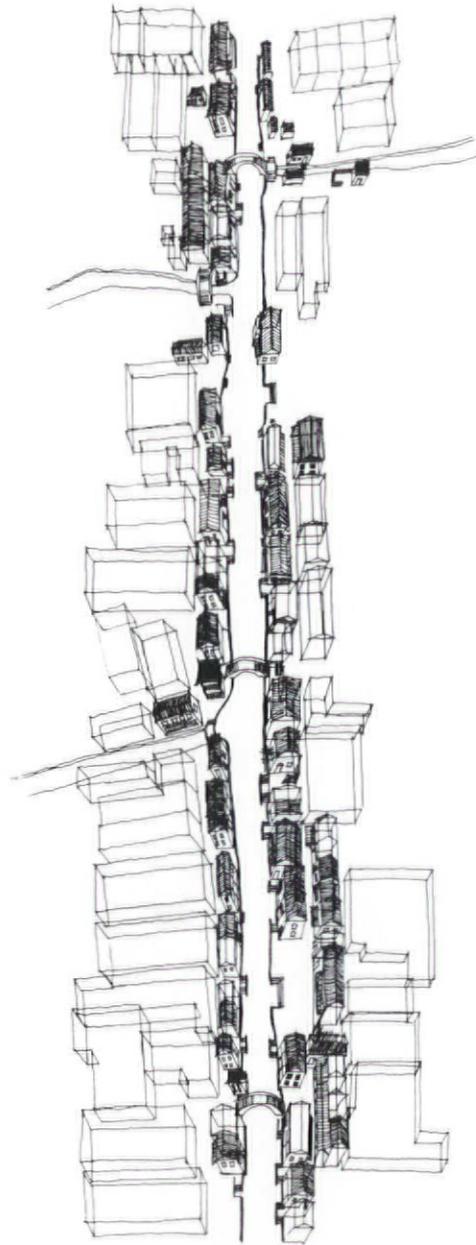
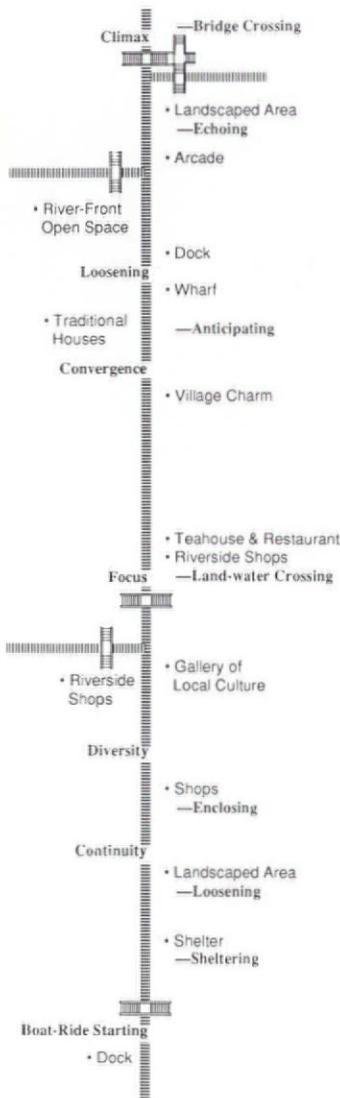
*Joseph C. Wang*

An ancient map of  
Zhouzhuang's historic scenic  
spots, temples and famous  
mansions.

Fishing in Nan Hu (South Lake),  
south of Zhouzhuang.  
Photo by Dan Redmond.

# 周莊歷史景點·寺廟·名宅分布





**(Left) The Redesign of Nanshihe-Beishihe Waterway and Planning Ideals. Redrawn by Men-chou Liu.**

**(Right) A birdseye view of Nanshihe-Beishihe Waterway looking north. Fu-an Bridge, the center of the old town, is in the middle.**

**Sketch by Janey Chan.**

**All drawings have been redrawn from the Tongji University study of and plan for Zhouzhuang.**

In 1985, as now, there was no legislation for protecting historic places (as opposed to monuments) in China. The only official acts promoting cultural and historic awareness in the physical environment came in 1982 and 1986, when the government issued lists of "Famous Historic and Cultural Cities" and called upon people "to take actions to protect, rebuild and administer these cities." A report accompanying the 1986 list suggests that "people's governments at the provincial, municipal, or county level should identify the historic and cultural sites in their jurisdiction; local rules should be enforced to protect and maintain the historic sites while non-construction zones should be defined." These statements contain implications for preservation policy but provide no specific details.

Working within this ambiguous climate, Ruan managed to obtain a small grant to conduct field studies in Zhouzhuang, to publish a significant survey report and to hold, within the village, a conference on the theme of preserving and protecting historic townships. Celebrities and local and provincial politicians participated in the conference, which was given wide publicity in newspapers and on television.

One of the greatest obstacles Ruan encountered in his push for preserving Zhouzhuang was the village chief. "Chief Gu Genyuan was a staunch believer in modernization. He ridiculed the notion of historic preservation and refused to see me when I first visited the village," Ruan recalled. "In the end, we became the best of friends." Gu was interested in Zhouzhuang's economic growth, and as he became convinced the town could have both new industry and preservation, he became a supporter of Ruan's efforts.



### **A Tour of Zhouzhuang**

I visited Zhouzhuang on a cold day in November, 1986, with Ruan and his Tongji colleagues. After a three-hour ride from Shanghai, we stopped at the bank of the Jishuigang (rough water harbor), an important shipping lane north of the village, and crossed it by ferry to reach Zhouzhuang.

As we headed south after landing at the village proper, my attention was drawn to a vast expanse of farmland to the west, dotted with low-rise farm houses on the distant horizon. The flat, featureless landscape, which had been readied for the next planting, gave a clue to the socioeconomic character of this rural community, whose residents are lower-income, not well-educated and engaged in manual labor, such as farming and fishing.

Following a straight, narrow road of pounded earth in the middle of the open field, we arrived at a hostel — a modern looking, two-story building of reinforced concrete construction.

Chief Gu greeted us warmly; he and his staff briefed us on the history and status of the village. They were proud that Zhouzhuang, unlike more enterprising townships in the area, had boosted its economy while preserving and maintaining the original Ming-era (1368-1644) and Qing-era (1644-1911) appearance of the village and its architecture. The village's natural setting contributed to its uncontaminated state, they pointed out. Surrounded by water, Zhouzhuang owes its integrity to its physical isolation from the outside world.

Zhouzhuang, located on the lower reaches of the Yangtze River in Jiangsu province, is one of 264 townships and villages scattered throughout this "water country." Because of the network of lakes and rivers, fertile land and abundant products, the area has long been known as the "land of fish and rice." The region attracted wealthy merchants and retired govern-

**Riverside houses built on revetments are mirrored in Qiangangshihe, the east-west river in the old town.**  
**Photo by David Sunkel.**

ment officials who established their households in this prosperous "land of brilliant mountains and graceful rivers, and also the homeland of exceptional people," as an old Chinese saying goes. Some of their residences, built mostly during the Ming and Qing periods, have survived the turmoil of historic disasters and are well maintained and still actively used.

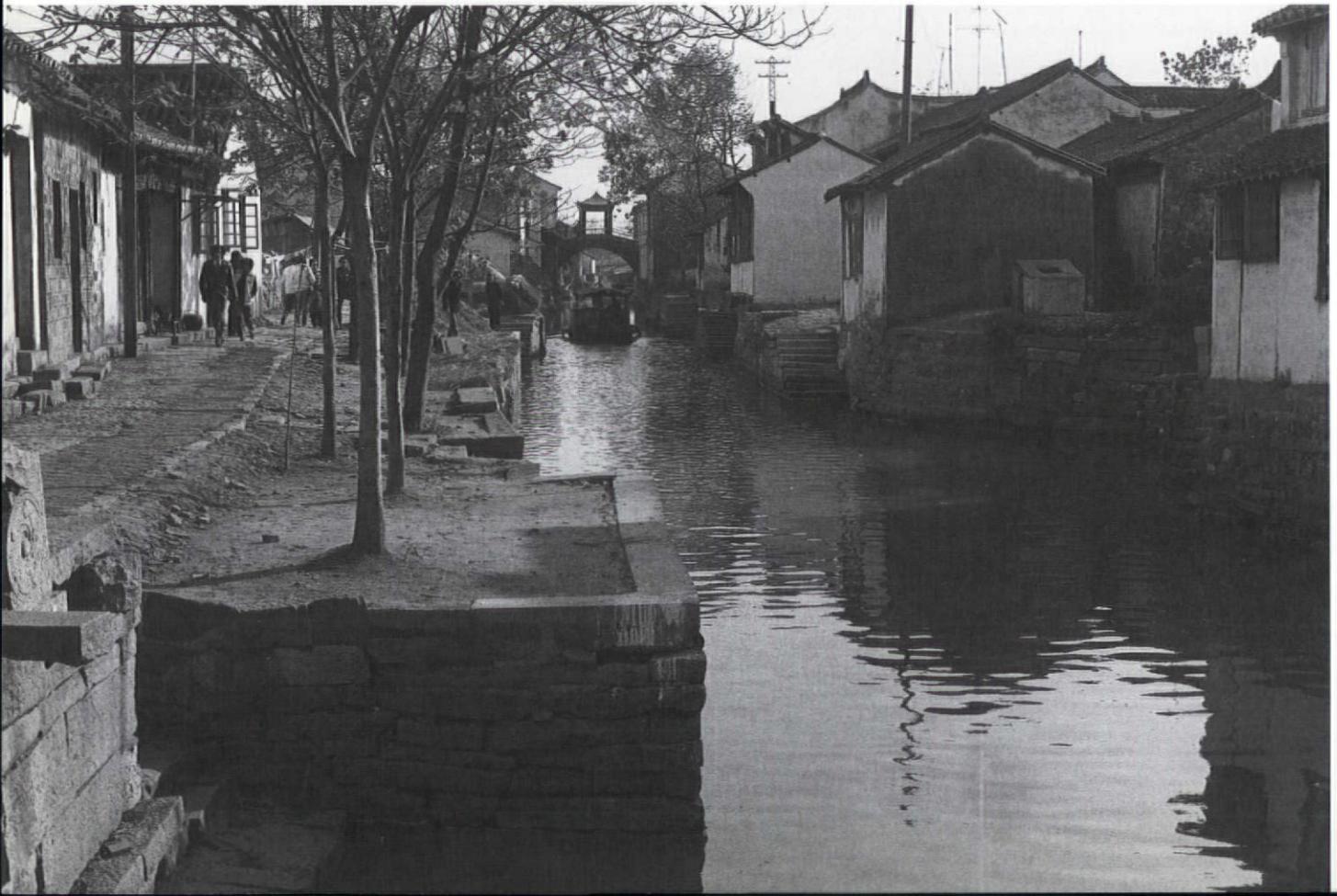
A wealthy landlord named Zhou Di first established the village for farming in 1086 and donated land to build a temple complex for the community. In appreciation, the villagers named the community Zhouzhuang, or (Zhou Village). Not until the millionaire Shen Wan-san set up his headquarters in Zhouzhuang near the end of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), the village enjoyed the biggest expansion since its founding. It was during this time that the Nanshihe-Beishihe, the north-

south main waterway, established itself as the village center with Fu-an Bridge (1335) as its focal point.

The population in 1986, according to the Tongji University survey, was 1,838 persons (in 707 households) of which 802 were farmers. In addition, more than 3,000 transient workers commuted daily to Zhouzhuang from nearby communities to fish in the surrounding lakes or to work in the village's 15 factories.

The village consists of seven islands linked by 19 stone bridges, many of which are arched and were built during the Ming and Qing periods. Zhouzhuang's waterways are natural in form and vary in width. Main streets in the village are laid parallel to the waterways, which carve the land into small, intimate groupings of bridges, houses and shops. Bridges, the places where water and land come together, are

Looking south along Beishihe  
from Shuang Qiao; Fu-an Bridge  
is visible in the distance.  
Photo by David Sunkel.

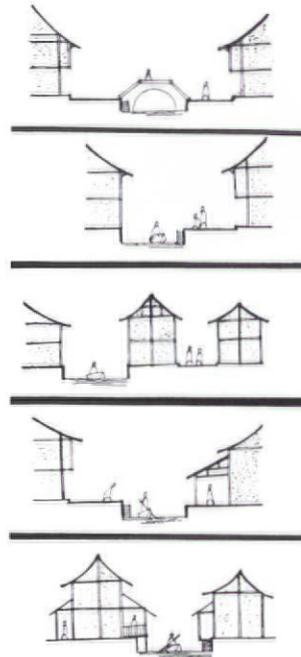


more than circulation connectors. Historically, the placement of a bridge marked a focal point in the social, economic and artistic life of the villagers. Usually, a bridge is near a tea house and a wharf that provides access to the water.

The physical shape of the village is influenced by *Zhou Li* (*The Book of Rites*), a predominant method of making places in China. *Zhou Li* contains an implicit prescription that a Chinese city should be planned as a gridded square, oriented north-south and enclosed by a wall. These “genes” have been followed over the centuries, not only in cities of all scales and types but also in the planning of urban and rural dwellings. In Zhouzhuang, the main waterway runs north-south, and traditional village houses, both large and small, are designed as miniature cities.

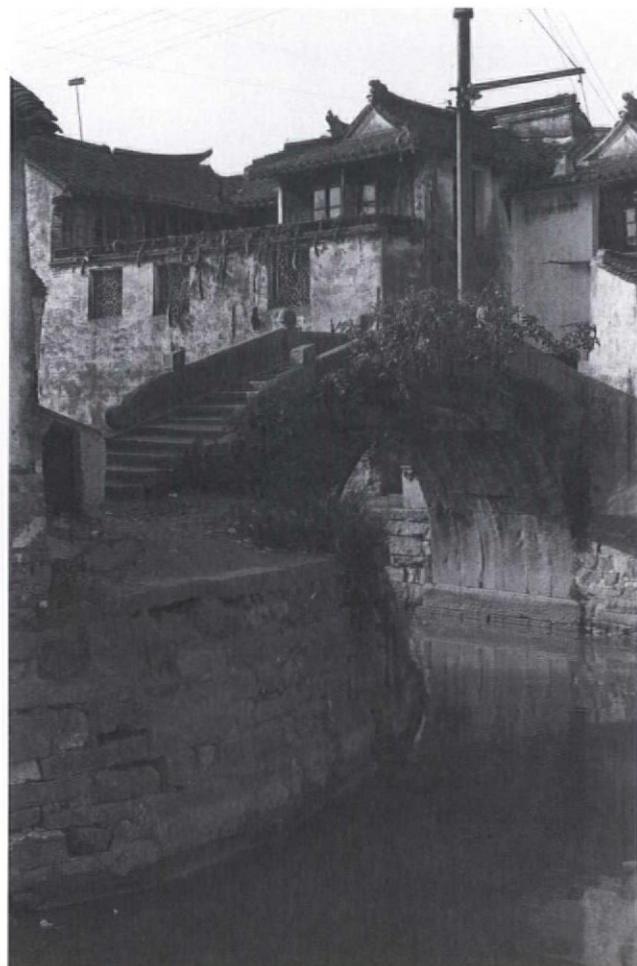
The design of buildings in Zhouzhuang evolved from local conditions and in a scale appropriate to its character and setting. Most are designed to face streets on one side and water on the other — watertowns traditionally rely almost exclusively on water for transportation, trading and domestic activities. Most houses are two stories; the ground floor is used for workshops, storage and shops, and private living space is upstairs.

Most buildings in the village are one- or two-story timber-framed structures with grey tile roofs and white-washed exterior walls. Following traditional Chinese building principles, all houses and public buildings in Zhouzhuang used post-and-lintel construction, with timber as the skeleton and brick or masonry walls as non-load-bearing enclosures and partitions. Anonymous carpenters and artisans carried out the “design” and construction of buildings, conforming mainly to age-old conventions.

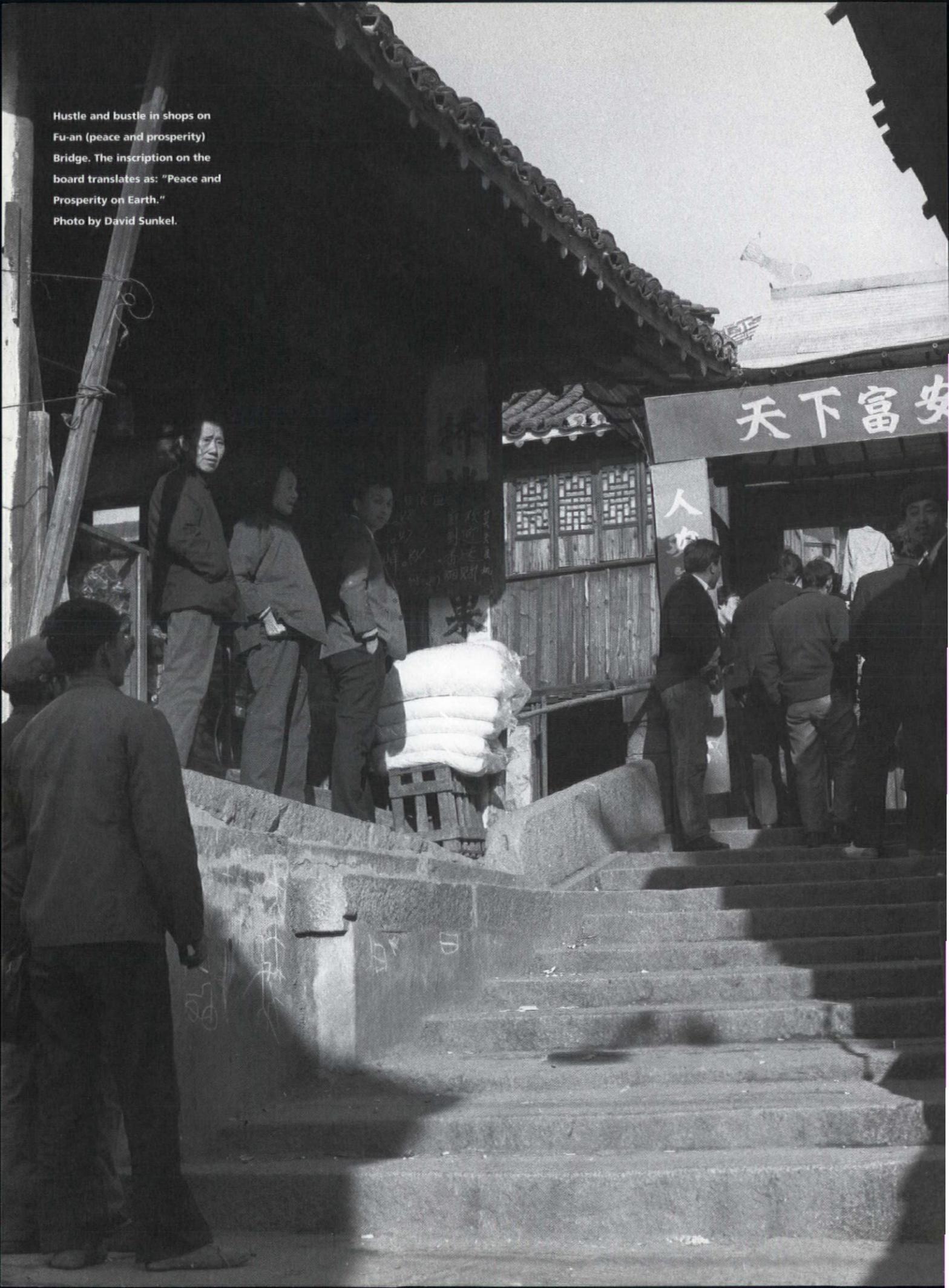


Typical river-street-building relationships found in Zhouzhuang. Redrawn by Ryadi Adityavarman.

Taiping Bridge, built during the Ming Dynasty. Photo by David Sunkel.



Hustle and bustle in shops on  
Fu-an (peace and prosperity)  
Bridge. The inscription on the  
board translates as: "Peace and  
Prosperity on Earth."  
Photo by David Sunkel.



The predominantly black-and-white color scheme is highlighted in spots by dark brown woodwork and deep red window frames on the building facades. This plain color scheme derived from the construction materials that were available locally and from a traditional deference to the more exuberant color schemes used for royal buildings. Recent construction has used reddish-orange roof tiles, a sign of assertiveness and modernity.

The Tongji plan and study included detailed observations about the relationship between rhythms of village life and its public spaces. At daybreak, rivers, water squares and wharfs provide the central stage for the hustle and bustle of shipping and trading with farmers as main players. Activities gradually shift to the land near mid-morning, when streets become the setting for social interactions, business transactions and leisure.

Rivers play a dominant role in the community as the day goes on. When



A shopping street in Zhouzhuang.  
Photo by David Sunkel.

### A PROFILE OF VILLAGE LIFE

	4:00-5:00	5:00-6:00	6:00-7:00	7:00-8:00	8:00-10:00	10:00-12:00	12:00-13:00	13:00-16:00	16:00-18:00	18:00-21:00	21:00-22:00
<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>	1 person icon	2 people icon	3 people icon	4 people icon	4 people icon	2 people icon	4 people icon	4 people icon	2 people icon	4 people icon	4 people icon
<b>ACTIVITIES</b>	RIVER	WATER SQUARE	VILLAGE CENTER	STREET	TEA HOUSE	TEA HOUSE	VILLAGE CENTER	TEA HOUSE	BRIDGE	STORY TELLING	HOME
<b>LOCATIONS</b>	STREET	BRIDGE	(NEAR BRIDGE)	SCHOOLS	PARK	RESTAURANT	FARMER'S MARKET	PARK	WHARF	"THEATRE"	
<b>ACTIVITY TYPES</b>	BOATING	WASHING	PURCHASING	GOING TO WORK	TEA DRINKING	NAPPING	BUSINESS ACTIVITIES	NAPPING	SOCIAL GATHERING	STORY TELLING	RESTING
<b>PRIMARY SPACES</b>	WATERSPACE	WATER	LAND	LAND	WATER LAND	WATER LAND	LAND	WATER LAND	WATER LAND	LAND	LAND
	LANDSPACE	LAND			LAND	LAND					

farmers and their boats are gone, domestic activities like washing and socializing at the waterfront will replace them. The day ends early as the only night spots in the village are a cinema and a few game parlors where ping pong, billiards and video games are available. Zhouzhuang's social life primarily involves visiting neighbors, the traditional lady's afternoon *ab pou* tea party and watching television.

In order to accommodate the variety and density of human activities, village spaces by necessity are multi-functional. For example, very few residents have moved out of the old town since its designation as a preservation district. For them, life goes on as usual as they run their shops or simply enjoy their retirement. There are only a few open spaces in the old town, but they

function efficiently in turn as the farmers' wholesale station at dawn, retail market by mid-morning, drying plaza for laundry at noon and playing field for children during evening hours.

Streets in these neighborhoods have become a natural extension of living rooms. Since there is no vehicular traffic in the area, domestic activities take place freely in the streets. In such cases, the division between private and public is ambiguous and the definitions of dwelling and street are flexible.

### The Zhouzhuang Plan

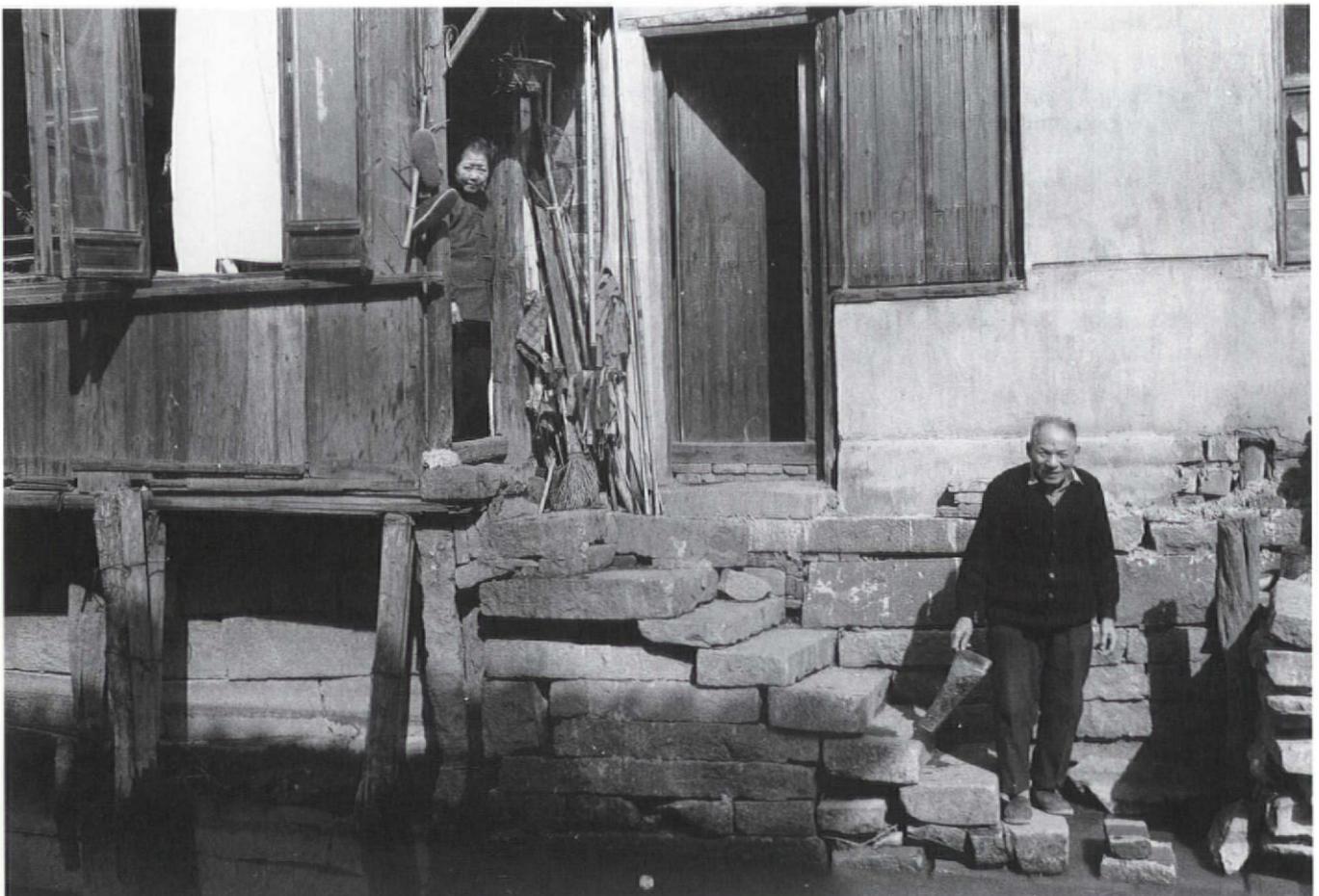
The Tongji proposal for the conservation and redesign of Zhouzhuang, finished in 1986, includes long- and short-range plans. Its guiding principles are the separation of developing

Houses in Zhouzhuang have private entrances along the waterways.

Photo by Dan Redmond.

industries from the old village center and the routing of regional highways away from the historic district, making the village core an environment that is relatively pollution-free and for pedestrians only.

So far, the short-range plan has resulted in several actions, including several government-sponsored adaptive reuse projects meant to improve prospects for tourism. An elementary school was converted into a hostel and restaurant, a "cultural palace" was turned into a hotel and the largest house in the village, the Shen Mansion, became a local history museum and restaurants. The Tongji effort also resulted in a number of economic development actions. A number of new industries, including a chemical plant and a factory that produces building



materials, were built in an industrial area north of Jishuigang.

Of particular interest to future tourism is the proposed redesign of the Nanshihe-Beishihe, the north-south waterway. Included in the design are several waterfront teahouses and restaurants, small shops, an art gallery, landscaped open spaces and docks for oarsmen-operated pleasure boats, all creating a sequence of water/land touring experiences for future visitors. These would be operated by the government or by *danwei* (work groups), but none has attracted funding.

The Tongji team also established a set of “design ideals,” a unique Chinese approach to environmental design, to enhance the experience of moving along the 400-meter long waterway. Planners mapped onto the natural terrain a semantic scheme that would allow visitors to experience a sequence of spatial variations in the scale and character of the land-water spaces along the north-south waterway.

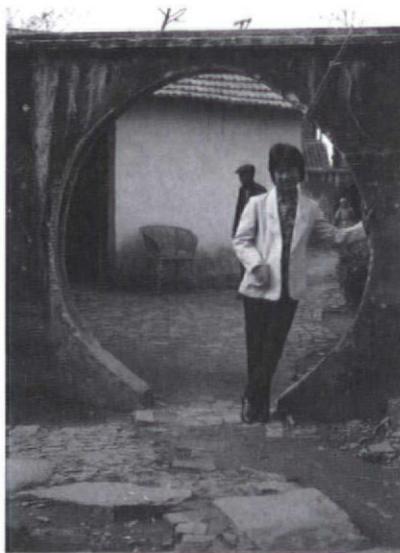
Along Zhouzhuang’s Nanshihe-Beishihe waterway, a north-bound boat ride will provide, for example, a sense of SHELTERING security, LOOS-ENING delight, ENCLOSING comfort and ANTICIPATING excitement as the boat approaches the Twin Bridge, the climax of the tour. Also, as the tour nears its end, the design offers an ECHOING memory of the beginning section of the waterway, returning to the original theme.

The design ideals were drawn from the planners’ evaluation of the character of the waterway. The plan called for reinforcing these ideals with selective infill construction and careful alterations to facades of buildings that face the waterway.

This approach is similar to that used by ancient landscape painters to



Typical grey tile roofs and whitewashed exterior walls of traditional houses.  
Photo by Janey Chan.



Homecoming visit by a Zhouzhuang native.  
Photo by Janey Chan.

A view of a residential section of the village; some houses are relatively new construction in the traditional vernacular style. Photo by David Sunkel.

lay out the scenes depicted on their handscrolls and by garden designers, who manipulated landscape elements to create desired effects in gardens. The common denominator of these endeavors is the use of language as a catalyst and guide for design. Ideal states are poetically expressed in simple, yet elegant terms. The designer, or artist, is challenged to “translate” these attributes into physical realities.

### Zhouzhuang Since the Plan

Today Zhouzhuang appears to be prospering. A highway bridge was completed over Jishuigang, at the northern tip of the village. New housing continues to be built in the northwestern section, and electricity and running water have been supplied to the entire community.

Tourism has increased the villagers’ wealth, yet their living conditions remain substandard. Andrew Powell, an architecture student of mine who visited Zhouzhuang in 1991, filed a report that included these comments:

*An architecture professor at Tongji University gave us a lecture on the watertowns in the Yangze delta region the other day and he described a visit he had with a villager there. The inhabitant said he would rather live in the professor’s apartment in Shanghai in the mainstream of changing culture and the professor could live in his dirt-floored watertown house in bad conditions if [the professor] felt the watertown was so wonderful. The professor confessed he couldn’t do it! How can we as architects force those people to live in such poor conditions, isolated from the new China, just so we have a nice place to visit and preserve traditional houses? ... Is the value of [historic] preservation worth the price inhabitants have to pay?*

Homes have no heating and sanitary facilities. Overcrowding, poor

lighting and ventilation, and the deterioration of traditional timber frame structures threaten the occupant’s safety and well-being. Most houses are state owned and the concept and practice of maintenance are not well ingrained. Professionals and politicians have been unable to come to grips with this issue and its problems.

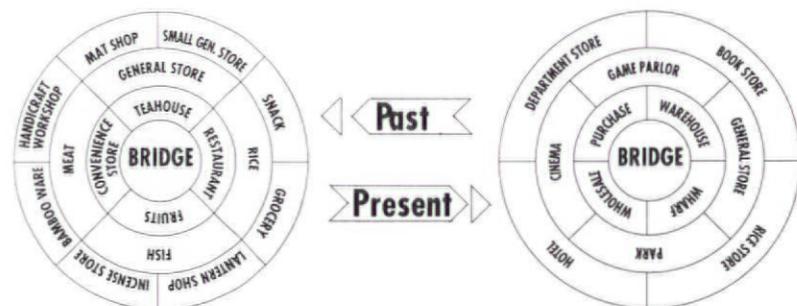
Nevertheless, the achievements of and experiences gained in Zhouzhuang’s preservation effort are viewed by many as exemplary. They are already referred to as precedents for similar programs for nearby villages.

The greatest achievement, according to Ruan, is the villagers’ change of attitude toward their heritage. “Before we got involved, the residents of Zhouzhuang felt rather ashamed of the dilapidated conditions of their village and were extremely reluctant to show visitors around and allow pictures to be taken,” he said. “Today, the residents are very proud of their little village, realizing the real value of historic artifacts and places.”

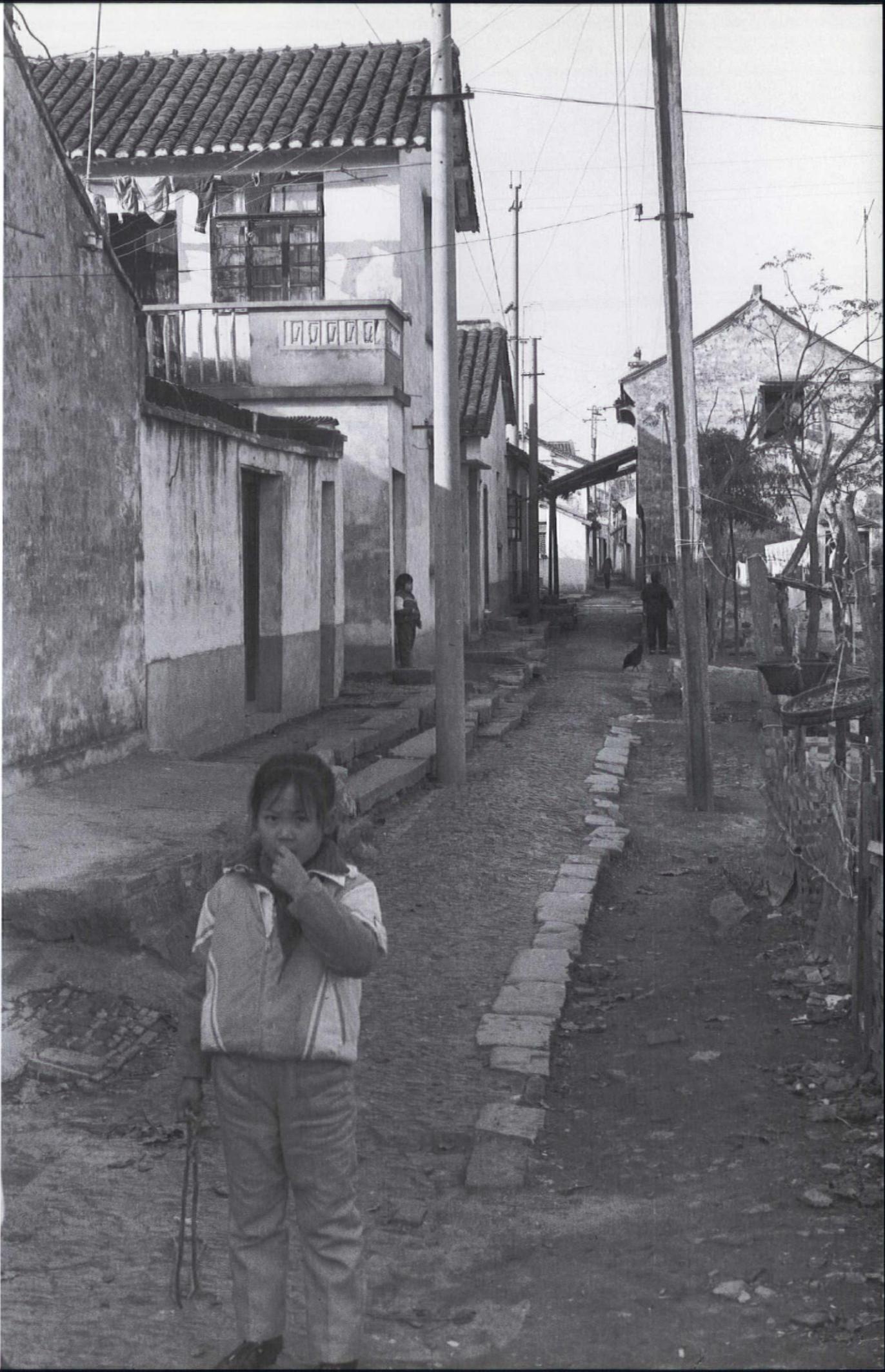
Another accomplishment, Ruan and his colleagues proudly claim, is that no new construction of modern design has occurred since 1986, and very few old structures have been torn down.

Although those successes have brought prosperity to this once humble and peaceful community, they also have brought problems. At issue is the village’s readiness for the sudden burst of tourism. Can the quantity and quality of services and facilities cope with the ever-increasing number of visitors?

Before it became famous, Zhouzhuang was a place for artists and romanticists, for tranquility and meditation, and, above all, for a taste of the simple, rustic and quiet pastoral life of the historic past. Whether the crowds of people in narrow streets and on small bridges can be avoided in the near future by skilled tourist management remains to be seen. As China is pushing forward to preserve its splendid historic places, hard lessons have to be learned. The lessons of Zhouzhuang are a good beginning.



The changing character of bridges as places for village life. Redrawn by Sam X. B. Yue.



**PARKER & SHEAFFER'S**  
**PENS**  
REPAIRED WITH GUARANTEE

**MITHA PEN STALL**  
DEALERS & REPAIRERS OF ALL KINDS OF  
FOUNTAIN PENS & LADIES HAND BAGS

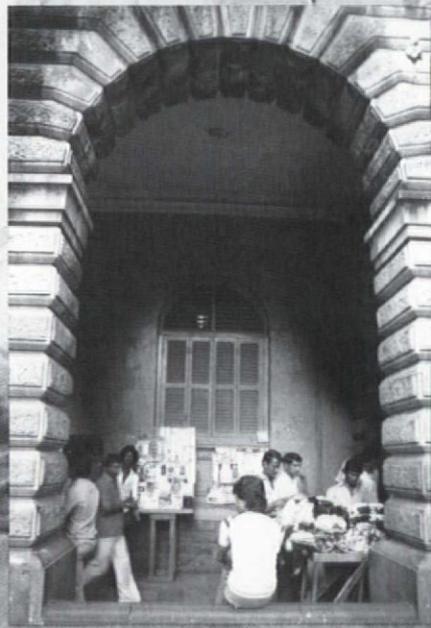
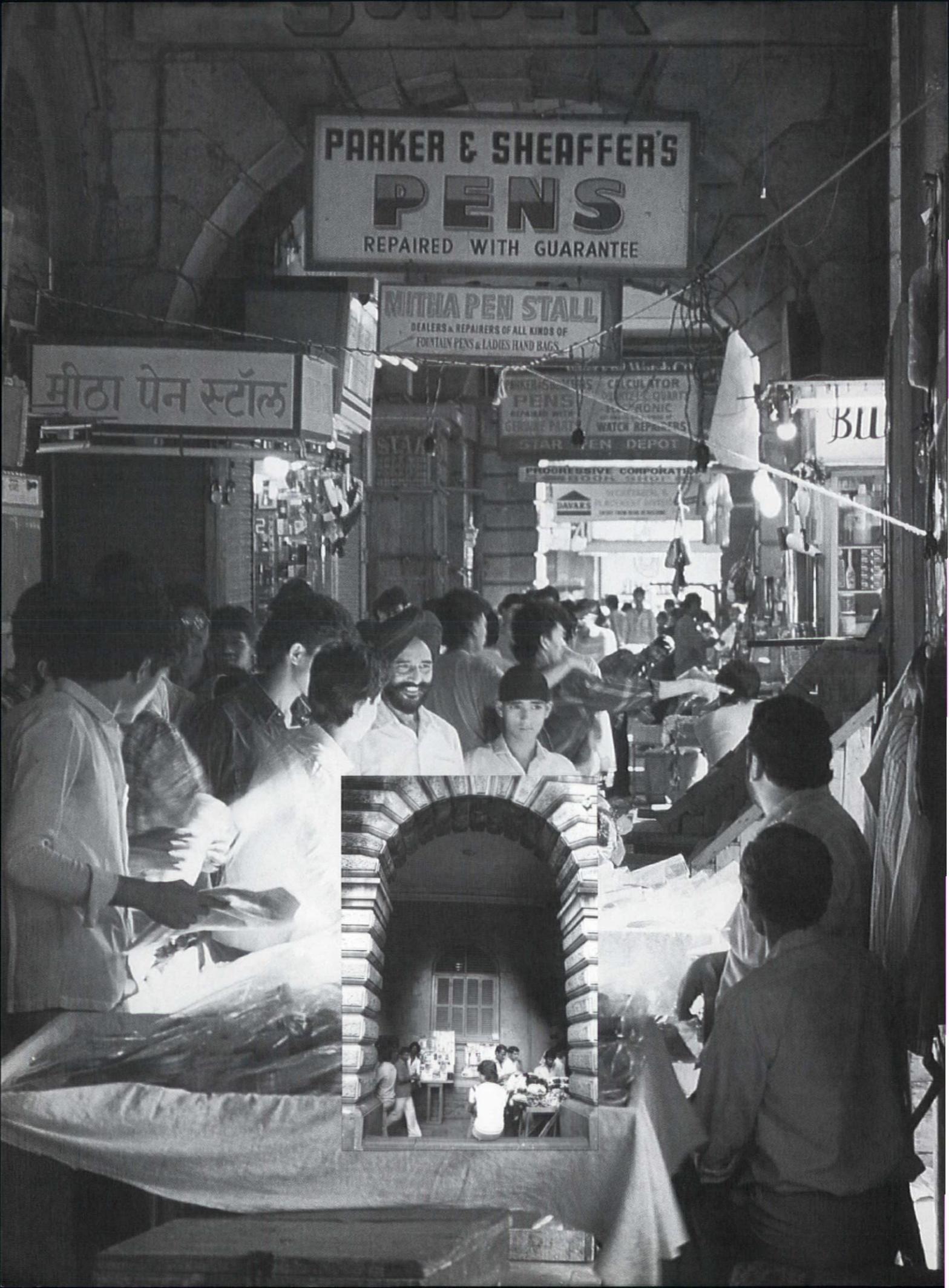
मीठा पेन स्टॉल

WATERPROOFERS CALCULATOR  
PENS QUARTZ  
REPAIRED WITH ELECTRONIC  
GENUINE PARTS  
WATCH REPAIRERS  
STAR PEN DEPOT

PROGRESSIVE CORPORATION

DAVARS

BLU



## Bazaars in Victorian Arcades

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Bombay's colonial government reshaped the city by means of a series of distinct, planned architectural and urban design projects. The authorities sought not only to make the city's growth cohesive but also to place their imprint on its form by controlling building activity and investment in infrastructure, however sporadic and incremental it may have seemed.

Today, however, Bombay no longer physically manifests itself with the clarity that its colonial planners envisioned. An unprecedented number of people are migrating to the city for economic reasons, bringing with them social values and cultural attitudes that are transforming the structure and form of the city.

The old Fort area of Bombay, the object of much of the colonial government's attention, is symbolic of this transformation. This precinct, which marks the origin of Bombay as a city, is now the commercial and symbolic center of the Bombay metropolitan region. But today the urban fabric of the Fort area is being altered by various activities vying for the same space. And current building laws, which are standardized throughout the city, are unable to safeguard the clarity that designers have envisioned during the past century.

The most emblematic of the conflicts – the spread of traditional Indian bazaars into the formal urban spaces planned by colonial government – suggests new approaches to preservation that take into account the constantly changing nature of the city.

The intermingling of Indian culture and Bombay's colonial architecture is posing unusual preservation problems.

Courtesy Rahul J. Mehrotra.

**Horniman Circle, with its combination of a central park enclosed by controlled facades, introduced an urban design approach that had not been used previously in India. Courtesy Times of India.**



**Hornby Road, an example of structuring urban form through mandated regulations. Here, the arcade was required in all buildings. Courtesy Rahul J. Mehrotra.**



### **Structuring the Core**

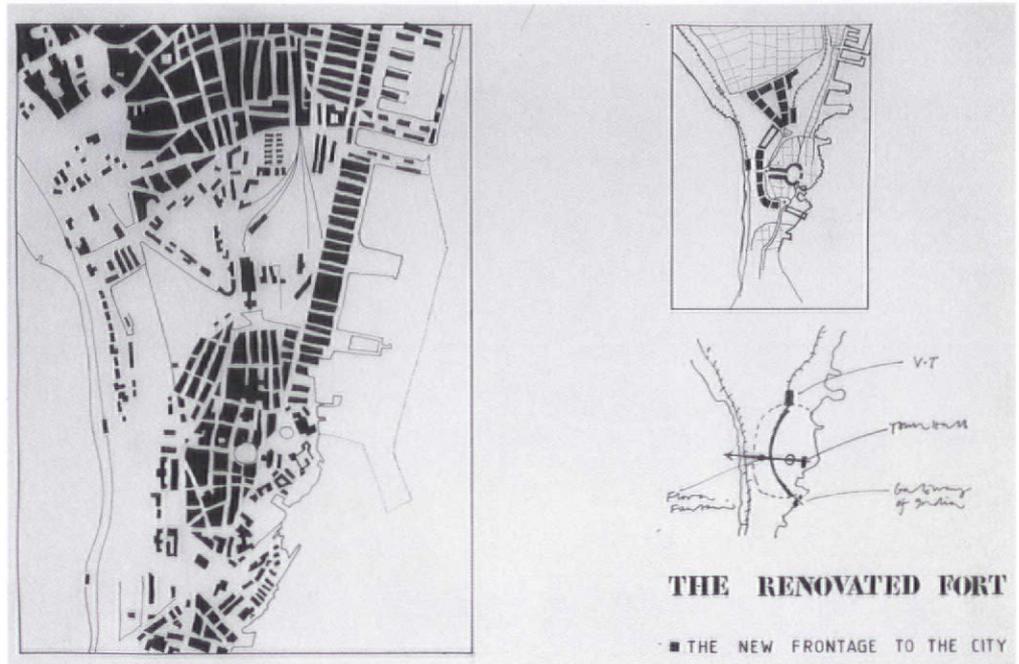
The renewal of the Fort area dates to 1864, when the removal of the fortifications that surrounded the city was finished. The removal of the ramparts symbolized a change of purpose for Bombay, which no longer needed to serve as a land-based defense fort and whose growth as a prosperous trading and manufacturing city was being constrained by the fortifications. It also precipitated a strategic plan to restructure the city center that included the widening and improving of roads, the addition of new open spaces, the construction of new public buildings and the imposition of urban design standards. Consequently, the demolition of the ramparts intensified, clarified and made irreversible Bombay's change of urban function.

These renewal efforts projected a consciously conceived, visible image of Bombay, perhaps the first such urban design gesture in colonial India. At the western edge of the Fort area, along the Back Bay waterfront, several public buildings were put up on land made vacant by the removal of the fortifications. This magnificent ensemble of Gothic buildings (which included the High Court, the University, the Post and Telegraph offices and the Old Secretariat) helped clarify the existing bow-like cross axis, which had implicitly structured the Fort area for more than a century. These buildings transformed Bombay's skyline and visually structured its western edge.

A smaller scale project was the privately-sponsored Horniman Circle (1864), which involved restructuring a green in front of the Town Hall into a formal, circular park enclosed by an assembly of architecturally unified commercial buildings. Although the plots on the Circle were auctioned to commercial firms, the design of the facades was controlled to create a sense of unity. This urban design approach, popular for more than a century in countries like England and France, had not been previously used in India. The arcade also offered protection to pedestrians from both the violent summer sun and the lashing monsoon rain.

These projects created an east-west and a north-south axis through the Fort area. The east-west axis ran from the Town Hall through the public buildings on the western edge, and ended with a vista across the bay. The north-south axis was anchored at one end with the grand Victoria Terminus (1878-1887) and at the other by the Gateway of India (1911-1914), a monument that symbolized the ceremonial entry to the city. The intersection of these two axes was celebrated by the construction of the Flora Fountain (1887).

Courtesy Rahul J. Mehrotra.

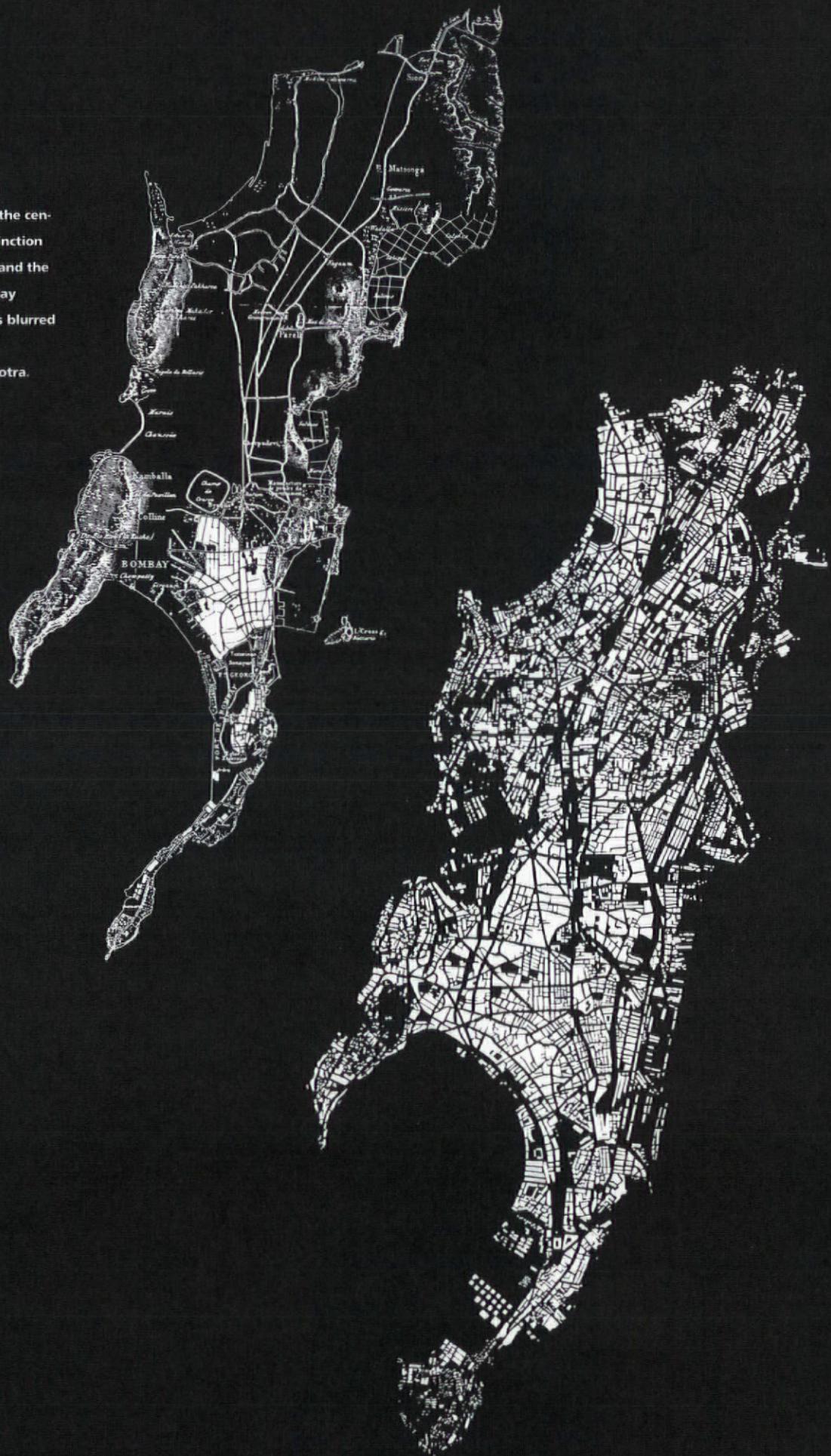


In 1898, the north-south axis was further reinforced by the development of Hornby Road under public design controls. Here, unlike Horniman Circle, there were no restrictions on the design of the facades, which were conceived and built by different architects. But each building was required to have an arcade, which acted as the physical and visual element that tied together the varying architectural styles and enhanced the legibility of Hornby Road as an urban design composition.<sup>1</sup> Development along Hornby Road connected the crescent of public buildings south of Flora Fountain (including, Elphinstone College, Sasson Library, the University and Watson's Hotel), unifying disparate elements in the composition of the newly designed city core.

Definite and consistent principles guided the planning and expansion of the rest of the urban center. It grew out of a process of additive transformations rather than a comprehensive system of land division, although one can recognize instances of a more rigorous division of land blocks on the west side of Hornby Road (land freed for development by the removal of the ramparts). The primary concern, the relationship between buildings and streets, was expressed in a set of agreements in regard to issues of street hierarchy, nodes, building location and frontage.

This decisive re-ordering of central Bombay, which was directed by the colonial government, contrasted with the additive, incremental and impulsive growth that had characterized the Fort area since the inception and settlement of Bombay. In spite of the overwhelming problems of sanitation and overcrowding in other parts of the city, the administration had the liberty, and the power, to focus its attention on a smaller, more tangible area. The government used every opportunity to use buildings and infrastructure to establish a cohesive urban form that responded to the unprecedented increase in commerce and industry, and to give colonial political power a visible expression.

The dual city: A map of Bombay at the turn of the century (left) shows a distinction between the Fort area and the dense Indian town. Today (right) the distinction is blurred beyond recognition. Courtesy Rahul J. Mehrotra.



## The Dual City

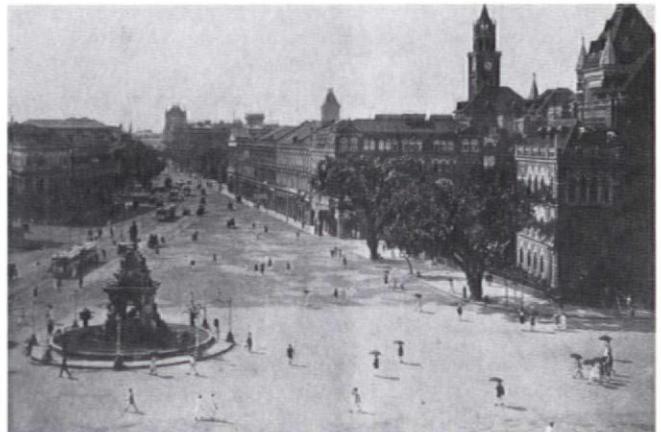
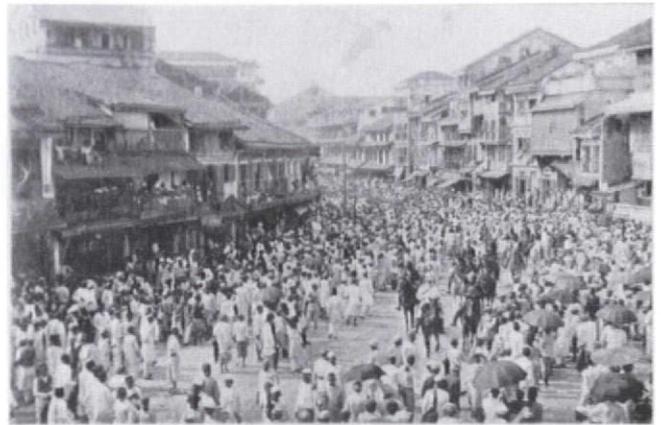
A century ago, Bombay was two separate cities, Western and Indian, with parallel residential, commercial, religious and recreational areas — two separate networks of spaces in which there different worlds existed with minimal conflict. In the Western quarter, all efforts were being made to impose a formal structure upon the city — reinforcing the axes, controlling building edges and styles, instituting traffic regulations and encouraging large corporations to open offices. The Indian city, in contrast, was characterized by chaotic, haphazard growth and overcrowding.

The boom decades of the 1860s and 1870s resulted in fragmented development all over the island. Growth was incremental and organic in the Indian city. Cotton mills, which drew immigrants from surrounding agricultural areas, served as the hearts of districts in the Indian city. Small businesses grew and shops and stalls mushroomed near temples, mosques and main traffic routes. Here, unlike the city center, little control was exercised over the sites being developed for housing or industrial use. Residential, commercial and religious activity patterns were integrated in a tightly knit urban fabric like a traditional Indian bazaar town.

The bazaar — a chaotic market place comprised of shops, stalls and hawkers — can be seen as the symbolic image of and metaphor for the physical state of the Indian city. The chaos and apparent disorder of the bazaar is precisely the quality essential for the survival of vending — physical proximity between seller and buyer. It also is the physical manifestation of incremental and *laissez-faire* growth of the market place. More important, it symbolizes positive energy, optimism and a will to survive outside the official system.

This classical, colonial, dual-city structure survived until the 1960s, when the unprecedented scale of distress migration from rural areas to Bombay (and other urban centers) completely altered the exclusivity of the two domains. The bazaar became an instrument that absorbed migrants, cushioning their entry to the city, and swept across the city — sprawling along transport lines, slopes of hills, underutilized land, undefined pavements and even the arcades in the Victorian core.

The bazaars blurred beyond recognition the physical segregation of the dual cities. They wove the two worlds together with a system of shopping and recreation spaces that infused their own architectural and visual character wherever they spread. The arcades, in particular, provided a condition most



**The dual city: A religious celebration in the bazaar (top) and the Flora Fountain and Esplanade Road in the reconstructed Fort district (bottom).**  
Courtesy *Times of India*.

appropriate for hawking: The supporting columns of the arcade gave definition to the amorphous spaces of the bazaar and defined the territory of individual hawkers.

The spread of the bazaar into the Fort area transformed the intensity and patterns of use there and began to wear down the physical environment with overlays of an alien imagery and building materials that compose the paraphernalia of the bazaar. Today, shrines and stalls abut the splendid Gothic buildings and fill the spaces in their arcades. Overcrowding has altered traffic patterns and made the bow-like cross axis unrecognizable.

The physical degradation was further accelerated by the imposition of the Rent Control Act (1942), which froze rents and gave tenants legal protections. As a result, it became uneconomical for landlords to maintain buildings, which are now subdivided to accommodate the swelling population of the city.

Furthermore, the formulation of building regulations (such as setbacks and floor-area ratios) generalized throughout the entire city (presumably for ease of administration) have resulted in the destruction of the street edge. The Alice Building, on Hornby Road, is a case in point: Its setback has destroyed the continuity of the street edge and arcade, crucial components in the design of Hornby Road. The new block does not comply with either the architectural textures (for example, the masonry bases) or details (such as cornice bands, articulation of arcades) that characterizes the precinct. This has happened in spite of the implicit and explicit rules for building that have been followed in this precinct for the last century.

Conservationist and citizens' groups have emerged to address this immense deterioration and transformation. In the best case, these groups represent a new relationship between citizens and city authorities, a coalescing of private initiative for public good. This is especially important given that city authorities and government (comprising chiefly of politicians elected from rural constituencies with no interest in Bombay apart from its role as the administrative capital for the state government) seem incapable of playing a leadership role and private enterprise seems to lack a moral conscience.

However, these groups' efforts run the danger of being myopic and exemplifying egocentric thinking; they may result in little more than superficial corrections, such as the beautification of traffic islands and the reinstatement of old street names. The groups do not seem to possess a sense of what the city should be;

they lack a constructive, action-oriented agenda for grappling with the city's transformation. Their crusades inevitably devolve into "turf battles" that represent the limited perceptions that a select minority have of the city and its form.

### **Bazaars in Victorian Arcades**

Bombay's century-long history of being a dual city is shifting; its two worlds, and their varied activities, attitudes and physical manifestations are coming together in the same place. The phenomena of bazaars in Victorian arcades in the old Fort area is emblematic of this conflict; it is not only forcing a confrontation of uses and interest groups but also demanding new preservation approaches.

For the average Bombay resident, the hawker provides a wide range of goods at prices considerably lower than those found in local shops. Thus hawking in the arcades that characterizes the Fort area is a thriving business.

For the elites and for conservationists, the Victorian core represents the city center with icons complete. In fact, as the city sprawls out, dissipating the clarity of its form, these images, places and icons have acquired even greater meaning for these groups as crucial symbols of the city's fast deteriorating image. Consequently, hawking is deemed illegal by city authorities, who constantly are pressuring to relocate the bazaars.

Can designers and planners contribute towards conserving and moulding the physical form of the Fort precinct in a way that responds to the massive shifts in demography and use patterns? Can we address, through design, the connection between social issues Bombay faces and the conservation of its physical form? How might we weave into this transforming historic city center the aspirations and use patterns of a world different from that which created it? Can we design with disparate attitudes?

Architects and planners can play a decisive role in initiating new solutions, in creating new contexts by reinterpreting the existing ones. The solution lies not only in creating new districts to take the pressure off the city center, but in simultaneously understanding, restructuring and shaping perceptions of the existing city form. We also must recognize that a city's prime resource, in addition to its urban form, is its concentration of human skills and enterprise, of services and activities. To sustain and accommodate this requires change from within the city. At

times, the urban form must be renewed: Buildings must be recycled or demolished, new streets and infrastructure must be added, and so on.

The challenge in Bombay is to cope with the city's transforming nature, not by inducing or polarizing its dualism, but by attempting to reconcile it, to see opposites as being simultaneously valid. The existence of two worlds in the same space implies that we must accommodate and overlap varying uses, perceptions and physical forms. The arcades in the Fort area are a special urban component that inherently possess a capacity for reinterpretation. As an architectural or urban design solution, they display an incredible resilience: They can accommodate new uses while keeping the illusion of their architecture intact.

The original use of the arcades was twofold. First, they establish a definite position in terms of building–street relationships: The adoption of this architectural/spatial element provided a mediation between building and street. Second, they were a perfect response to Bombay's climate: They served as a zone protecting pedestrians from both the harsh sun and lashing rains.

With today's transformation in use, conserving the Fort area effectively would require identifying those components of the city's urban system that are essential and should be conserved — such as its physical structure or the architectural illusion that it presents through features like principal views, skyline and punctuation — and those that can be transformed to other uses, even if only temporary.

One design solution might be to re-adapt the functioning of the arcades. They could be restructured to allow for easy pedestrian movement and accommodate hawkers at the same time. They could contain the amorphous bazaar encased in the illusion of the disciplined Victorian arcade. With this sort of planning, components of the city would have a greater ability to survive because they could be more adaptable to changing economic and social conditions.

There are no permanent solutions in an urban landscape charged simultaneously with duality as well as rapid transformation. At best, as architects we could constantly evolve and invent solutions for the present using and safeguarding the crucial components of our historically important urban hardware. In fact, “bazaars in Victorian arcades” could potentially become an authentic symbol of this preferred reality — an urban landscape that internalizes the past for the present and perhaps the future.

#### **Note**

1. This project was initiated by the City Improvement Trust, a governmental organization whose responsibilities included formulating specific development plans and controls for different parts of the city; it acquired private lands, redeveloped old and congested areas and prepared layouts for underdeveloped portions of the city.

# Planning, Preservation and Polyculture

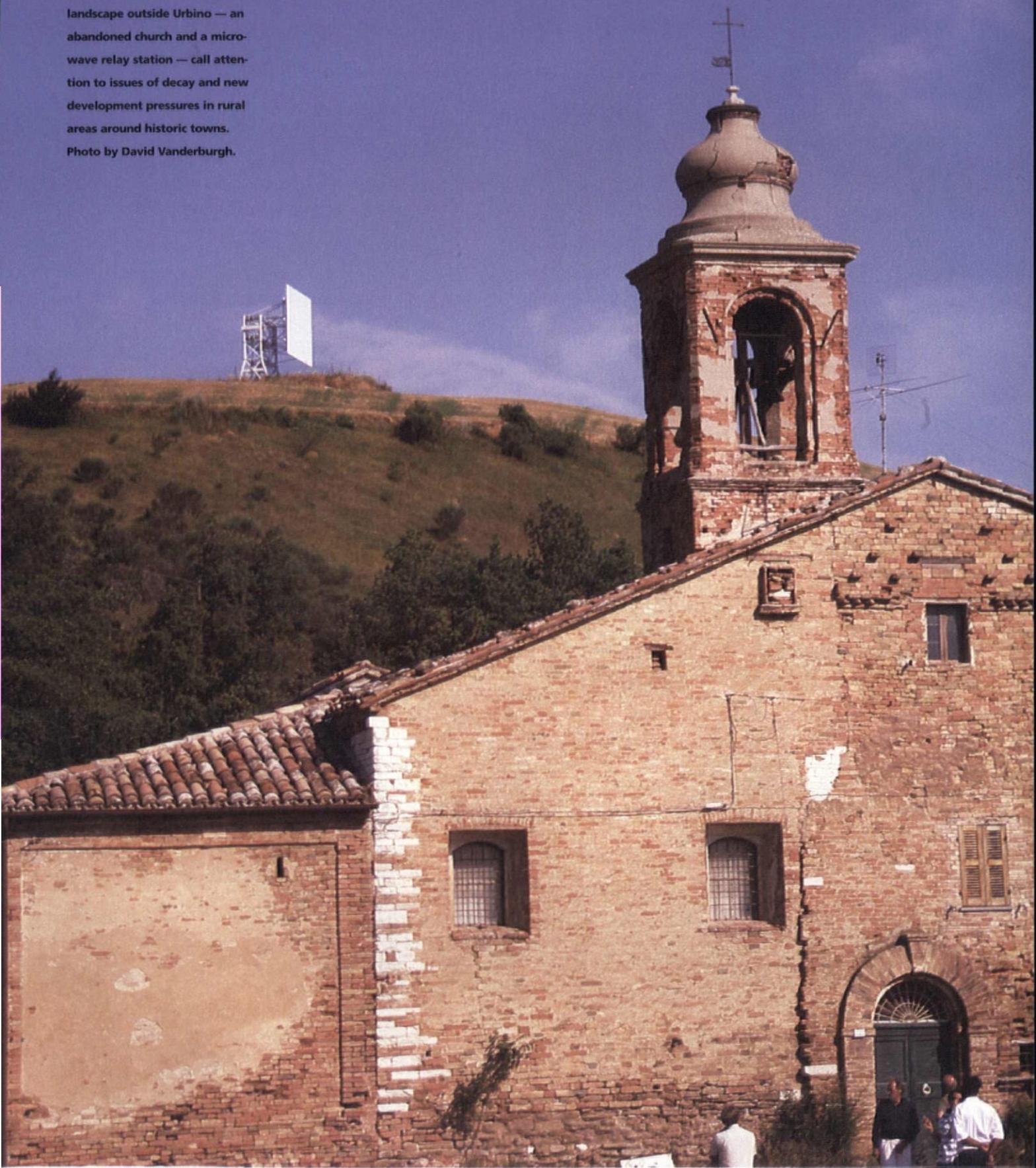
*David Vanderburgh*

The colors of the Urbino landscape are ruthlessly exact, like old Kodachrome. They meet your eyes directly without waiting for your vision to arrive. The landscape is neither neutral nor passive; it is like an advertisement for, or perhaps against, the land use policies of half a century. Since the 1930s, machine-farmed wheat has taken the place of mixed crops, highways the place of roads, housing estates the place of farms and faubourgs. But increasingly, the region's inhabitants see the landscape as more than a backdrop for urbanism, more than a collection of industrial or residential sites: The landscape is the register in which the region's vitality or senescence will be written.

In Europe, the ideas and goals of historic preservation are changing, and Urbino, known since the Renaissance as "a town in the form of a palace, a palace in the form of a town," is caught in the shift. When "preservation" meant restoring monuments, priorities were clear: Money and effort flowed to the palace, which presided over the town, which in turn presided over the surrounding territory. Urbino, like so many other "historic" towns, was the jewel, its surroundings the setting, and development outside the center was a separate issue.

Today, though, signs of displacement abound: Farmers live in highrises, academics live in farmhouses, and tourists and students live in medieval town houses. The newest monumental forms are microwave relay stations. Preservation will never again seem so simple.

Signs of displacement in the landscape outside Urbino — an abandoned church and a microwave relay station — call attention to issues of decay and new development pressures in rural areas around historic towns.  
Photo by David Vanderburgh.



### Urbino: The Town in the Landscape

The region's history begins with its topography, a slow race between earth and water. Urbino is on the eastern flank of the Upper Appenine mountain range, a series of north-south wrinkles formed by compressive forces. But the eastward flow of rivers from the Appenine divide can cut sudden canyons that catch these meandering ridges by surprise. Sometimes the ridges predominate, sometimes the canyons: It is hard to find a pattern, even when you know it is there. Selective erosion has left hills and mounds in seemingly random distributions, like pimples on the ridges, on slopes, or sitting on the floor of a valley. On two of these random bumps, two and a half millenia ago, appeared the settlement that would dominate the region until the present.

Several centuries before the Christian era, the Romans had established an outpost named Urbinum as part of their conquest of central Italy. The settlement took its name from the two principal hills of its site, though some scholars believe that it mainly occupied the lower and southernmost of these. A series of expansions and enclosures during the Middle Ages eventually included the second hill and various faubourgs along the slopes.

It was during Federico da Montefeltro's long tenure (1444-82) as Duke of Urbino that the town acquired its famed town-as-palace aspect. In a brilliant stroke of contextual urbanism, Federico transformed a scattered ancestral compound into a gracious, outward-looking facade for the town — and, by careful massing on the saddle between the two hills, appropriated the town's entire form to serve as formal foil for the palace. A huge piazza, below the palace and outside its walls, formed a new gateway to the town and was linked directly to the palace by an unusual spiral ramp attached to the wall.

A subsequent ring of fortifications, built in the sixteenth century, defined the limits of the town for the next three centuries. Development within the walls generally followed the lines established by the Renaissance planners. These walls still mark an important separation between the *centro storico* (historic center) and its surroundings.

The landscape outside the walls would remain a patchwork of small agricultural holdings, wresting a weak yield from the poor soil, until 1900. After the plague of 1350, during which 70 percent of the region's population died, sharecroppers were invited in to work land that had been left idle. By 1500, the land was repopulated and many sharecroppers had come into ownership. But because livestock were expensive and scarce, and because of the steep slopes, farming remained labor-intensive, so sharecropping continued. Owners were obliged to build housing for the sharecroppers, and the landscape is still studded with these defensively clustered groups of small



The countryside outside Urbino includes old smallholdings, which support sparsely planted vineyards, and consolidated parcels, where wheat is grown. Photo by David Vanderburgh.



The now classic view of Urbino from the southwest, dominated by the twin spires of Federico's Ducal palace.

Photo by David Vanderburgh.



An aerial view of Urbino's *centro storico* (historic center).

Photo courtesy Giancarlo DeCarlo.

houses, usually built on slopes unsuitable for planting. By the nineteenth century there were small rural ghettos, not really towns, populated by these poor sharecroppers. Especially near the end of the century, as population outstripped the inefficient production methods, famine was common.

The major crops grown under this system were a distinctive blend of wheat and viticulture, where widely spaced rows of vines made thin stripes across the wheat fields; the vines often were supported on wires stretched between rows of living oak trees. This system helped control erosion of the thin layer of topsoil on the steep slopes, and the practice of mixing crops, or polyculture, helped prevent soil exhaustion. After the seventeenth century, corn was also introduced in small quantities, and many farmers grew dye-producing plants as cash crops on less fertile land.

During the turbulent mid-nineteenth century Risorgimento period, when rising nationalism drove Italy toward political unification, architect Vincenzo Ghinelli produced a plan for Urbino that reflected the rationalist spirit of the time. Completed in 1841, the plan introduced a new street winding along outside the walls and south from the old eastern gate, sloping up gradually enough for carriage and wagon traffic. The road slipped just inside to follow the curve of the walls at the southeast gate, then cut north along the foot of the palace and cathedral to a spacious new piazza near the town's commercial center. Its last 200 meters — named Corso Garibaldi after a hero of the Risorgimento — linked a new theater, inventively sited on the top of Federico's famous spiral ramp, with the new piazza via an arrow-straight string of rationalist arcades. Despite its undeniable hubris, the work has become inextricable from the social and physical fabric of the city.

The period after unification marked the beginning of the countryside's decline: It changed more during the next few decades than it had in centuries. The first years of the twentieth century saw some agricultural reforms, which increased production while preserving the multi-cropping practices. But under Mussolini the state enforced the monoculture of wheat, clearing woodlands and draining marshes to put every acre into production. The overstrained land lost a great deal of soil to erosion, and chemical fertilizers could not compensate entirely for the loss. Meanwhile, put out of work by mechanization, starving sharecroppers fled toward the big cities.

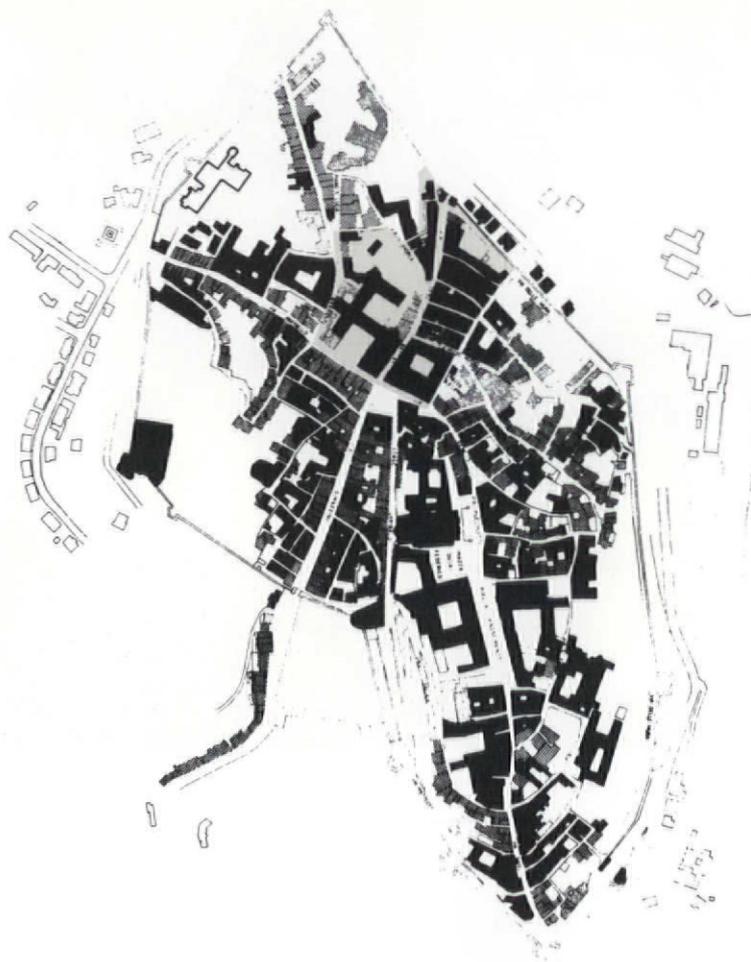
During the harsh years leading up to World War II, the buildings of the town fell into disrepair, particularly in the district near the eastern gate and in the old Jewish ghetto near the western gate. It was during this period, when owners were too poor to re-plaster the street facades of their houses, that Urbino developed a bare-brick exterior to match its interior. The war itself was not directly responsible for further degradation of Urbino's historic tissue, although it did prolong and exacerbate the economic deprivation that was making proper maintenance and repair difficult.

### Regional Centralization and the First Master Plan

The postwar climate, with its blend of anxiety and technocratic euphoria, favored regional administration as a way of maintaining central control over diverse localities. At the top of a territorial hierarchy of *regione*, *comune* and *frazione*, Urbino could look forward to a sudden increase in its prestige and population. Urbino's first comprehensive master plan was thus to provide for two major objectives: the rehabilitation and renovation of the *centro storico* and the provision of regional public services.

In this chaotic period of reconstruction, there were two opposing schools of thought in Italian society about how to repair the damage of the war. The construction industry and many politicians were impatient and pragmatic and held that reconstruction should happen as quickly as possible because thousands of people were without housing; large-scale demolition and development were inevitable, in their view.

Another point of view, represented by recently formed preservation groups like Italia Nostra ("our Italy"), was strictly opposed to any intervention in historic fabric other than the stabilization of ruins. One consequence of this polarized atmosphere was to heighten development pressure on decaying town fabric and on abandoned agricultural land. Italia Nostra was overwhelmingly focused on aristocratic and religious monuments, so speculators might have a relatively free

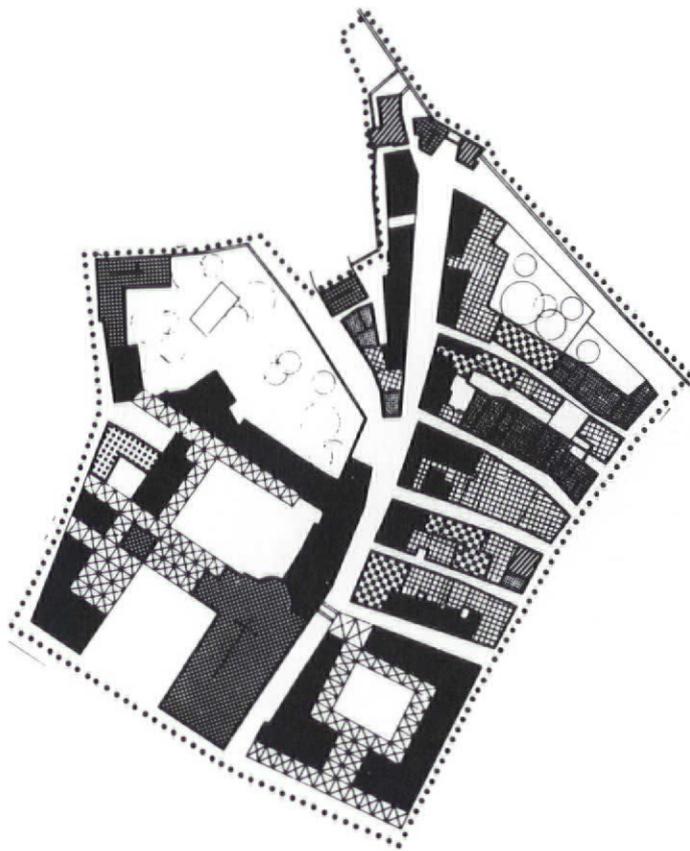


hand in other areas unless measures were taken to guide development comprehensively.

Giancarlo De Carlo, a young Milanese architect who taught in Venice and who had recently done some work for the Urbino Free University, was engaged to direct Urbino's new plan. De Carlo was well placed to resolve the contradictory pressures of development and preservation: A committed Modernist, he was nonetheless critical of its orthodoxy and soon joined Team X, a group of designers who dissented from party-line Modernism.

De Carlo's team quickly established the main principles for the master plan. It was to provide guidelines for the rehabilitation of blighted areas of the *centro* and at the same time bring coherence to the expansion areas outside the walls. Since World War I, many small-scale developments had sprung up without controls, with the result that traffic was chaotic and the utility infrastructure was overburdened.

In the *centro storico*, De Carlo's strategy was to tie the new guidelines to a series of illustrative projects. After an exhaustive survey of the *centro's* architectural resources, the plan made recommendations both for use and for physical reconstruction. Then, selecting a smaller area of a few square blocks, De Carlo made detailed plans and elevations, showing how the guidelines might be put to use. The recommended physical changes ranged from demolition of unsalvageable



Urbino's 1966 master plan (left) included detailed preservation and land-use components. The preservation plan ranked each building on a scale, from "restoration/absolute preservation" to rehabilitation to demo-

lition, and provided precise provisions for each level of action. The land-use plan suggested finely mixed uses, including housing, offices, religious and university facilities, tourist lodgings, workshops for arti-

#### Allocation of Ground Floors

-  Commercial Areas
-  Housing for Temporary Residents
-  University
-  Public Offices
-  Religious Buildings
-  Public Services
-  Arcaded Areas
-  Artisans
-  Warehouses, Entrances, Community Services
-  Pensions and Hotels

sans and warehouses. A "plan of public action" (above) for seven blocks provided detailed architectural and interior planning guidelines, along with prototype elevations and plans. Courtesy Giancarlo DeCarlo.

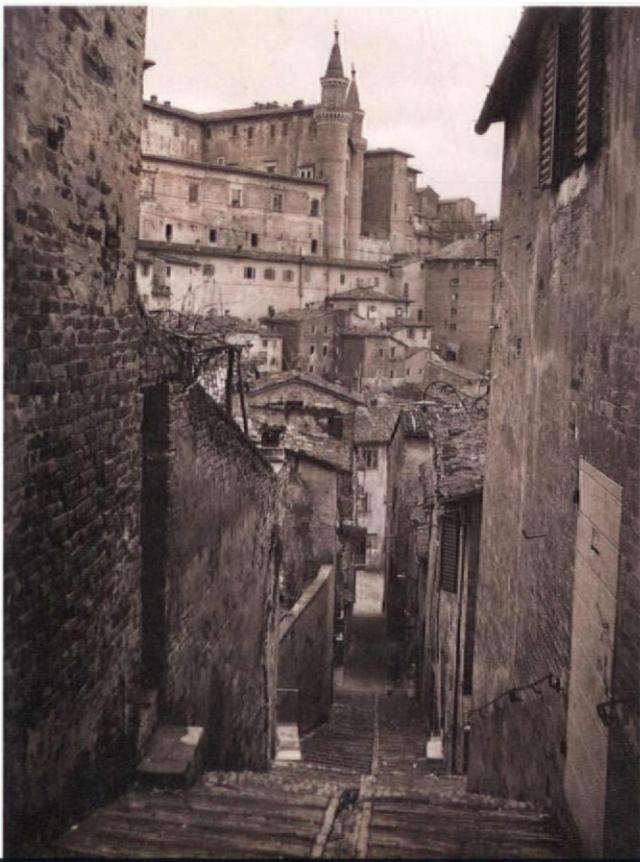
## European preservation: a culture of extremes

### Time Depth

The theory and practice of preservation in Europe are more developed and more complex than in North America, chiefly because the continuous large-scale occupation and alteration of the landscape have a much longer history there. While European colonists were ignoring or destroying Native American architectural and urban achievements, those who stayed in Europe were using and re-using the same sites they had occupied for centuries. Still, "preservation" as a distinct, conscious activity in Europe was a product of the burgeoning nationalism and historicism of the nineteenth century.

### Tradition and innovation

Preservation, though considered by many a "progressive" cause, stems from a conservative impulse. It could be argued that Napoleon's empire-building activities are a root cause of much of European preservation theory and practice. On one hand, his classical shopping sprees in Italy resulted in a more widespread and more direct appreciation of classical antiquity. On the other, his imperial ambitions provoked fears of cultural dilution among his increasingly nationalistic



A street in the *centro storico*. Courtesy Italian Cultural Institute.

Urbino's *centro storico* was the focus of a 1966 master plan.

This view is from the east gate toward the center of the town.

Photo by David Vanderburgh.

adversaries. Napoleon thus helped to publicize the value of the old and at the same time stimulated the protection of the local.

By the end of the nineteenth century, art-historical consciousness had developed enormously in Europe: The valuable past had become more and more recent. Early in the century, there had been little appreciation for any styles later than those of antiquity. But just as theorists like John Ruskin and Eugene Viollet-le-Duc rehabilitated the Gothic around mid-century, succeeding thinkers did the same for the Renaissance and the Baroque.

Europeans began to value the treasures around them, usually in a rather competitive light, and by the end of the century historic preservation of monuments was highly developed in theory and practice. Concurrently, an appreciation of folkways, and some of the first attempts to study them systematically, represented the impulse to defend the local against the cosmopolitan influences.

#### War Damage

In the face of the enormous destruction that followed two world wars, Europe became a tragic case study in preservation, the likes of which the

Americas have never seen. With the sudden necessity to make massive interventions in many historic centers, preservationists, architects and planners quickly developed and tried a range of strategies, from strict reconstruction to large-scale replacement of historic fabric.

The result of this intensive workshop was that, by the end of the 1950s, the theoretical and practical alternatives for working within historic contexts were clearly laid out in Europe. In the U.S., it would be another 20 years before, spurred in part by destructive urban redevelopment programs, debates reached the same level of sophistication.

— David Vanderburgh



fabric to “absolute restoration” of the town’s monuments, such as the Ducal Palace and the nineteenth-century theater. Much of the *centro* fell between these extremes, however, and the plan’s strength lay in its carefully reasoned recommendations for partial restoration, for treatment of surfaces and for recognition of historic relationships among buildings and groups of buildings.

Perhaps the most important work De Carlo did for the town was in a series of projects for the Free University. In these projects, De Carlo put into practice the principles espoused in the plan. In the *centro*, schools of law (1968) and education (1968-76) were installed in convent complexes at the southern end of town, displaying an inspired blend of renovation, restructuring and new construction.

Both projects, though visibly new in striking ways, used materials and forms that echoed the familiar. The School of Education presents an almost blank brick facade to the street, but faces the countryside with an adventurous semicircular glazed lecture hall. The Law School preserves the former convent’s courtyard by excavating underneath to provide library stacks.

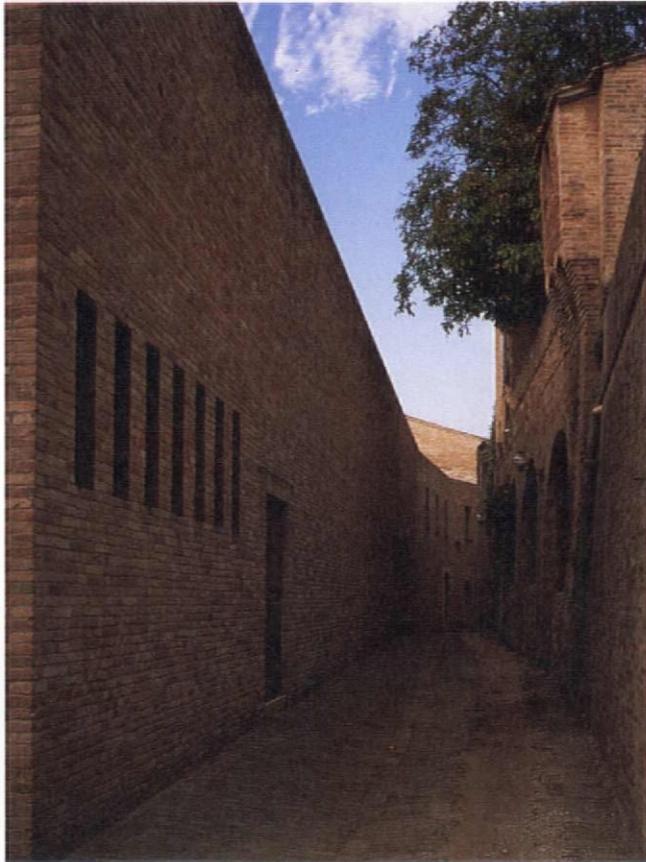
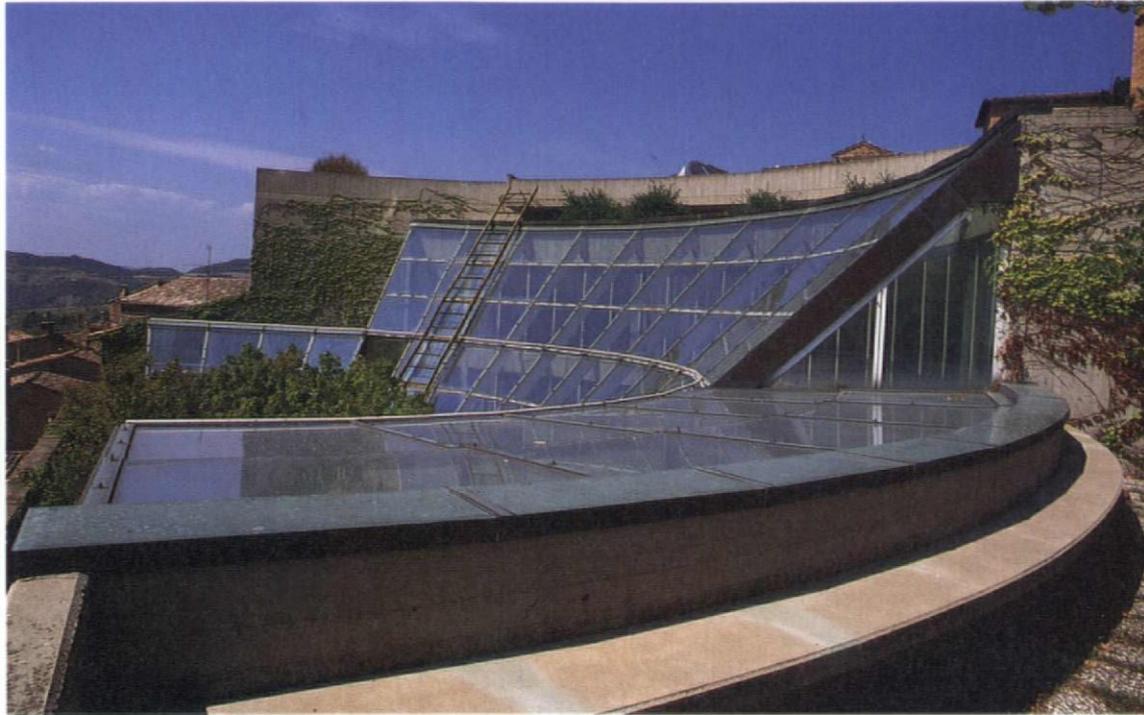
Outside the *centro*, an art school and a student housing complex were given a more frankly modern character while adapting sensitively to the topography. The most successful of these, the Collegio del Colle (1965), gives residents a rich experience blending building and landscape, and provides panoramic views from almost every point.

At the same time, De Carlo was able to get appointed to Urbino’s design review board and thus to help ensure that the principles of the plan were understood and followed. Public

Architect Giancarlo De Carlo, who developed Urbino's 1966 master plan, also undertook several projects that put its principles into practice. His School of Education (1968-76) incorporates a preexisting brick facade along the street and faces the countryside with an adventurous semicircular glazed lecture hall.

(Right) Photo by David Vanderburgh.

(Below) Photo courtesy Giancarlo DeCarlo.



meetings quickly raised public consciousness about the value of the town's historic fabric and about the need for change to be planned carefully.

More troublesome were questions regarding the areas of expansion outside the center. It was difficult, in the 1950s and 1960s, to convince anyone of the need for restrained and sensitive development when any "vacant" land could be viewed as a building site. Though the plan documents insisted on the need to preserve historic landscapes, the legal basis for such efforts was much weaker than that for controlling the restoration of the *centro*.

The plan was completed and approved in 1964, amid a great deal of interest and controversy. It was quickly and widely recognized as a new paradigm in its blend of architectural and planning sensitivity. Other towns and cities, small and large, put similar plans into action: Gubbio, Assisi, Ferrara and Bologna were among the cities that were able to exercise effective control over growth and preservation.

There were problems with the use of Urbino as a literal model, however. Its small size and urbanistic coherence contrasted greatly with larger cities whose nineteenth- and twentieth-century development, unlike that of Urbino, had already fragmented and dispersed much historic fabric. And smaller towns that lacked Urbino's perceived cultural importance saw extensive development as their only chance for survival.

De Carlo left his post in Urbino in the early 1970s, for reasons having to do with Italy's labyrinthine politics. Local interest in comprehensive preservation was at a low ebb, and planning work under a variety of short-term consultants from Venice and Rome concentrated on the development of open

A new plan for Urbino will include proposals for the surrounding landscape and its struggling small towns. An abandoned railway line and its

station; waterways, mills and kilns; lookout towers; churches and convents and other infrastructure will serve as a basis for the plan.



land for housing. Some continuity, however, was maintained by local officials under the unpretentious rubric of Urbino's *Ufficio Tecnico* (Technical Office), which is responsible to the Regional Councillor for Urbanism. If, indeed, the *Ufficio Tecnico* had had more supervisory power, several housing projects outside the *centro* would have been realized more efficiently and more sensitively.

### The New Master Plan

De Carlo was invited back to Urbino in 1989, an event of great emotion on both sides, marked by a public celebration in which he was invested with honorary citizenship. Given the chance once again to direct Urbino's development, De Carlo and his team have widened their focus to include the surrounding landscape, with its struggling small towns.

In 1951, 61 percent of the working population in the Urbino region was engaged in agriculture; 40 years later, the figure has shrunk to 10 percent. Since World War II, the Urbino region has seen its people leave the land for other occupations, and the land not left vacant was turned over to cultivation for wheat by state-supported agribusiness. Despite the fact that nearly 100,000 hectares of farm land has gone out of production in the last four decades, the yearly yield of wheat has doubled. Today in Urbino, tourism, industry and the university are the principal sources of both economic growth and pressures for transformation of the landscape. Consequently, they are the main targets of regulatory efforts.



In 1991, De Carlo's 17-year-old International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD), a workshop that brings faculty and students from all over the Western Hemisphere, met in Urbino. Participants visited every corner of the region and were invited to dinners and public meetings in many of the small towns whose future now hangs in the balance. They looked at the potential for resuscitating a long-unused local railway system and proposed projects of varying size and ambition for many problem areas. ILAUD will continue to meet in Urbino yearly for the foreseeable future.

As a part of the new planning effort, De Carlo's team is using an analytical framework that takes into account both old and new "systems" of infrastructure in the landscape: waterways, mills, brick and pottery kilns, churches and convents, lookout towers, abandoned clusters of houses and, of course, the railway. The team's thesis is that by teaching people about these systems and using them as a basis for planning, the new master plan can argue more effectively for directed development than did its predecessor.

Though the new plan will largely consider the work on the *centro* done, some unresolved issues remain. The first concerns the interior alterations to townhouses, changes that were essentially left to the owner's discretion under the 1964 plan. But owners, under pressure to maximize rents by renting to students and tourists, often carved up single houses into cramped multi-unit dwellings. The cumulative architectural and economic effect of these actions is beginning to worry the town as long-time residents find themselves priced out of the rental market.

A second problem is the coloring of street facades in the *centro*. The *Ufficio Tecnico* has recently prepared guidelines based on archival research into the standards followed in the nineteenth century. Before the period of early-twentieth-century poverty, during which most facades lost their plaster to

**Their rich variety is suggestive of the many uses that the landscape will have to support.**

**Photos by David Vanderburgh.**

the elements, pigment had been applied to wet plaster in a method resembling that used for frescoes. The result was a rich, slightly uneven blanket that butted up against raised stone window frames and corner moldings. By the time of Italian Unification in the mid-nineteenth century, standards were in place that required most owners to maintain the same colors when renovating or re-plastering.

Today there is some disagreement on the question: Some owners are happy to be able to color their facades, but are reluctant either to use older methods or to follow rigid color schemes. Since preservation work in the *centro* is watched closely by the surrounding towns, the resolution of these issues holds importance beyond the immediate context.

### **Towards Polycultural Preservation**

The region's inhabitants are optimistic about the new direction planning has taken. In recognizing that preservation is no longer a matter only of individual masterpieces, but of an entire environmental heritage, local people are finding value in places thought to have none.

It is telling that the best-known image of Urbino should be the one seen from the countryside. The Ducal Palace, facing defiantly toward Rome and the Vatican, is what most tourists would recall of a visit to the region, even though they must tramp around that very countryside to get the requisite snapshot of the Palace. What tourists think is becoming increasingly important to Urbino and to the region as the new master plan gets underway. Many locals believe that tourists must be drawn into a broader appreciation of the region and its landscape: In this way, both the positive and negative impacts of their presence will be spread around the region instead of being concentrated around the *centro storico*. Like industry and the university, tourism is a force that must be reckoned with.

Urbino is no longer just "a town in the form of a palace, a palace in the form of a town"; and its image as a post-war regional capital is almost as dated as that of its Renaissance heyday. Just as the land supported many crops before the hegemony of wheat, the cultural landscape will have to support many uses: Perhaps polyculture is the wave of the future as well as the way of the past.

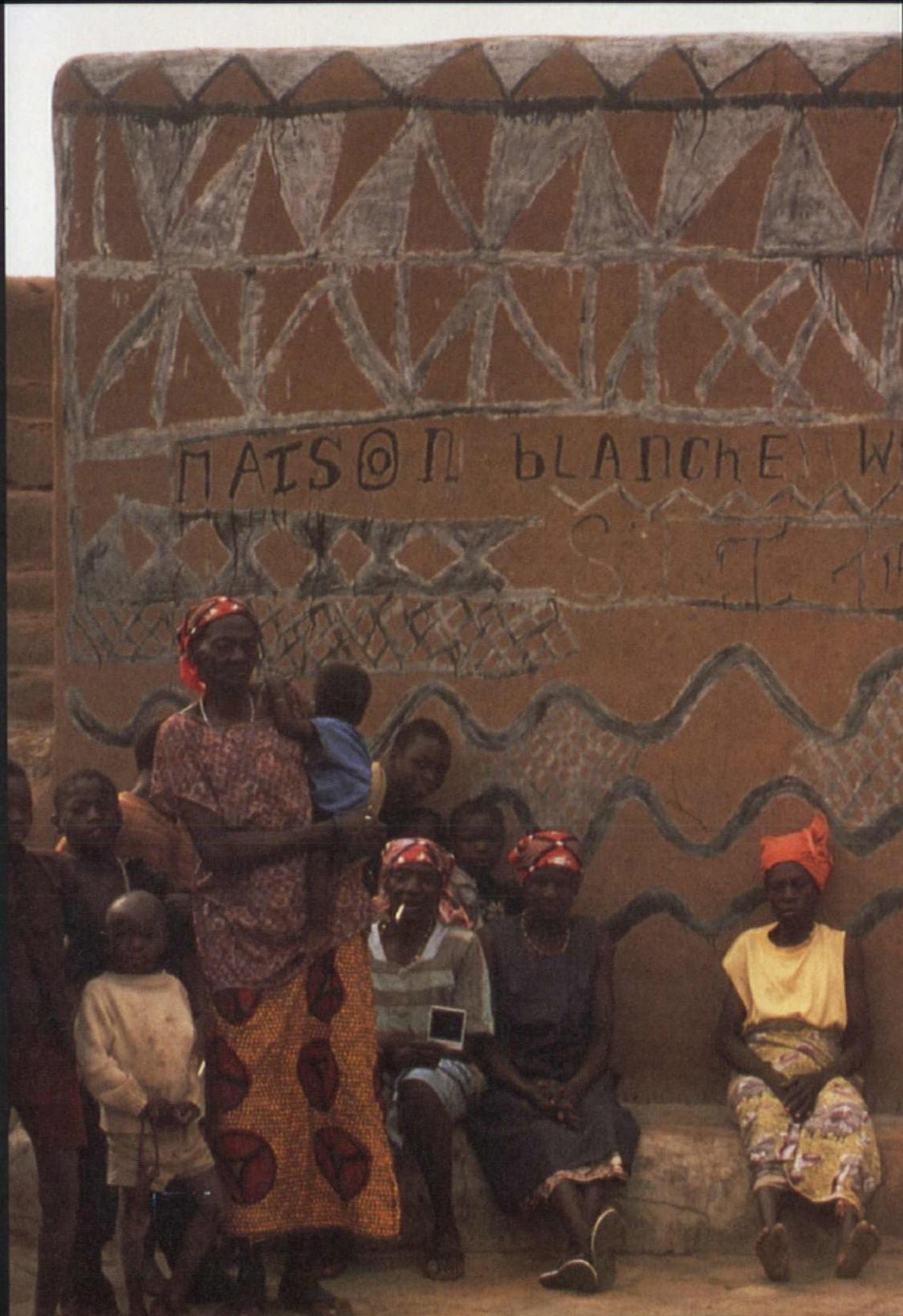


## The Writing on the Wall

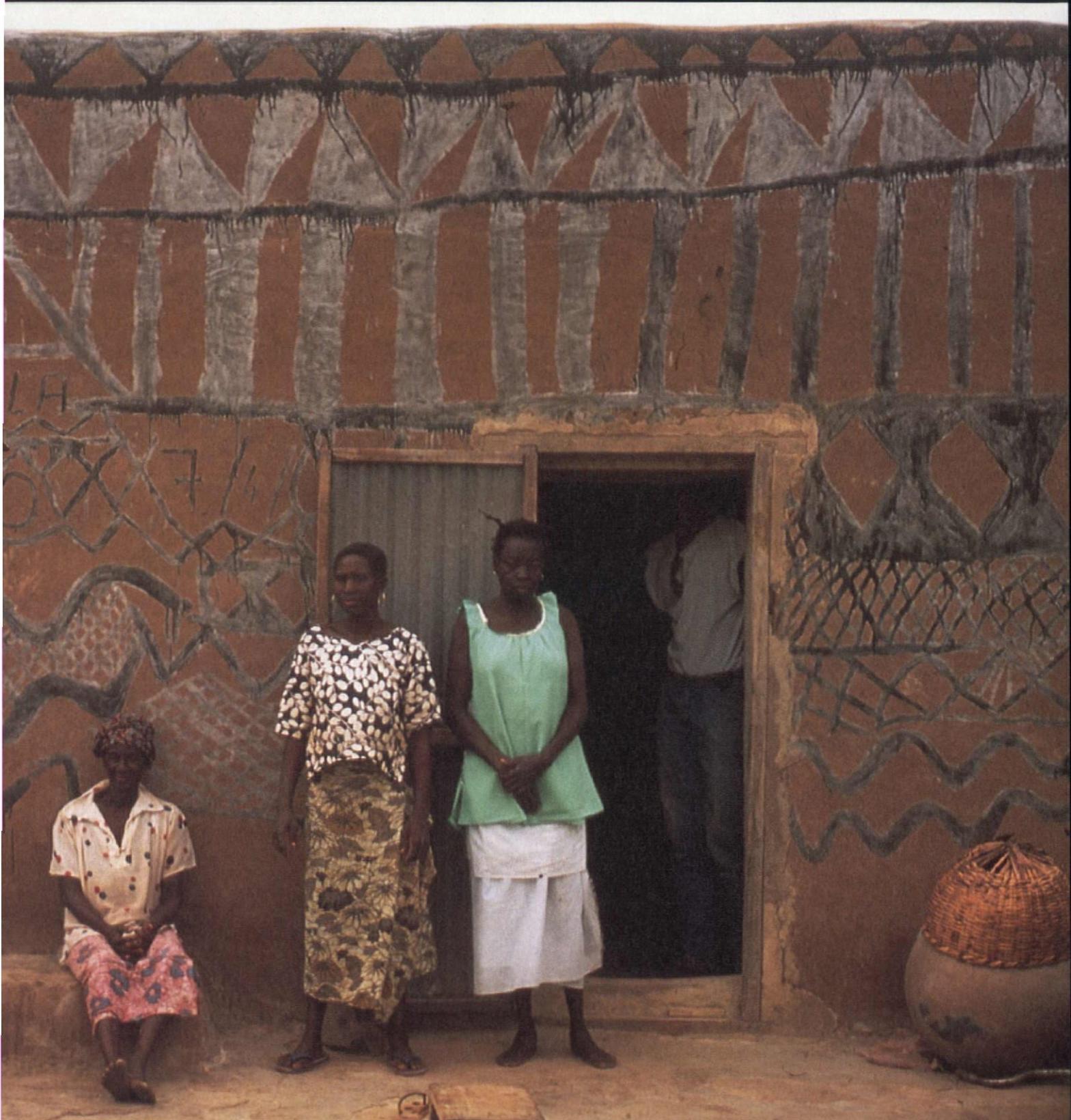
Leslie Rainer

The ancient tradition of painting and decorating the surfaces of earthen buildings is dying or virtually extinct in many parts of the world. But in the southern province of Nahouri, Burkina Faso,<sup>1</sup> in west Africa, the women of the Kassena<sup>2</sup> people still decorate their earthen houses with painted designs that reflect objects from their everyday life and their surrounding environment.

In the village of Pô, women artisans have formed an association, called Assoubouazen, for making baskets, soap and pottery and for painting murals. When they are not working in the fields, they work together to create their wares and decorations. Using traditional materials and techniques, they paint a few houses in the village every year. They accomplish this in the time between the harvest and the planting of new crops.



The women's association in front of a house (*maison blanche*) it painted in 1990. The women are using traditional materials and techniques to decorate houses that are not built in the traditional manner. Photos © Leslie Rainer.



Painting materials.



Black earth pigment.

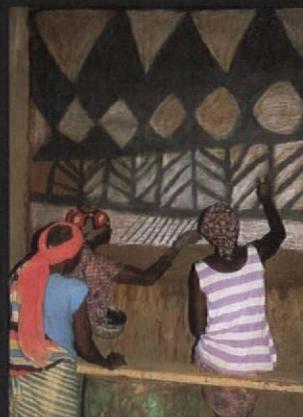


Materials for ground layer.





1. Laterite is mixed with cow dung and water to create the ground layer.



4. Filling in white.



2. Polishing ground layer.



5. Polishing.



3. Drawing with black—broken calabash pattern.



6. Painting.

The women make the plasters and paints by mixing clay-rich earth, found in nearby deposits, with cow dung and plant juices. They apply the plaster layers with their hands, then polish the surfaces with smooth, flat stones. Black clay and white talc are used as colors on a red laterite background. The women paint the designs in black and fill in the empty spaces with white; they use paint brushes that are fashioned from millet stalks and chicken or grouse feathers. The work is done while the plaster is fresh, creating a sort of earthen fresco technique.

The paintings are repeated on interior and exterior walls of the houses in the village, and each has its own significance. They describe the life of the village and the life-giving role of the women; the patterns depict broken calabashes,<sup>3</sup> tambours, guitars, millet fields, serpents, the sun and the cycles of the moon. Outsiders have difficulty distinguishing these patterns, but the Kassena easily interpret this imagistic language. The patterns are specific to a very small area; within a few miles different symbols might be used to communicate similar ideas.

By continuing to practice the tradition of decorating houses with specific designs, the Kassena

women are giving continuity to the changing architectural landscape.

Traditional construction techniques and designs are being abandoned as modern building materials become available. Once, houses were built of puddled earth (balls of earth piled up to build walls) and wood beams; they were covered with earthen, terraced roofs and adorned with the painted designs. These traditional houses were round and symbolized the womb; they were adorned with painted designs. Nowadays, corrugated metal roofs, adobe bricks and, in places,

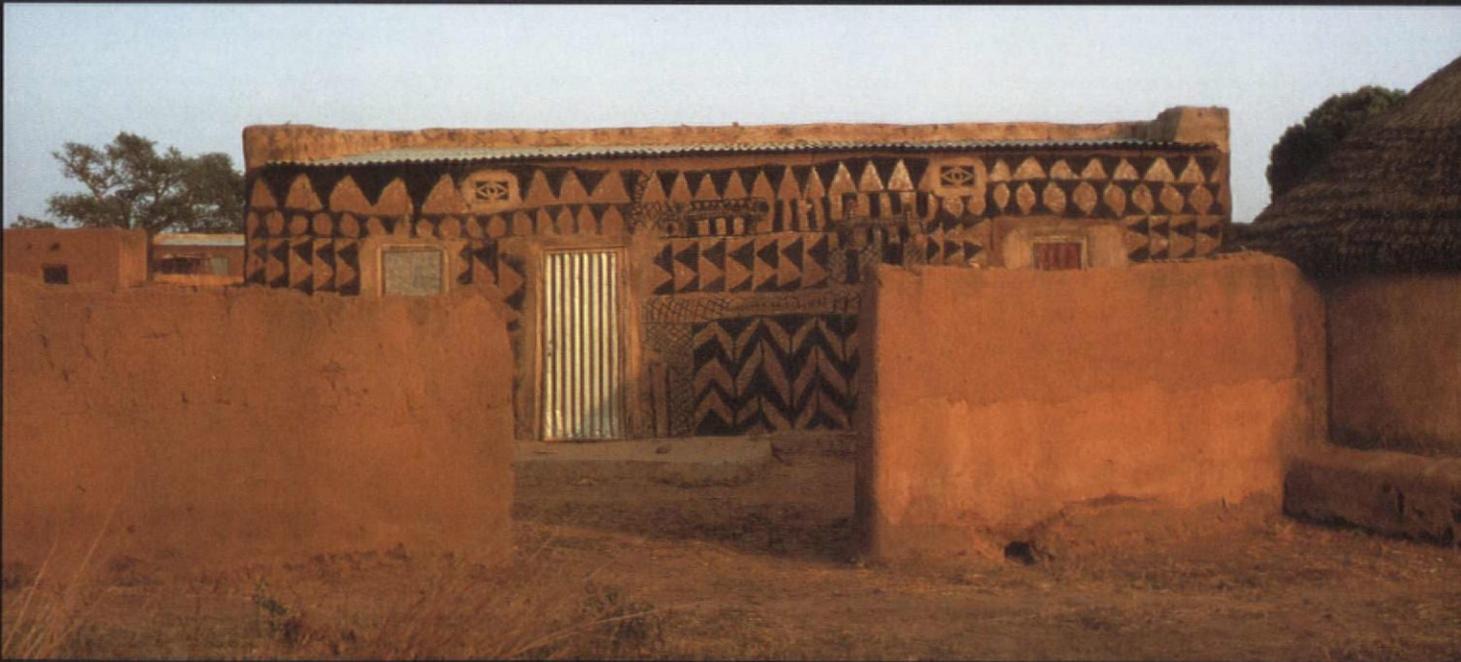
cement blocks are being used in construction. Rectangular buildings are more and more common.

As the population of the villages moves to the cities to seek work and becomes more integrated into the modern workforce, fewer and fewer women remain to carry on the tradition of decorating the houses. According to the older women, the younger women are impatient and do not take the time to learn the techniques and the vocabulary of the painting. If the tradition dies, so will a form of cultural expression and a way of living that is rooted in a sense of place.

The growing economic needs of these people must be balanced by an awareness of the value of their traditional culture. The women who continue to paint are providing this balance. The issue is not only preserving the patterns and the decorations on the walls, but also preserving a way of life. Traditions cannot survive, of course, without the culture from which they spring. But how can the culture survive without the traditions that define and express it?

## Notes

1. Burkina Faso, formerly called Upper Volta, gained its independence in 1960. The name (derived from two languages, More and Diula) translates as "the land of the honest man." *Burkina* (from the More language): "upright or honest man," and *Faso* (from the Diula language): "the house of the forefathers."
2. The Kassena ethnic group occupies a small region in southeastern Burkina Faso and northern Ghana.
3. Calabashes are gourds that are used as drinking bowls, containers and drums.



A finished house.

# The Purpose of the Past

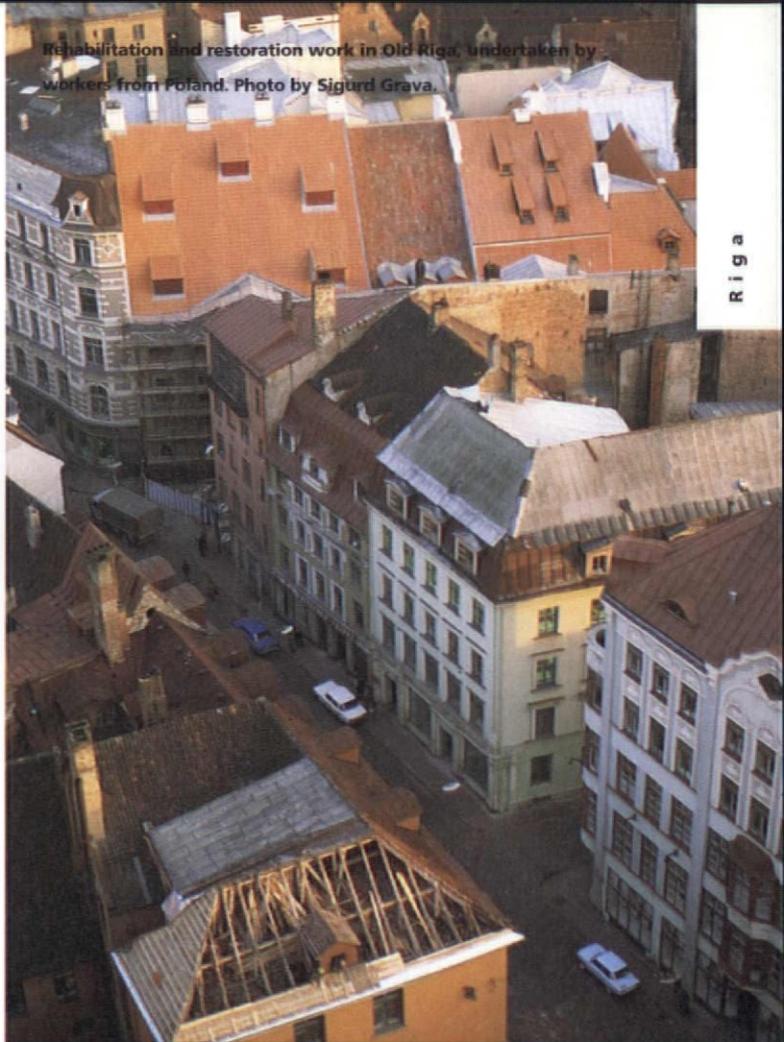
*Richa Wilson*

Restoration of the cupolas at Viazhischci Convent  
Photo by Jose Martinez-Martinez.



During the Soviet Union's 74-year history, the central government espoused a range of attitudes towards the treatment of historic monuments, architecture and urban districts within its territories. Soviet leaders were faced with the choice of replacing these resources with symbols of the new order they were trying to impose, or conserving them as a way of maintaining economic and social stability. Soviet policies, quite often, were tempered by the strong connection and commitment ordinary citizens had to their history and culture.<sup>1</sup>

Studying the ways in which the Soviets preserved these historic resources teaches us that how history is remembered depends, quite often, on who is remembering it and their reason for doing so. The history of a nation includes more than the story of the governments that have ruled it or even the stories those governments would like to tell. And the story of preservation in the Soviet Union reveals that the attitudes of common citizens can have an influence on preservation policies, even if indirectly, in a centrally controlled state.



Rehabilitation and restoration work in Old Riga, undertaken by workers from Poland. Photo by Sigurd Grava.

R I G A

## Riga Faces its Future

*Sigurd Grava, director of Columbia University's urban planning program, is a native of Latvia and has returned frequently to Riga, that country's capital, to consult on planning issues. Grava was interviewed by Todd W. Bressi and Eric Allison.*

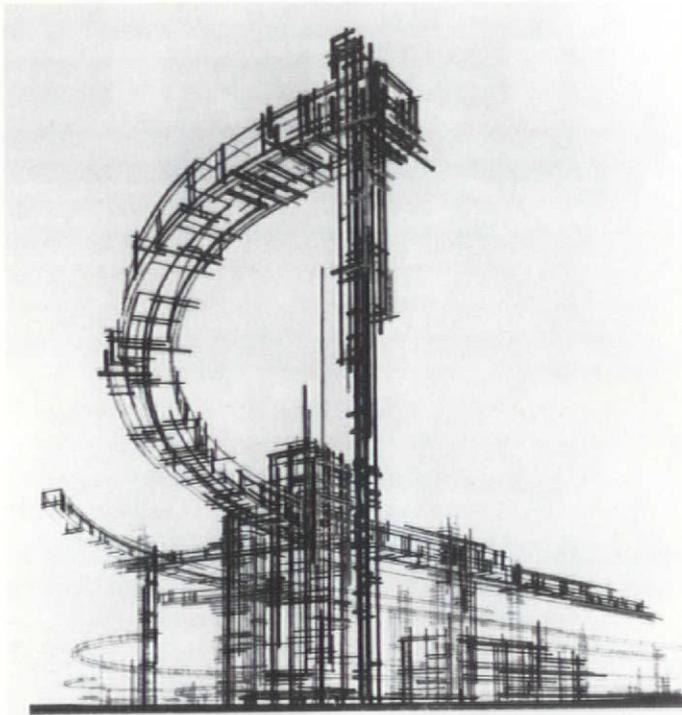
**Latvia was a republic of the Soviet Union from 1940 to 1991.**

**What preservation activities did the Soviet regime undertake?**

Restoration focused principally on monuments. In the late 1960s or early 1970s, the government of the Latvian Republic, with approval from Moscow, designated the central part of Riga (the medieval city) to be handled specially. An important program was the attempt to exclude traffic and put some parking spaces around the periphery. Anybody who wished to drive in had to be a resident or pay for an entry pass. However the organization responsible for collecting the money was also responsible for restoration, so it was tempted to sell as many passes as possible to get funds.

Much of the restoration was done by Polish specialists. There was a complicated trade relationship between the Soviet Union and Poland, which wound up owing the Soviet Union money it could not pay. "All right," they said, "the Poles have experience in historic restoration in Krakow and Warsaw. Let's bring the Polish teams into Riga under contract." But the minute the revolution came, the Poles said, "Okay, we want to continue, but we don't accept wooden rubles. We want marks, or dollars, or whatever."

Iakov Chernikov's "Spatial Theatrical Composition of Structurally Integrated Linear Elements with Clear Dynamic Indications No. 16" is expressive of the new architectural order that was envisioned by Russian modernists. Courtesy Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Preservation and Planning.



### Revolution in Culture and Politics

The early twentieth century was a time of great intellectual and political ferment in Russia; the country's artists and architects were at the forefront of the modernist response to traditional forms of art and architecture. Proponents of Modernism rejected historic references and explored how new technology might be used — both practically and metaphorically — in making buildings, art, graphics, furniture and other designed objects. Many designers who embraced these ideas also were motivated by social concerns, particularly an interest in coupling design and mass production to improve the lives of the lower classes.

Some Russian avant-garde movements went even further. Suprematism, a movement founded by painter Kasimir Malevich, sought to destroy all traces of history and to replace them with symbols of a new social order. These movements sought to give artistic expression to the political philosophy of the Great October Revolution in 1917; their utopian underpinnings were coupled with the belief that the historical, bourgeois forms must be destroyed and replaced with pure, rational forms.

There were many critically acclaimed architectural proposals that embodied these ideals, but few were built; they either were of a fantastic nature and not grounded in the practical realities of construction or suffered from the decline in construction during World War I through the mid-1920s. Vladimir Tatlin's

design for the Monument to the Third International (1919) is a well-known example. The monument consisted of a spiral, metal skeleton within which a rotating cube, triangle and cylinder would be suspended.

Although Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin supported the revolutionary aspects of Suprematism, he was aware that a new political and social order could not be created from a blank slate. He would have to build the new socialist state upon the fabric of bourgeois culture. This pragmatism is reflected in a proclamation issued by the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies soon after the October Revolution: "Citizens, do not touch a stone, take care of the monuments, buildings, ancient things, documents: All this is your history, the object of your pride. Remember it is the ground on which your new national art is rising up."<sup>2</sup>

Lenin worked with Anatole Lunacharsky, the first People's Commissar of Public Enlightenment, to establish an active policy of cultural preservation. He viewed a harmonization of historic elements with modern works as the ideal image of a living city; he knew that, in time, the symbols developed under tsarist rule would eventually be assimilated by the socialist regime. In addition, Lenin thought, the cultural education of the working people would strengthen their sense of nationalism and encourage the rejection of foreign, capitalistic ideals.

Lenin reinforced this approach in 1918 by signing a decree that called for the "protection, study and the broadest possible

### What kind of restoration work was done in central Riga?

Not only facade restoration but also gut rehab. They ripped out everything that did not look right. They did a thorough job, sometimes, perhaps, too thorough.

It is unlikely this work will continue soon because no one has the necessary resources today. The great thing, though, as many people in Riga say, is that not too much was done besides the Polish efforts, so not too much was screwed up by local efforts. The stock was preserved, the research was done. Grime protects the brick quite well.

### Was there an overall plan for the area?

Yes. However, in my cynical opinion, the purpose was to make Riga an important tourist place for the Soviet Union — as an example of a European, not a Russian, city to be visited by crowds from the other republics. So no housing was created there. The restored buildings became new shops, government offices and museums.

In that period, professional associations were well supported by the state. For example, the Union of Journalists took over a Renaissance building that had been built for a Dutch merchant, a large, late-1600s town house. They made the ground floor a museum, restored more or less as it had been; the second floor is an auditorium and a continuation of the museum; in the cellar there's an exhibition space and meeting rooms. They had resources from the Soviet government, but newly independent Latvia does not, and cannot, support these trade associations financially. How will these buildings be maintained?



**We are seeking the future.**

**We have traveled the old roads for miles.**

**And now we ourselves**

**have settled into the graveyard,**

**oppressed by the tombstones of the palaces.**

**Find a white guard —**

**and it's up against the wall.**

**But have you forgotten Raphael?**

**Have you forgotten Rastrelli?**

**It is a time for bullets**

**to rattle against museum walls.**

**Fell the past with a full-throated volley.**

**— Vladimir Mayakovsky, "Too Soon to Rejoice"**

Pushkin, an imperial palace near St. Petersburg, was reconstructed after suffering severe damage during World War II. Detail of caryatid.  
Photo by Richa Wilson.

### What was the physical imprint of the Soviet regime on Riga?

A basic concept of Soviet city planning was to have a central square that could be used for mass gatherings, rallies and parades. There were many holidays and on every holiday there was a major parade. In Riga, the Soviets made the old city square into their central square. After World War II, the burned-out masonry remnants of some buildings — including the most spectacular building in Old Riga, the merchants' guild — were dynamited so the square could be expanded.

This square was never successful. The Soviets thought it was too tiny, so they created an axis and built a new one at the end of it, across the river. That didn't work either so they tried to create another square immediately north of the old one. They put up markers that said this is the place for the future large square, but nothing much happened.

Now there is some thought of taking down the Stalinist and Soviet buildings, including the politically oriented museums, and rebuilding the old town square. Whether it's a good idea is academic; there are no resources to do it at this time.

### What role did the old town play in the life of Riga's citizens?

The old medieval/Hansa district has always been the core of the city. Not too many people live there, but the streets and spaces are used for strolling, gatherings, markets and crafts fairs.

### Did people in Riga ever use the Soviet squares?

No. That was sacred ground, used only for political events. People don't use them today because they are very uninviting and because of the associations they carry.



Old Riga's central square, as modified by the Soviets.

Photo by Sigurd Grava.

Many historic areas in and around Moscow were destroyed and replaced with apartment blocks like these. Photo by Richa Wilson.



### What buildings on the old city square were destroyed?

There were two important buildings. One was the town hall, a landmark but not an architecturally important piece. The other was the guild house of the "Blackheads," an association of young, unmarried merchants. They were quite prosperous and built a spectacular building. There were other buildings of secondary importance that were part of the total ensemble, so they would also have to be restored.

### What other imprints did the Soviet regime leave?

Inside the old, medieval city, there are few physical elements: the odd squares, a lot of banners and statues. Elsewhere, there was a statue of Lenin raised near the Freedom Monument, which is the Latvian national symbol. There are a few dominant new buildings, such as the polytechnic and the party headquarters. A Museum to Red Rifleman was put up in the Soviet square.

The real evidence of the Soviet regime is the ring outside, the *mikrorayons*, which translates as "neighborhood unit." They're large apartment blocks, built from the early '60s into the late '80s.

### They sound like U.S. urban renewal projects. What kept the Soviets going into the older areas, knocking them down and rebuilding newer, modern housing?

The principal purpose of the building program was to create more square footage, more living space. Nothing could be destroyed, no existing inventory could be taken away. All the old buildings were and still are overcrowded. Therefore you didn't take them down; you built a new ring outside the city at a massive scale.

popularization of art and olden times treasures ...”<sup>3</sup> These were to be regarded as evidence of the genius of the Russian people and their ability to create masterworks even under the oppression of capitalism. The decree called for the “registration and protection of art monuments and antiquities in the possession of private persons, societies and institutions”<sup>4</sup> and placed these objects in public ownership — making the Soviet Union a leader in the identification and documentation of cultural treasures. Although registration did not afford monuments specific protection, it created an incentive for their restoration; within eight years, 10,000 monuments had been identified and 3,000 of those had been restored or repaired.<sup>5</sup> Despite the prompt development of preservation policy in the new socialist country, many palaces and estates were pillaged or destroyed by those supporting Suprematist attitudes promoting the destruction of historic, bourgeois symbols.

These efforts drew criticism from the leftists in the avant-garde movements. Futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky reflected these views in “Too Soon to Rejoice,” published in December, 1918.<sup>6</sup>

These concerns did not sway the Soviet leaders. Another decree, issued in 1923 by the Council of People’s Commissars (the supreme governing body), further defined the system of protecting monuments.

However, Lenin did not live long enough to ensure the expansion and enforcement of this policy. Shortly after his death in 1924, Josef Stalin took command of the Communist Party and the national government and assumed totalitarian control over the Soviet Union’s economic and social policy.

#### **Urban Expansion and the Rebuilding of Moscow**

During the 1920s, the Soviets devoted a tremendous amount of energy to city planning. Many proposals for urban reconstruction were forwarded, but it was not until Stalin undertook his intensive program of industrialization and brutal collectivization (from 1929 to 1934) that any were implemented. Urban growth was encouraged through the development of new urban districts and entire new cities, such as Magnitogorsk, Dzerzhinsk and Berezniki, rather than maintaining or restoring older areas.<sup>7</sup>

Most center-city historic areas were ignored or modified in ways that established a symbolic Soviet presence. The most dramatic effort was the remaking of Moscow after Stalin’s vision of a perfect Soviet city, one that would glorify the progress of Soviet man and machine.<sup>8</sup> Many older districts and more than 200 churches (such as the Church of the Dormition [1699]) in the city were leveled and replaced with government buildings, offices, parks, grand boulevards, impersonal tenement housing (designed to promote a communal life for the Soviet collective) and “palaces” for the masses. For example, the Cathedral of the

The modern cultural center in Novgorod. Photo by Richa Wilson.



Redeemer, built along the banks of the Moskva River, was destroyed to make room for the Palace of the Soviets (a project that was abandoned in the mid-1950s).

Moscow's main thoroughfare, Gorky Street, was developed into a grand avenue, widened from an average of 56 feet to 160-200 feet. Some structures along it, such as the Triumphal Gate and the Passion Monastery, were torn down to make room; more than 50 structures, such as the eighteenth-century Mossoviet (the Moscow City Council building, formerly the residence of governors-general), were moved back several hundred feet.<sup>9</sup>

At Red Square, next to the Kremlin, several buildings (including Kazan Cathedral [1636]) were removed to create an expansive space more suitable for mass political rallies and more reflective of the power of the Communist regime.

This massive destruction transformed the skyline. Moscow was once known as the "third Rome"; its panorama of steeples, towers and cupolas captivated painters for centuries. But during this era many of them disappeared, and those that remained were dominated by smokestacks, radio towers and seven Hugh Ferriss-like skyscrapers built in a style commonly called "Stalin Gothic." Silhouettes of the few remaining churches and the Kremlin ensemble are small reminders of Moscow's earlier beauty.

The historic center of St. Petersburg (then called Leningrad; it had been renamed from Petrograd after Lenin's death), escaped these changes. The city, founded in 1703, was planned in a Russian Classicist manner by order of Tsar Peter I<sup>10</sup>; its log-

**A pavilion at the Exhibition for Economic Achievements is an example of Social Realism, the government-approved architectural style.**

**Photo by Richa Wilson.**



ically planned squares and avenues and consistent architectural vocabulary were deemed appropriate for a rational, socialist city. During these years of urbanization, new construction occurred primarily on the outskirts of St. Petersburg.<sup>11</sup>

### Effects of the Great Patriotic War

The devastation of World War II left a deep imprint on the Russian psyche. Battles and famine killed 20 million people; cities like Novgorod, Smolensk, Stalingrad and Pskov experienced wholesale destruction. The Soviets managed to remove and hide some valuable objects just hours before the Nazis occupied the lavish palace-museums near St. Petersburg (then called Leningrad), but many precious structures and works of art were destroyed as the retreating Nazis burned what was left of Pushkin, Pavlovsk, Petrodvorets and Gatchina.

The Soviets viewed these ruins as a symbol of the tragedy they suffered during this "Great Patriotic War," and their will to rebuild was reflected in a statement published in *Pravda*: "The wounds inflicted by the invaders on our land, our cities and our villages will be healed. Our palaces, museums, picture galleries, fountains and parks will be resurrected."<sup>12</sup>

One of the greatest blows to Russian identity and cultural heritage was the obliteration of cathedrals and parish churches. These churches, ranging from basic wood structures with tent roofs to elaborate combinations of stone, glazed tile and colorful cupolas, represent an evolution of Russian architecture during a span of a thousand years. Even for non-believers, Hedrick Smith wrote, "the Russian Orthodox Church is the embodiment of Russian history and culture, a repository of art, music and architecture as well as religion."<sup>13</sup>

The starting point for the restoration of hundreds of churches was the Department for Orthodox Church Affairs, which Stalin had created during World War II in hopes of stimulating patriotism by re-establishing a link between the church and state. Funding from the national government paid for the complete reconstruction of many churches and monasteries as well as the restorations of icons, frescoes and other religious objects. However, the government maintained its official policy of atheism; many churches were, and continue to be, used for non-religious purposes like workshops, hotels, offices, museums and warehouses. Consequently, the interiors often were restored less faithfully than the exteriors.

The grand palaces and estates near St. Petersburg, completely destroyed during the war, were rebuilt afterwards as symbols of the nation's recovery. Constructed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they are showcases of Russian Classicism, Baroque and Eclecticism. They had been viewed with distaste by the Bolsheviks because of their imperial nature, but after the war they were remembered as glorious examples of Russian artistry. These restorations were carried out with a phenomenal level of dedication and skill. This is made evident in a series of postcards, titled "Risen from the Ashes," that have photographs showing the ruins and the restorations of these estates.

### **What happened to churches during the Soviet era?**

There are two principal churches in central Riga. The Dom, the cathedral, was turned into a concert hall and was preserved. The organ is the key element; it's a European-class organ, never removed, and restored very well as part of the cultural inventory. Many recordings have been made there. The other church, St. Peter's, became a museum of architecture and planning. Its wooden tower, the tallest in Europe, burned down during the war and was restored in steel.

Many of the smaller churches were abandoned, many were used as warehouses (which doesn't do much for the building), and some of them just collapsed by neglect. Some were used as stables and so on, but a concert hall or museum of atheism were the best things that could happen to the building.

### **And what has happened since independence?**

When independence came, they consecrated the Dom again and changed the pews so you could shift them one way or the other. The organ is at one end, over the entrance, and the altar is at the other.

There also has been an effort to restore the other churches. There's a quaint little church on the outskirts of Riga that houses the furnace of the local pottery club; the huge furnace kept the building dry. Last year I visited it and half the church was a pottery workshop and half was the church.

There are many Latvian communities in the U.S. and Canada. Each Latvian parish here has assumed sort of a brother relationship with one of the churches there and provides funds for physical restoration.



St. Peter's Church in Riga, with the tower rebuilt. Photo by Sigurd Grava.

**The wounds inflicted by the invaders on our land, our cities and our villages will be healed.**

**Our palaces, museums, picture galleries, fountains and parks will be resurrected. — Pravda**



St. Peter's Church in Riga during World War II, with its tower destroyed. Photo courtesy Sigurd Grava.

### What preservation problems does Riga face now?

The most important problem is housing. At the present time, 80,000 families are waiting for decent apartments. There has been no attempt to restore or modernize the housing stock in the medieval section of the city. These buildings have very little, if any, modern sanitation; they're damp and decrepit. Some people live there under rather unsanitary conditions, and some artists have moved in and spent their own money to upgrade flats or attics. The effort must be not only to restore these buildings on the outside but also to make them usable for housing.

When you talk about the preservation of the historical stock, you have to talk about not only the medieval and Renaissance area but also the very large nineteenth- and early twentieth-century zone — a typical European apartment district. These buildings were once occupied by prosperous families; they were very prestigious places to live. Now they are used as communal apartments, generally one family per room. Consequently the buildings have been worn and abused for almost 50 years. There were no major maintenance, no basic repairs, and all the service systems are obsolete.

Nothing significant was done in that area by the Soviet regime except that some of the best buildings were taken over and allocated to the higher classes — the party functionaries, the senior military officers. Those buildings were maintained but they are a relatively small number. A few new buildings were actually constructed, which shows that it could be done, but they, too, were for special occupancy.



Apartment building in the section of Riga built around the turn of the century. Photo by Sigurd Grava.



Unrestored warehouses in Riga. Photo by Sigurd Grava.

### Is there a desire on the part of people there to conserve those areas as well?

Yes. Planners have decided that besides the urgent need for utility systems, the next city planning and organizational priority in Riga is repairing the century-old apartment buildings in the older districts — and not building more of those barracks-type *mikrorayons*.

### Would more housing reduce the pressure on these areas?

The real answer is to reduce Riga's population. The population is now 900,000-plus; the population of Latvia is around 2.4 million. The infrastructure for that city population is not in place. People will have to be moved to satellite cities outside or other urban centers. There is an attractive greenbelt, which should be preserved, and there are towns outside, within 20 kilometers of Riga.

### The utilities would need to be upgraded, also.

Some utilities are simply non-existent. The Soviets tended to take care of visible things, for which they could get immediate political credit, and not the hidden support systems, such as sewers and water supply, which still date from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They built monuments and towers instead.

For example, water pressure is not adequate to reach the fifth floor in the central districts during the day, and this is a five-story town. People who live on top floors, which are the most desirable, fill their bathtubs with water at night. There is a problem with basements because of the high water table, and it was made worse by a large reservoir built upstream. Many basements are wet and there are the usual urban vermin; it is a significant public health problem.

Many buildings and settings were left in their war-damaged state as a testament to the devastation. Visitors can still see pockmarks caused by shells on building facades in St. Petersburg, the foundations of buildings in a village that was burned along with its inhabitants, and symbols (such as birch trees, rose bushes, or wooden crosses) that mark the spot of some horrible deed performed by the Nazis. Sites like these can still stir one's emotions and recall the suffering of the war.

During these massive reconstruction efforts, which began in the 1950s, lavish funding from the national government also supported the development of preservation technology. Since then, great strides have been made in developing restoration methods and skills. Today, St. Petersburg's Restavator workshop employs several hundred designers, engineers and artisans alone; similar workshops are operating in Moscow, Novgorod, Suzdal and elsewhere. Even though these workshops often suffer from a lack of adequate supplies and tools, they maintain a high quality of artisanship. The workers possess superb skills in restoring miniatures, sculptures, paintings, wooden objects, leather, parchment and furniture as well as in metalworking, wood carving and making cast iron objects.

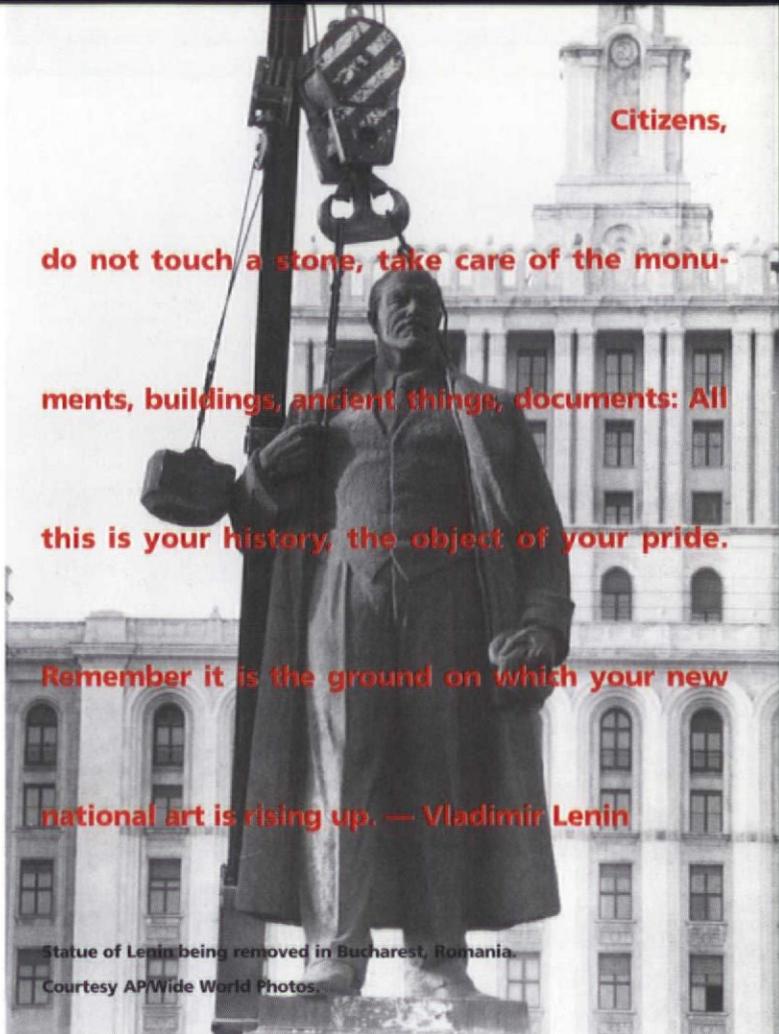
### The Thaw

Despite a relaxation in the suppression of artistic creativity after Stalin's death in 1953, his urban development policies were continued. Although the nihilistic attitude that was prevalent in the 1920s and 1930s had faded, rationalist approaches toward city planning were revived and historicism was discouraged. The postwar demand for housing and the development of prefabricated building components resulted in a focus on new construction, generally on the periphery of cities.

In the 1960s, though, renewed energy was turned towards heritage protection as both citizens and government agencies began to respond to the destruction of the cultural heritage of the Soviet republics.

The All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments was formed in 1965 as a reaction to development proposals that would have affected historic areas in Moscow. This grassroots organization was instrumental in saving a handful of churches in the old trading district of Zaryadye near Red Square when the new 3,500-room Rossiya Hotel was constructed. The group also helped force the revision of a plan for Kalinin Avenue, a new radial thoroughfare that necessitated the removal of whole city blocks, so several older buildings and an exquisite church could be saved.

Through dues and donations of citizens, the Society has been responsible for initiating the identification, documentation and preservation of numerous historic sites. Its continued growth reflects a popular appreciation for the creativity of Russian heritage, increased awareness of historic sites, and increased interest in visiting them. The importance of such a grassroots group was recognized when the Russian Council of Ministers granted the society the authority to review new development in areas



Citizens,

do not touch a stone, take care of the monu-

ments, buildings, ancient things, documents: All

this is your history, the object of your pride.

Remember it is the ground on which your new

national art is rising up. — Vladimir Lenin

Statue of Lenin being removed in Bucharest, Romania.  
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos.

designated as historic areas by the Register of Historical and Cultural Monuments.

In the 1970s, Soviet urban development plans showed an increasing interest in contextual development: Proposals reflected an integration of the new and old as architectural monuments were viewed as part of the urban fabric. Several areas near Moscow, such as Kolomenskoe and Tsaritsina, were designated protected cultural zones. Significant legal controls were instituted with the establishment of government agencies, an advanced system of monuments identification and documentation was created at the national, republic and local levels, and protection was offered to significant cultural zones. These trends reflected the work of groups like the All-Russian Society as well as the evolution of attitudes throughout the worldwide preservation community, to which Soviet ties were strengthening.

### The Purpose of the Past

The Russian peoples' strong commitment to their heritage not only survived suppression under decades of totalitarian rule, but also surfaced repeatedly to influence the central government's attitude towards the nation's architectural, archaeological and historic resources.

The recent political and economic changes in Russia certainly will unleash new forces that will affect the country's historic resources. The diffusion of control under privatization initiatives



Rear courtyard in Old Riga. Photo by Sigurd Grava.

### What happened to important Latvian monuments?

The most important Latvian national monument, the Freedom Monument in the center of Riga, was not destroyed. They came pretty close a number of times. But it survived because a very important sculptor in Moscow, a Russian, who had become famous because she was very adept at making images of Lenin, said the monument had artistic merit, therefore, the regime could not touch it. That was a ploy by the planners and politicians of Riga, the nationalists; they persuaded her to sign a testimonial that characterized any destruction as "uncultural."

### What will be done with the symbols of the Soviet state?

The statue of Vladimir Lenin had to be removed immediately after independence, not only because Lenin is Lenin but also because the most important Soviet political events took place at the statue. The statue was not destroyed; it was simply removed and put away in a storage yard.

The victory monuments to the Red Army have been a problem. Reminders of the occupation of Latvia by an outside army are repulsive but the fact remains that a lot of soldiers were killed during World War II. Every city now has such monuments, in very prominent locations, with the red star, the hammer and sickle, and very clumsy Soviet-type heroic posturing. Nobody wants to tackle the problem now because the revolution is not quite over and the former Red Army is still in the country because it has nowhere to go. There could be a military putsch, so no one wants trouble.

Taking down the Museum to the Red Riflemen is a touchy historical issue. During the Bolshevik Revolution, Latvians served as both White and Red Riflemen, special detachments that guarded Lenin in the most difficult period, so Latvians can take credit for preserving the life of Lenin, which is something we find very difficult to deal with today. Lenin was smart. Alexander Kerensky said Mother Russia would take over everything. Lenin said every ethnic group will get its own country back. And he was believed at the time.

and the economic dynamism of capitalism may present new challenges for conservation. But it may be that Russians can use their newly obtained personal freedoms to rise to these challenges and mount a vigorous expression — and defense — of the importance of their heritage.

### Notes

1. While this article discusses preservation policies of the Soviet Union in general, its primary focus is how those policies affected historic resources in the former Russian Republic.
2. *Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in USSR* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Sovetskii Khudozhnik, 1978).
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Kathleen Berton, *Moscow: An Architectural History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 201.
6. Vladimir Mayakovsky, "Too Soon to Rejoice," December, 1918, reprinted in Anatole Kopp, *Town and Planning*, translated by Thomas E. Burton (New York: George Brazillier, 1970), 45.
7. The urban population increased from about one-fifth of the nation's total in 1913 to about two-thirds in 1960.
8. Although plans for Moscow had been developed in the years immediately following the revolution, a master plan was not adopted until 1935 and major reconstruction efforts did not begin until 1936. Work continued until the outbreak of World War II and was revived afterwards.
9. Berton, *Moscow*; and Andrei Ikonnikov, *Russian Architecture: The Soviet Period*, translated by Lev Lyapin (Moscow: Raduga Publishers, 1988).
10. Russian Classicism differed from western European Classicism or Baroque in that it was "a fusion of classical regularity and traditional picturesque-ness." (Ikonnikov, *Russian Architecture*).
11. Other reasons for the preservation of St. Petersburg may be that the cohesiveness of the city conformed with Stalin's personal tastes and that the Communists focused on Moscow as a symbol of their regime because they regarded St. Petersburg as a Western, European city.
12. *Pravda*, 3 September 1944.
13. Hedrick Smith, *The New Russians* (New York: Random House, 1990), 396.

## A Little More Gingerbread: Tourism, Design and Preservation in the Caribbean

*William R. Chapman*

The tourism industry, an economic mainstay of Caribbean islands for decades, has had a significant impact on Caribbean architecture. Most recently, attention has turned to the idea of “quality tourism,” which emphasizes using existing historic buildings, sites and districts, along with traditional cultural activities or events, as a basis for encouraging tourism, promoting economic growth and establishing a greater sense of cultural pride among local inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

Not surprisingly, the concept of “quality tourism” is attractive to advocates of historic preservation, since it encourages the retention and preservation of historic resources as well as the enhancement of natural and built environments.<sup>2</sup> But the pursuit of “quality tourism” also has had detrimental effects on preservation. In some cases, the lessons of the historic fabric have been discarded in favor of superficial visual effects. “Caribbean-style” architectural elements, which are derived from generalized notions about Caribbean architecture rather than careful study of local styles and traditions, are being introduced to add decorative flavor to both existing historic buildings and new infill buildings in historic areas.

The relationship between “quality tourism” and preservation also can be considered within a broader framework. Both approaches toward managing the built environment have been imported into the Caribbean from elsewhere. The Caribbean region has not had a strong attachment to notions of maintaining architectural authenticity and retaining historic fabric. This may be due, in part, to the long history of destruction, replacement and reconstruction the region has experienced as a result of frequent storms and other natural disasters. And it may be because many native islanders have tended to associate traditional architecture with colonialism and to regard the introduction of International Style architecture (and the loss of buildings from the colonial era) as a positive change.



Traditional Caribbean architectural forms and ornamentation, such as this woodwork, are being appropriated by new projects without regard to authentic context. Inset: A vernacular cottage on Anegada, an island with 150 such structures and about 100 residents. Despite proposals for a modest guest house industry, there is little hope such buildings will survive. Photos by William Chapman.

So, while the proliferation of the “Caribbean style” might run counter to preservation practices accepted in the U.S. and Western Europe, it also can be seen as an expression of local pride in the region’s architecture. The challenge is to balance an architecture that is inspired by the past and expresses local pride with practices that accurately conserve the detail of traditional historic structures and areas.

### **Tourism and the Interest in Traditional Architectural Styles**

The Caribbean region has a rich architectural legacy, most of it colonial. There are Spanish-colonial churches, houses and fortifications; French, English and Dutch architecture, with Georgian, Baroque and Neoclassical influences; and a profusion of small wooden cottages, commercial warehouses and other vernacular representations of local building practices. Danish, Swedish and German settlers also influenced the region’s cultural and architectural character, and there is a yet uncharted African heritage. The region’s architecture also is informed by the climate and often common economic and historic conditions.

Building types and styles vary greatly from island to island and country to country. Larger, Spanish-speaking islands, such as Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Cuba possess a strong heritage of religious, institutional and residential buildings built of masonry and rooted in the classical architectural language of the Mediterranean. (For example, arcades are common.) The French islands, such as Martinique and Guadeloupe, have a composite architectural legacy, infused with distinctively French architectural fashions of the late nine-

teenth and early twentieth centuries; mansard roofs and decorative quoins, for example, are common in Fort de France and in Pointe-à-Pitre.

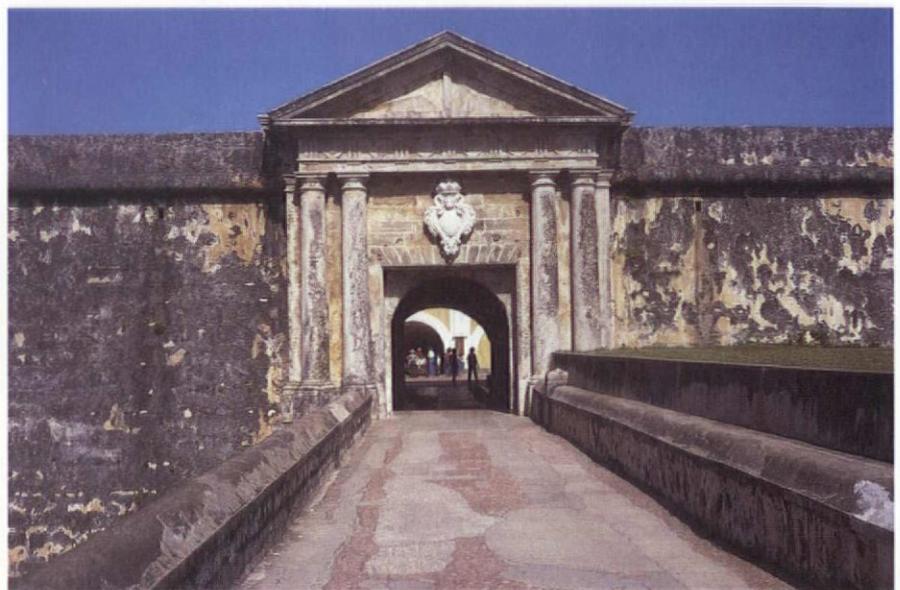
The English islands, Jamaica and Barbados, and many eastern Caribbean islands have a profusion of Palladian-inspired homes and governmental and institutional buildings — they are largely symmetrical with pediments, columns and rusticated cut masonry walls. Wood construction, sometimes combined with masonry, also is found on these islands; cities like Kingston (in Jamaica) and St. John’s (in Antigua) display a cohesive range of neoclassically informed buildings and smaller cottages derived from them.

The true wealth of the islands, however, is in the “particulars.” Each island has its own architectural traditions, visible in the particular placement of porches and verandahs, in the design of windows and staircases, and in the orientation and decoration of buildings. For example, on some islands porches are typically recessed into the house; on other islands they are typically attached to the house. It

is this richness that lends distinction to the islands and, ultimately, makes them attractive to outsiders — and to the tourism that increasingly underwrites their economies.

Tourism has been important to the economic well-being of Caribbean islands for some 40 years. In the 1950s it was generally a small-scale industry, attracting mostly wealthy visitors who came for extended stays and lodged in relatively expensive hotels. During the 1960s and 1970s, mass tourism — made possible by cheaper and more plentiful cruises, package vacations and hotels — became the model for tourism development on most Caribbean islands.<sup>3</sup> On Martinique, for example, the government sponsored the construction and operation of tourist enclaves that featured multi-story hotels, casinos and beaches — all segregated from the life of local inhabitants. Promotion almost always focused on the lure of pristine beaches, cheap liquor and an escape from the rigors of northern climates.

Not surprisingly, most large tourist resorts built during this era employed



the architectural language of the International Style, often with the encouragement and sanction of native-born officials. In fact, after World War II most residential and commercial architecture in the Caribbean essentially abandoned more traditional forms. While some local elements (such as a preference for hipped roofs for many private homes) remained popular, most newer buildings, as well as unregulated reworkings of older ones, were influenced by the International Style and by changing building technologies and components.

For a number of reasons, the "mass tourism" approach is being reconsidered. During the past 40 years Caribbean islands have slowly recognized that their culture, history and architecture have value, both as a source of local pride and as a resource for tourism development. One reason was the lesson of nearby Bermuda (not a Caribbean nation), which learned that careful regulation of older buildings, largely "tasteful" newer development and working alliances among unions, government and developers resulted in

a clean and prosperous, largely tourism-sustained environment.

Also, regulation of historic landmarks and districts came early to some parts of the Caribbean. St. Croix, in the U.S. Virgin Islands, established a protective ordinance in 1952, making it a U.S. preservation pioneer, and legislation was passed for San Juan, Puerto Rico, in the mid-1950s.<sup>4</sup> Both were influenced by the U.S. National Park Service, which has maintained a presence there since the early 1950s. Other islands have followed suit to some degree; only a few have yet to establish any design review authority.

At the same time, there has been increasing attention given to retaining and restoring locally important historic sites, such as government houses, fortifications, churches and schools. On many islands, the impetus came from Europeans and North Americans who brought with them a heightened awareness of the historic value of older properties and of local cultures. Scholarly, locally generated restorations of Old San Juan and Old Havana, and the massive redevelop-

ment of historic sites like the Citadelle in Haiti or El Morro and San Cristóbal in San Juan set precedents.<sup>5</sup>

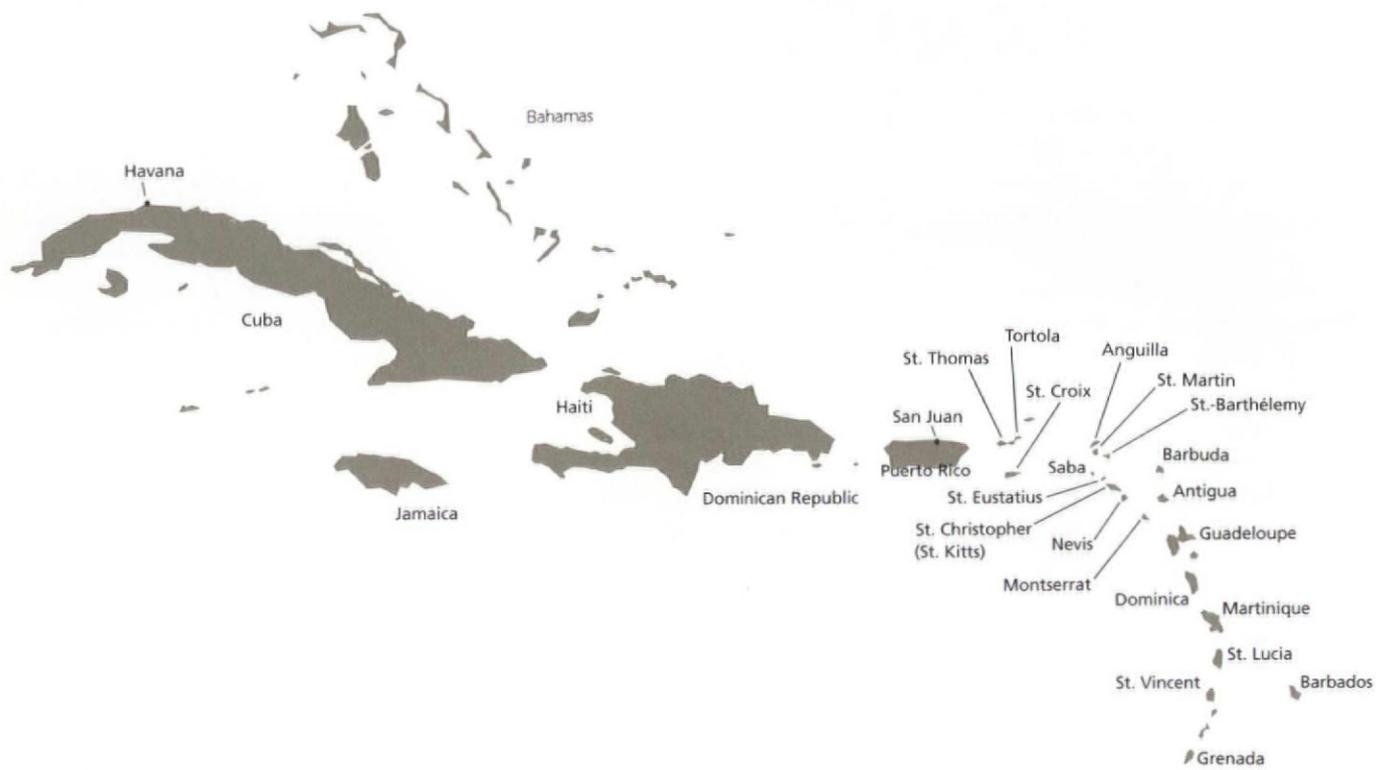
By the 1980s the idea of using local culture and architecture as a resource to draw tourists had matured into "quality tourism." The concept was popular within certain circles in the tourism industry and government; it was embraced as an alternative to mass tourism, especially for islands lacking the economic base or traditional attractions of the more successful mass-tourism islands. "Quality tourism" also gained acceptance among local inhabitants and outsiders drawn to the deeper cultural values of the region; they saw it as a means of counteracting the often negative social effects of large-scale tourism and preserving what was left of local culture and heritage.<sup>6</sup> The concept was promoted by a number of conferences, including a symposium on "quality tourism" sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and held in St. Thomas and St. Croix in 1988.<sup>7</sup>

This culturally oriented tourism model is being practiced to one degree

**The careful restoration of El Morro, a fort in San Juan, is typical of projects that directed attention to the region's historic resources.**

**Many people see the value of conserving their property, but their methods are not always in keeping with strict preservation practices. Stripped plaster and ferns make their appearance in Frederiksted, St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands.**





or another on most Caribbean islands, most successfully on larger islands with long-standing and relatively well defined cultural traditions, notably Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. This model has a clear place on many smaller islands as well, notably St. Barthélemy, Saba and tiny St. Eustatius, all of which promote the preservation and enhancement of traditional architecture as a principal aspect of their tourism development.

### The "Caribbean Style"

"Quality tourism" has embraced and encouraged a sympathetic posture toward the traditional architecture of the region. More than ever before, traditional Caribbean architecture is being celebrated as a cultural legacy and recognized as a factor that contributes to the special quality of each

island. Nevertheless, this sympathetic posture has had a mixed impact on the architectural character of historic buildings, historic districts and the areas that surround them.

Developers and property owners, lured by the prospect of tourist income and spurred by the growing interest in historic architectural styles, have been increasingly willing to recognize and preserve (usually on their own initiative) individual historic properties and historic districts. This is an important way of maintaining historic fabric: Many of the sites, especially those turned into smaller hotels, were once plantations, often derelict or in ruins before redevelopment; in-town projects typically focus on the re-use of utilitarian buildings like warehouses.

But these restorations often follow a somewhat romantic approach to architectural conservation that is usu-

ally only loosely grounded in recognized preservation and conservation techniques. Such approaches are typical in popular tourist areas, such as the Charlotte Amalie shopping district in St. Thomas, with hundreds of boutiques and shops spread among historic streets and alleys. Stripped stucco walls and varnished mahogany doors have become an endemic feature, replacing the more prosaic, and authentic, painted pine planks and metal doors.<sup>8</sup>

More recently, new design influences have begun to appear, particularly in new construction. Superficial applications of bright Caribbean colors, sawn-wood decoration (the proverbial, popular "gingerbread" decoration), latticework, widely spaced stock rails, balusters, plywood shutters and repetitive concrete arches, which often were not common to a particular island or type of building, have nevertheless become endemic features, especially in tourist-oriented development.

For example, Villa Madeleine in St. Croix, a recently completed guesthouse and condominium development, repeats the common forms of hipped roofs, verandahs and "gingerbread." But the scale of its buildings and the organization of their mass have no precedent on the island, and the ornamentation used on the balustrades on the verandas are details not common to St. Croix. The new Four Seasons Hotel in Nevis borrows basic elements like decorative trim and attached shutters, but ignores the scale, materials and overall character of its surprisingly rich architectural surroundings.

These efforts have been encouraged by scholarly and semi-scholarly publications, as well as the immensely popular book *Caribbean Style*, which was written by Guadeloupe residents the late Jack Berthelot and Martine



The vernacular versus the "Caribbean Style" on St. Kitts. Left, a country rectory that is threatened with loss. Above, the Golden Lemon Hotel is

evocative of a generalized Caribbean tradition, but the roof shape, color and scale are not in keeping with local building styles.

Gaume,<sup>9</sup> and which serves almost as a Kodacolor version of a builder's handbook. This architectural approach has also been reinforced by the post-modernism and neotraditionalism popular among North American and European architects working in the region.

Unfortunately, many newer review boards and advocacy groups fail to recognize a difference between genuinely historic buildings and Caribbean-style architecture. In St. Thomas and St. Croix in the Virgin Islands, most projects have reflected changing fashions, not a concerted conservation philosophy, despite scrutiny by an architectural review board. Stucco stripping was wide-spread in the 1970s, following comparable practices on the U.S. mainland. Fixed, glazed windows, which accommodate air-conditioning and emphasize modern construction and use, also were common.<sup>10</sup> On St.

Kitts, a well-meaning Beautification Society is actively promoting replacement Caribbean-style buildings as a ready alternative to restoration.<sup>11</sup>

Such treatment is relatively harmless when it occurs apart from historic contexts. However, when it appears within historic towns and districts — in new projects, as a replacement for historic buildings, or as inspiration for reworkings of older buildings — the results are damaging. Projects evoke the same spirit that produced Disney World's "Caribbean Resort" (the completion of which in the late 1980s was a milestone in the awakening to Caribbean architectural traditions): They reach back to the region's cultural roots, but intertwine these roots to create something that is more fantasy than homage and erodes the value of remaining authentic design and fabric.

### Success Stories

The "quality tourism" approach and the increased interest in the Caribbean region's traditional architecture have had some positive effects, as well. Generally, this has occurred where tourism, although important to the local economy, exists at a smaller scale and is more closely tied to an island's heritage; where general affluence and enlightened self-regulation have emphasized the value of historic architecture; where architectural experts work with review boards and restoration projects to ensure high standards are met; and where people building private homes have been able to hire architects sensitive to local traditions.

On St. Barthélemy, for example, older houses have become cherished gems. The island cultivated a small-scale, luxury tourist industry, not mass tourism, and integrated the local population into the tourism economy and



**Talbot House, a new house on Nevis. The placement of the porch and the roof volumes borrow skillfully from local traditions.**

**Photos courtesy the Taft Group.**



**A vernacular house on Nevis.**

the tourist experience. Both visitors and residents have had a greater appreciation of the island's cultural history; there are numerous examples of meticulously restored small wood and masonry houses scattered throughout this island.

Although tourism is a small business on St. Eustatius, it is considered a vital component of the local economy and has helped to underwrite the preservation and restoration of several historic buildings. Tourism promotion efforts have included the production of a walking tour guide, the marketing of reproduction prints and gifts, and culturally oriented study tours sponsored by organizations like the Smithsonian Institution.

Restoration work on St. Eustatius has been guided in large part by professional architects working for the government of the Netherlands

Antilles; standards have been high and there has been little introduction of fantasy elements. The College of William and Mary has operated a field school on the island for several years, and this has helped encourage local awareness as well. Recently the Doncher House, formerly a private mansion for a local merchant and now a museum and interpretive center, received an American Express preservation award for its meticulous restoration and rehabilitation.

The Dutch island of Saba, a little island with a small permanent population, has focused tourism development upon a guest house industry, local crafts and its generally pleasant, well-managed environment. The population is relatively prosperous; many of the residents have stable employment with the Dutch colonial government. There are numerous local historic

preservation advocates and historians, and historic houses and churches are carefully repaired and valued.

In other cases, islands have been fortunate in attracting a number of architects sensitive to local traditions. Many newer houses imitate historic forms but in an abstract, sophisticated way: Designers have focused on respecting the scale, modular character and materials of traditional local buildings, rather than copying decorative elements in a superficial manner.

On St. Barth, architect Pierre Monsaingeon built his home following the local building traditions of modular forms and organic growth. He started with a single module in 1978 and has added new modules over time, repeating the character and scale of traditional buildings. He used masonry, noted the traditional irregular arrangement of windows and followed



the common practice of recessing the hipped roof from the edge of exterior walls (rain water, gathered in a gutter atop the wall, is diverted to cisterns).<sup>12</sup>

The Taft Group, from Houston, has designed two notable houses on Nevis. One, the Talbot House, draws directly on local housing prototypes; the pitched roof modules reflect the arrangement of rooms in the house, and the verandah is placed in a traditional location. Another, the Olsen house, appears to draw from other sources, suggesting the industrial heritage of the island (Nevis was devoted to sugar cane and growing sugar processing until recently), as well as utilizing local materials and textures.

Exceptional sites of international interest also have received careful attention. Puerto Rico has embarked on an ambitious program of further redevelopment in Old San Juan and also in a number of other cities on the island, most notably Ponce. Work within urban contexts is generally of a high standard and is carefully regulated by the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture. Similar successes can be cited for Santo Domingo, Havana and Martinique (where the historic site of St. Pierre, destroyed by the eruption of Mount Pelee in 1902, is now a major tourist attraction).

#### **Another Approach to Tourism and Preservation**

The growing acceptance of the importance of heritage tourism in the Caribbean, along with the infusion of a generic Caribbean-style architecture into the region, is creating architectural incongruities that are eroding the character and quality of historic prop-

erties and districts. Caribbean countries that want to encourage "quality tourism" can take several steps to avoid some of these problems.

First, they must draw a clear distinction between buildings that have a genuine historic role and buildings that simply have a Caribbean flavor. Local and international organizations must stress that historic buildings and districts are the sum of their parts, and if the parts are distorted, the historic resource loses its value. This approach must be supported by further research into conservation approaches appropriate for the region and a greater acceptance of allowing older buildings to show their age.

Second, newer, superficial Caribbean-style architecture should be rejected for rehabilitation, restoration and new construction within historic districts. For these projects, the Venice Charter (and on U.S. islands, the Secretary of Interior's "Standards") should be invoked.

While there are no ready prescriptions for what constitutes appropriate design for buildings near historic areas, newer construction should look more thoughtfully to regional building traditions. Issues of scale and massing are particularly important because most buildings on these islands are relatively small. For projects with larger programs, it might be possible to maintain continuity and cohesiveness by breaking up the massing into smaller units. In general, newer buildings should be based on simplified versions of various local types.

Finally, these countries should identify cultural and historic sites that would be interesting to tourists and ensure that they are restored carefully. Most Caribbean islands possess a wealth of sites with great cultural or associative significance, such as fortifi-

cations, plantations, ruined sugar mills, factories, worker villages and sites where important events occurred. "Quality tourism" strategies should place more emphasis on developing these sites as tourist destinations than on turning historic districts into tourist shopping areas.

There is a tendency to overreact to trends that appear on the surface to degrade historic sites and falsify the record. While most preservation advocates adhere to the Ruskinian dictates of minimal intervention and maximum retention of historic fabric, some allowance must be made for the awakening of a new sensitivity. Caribbean-style architecture is an expression of regional architectural pride despite its origins in mainly European and North American reactions to local conditions.

This awakening is a hopeful sign; kept out of historic districts and encouraged to draw more exclusively on local practices and traditions, rather than on generalized Caribbean motifs, the newer architecture can do much to help increase local pride and refocus attention on remaining authentic architecture.

#### **Notes**

1. See Alfred Edmond, Jr., "The Marketing of Paradise," *Black Enterprise* 18 (1988): 62. Early identification of the potential for sympathetic tourism development is found in "Permanent Tourism: A New Export Diversification for Less-Developed Countries," *International Development Review* 13 (1971): 20-23; and John M. Bryden, *Tourism and Development: A Case Study of the Commonwealth Caribbean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

## Renewing Old Havana

2. See, for example, the proceedings of the conference, "Preservation and the Quality of Life," Columbia University, 18-19 January 1989.

3. Announced by studies such as R.C. Ming, "Tourism's Potential for Contributing to the Economic Development in the Caribbean," *Journal of the Role of Tourism in Caribbean Development* (Barbados: Caribbean Economical Consultation for Development, 1971) and L. A. Perez, "Tourism in the West Indies," *Journal of Communications* 25 (1975): 136-43.

4. San Juan's regulations, dating to 1955, are described in *Origen, Gobierno y Propositos del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena*, pamphlet, revised 1988. The history of Virgin Islands preservation laws is described in William R. Chapman, *Interim Guidelines for Historic and Architectural Controls of the Virgin Islands* (St. Thomas: Division for Archaeology and History Preservation, no date).

5. For example, the Garrison in Barbados, Fort Oranje in St. Eustatius and the Whim Plantation Museum in St. Croix were developed as museum-type sites in the 1960s and 1970s. Commercial interests, combined with antiquarianism, helped create the Nelson's dockyard development, a consortium of restoration efforts initiated in Antigua in 1951 by the Society of Friends and English Harbour and opened to tourists in 1961.

6. See especially M. Fox, "The Social Impact of Tourism: A Challenge for Researchers and Planners," in B. R. Binney and A. Watson, eds., *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific* (Santa Cruz: Center for South Pacific Studies, 1977).

7. "Tourism and Preservation: Improving the Quality of the Tourism Product," conference held 18-19 May, 1988, St. Thomas and St. Croix. Discussed further in "Tourism and Preservation: An Exciting Conference on an Exciting Concept," *Postbassen* (April 1988): 1-3.

8. Despite much unsympathetic work, sections of Charlotte Amalie, including the sensitively rehabilitated Royal Dane Mall area, retain a strong sense of historic character and identity.

9. Suzanne Slesin, Stafford Cliff, Jack Berthelot, Martine Guame, et al., *Caribbean Style* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1985).

10. Recent guidelines may help counteract the impact. See William R. Chapman and Jeanne Strong, *Virgin Islands Preservation Guidelines 1-16* (St. Thomas: Virgin Islands Department of Planning and Natural Resources, 1991).

11. The work of the Beautification Society is described in various issues of *Heritage*, published by the St. Christopher Heritage Society, Basseterre, St. Kitts, West Indies.

12. Jean-Luc Cailleux, Nathalie Herard and Philippe Hochart, *Architecture St. Bart: Une île et ses maisons* (Gustavia, St. Barthélemy: Les Editions du Latanier, 1989).

### Juliet Barclay

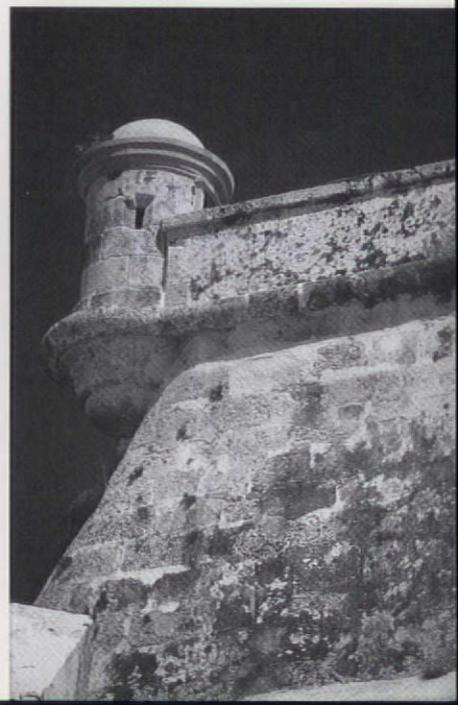
*Eusebio Leal Spengler — the Havana city historian, Director of the Museum of Havana and professor at the University of Havana — is directing the restoration of Old Havana, a highly respected Caribbean project that recently was designated a World Heritage site. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1991. He was interviewed for Places by Juliet Barclay.*

**Sentry box in a wall of El Castillo de los Tres Santos Reyes Magos del Morro. Photos by Juliet Barclay.**

**Many of the restored buildings in Old Havana have changed in use from residences to museums and cultural centers. In view of the acute shortage of housing in Cuba and especially Havana, how can you justify the spending of money and resources in this manner?**

I have always defended the view that Old Havana is a place to be lived in, not only a place to be looked at. However, more than 83,000 people live in Old Havana, in conditions that are totally filthy, ignoble and inhumane, so the residential population must be drastically reduced.

We have identified more than 900 historic buildings in Old Havana and we have also prioritized and determined which are the most important residential areas. But it is also necessary to create certain areas that are indispensable to culture because while people need food and shelter, they also need soul, spirit and strength. We have tried to



create places for institutions that are important to our culture, and that render an economic service.

I have been opposed to adopting easy solutions to the housing problem, such as constructing buildings that are ugly and do not offer an appropriate environment for life in Old Havana. Here, it is important to live within the spirit of an ancient city. The people have to breathe, they must have high ceilings, windows, courtyards through which to enter and stairways to ascend. To accomplish this, we must design bravely, but in accordance with tradition — with boldness, but also with modesty.

**How do you intend to reconcile the demands of tourism with the preservation and life of Old Havana?**

For me, tourism has double significance. It provides an opening to the world, a chance to hear other voices, to break down insulation and the blockade. Tourism draws us closer to other people, to other forms of living, dressing, thinking and feeling, and that is good. Its second significance is economic: Tourism is an indispensable part of our economic strategy and is important to the country.



**Preservation planners in Havana want to conserve historic architecture while improving the quality of life in historic areas.**

We must reconcile tourism with the preservation of the city. We must respect Cuban ecology and Cuban history, and the development of tourism must work within this context. This sometimes seems very difficult, not so much because of the tourists, but because of the the “touristologists” — those who reduce everything to the necessities of tourism.

**How are the concerns of the people who live in Old Havana communicated to you and to your teams?**

We maintain an important dialogue through many channels. First, through my television program, radio programs and articles

in the press. I answer a vast correspondence. I hold public conferences in the street, where I can really talk to people. One can give academic speeches or lectures in conference rooms and universities, but for me there is nothing more important than the meetings I hold on the corner of Obispo and Mercaderes streets beside the monument to the old university. I always run the risk that pedestrians will not stop, but that has hardly ever happened.

**How do you propose to maintain buildings, both practically and financially, at the level to which you have restored them?**

I have always believed that the fact that all these activities must depend on the state must change. The people must participate, they must have the wherewithal to maintain these buildings themselves. At the moment, given the circumstances in which these people live, this is still not a very realistic possibility, but it is an ideal that we cannot renounce.

We must encourage initiative, and demand it. The people must understand the relationship of conservation to their way of life. I have seen ruined houses in Venice in which the windows were polished and behind the glass were flowers. We must recover a sense of the dignity of life, especially in the Old City.

The state always has to participate in this type of project. The monument commissions in England, France and Spain, to cite some of the most developed countries of Europe, participate actively. But the people should participate more dynamically. That is part of my goal in preserving the ways of life in Old Havana: If we really want to salvage Old Havana by encouraging people to participate in restoring their



**Nineteenth-century architectural detailing in area outside the walled city.**

*Juliet Barclay would like to acknowledge Diana Barreras, Alina Gaute, Ricardo Quintáns, Alejandro Cruz and Publicitur.*

own homes, we must provide advice and some compensation for their trouble.

**After the restoration, if residential units are again subdivided to provide more housing, will this be planned in a manner that will not have adverse effects on the architectural structure?**

This is our hope. Everything that has been done up to now has been determined by necessity, and on a moral level, I do not dare to condemn it. Everyone did what was necessary; I would have done the same.

Old Havana is picturesque, but for many years it has been a marginal section of the city. The picturesque mask of commercial activity hid the latent reality of Old Havana's poverty; neither the middle classes nor the rich lived here. The restoration of Old Havana should give its residents better living conditions, and our nation should not allow the situation that led to such poverty to occur again.

**Afternoon concert, El Palacio de los Capitanes Generales, Plaza des Armas, La Habana Vieja.**

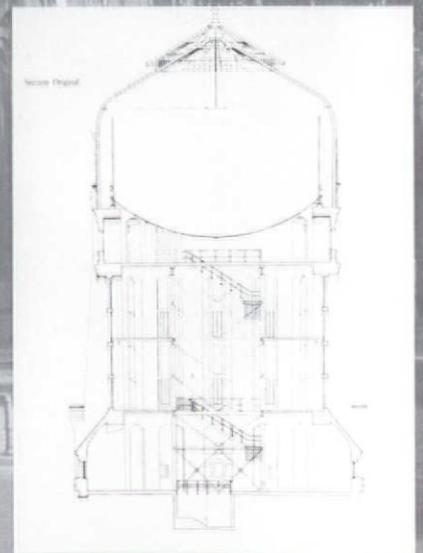


*Roque Gistau  
Maria Fuentes*

**WATER AND  
CULTURE:  
The Canal de  
Isabel II  
Elevated  
Reservoir**

Until 1851 the city of Madrid was supplied with water from underground aquifers. In that year the Canal de Isabel II, the company responsible for bringing water to the Spanish capital, was created. Between 1907 and 1911, the company built the First Elevated Reservoir (designed by Diego Martín Montalvo, Luis Moya and Ramón Aguinaga), which supplied water to the high points of the city. By 1952, however, the reservoir was obsolete, as new infrastructure and technology for storing and distributing water was put in place, and it was taken out of service.

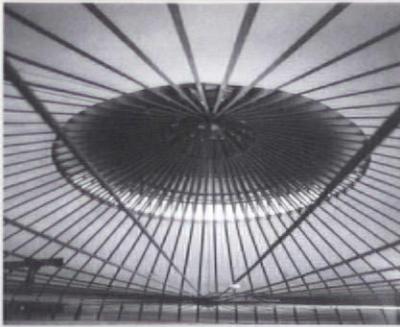
Elevated reservoirs traditionally have been subjected to various kinds of camouflage. Their basic cylindrical shape has been transformed into a fortified tower, as in Perpignan; a castle, as in York; or a lighthouse, as in Wassemar. But the Canal's elevated reservoir *looks like* a reservoir and is valuable evidence of early twentieth-century industrial engineering in Madrid.



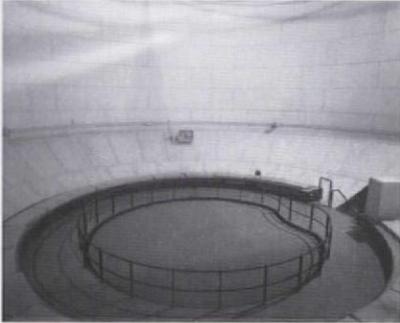
**Tower section, before  
the conversion.**

The Canal de Isabel II elevated reservoir, after conversion into a gallery.

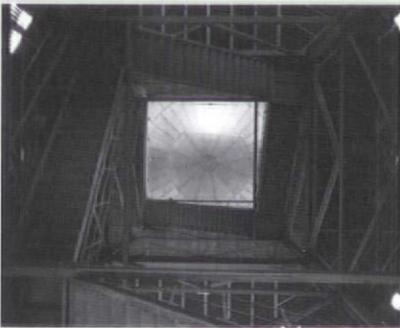
Photos by M. Angel Gomez,  
courtesy Canal de Isabel II.



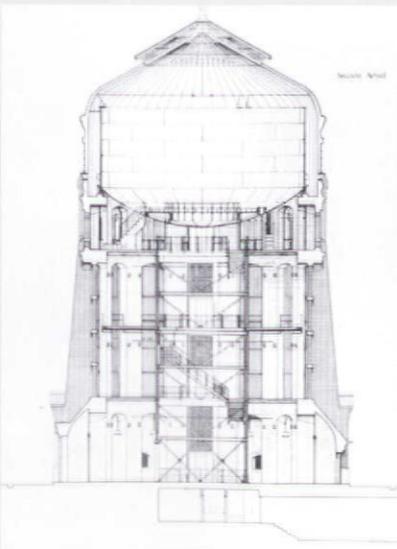
**Ceiling of gallery space within the water tank.**



**Gallery space within the water tank.**



**View up stairwell to the bottom of the water tank.**



**Tower section, after the conversion.**

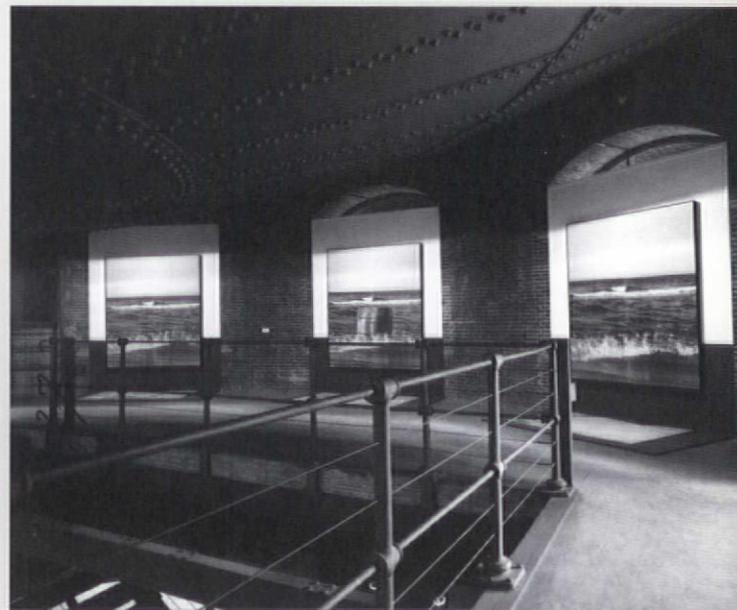
In 1986 the reservoir was restored and converted into an exhibition hall by Canal de Isabel II and architects Antonio Lopera Arazala and Javier Alau Massa. The project sought to maintain the original characteristics of the reservoir and to introduce the minimum necessary modern systems, such as air conditioning, lighting, an elevator and communications equipment, necessary to support the new use.

An adjacent building, which had housed the elevator station that pumped the water, also was preserved and converted into offices. An auxiliary pavilion was constructed to house complementary services and facilities that were difficult to fit inside the reservoir. And the reservoir's immediate surroundings, including the landscape, also were restored. These projects, along with four modern office blocks, an underground reservoir and spacious gardens, constitute the central offices of Canal de Isabel II.

The reservoir, approximately 120 feet tall, is constructed from brick and steel. Its polygonal shape is derived from the position of the radial brick buttresses that support the water tank, which is covered by a decorative cupola. The tank is supported on a brick hoop at the base of the crown and by a metal structural turret. The turret also houses a stairway, which provides access to the exterior of the bottom of the tank.

(An elevator, installed between two of the buttresses, also provides access to this level.) A passage cut through one of the buttresses provided access for preservation work in the gap between the interior wall of the cupola and the exterior wall of the water tank. Housed within this ambulatory is a vertical metal stairway that leads to the gallery in the center of the tank.

Today the gallery is an important part of Madrid's cultural life; the work of artists like Salvador Dali, Alex Webb, Inge Morath and Elliot Erwitt has been exhibited there. This year, in which the Spanish capital has been chosen as the "Cultural Capital of Europe," the gallery will house exhibitions from other European capitals, such as Athens, Paris and Berlin.



**Gallery in space directly beneath the water tank.**



## Preservation and Progress in China's Largest Port

From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, Shanghai was known as a place where new buildings were erected, not as a place where old buildings were saved. From 1842 to 1949 Shanghai was one of the few places in China where foreign companies could conduct business, and it developed a reputation as the “Paris of the Orient,” suggesting a city in vogue, a rough-and-tumble haven for entrepreneurs, swindlers, roustabouts, gangsters and refugees. Its unique blend of East and West so captured the imagination that between 1927 and 1933 Hollywood produced seven movies with “Shanghai” in their titles.

Shanghai's prosperity, which peaked between 1919 and 1927, was coupled with a complete transformation of its urban and architectural form. Whereas Shanghai had been a spread-out settlement of low-rise buildings at the opening of the twentieth century, by the 1930s its main streets were lined with tall, Western-style buildings. The city had put on a new architectural face, one associated with capitalism.

Today Shanghai faces a unique preservation dilemma: How should the city's history, which is intimately and uniquely bound up with capitalist activities, be treated by a Communist society? Should the remnants of Shanghai's days as an international trade zone be used as object lessons for the future? Should they trumpet the presence of foreigners during the years of open trade? Or should that presence be wiped away? Shanghai's administrators and citizens have only begun to grapple with the dilemma of how to face up to the uniqueness of the city's past.

Western architectural styles influenced the design of buildings in Shanghai's “Concessions” district. This modern building, originally a hospital and now a hotel, stands over a street of *lilong* (lane houses).

Photos by Jeffrey W. Cody.

## Shanghai Opens to the World

Shanghai dates from at least the late thirteenth century. For nearly 600 years it was an oval-shaped settlement, characterized by winding streets lined with one- or two-story wooden buildings (often grouped together according to the occupation of the residents) and surrounded by a defensive wall. The city prospered because of cotton production and trading advantages associated with its proximity to the mouth of the Yangzi River; still, its population numbered only several hundred residents until the mid-nineteenth century. Although few buildings date back that far, the street plan survives.

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century the city saw dramatic change. The Treaty of Nanjing (1842) designated it one of five ports opened for Western trade, and the city grew in both extent and population. Foreigners, mostly British and French, built warehouses ("godowns"), offices and residences in the areas they were permitted to lease, known as "the Concessions."

Shanghai's Chinese population skyrocketed during the 1850s as internal wars of rebellion forced many Chinese to take refuge in cities. Eventually, there were approximately 500,000 Chinese living and working in the Concessions, compared to a few thousand foreigners.<sup>1</sup> The chief incentives for Chinese to settle in the

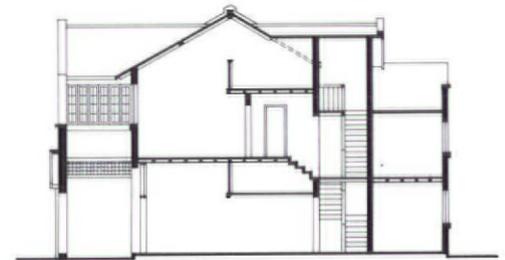
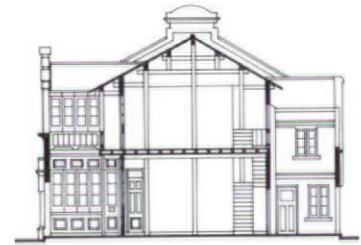
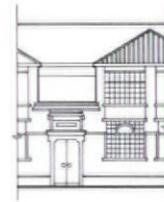
Concessions were the privileges and legal protection they enjoyed there. *Compradors*, or commercial middlemen, worked for Western businesses, aped the style of their employers and often lived in Western-style residences.

After World War I, the city's economy boomed, and its architecture became a mosaic of imported and indigenous influence. The Concessions were characterized by spaces that looked and felt European, inside and out. Many of the structures on the Bund (the commercial core for foreigners) incorporated Art Deco, Beaux Arts, or Modern detailing and date from the 1920s.<sup>2</sup> Some buildings exhibit combined architectural influences in unique ways: A nineteenth-century soy-sauce factory included sculpted brick characters and a doorway that represents an amalgamation of western and Chinese stylistic features, and an early-twentieth-century slaughterhouse incorporated both Indian and Modernist features.

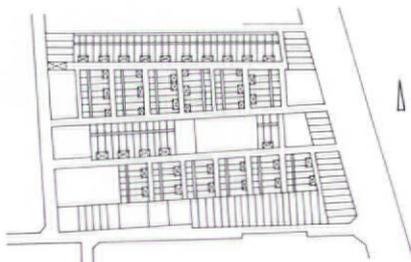
These buildings also looked different because they imported Western technologies. The multi-storied, steel-frame, reinforced-concrete commercial blocks were able to rise higher than local traditional buildings, and innovative concrete raft foundations enabled them to overcome difficulties posed by Shanghai's spongy soil. Finally, the

Elevation and sections of typical *lilong* housing.

Drawings redrawn by Fan Sizheng from Pierre Clément, Françoise Ged and Qi Wan, eds., *Transformation de l'habitat à Shanghai*. Used by permission.



**Lilong housing.** Some are being replaced by newer, larger infill housing projects, others are being demolished to make way for public works projects.



Plan showing configuration of *lilong* housing.



appearance of buildings reflected the activities inside them: Foreigners also built churches, a Catholic cathedral, hospitals and schools in the Concessions; just as these institutions functioned differently from their Chinese counterparts, the form of their buildings was visually distinct.

Westerners and well-to-do Chinese lived throughout the Concessions in detached residences with picturesque massing and eclectic stylistic flourishes. These areas were similar to middle-class garden suburbs emerging in the West, with houses placed on spacious lots and surrounded by gardens and lawns. Many houses borrowed their architectural details from contemporary European stylistic trends: Beaux-Arts in the French Concession, arts and crafts or Queen Anne in the British settlement. By the 1930s several Modern and Art Deco apartment houses had been constructed.

Most other Chinese residents lived in *lilong*, *shikumen* and *longtang* (generally translated as “lane houses”). These were usually dense blocks of two- or three-story connected residences of varying configurations, set off from a principal street by a covered entry that lead to a three-meter-wide lane. Lane houses were found behind the buildings facing main streets, within and beyond the limits of the Concessions.

The layout, style and structural nature of lane houses varied enormously. Their origin remains unclear, although recent research suggests that the morphology of the buildings was the result of a speculative real estate market (land values increased more than ten-fold in the 1860s), a concern for fire prevention (which called for using stone construction, brick, or cement in conjunction with wood) and a desire to retain at least a modicum of traditional design, which is reflected in



In recent years, the facades of many buildings in the Concessions have been cleaned and repainted to put on a better face for tourists. This was formerly a warehouse.

the construction technology (traditional joining of wooden members) and the massing of the house.<sup>3</sup>

By the 1930s, the traditional Chinese city had been supplanted by the Concessions and the newer Chinese settlements that surrounded them. Shanghai was viewed by many foreigners as a “Europetown” surrounded by a Chinese city kept at bay, but it was truly a mix of both Western and Chinese influence, exclusively of neither one culture nor another. Part of Shanghai’s charm, lure and identity ever since has been due to this unique distinction.

### Liberation and Revolution

In 1949, after years of internal struggle and civil war, the Communist Party came to power, assuming control of Beijing, Shanghai and other major cities. The new Shanghai Municipal Government claimed as its headquarters the most monumental foreign building on the Bund: the domed central office of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (designed by the British firm of Palmer &

Turner in 1923). By occupying the place that most vividly represented capitalist might, the Communists acted in the tradition of Emperors who established a new dynasty by occupying capitals like Xian, Luoyang and Beijing. This tradition derived from the geomantic practice of *feng shui*, which holds that a site itself is just as important as the building on it.

In the 1950s, all real estate passed into public ownership and hundreds of buildings occupied by foreigners and Chinese were claimed by the People's Republic. *Danwei* (work units), created to replace the companies and bureaucracies that had existed before the revolution, assumed control of buildings and land, as if they owned them outright. *Danwei* found new uses for

buildings and often put added pressure on them by accommodating more people in the same building.

In Shanghai, most buildings were left intact because the government and *danwei* found ways to use them, not because anybody encouraged salvaging historic sites. A racecourse building put up by foreigners about a mile from the Bund was appropriated to serve as the headquarters of the Shanghai library; the YMCA was turned into a hotel. However, the walls surrounding the traditional city were demolished to make way for a road, street names were changed and the markers indicating the boundaries between the Concessions and the rest of the city were removed. Those growing up in the 1950s forgot where the Concessions ended and the Chinese city began.

The first significant Chinese preservation policy, the "Provisional Regulations on the Protection and Administration of Cultural Relics"<sup>4</sup> (1960), set three general criteria for identifying historic resources ("historic, artistic, or scientific value"), designated 179 sites as "protected" and implied that administrative mechanisms would preserve them. The six categories of historic sites listed in the regulations — revolutionary sites and memorial buildings, caves, ancient architecture and historic memorial buildings, stone inscriptions and carvings, archaeological sites and tombs — have provided the framework for protecting, and pigeonholing, Chinese historic sites ever since.

The criteria excluded most of Shanghai's built environment from consideration by the Bureau of Cultural Relics Protection. Only three sites were designated, all "revolutionary sites and memorial buildings": the residence of Dr. Sun Zhongshan, the meeting place of the First National



During the Cultural Revolution, many Western-style buildings, such as godowns and churches, were ransacked. The Church of Our Lady, built in 1926, was demolished in 1988.

Not all historically important buildings are receiving facade improvements. This nineteenth-century soy sauce factory has been overlooked.



Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the tomb of Lu Xun, Mao Zedong's favorite fiction writer.

Between 1966 and 1976 the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution wrought more significant changes in China's built environment. Mao led an effort to revitalize Communism by attacking bourgeois elements in society, including buildings that were symbols of capitalism and Western influence. Some of the buildings that in 1949 had been re-occupied, not demolished, were now attacked as evil reminders of cultural oppression that needed to be erased. Temples, schools and many other historic buildings were seized, looted, appropriated for new purposes, or left to languish.

In Shanghai a cathedral was looted, the Church of Our Lady (1926) was transformed into an auto mechanic's shop and Yuyuan, the city's main garden, which dated from the Ming dynasty was defeated. Godowns like the headquarters of the China Import and Export Lumber Company were ransacked and abandoned. However, despite the vindictiveness of the Red Guards, many older buildings survived the Cultural Revolution unscathed.

## Reform and Preservation

In the late 1970s, after Mao's death, China embarked on reforms in many areas, including renewed attention to its architectural heritage. In 1982, the Fifth National People's Congress formulated China's second significant preservation policy, which was both an expanded version of, and a departure from, the 1960 regulations. Seventy more historic sites were designated, two of them in Shanghai: the grave of revolutionary hero Song Qingling and Yuyuan.<sup>5</sup>

The new policy also broadened the definition of what constituted an "historic area," for several reasons. First, the public consensus for preservation began to build. The fervent pleas of Chinese architectural experts — concerned that the Beijing wall and other important structures had been ravaged during the Cultural Revolution<sup>6</sup> — were increasingly convincing. Professional architectural journals began to publish articles sympathetic to historic preservation.<sup>7</sup> And reformers began to recognize that because of the "excesses of the Cultural Revolution, people have at last begun to take a new attitude towards relics."<sup>8</sup>



The former headquarters of the China Import and Export Company was abandoned during the Cultural Revolution.

Second, as foreign tourists began to visit China in greater numbers after 1980, and as it became apparent that those tourists flocked to historic sites, like the Great Wall, reformers were able to make a stronger case for investing in preservation. China's Vice Premier Wan Li was particularly sympathetic and willing to consider preservation reform. Finally, an atmosphere of relative openness allowed for cogent suggestions to be made by foreign professionals from the West. Many of these foreigners both lamented the recent desecrations and shared their experiences with preservation issues, practices and policies.

Three kinds of initiatives resulted from this reform. First, the State Council began designating "historic-cultural cities," Shanghai among them, in an attempt to apply loosely the notion of an historic district to Chinese cities.<sup>9</sup> Within the greater Shanghai administrative region, Jiading established a historic district around a thirteenth-century pagoda (the enforcement of this regulation has been difficult because of the clout of local *danwei*).

The second thrust of the post-1982 initiatives was the renovation of older buildings in keeping with socialist ideals to "help the people"<sup>10</sup> by educating them about the historic relics in their midst. This has yielded mixed results. Some monuments that attest to pre-Communist governments in twentieth-century have been rehabilitated, and a few non-governmental, grass roots preservation organizations have emerged, focusing their attention on specific sites. On the other hand, many Chinese still see little connection between their lives and the historic places or objects around them, an attitude expressed by a contractor in an encounter with a preservation offi-

cial: "We don't know about any law on cultural relics protection. That is your business, not ours."<sup>11</sup>

The third initiative urged the re-creation of historic streetscapes, most notably Beijing's Liulichang, as tourist attractions. Shanghai administrators opted not to follow Beijing's lead, possibly because the area near Yuyuan served as a historic streetscape. But as Shanghai's reformers noted the increased revenues that accrued to cities that promoted historic sites to foreign tour groups, they provided money to restore demolished sites or to maintain existing ones, both within and outside the Concessions.

One result of this effort has been the cleaning of the facades of many foreign-style office blocks along the Bund. Through these face-lifting campaigns, some of which were initiated by individual *danwei* following the city's lead, many of Shanghai's remarkable Art Deco, Beaux-Arts and Modern-style buildings have been resurrected from the dirt-encrusted shadows of their former selves. By 1987,

the scrubbing and repainting of the city's historic buildings was rampant.

However, these well-intentioned and sporadic efforts have yielded both positive and negative results. Whereas some buildings that attest to the activities of foreign capitalists have been washed and re-colored, many places related to Chinese capitalism, such as factories or cotton mills, have not. Nor has the work been done in accordance with any clear standards.

Vernacular buildings like *lilong* houses also have been ignored, partly because of an assumption by city housing officials that new housing is inherently better than old. By the late '80s, though, this assumption was increasingly called into question. Problems with newer construction began to surface publicly, and cities throughout China, prompted by university experts (most notably Qinghua University Professor Wu Liangyong) began to consider more seriously how to retain older buildings, which by far comprise the majority of housing stock.<sup>12</sup>

In Shanghai, some foreign preservationists have collaborated on proposals to redesign *lilong* housing.<sup>13</sup> The exterior of Puyu Li, built in 1925 as a residential block, was cleaned and repaired, and its original interior was gutted and reconfigured to accommodate a third story, which increased the number of living units at a cost lower than what would have been expended for new construction.

**Facade improvements are often made without regard to historic architectural texture. This was formerly a godown.**

## Prospects for the Future

The extent to which buildings in the Concessions have survived has less to do with concerted preservation efforts than it does with the realities of urban investment; buildings represented capital investment that, for many years, authorities could not afford to waste. That the Concessions have been bypassed by most official preservation efforts has less to do with official attitudes towards capitalism than it does with China's desire to focus on other aspects of its history, and the unsophisticated approaches it uses to create historic districts.

Since the 1980s, foreigners have been able to invest capital in Shanghai and today the Concessions face a new threat: accelerating redevelopment of the city. Demolitions still occur as city officials are constructing highway tunnels under the Huangpu River, putting in place new infrastructure, reallocating land for new high-rise construction, widening roads and considering to what extent, how and where they want to retain architectural aspects of Shanghai tradition.

Also plaguing the effort to save old buildings is the lack of effective enforcement of preservation regulations, weak coordination of efforts between local and national officials, the absence of criteria for determining a site's significance, the poor recognition of the implications of new development projects on historic areas, and the lack of money targeted to the rehabilitation of historic sites.<sup>14</sup>

Shanghai's Concessions are adrift on the sea of progress. Once part of a world renowned, unique architectural and urban composition, the historic places comprising the Concessions are too often ignored, cast off, or branded as outdated symbols of an antiquated past. Recently, one foreign reporter



asserted that "Shanghai's pre-revolutionary buildings charm visitors, but they are hell to work in."<sup>15</sup> Another journalist wrote of a conversation with a young Chinese who, told that "at least Shanghai can be proud of its architecture," responded, disbelievingly, "Those buildings? They're old. We need more of those," pointing to a new skyscraper.<sup>16</sup> Shanghai residents probably will continue to grapple with ways to charm visitors with both new architectural razzle-dazzle and the creative places they have inhabited.

#### Notes

1. Betty Peh-T'i Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 66-68.
2. Jon W. Huebner, "Architecture on the Shanghai Bund," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 39 (March, 1989): 127-65.
3. Wang Shaozhou, *Lilong Jianzhu* (Shanghai: Kexue Chubanshe, 1987); Pierre Clément, Françoise Ged and Qi Wan, eds., *Transformations de l'habitat à Shanghai* (Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture, 1988); Françoise Ged, "Les Lilong de Shanghai," in Christian Henriot, ed. *Shanghai dans les années 1980* (Lyon: Université Jean Moulin, 1989), 54-72; Wu Changfu, "Shikumen: eine traditionelle städtische Wohnform in Shanghai," *Detail* 27 (September-October, 1987): 454-59; and Max Bacher, Emil Hadler and Yu Lin, "Das Lilong-Haus, Traditioneller high density low rise, Massenwohnungsbau in Shanghai," *Baumeister* 86 (August, 1989): 44-49.
4. For an English translation of these regulations, see Janet A. Cady, ed., *Historic Preservation in the People's Republic of China* (New York: National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 1982).
5. For a full list of sites designated in 1961 and 1982, and for a view of the 1982 regulations by an American group of preservation professionals consulted by the Chinese, see Cady, *Historic Preservation*.
6. A number of these experts were professors who had been trained to be more sensitive to historic architecture by Liang Sicheng, a University of Pennsylvania graduate who devoted his career to researching and teaching about China's historic buildings.
7. See, for example, the architectural publications *Jianzhusbi* and *Jianzhu Xuebao*.
8. An unnamed Chinese preservation official quoted by Chang Wen-ying, in "Saving Old Peking: The Past Recaptured," *Arts of Asia* 13 (September-October 1983): 91.
9. *China Daily*, 19 April 1990, p. 3. The number of these cities was increased to 62 in 1990.
10. On the second and third reform initiatives, see Adele Chatfield-Taylor, "Restoring and Rehabilitation: The Imperial Palace," and Marjorie Hoog and Marie Kennedy, "Urban Neighborhoods: Socialist Renovation," *Progressive Architecture* 60 (November 1979): 74-79.
11. *China Daily*, 30 October 1991, p. 4c.
12. Qin Zheng, "Renovation of Old City and Construction of New Housing District in Shanghai," *Time and Architecture* (November, 1987): 46-51 (published in Shanghai by Tongji University); Wang Zhihui, "Utilization of Shanghai's Old Residential Buildings," *Building in China* 2 (1987): 35-7; Wu Zhengtong, "Alleviation of Extreme Housing Shortage in Shanghai: Schemes and Measures," *Building in China* 2 (1987): 38-41; Yu Yi, "Residential Redevelopment in Beijing," *Open House International* 14 (1989): 9-14; Hong Xia, "New Life Built into Old Houses," *China Daily*, 30 May 1991, p. 3; Kou Zhengling, "Housing Reform Offers Two Rooms with a View," *China Daily*, 6 June 1991, p. 5; and "New Rule to Smooth Updating of Housing," *China Daily*, 19 June 1991, p. 3.
13. Pierre Clément, Françoise Ged and Qi Wan, *Transformations*; and "Shanghai: Deux Français à Huaihai, un concours franco-chinois pour un quartier de Shanghai," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 263 (June 1989): 108-9.
14. Cheng Jingqi, "Protection of Historic Architecture in China," *Building in China* 1 (1985): 3-11.
15. *The Economist*, 11 April 1992, p. 32.
16. *Business Week*, 4 May 1992, p. 6B.

## Cultural Hurdles for Adaptive Re-use of Historic Buildings in Japan

*Cherilyn Widell*

A major component of the success of historic preservation in the U.S. has been the adaptive reuse of historic properties. Train stations have won new life as restaurants; old factories now house luxury apartments; and even grain silos have been converted into hotels, all with minimal disruption to the exterior architectural character of the structures.

In Japan, however, the historic preservation movement is only beginning to expand into activities beyond the preservation of shrines and temples, and adaptive reuse of historic buildings is still very rare. The reasons for this provide important insights into the cultural aspects of the use of space in Japan and the effects of Westernization in the country.

Historic architecture in Japan can be divided into two main categories. Those buildings constructed in styles prevalent before 1868, when Japan was opened to the West, are categorized by architectural historians as "traditional," and all those built in Western styles are considered "modern."

**The Meiji Shrine, built in 1920, is characteristic of traditional Japanese architecture. The shrine is designed in pure Shinto style, which is marked by dignified simplicity. Courtesy Japanese Consulate General, New York.**

The year 1868 marked the beginning of the Meiji Period (1868-1912), when the new Emperor made it government policy to promote the art, business and culture of the West. This policy rapidly transformed the architectural landscape from one consisting exclusively of one- and two-story wooden and clay structures into one that included large clapboard, brick and stone public buildings that incorporated Western building techniques and architectural styles. Newer buildings differ greatly from traditional Japanese structures in the materials they use, the size of rooms, the amount of windows and light, the heights of ceilings, and the design of stairs and fireplaces. They even exhibit a different attitude toward wearing shoes indoors.

In 1921 Frank Lloyd Wright termed this imitative architecture "the cold dead forms Japanese architects go abroad to copy," but today Meiji Period buildings provide refreshing visual relief from the concrete "tofu-like" structures that dominate the post-World War II Japanese landscape. Yet every day these buildings are being demolished rather than put to a new use. Why?

Many observers have speculated that the "tear down and build" mentality is drawn from the Shinto tradition of rebuilding shrines, such as Ise, at regular intervals. But for at least 125 years, Japanese buildings also have been





Century-old "working houses" in Yougetsu Minshukan, Kyoto. Courtesy Beth Blumner.

systematically demolished and replaced as a result of political, economic and natural forces such as the Meiji Restoration, the Great Kanto Earthquake and World War II.

Rebuilding rather than rehabilitating cities is a key part of the Japanese economic machine. The high value of land in Japan is legendary, especially in "urbanization promotion" areas, and older Western-style buildings usually occupy some of the largest single developable parcels in these areas.

Government policies also encourage rebuilding. The transfer of development rights (TDR), a key preservation technique in the U.S., is poorly understood and rarely used in

Japan. And local governments have established "fireproof zones," offering subsidies for replacing wooden structures with nonflammable buildings, making it difficult to obtain permission to put a new use in an old building.

"Traditional" buildings fare no better. The groups of "traditional" buildings that still remain in urban settings in Japan date largely from the Edo (1600-1867), Meiji, or Taisho (1912-1926) periods. They are called *machinami*, a term that relates not only to the linear and horizontal effect of the wooden fronts of the buildings lined up on either side of the street.

When a collection of these buildings is identified and designated as a *machinami* (historic district), the people and activities that occupy the buildings, including the products and foods and festivals they produce, are as important as the preservation of buildings. In fact, some believe that without the people using the buildings in the original manner, there would be no *machinami*. Still, few local preservation ordinances

like those used in the U.S. exist, and without some protective mechanisms, the future of *machinami* is threatened and uncertain.

The design of traditional Japanese buildings is inextricably linked to the traditions and culture of the community though subtle architectural details that are difficult or impossible to adapt to trends in retailing or living styles.

For example, in an old-style shop, the selling activity took place in a front room on a *tatami* (straw mat) platform about one foot above ground level. Customers removed their shoes, warmed themselves by sitting on the floor next to a *hibachi* (earthen container with glowing embers) and were served tea and sweets or even lunch while the proprietor spread goods before them from shelves in the workroom or *kura* (storehouse) in the rear. The owner of the shop also lived in the rear. The opening or closing of the shop was signaled by the hanging of the *noren* (a cloth sign) outside the sliding front doors. This selling procedure created a very strong connection between neighborhood residents and the merchants who also lived there, and remnants of this link pervade business and cultural practices in Japan today.

Adaptive reuse of these properties would be difficult and ultimately destructive to their architectural character. Simply allowing people to wear shoes in the building

In traditional shops, customers remove their shoes and sit on a raised *tatami* platform, on which the proprietor spreads his goods.

Photo by Cathy Tuttle.





Modern commercial street, Kyoto.

Courtesy Beth Blumner.

would require the removal of the raised floor structure, drastically changing the scale of the rooms. Removing the *tatami* would change the smell and feel of the room. Accommodating the handicapped would require the removal of the wooden threshold that secures the sliding wooden front doors. Contemporary selling standards require lighted display windows on the front of the building and display shelves throughout the store.

Even changes in the typical Japanese diet have implications for adaptive reuse. The average size of Japanese young people has become much larger; consequently, the traditional-sized *tatami* mats no longer fit the average young Japanese physique.

The preservation of these areas depends upon a continuation of traditional lifestyles, which seems unlikely. The ageless disregard of the young for things old has a new twist in Japan. The sons of the proprietors of these old-style shops have turned these once lively communities into quiet "bed"

towns, from which they commute into the center cities as salarymen. They would much prefer a new American-style house to the inconvenience of an old building.

The movement towards modernization and Westernization has become a cultural imperative for most of the younger generation. This has popularized the use of beds, couches, tables, chairs, material goods and probably most important of all, locked doors, which provide privacy. Old Japanese spaces with thin paper *shoji* (sliding doors) were designed for communal living and open communication, requiring politeness and consideration to ensure comfort to the large number of people who might live in a small space. The Japanese acceptance of the Western desire for privacy and insular spaces is resulting in the breakdown of the entire cultural approach towards living and working spaces.

Protective legislation, public education and design guidelines can be effective at protecting the architectural skeletons of towns. However, preservation must go beyond saving facades. Economic and cultural change can sap the soul and regional character of buildings and towns. The essence of preservation should be finding the *machinami* of a place, the strong relationship between buildings, spaces, community and people, and helping it to survive.

## BUDDHIST PRIESTS 2: DEVELOPERS 1

*Cathy Tuttle*

There is an old saying in Kyoto: "You can't fight the priests." In their rush to transform the city in time for Kyoto's 1,200-year anniversary in 1994, real estate developers and Kyoto government officials are ignoring that proverb.

The priests are opposed to two current development proposals: the expansion of the main railroad station and a remodel of the Kyoto Hotel. Both projects take advantage of a 1988 law that allows buildings to exceed the 145-foot height of the five-story pagoda of Toji Temple, an enduring symbol of Kyoto, built in the late Heian period (799-1185).

Buddhist priests, organized in a group representing more than 1,000 Kyoto temples, have found an effective way to do battle against development: They are using the power of tourism to challenge Kyoto's new high-rise construction boom.

Kyoto annually hosts 40 million tourists, who contribute one quarter of the city's income. In the most recent conflict, priests

refused entrance to nine famous temples (including Kiyomizudera, Ginkakuji and Kinkakuji) to tourists who stayed in the Kyoto Hotel — unless the tourists signed a petition not to patronize any hotels belonging to the Kyoto Hotel group. The tactic brought the Kyoto Hotel management to the bargaining table, but construction still continues on the 190-foot structure, scheduled to open in 1994.

This is not the first time priests have used the power of tourism to influence urban development decisions. During 1986, tourist revenue declined drastically when the nine famous temples closed their doors to the public. Temple officials had been asked to collect a city tax on admissions, a tax they felt was not well spent. The temples reopened

only after being threatened by a city property tax.

Throughout most of 1990-91, many temples posted billboards on their property proclaiming: "We are against the new Kyoto Hotel and other skyscrapers that will destroy the ancient beauty of the city." And in late 1991, an association of 1,000 temples, much to the chagrin of the Japanese National Tourism Organization, took out an advertisement in the *New York Times*, protesting development and calling on "foreigners who love Kyoto" to protect its beauty.

Recently, Kiyomizudera, which boasts a spectacular city view from its hillside location, bought property worth more than \$7 million to halt construction of a six-story apartment house that would have interfered with the temple's scenic view.



Kyoto's fortunate escape from the ravages of World War II, and a series of scenic, cultural and historic preservation laws, have kept Kyoto from the common fate of becoming a placeless maze of new construction. But now, the cost of residential real estate (a 282 percent increase in the past three years) has made most protest ineffective. Buddhist priests have taken up the challenge to save Kyoto's identity and enlisted tourists as their most effective weapon to save the Kyoto way of life.

**Kiyomizudera Temple is a popular tourist destination. Temple officials have led the fight against rapid development in Kyoto.**  
Photo by Cathy Tuttle.



**Buddhist priests have been active in preserving the cultural fabric of Kyoto.**  
Photo by Cathy Tuttle.

## THE BURRA CHARTER: Australia's Methodology for Conserving Cultural Heritage

*Graham Brooks*



The Rocks area, a nineteenth-century commercial district on the Sydney Harbour, is the type of place that is often overlooked by traditional preservation activity.

Photos courtesy Graham Brooks.

Since 1966, practitioners in the conservation of cultural heritage throughout the world have used the Venice Charter as a guide for their work. The charter was developed by the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), an organization that brings together such professionals from around the world and continually seeks to raise the quality and standard of conservation practice.<sup>1</sup>

The charter drew heavily on the European background of many of its original authors and focused on the concept of the "monument," a term that encompassed the great historic sites and buildings of antiquity.

In Australia we found that the concept of the "monument" was of little use; our island continent has been settled by Europeans only for some 200 years, yet aboriginal archaeological sites date back 40,000 years. None of Australia's important historical sites could rate against a terminology that is more suited to the Parthenon or Chartres Cathedral.

By the mid 1970s, there was a real danger that the cultural heritage of European settlement in Australia would be despised, or at best ignored, before being swept away by the march of progress. European Australians tended to look back to their Old World roots for a sense of their cultural heritage and place in the world. Building conservation was practiced only by a few specialized architects and other professionals. And there was almost no legislative protection for the few buildings that the general public regarded as historic.

The Australian National Committee of ICOMOS recognized that new concepts of what should be regarded as valuable historic resources, and new techniques for conserving those resources, were needed to promote an

understanding of the cultural heritage unique to European settlement in Australia. The committee decided that a new charter, written for the Australian context, would be a statement of doctrine, an aid to communicate that doctrine and an educational tool for practitioners entering the field. As a written document it could become a point of reference and would help establish consistent methodologies for conservation practitioners.

It was important for the new charter to use the Venice Charter as a starting point, to accept its general philosophy but then go further. The Venice Charter had established the principles of research, understanding, sensitive intervention and protective care for monuments; the problem was that its language and terminology could be difficult to understand and apply in the new world.

In drafting the new charter, the committee found that it would have to expand upon the Venice Charter in several ways.

First, there was a need to establish common conservation language throughout Australia. For example, the term "restoration" had become widely used by non-specialists to encompass all aspects of saving and keeping old buildings. Such all-encompassing terms can mean different things to different people, often leading to confusion or the use of inappropriate conservation techniques.

Such a common language or approach can be adopted for an entire linguistic group or regional assembly of nations. Great care must be exercised, however, to avoid cultural imperialism by attempting to force one approach onto other societies or cul-

tural networks where subtle but important differences may require a change in approach. Second, there needed to be an emphasis on thoroughly understanding the significance of a place before policy decisions were made. Conservation processes should vary according to the nature of significance of the cultural resource.

Third, the charter should avoid technical jargon and include precise definitions included so the terminology could be understood easily.

## *The Charter of Venice*

*Excerpts from the statement of the 11th International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice, May 1964.*

**Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized.**

**Article 1** The concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passage of time.

**Article 3** The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.

**Article 5** The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some social purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the layout or decoration of the building.

**Article 6** The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition, or modification which would alter the relations of mass and color must be allowed.

**Article 9** The process of restoration ... must stop at the point where conjecture begins. ... Any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. ...

**Article 11** The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. ...

**Article 12** Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.

**The rich streetscape contrasts with the high-rise towers to the south.**

Fourth, it should emphasize a multi-disciplinary approach to conservation. The roles of particular practitioners such as archaeologists, architects, or historians should not be emphasized over the general concept of conservation work to a place.

In 1979 Australia ICOMOS developed *The Charter for the Conservation of the Places of Cultural Significance*, or the "Burra Charter," after the old mining town in which the final draft was adopted. The Burra Charter underwent two revisions, the last in 1988, as experience from its use filtered back.

The key difference between the Burra Charter and the Venice Charter is that the Australian document is applied to all places of cultural significance, not just the monuments covered by the older document. In fact, the concept of cultural significance is the key to the whole conservation process: The Burra Charter urges and provides guidelines for plans that identify the cultural significance of heritage sites and suggest conservation policies that protect that cultural identity.

"Cultural significance" is defined as "aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social value for past, present, or future generations." These terms are not mutually exclusive and can embrace many other values. Places likely to be of significance are those that improve our understanding of the past or enrich the present, and which will be of value to future generations. The assessment of cultural significance is not seen as a one-time exercise: Just as society's views towards historic buildings change over time, so the assessment process should reflect changing attitudes that can arise from new and more widely available information.



Conservation practitioners in Australia use "cultural heritage" to describe all aspects of historical development that differ from the natural environment. It includes buildings, sites, structures, ruins, archaeology, industrial archaeology, movable objects and even shipwrecks (known as "underwater cultural heritage"). The term has recently been extended to embrace the concept of "cultural landscape," which means any landscape in which the occupants have transformed the original landscape to suit their needs. Farms, gardens, plowed fields, stone walls, dividing paddocks, traditional road networks, tree-lined canals and even battlefields are included in the concept.

The strength of the Burra Charter is its universal approach and clear methodology, which enables practitioners to examine cultural sites and to plan for their conservation using a consistent technique. The methodology is not a set of rehabilitation or restoration standards applied irrespective of the nature of the historic structure; each place is recognized for its own qualities and identity.<sup>2</sup> Nor does

the methodology give preference to cultural sites of a particular type or scale, or from a particular period or geographic location. It has been applied with equal vigor to the remains of an explorer's hut erected in Antarctica in 1905 and to major office buildings from the 1960s.

Over the past decade, the Burra Charter has had a remarkable influence and effect on conservation practice. Many government conservation bodies tie conservation funding to the application of its methodologies. Most state and local governments now require consideration of potential impacts on a place's cultural significance before development can proceed.

The Burra Charter is most successful when it is used to prepare a conservation plan at the outset of a project. This planning document has a number of goals: to understand a place's history, physical fabric and cultural significance; to examine issues surrounding its future use; to propose conservation policies that will conserve the place's cultural significance, whatever the



The Burra Charter encourages practices that retain and respect the texture of age and wear (top) and traditional paint schemes that enliven the rich, decorative facades.

## The Burra Charter

*The following is excerpted from the charter adopted by Australia ICOMOS in 1979 at Burra Burra. Revisions were adopted in 1981 and 1988.*

### Article 1 Definitions

1.1 Place means site, area, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, together with associated contents and surroundings.

1.2 Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social value for past, present, or future generations.

1.4 Conservation means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance. It includes maintenance and may, according to circumstance, include preservation, restoration, reconstruction and adaptation and will be commonly a combination of more than one of these.

1.5 Maintenance means the continuous protective care of the fabric, contents and setting of a place, and is to be distinguished from repair. Repair involves restoration or reconstruction and it should be treated accordingly.

1.6 Preservation means maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration.

1.7 Restoration means returning the EXISTING fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.

1.8 Reconstruction means returning a place as nearly as possible to a known earlier state and is distinguished by the introduction of materials (new or old) into the fabric. ...

1.9 Adaptation means modifying a place to suit proposed compatible uses.

1.10 Compatible use means a use which involves no change to the culturally significant fabric, changes which are substantially reversible, or changes which require a minimal impact.

Article 2 The aim of conservation is to retain the cultural significance of a place and must include provision for its security, its maintenance and its future.

Article 3 Conservation is based on a respect for the existing fabric and should involve the least possible physical intervention. ...

Article 8 Conservation requires the maintenance of an appropriate visual setting; e.g., form, scale, color, texture and materials. No new construction, demolition, or modification which would adversely affect the setting should be allowed. ... (New conservation work, including infill and additions, may be acceptable, provided it does not reduce or obscure the cultural significance of the place ... )<sup>1</sup>

Article 14 Restoration ... is based on respect for all the physical, documentary and other evidence and stops at the point where conjecture begins.

Article 16 The contributions of all periods to the place must be respected. If a place includes the fabric of different periods, revealing the fabric of one period at the expense of another can only be justified when what is removed is of slight cultural significance and the fabric which is to be revealed is of much greater cultural significance.

Article 19 Reconstruction is limited to the reproduction of fabric ... it should be identifiable on close inspection as being new work.

Article 21 Adaptation must be limited to that which is essential to a use for the place [that has been] determined in accordance [with a conservation policy].

Article 25 A written statement of conservation policy must be professionally prepared setting out the cultural significance and proposed conservation procedure together with justification and supporting evidence, including photographs, drawings and all appropriate samples.

### Note

1. Comment in parenthesis is from the explanatory notes to Article 8.

future use; and to outline strategies and procedures for the implementation of those policies.

An example of the changes brought about by the rigorous application of the methodology outlined in the Burra Charter to a large urban historic precinct can be seen in The Rocks area of Sydney. Located on the edge of Sydney Harbour, close to the Opera House and the central city, the area contains a large collection of nineteenth-century buildings.

During most of this century the area was neglected and very run down. By the late 1960s it was scheduled for total redevelopment as an expansion of the main central business district. A series of often violent protests by residents and building workers led to a gradual change by the city. The redevelopment plan was dropped, but for many years quite large infill projects were permitted.

In recent years, however, The Rocks has enjoyed another change of direction, with a strenuous effort to apply more rigorous conservation principles as a means of revitalizing the area. Original building fabric is now protected and is kept, where possible. The emphasis is on repair rather than reconstruction. New uses are limited to those that are compatible with the existing buildings. External colors, reconstructed verandahs and shop awnings, signs, street lighting and street furniture are now based on earlier forms and details, which are documented in early photographs. The Rocks is now a popular destination for both local residents and tourists. The rich texture of the urban fabric is appreciated by visitors as a genuine historic place.

There remains a number of key challenges to the future of conservation in Australia and the application of the Burra Charter. We must:

- remain responsive to developing social attitudes towards history and historic places,
- gain further acceptance from the property industry that heritage conservation is a valid component of growth and development
- continue building links to other conservation groups, notably those concerned about the natural environment,
- encourage the tourism industry in Australia to recognize the potential of cultural heritage sites to balance the nation's wilderness attractions, and
- continue emphasizing that the conservation planning process should commence at the very beginning of the development process.

#### Notes

1. In Australia the term "conservation" has the same meaning as the term "preservation" does in the U.S.
2. The tendency to apply general rules and traditional but inappropriate approaches is avoided. There was a tradition in Australia in the 1960s for all historic houses to be painted white. Now there will be research of the early color schemes.

## CASTLE AND CONTEXT

Owning a small and very ruined castle in the Swiss countryside puts in focus the different sensibilities about the meaning of place that can pit the preservation proprietor against state preservation interests.

The castle of Schauenburg (which means "viewing point"), perched on a rocky outcropping in a saddle of hills overlooking Basel and the Rhine valley, was originally the residence of toll-taking barons, ancestors of my wife's family who taxed travelers attempting a short-cut around Basel. A massive earthquake destroyed it in 1386, but Schauenburg was rebuilt and reinhabited before it gradually became a ruin and pleasure ground. In the 1780s, the family reacquired the castle and the surrounding farmland, added the *Pavilion de Plaisir*, where the belfry used to stand and transformed the courtyard into a garden.

Today, both the crumbling twelfth-century walls and the picturesque, late baroque pavilion are of some historic interest; their unorthodox juxtaposition creates a strange marriage that can hardly be called a textbook example of preservation. This melange adds charm and complexity to our understanding of the past; yet, it also creates problems when dealing with a cantonal preservation office principally interested in securing public access to the ruins as a viewing point and in pursuing an archaeology program that would destabilize the grounds.

The current generation of owners uses Schauenburg as a community cultural center, staging summer concerts and family parties in the courtyard where their grandparents grew roses. But the family's efforts to sustain a "Friends of the Schauenburg Society" lost momentum in recent years as it grew tired of cultural programming.

The family cannot afford to brace up the castle's ruined walls, which are continually eroded by a steady stream of hikers who take advantage of a cantonal policy that encourages an accessible countryside of walking trails, marked with careful directional signs, though the castle is marked "private." Accepting public funding for restoration could require excavation in and around the ruined castle, a search that could last until archaeologists decide it has been exhaustive. This work could take a decade and thus make the castle impossible to use or at least unattractive and dangerous to young children.

In case ownership went to a public body, the cantonal preservation office would strip the hirsute walls of their sprouting trees and ivy and secure the ruins for foot traffic. Like other castle ruins in the canton's care, Schauenburg would be left stark and white, like a pile of bones on the hillside, celebrating the medieval period. The canton shows less interest in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century romantic additions and adaptations as illustrated in prints and drawings that the family collects and which anchor its sense of identity with the castle.

Since only the agricultural buildings are permitted within current zoning regulations, even the 1799 pavilion and the landlord's residence, a 1930 copy of a medieval vineyard house in the fields below, could not be rebuilt should they burn down. To overcome this risky impasse, the owners recently

decided to list these structures on the national historic register even though it may mean further restrictions beyond already tight design review laws.

The owners do not wish to *freeze* the place either as a medieval wall sculpture (too barren) or as a romantic pleasure garden (too labor intensive for them). To ensure an ongoing life force, they believe Schauenburg must continue to adapt and change, paying respect to previous epochs yet not being stifled by purist conservation policies. Therefore, the owners believe this time and the century to come could also leave a mark on this landscape, with new uses that will secure Schauenburg as a living ruin open to future generations, rather than preserve a sterile monument.

Below Schauenburg, the forests and fields remain quiet at night because strict agricultural zoning still maintains the countryside as a vast country park. But from the crumbling parapet of Schauenburg one can see the tiara of Basel lights and sense how this city (with France and Germany touching it) will put continued pressure on the castle. Now there is only the glow of the camp fire by the commune's hut and yodels echoing from it on a Saturday night to remind us that in Switzerland, for better or for worse, no one's house is an entirely private castle.

—Ronald Lee Fleming

## AN AUSTRALIAN WOOL STORE— A WORLD TRAGEDY

The Dennys Lascelles Austin & Co. wool store, before it was demolished in 1990. Courtesy the Richard Aitken Collection.



In May, 1990, the Dennys Lascelles Austin & Co. wool store was razed after an unprecedented series of events in the Australian conservation movement: the overturning of government controls intended to protect such structures from political and commercial intervention.

The Dennys Lascelles building was one of an ensemble of wool stores and built as long as 140 years ago within the waterfront precinct of the port of Geelong, the second largest city in Victoria, Australia. Geelong's early prosperity, from the mid-1800s and through successive boom and bust periods, stemmed from its role in selling western Victoria's wheat and wool to domestic and distant markets.

In 1909, Sydney engineer Edward Giles Stone was commissioned to design a store for Dennys Lascelles. Built between 1910-12, it was significant because it included the world's largest uninterrupted space covered by a reinforced concrete roof. The show floor, with its south-facing saw-tooth roofing, was of aesthetic interest for its wonderfully even light, ideal for displaying and selling wool. It had a clear roof span of 166 feet and "remain[ed] one of only two structures in Australia which [could] be identified unequivocally as having been reinforced accord-

ing to the system of the Frenchman Armand [-Gabriel] Considère."<sup>1</sup>

The Considère system was distinguished by its use of "hooped" reinforcement, which was spirally wound around the outside of the bars of all compression members. Stone designed six 166-foot roof girders, which were paired to form three "bridges," derived from Considère's Plougastel Bridge in Brittany (1903-4) and his test bridge at Ivry (1903). These bridges supported the concrete saw-tooth roof.

In 1980 the building was classified by the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) and listed on the Register of the National Estate in the same year. In 1984 it was included on the Victorian Historic Buildings Register. The first two organizations merely acknowledge significance but give no protection, while the third can issue permits for alterations. When it was demolished in 1990, an application for nomination to the World Heritage List also was being made.

The Dennys Lascelles building had support for its preservation from an enviable gathering of professionals from public and private bodies within Australia and abroad: the Victorian Historic Buildings Council, the Australian Council of National Trusts, the International Council on

Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Secretariat in Paris, Australia ICOMOS, the Australian Heritage Commission, the World Heritage Working Group and the Science Museum in London. Regrettably, this was to no avail.

The local community's distaste for the appearance of the building, a private consultant's report (commissioned by Liffhay Pty. Ltd., the consortium of private developers who owned the site) that concluded that the building was so unsafe that it had to be razed and a reactionary press stirred local pressure for demolition. The community was uninterested in the potential world significance of the building. Local government, it seems, could only perceive a safety hazard and potential litigation.

Subsequent engineering reports highlighted flaws in the original report and proposed a viable rehabilitation to incorporate the building, possibly, as part of the adjacent National Wool Museum. This resulted in a dispute between the government departments responsible for heritage and for public

safety, an unfavorable situation for an insecure government. The expedient solution, determined by the Premier and his Cabinet, was demolition. And so, to the approval of the Geelong City Council, the Geelong Regional Commission, the local *Geelong Advertiser* newspaper and the developers, the Victoria state government intervened to override the legitimate state heritage body. The site is still empty and unused.

Australia has nine World Heritage natural landscapes, some including petroglyphs. But the only Australian building considered for listing on the World Heritage Register — one of the only twentieth-century commercial buildings ever proposed — has now been irretrievably lost.

— *Robert G. Colosimo*

**Workers forming roof girders.**  
**Circa 1911, this was the world's largest uninterrupted concrete roofed space.**  
**Courtesy the Richard Aitken Collection.**



#### **Note**

I. Miles Lewis, "E. G. Stone's Wool Store," *Heritage Australia* (North Sydney: Concrete Institute of Australia, 1988), 17-22.

## CONTRIBUTORS

### **Juliet Barclay**

is a designer, photographer and writer in London. She runs the Spanish Caribbean Arts Network, which develops links between artists in Great Britain and the Spanish Caribbean. She travels frequently to Cuba, and is completing a book about Havana's social history and architecture.

### **Graham Brooks**

holds degrees in architecture and building conservation. His heritage-based consulting practice in Sydney undertakes conservation planning and restoration projects for public and private organizations. He is on the executive committee of Australia ICOMOS and the Historic Buildings Committee of the National Trust of Australia (NSW).

### **William Chapman**

was recently named director of the Pacific Preservation Consortium at the University of Hawaii. He has taught preservation at the University of Georgia, worked with the Virgin Islands preservation agency, and overseen cultural programs in the U.S. National Park Service.

### **Jeffrey W. Cody**

is a visiting assistant professor in Cornell University's Historic Preservation Planning Program. While in residence at Tongji University, Shanghai, he researched the work of American architect Henry K. Murphy and explored Shanghai's preservation initiatives and built environment, often by bicycle.

### **Robert G. Colosimo**

is an architect who has worked for the Department of Conservation and Environment, Melbourne, Australia; the Tianjin Urban and Rural Planning and Design Institute, in China; and the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, in Washington, D.C.

### **Tamara Coombs**

is studying architecture and design criticism at Parsons School of Design. She has worked in historic preservation in seven western states, both for local government and in a regional office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

### **Ronald Lee Fleming**

is a preservation advocate, urban planner, design and critic. He is co-founder and president of the Townscape Institute.

### **Maria Fuentes and Roques Gistau**

work with the Canal de Isabel II water company in Madrid.

### **Rahul J. Mehrotra**

is an architect in Bombay and founding member of the Bombay Conservation Group, which initiates conservation projects there. He obtained a masters in urban design at Harvard and studied architecture at the School of Architecture, Ahmedabad.

### **Leslie Rainer**

is a wall painting conservator who has trained in the U.S., France and Italy. With a background in museum conservation and architectural artisanry, she has more recently focused on the preservation of tradition and know-how as integral to the conservation of cultural property.

**Michael Turner**

is adjunct professor at the University of Colorado and the University of British Columbia. He teaches architecture and coordinates a conservation studies program at Bezalel Academy, Jerusalem, and currently chairs ICOMOS-Israel.

**Cathy Tuttle**

is an anthropologist studying at the University of Washington, Seattle, department of urban design and planning, where she is researching planning policies for culturally sensitive tourism.

**David Vanderburgh**

is a Killam Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of British Columbia. Trained in design, history and theory at the University of California, Berkeley, he writes on urbanism and architectural reform.

**Joseph C. Wang**

is on the architecture faculty at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. A native of Suzhou, China, he has travelled extensively in China recently and writes about its architecture, people and places.

**Cherilyn Widell**

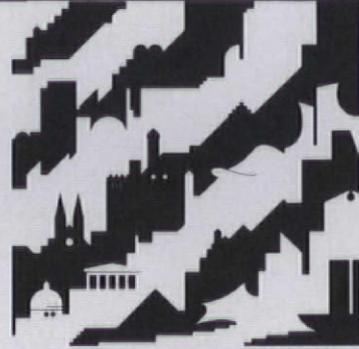
is a Fulbright Scholar studying the cultural conservation system in Japan. She is a former Executive Director of the National Alliance for Preservation Commissions and has consulted on many adaptive reuse projects.

**Richa Wilson**

studied architecture at Kansas State University and is working for an architectural firm in the Washington, D.C. area. In summer, 1991, she was a USICOMOS intern to the Soviet Union.

International Symposium on  
**Design Review:  
Debating Practices  
and Issues**

Cincinnati, Ohio  
October 8-11, 1992



Send or Fax your request  
for information to:

Featured Speakers:

Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk,  
DPZ Architects  
Michael Wilford,  
Stirling Wilford Architects, UK  
Gary Hack, Massachusetts  
Institute of Technology  
Robert McNulty,  
Partners for Liveable Places  
Bernard Frieden, author,  
The Environmental Protection  
Hustle  
and others

International Symposium  
on Design Review  
College of Design,  
Architecture, Art,  
and Planning  
University of Cincinnati  
M.L. 16  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45221-0016  
Phone: (513) 556-4943  
Fax: (513) 556-3288

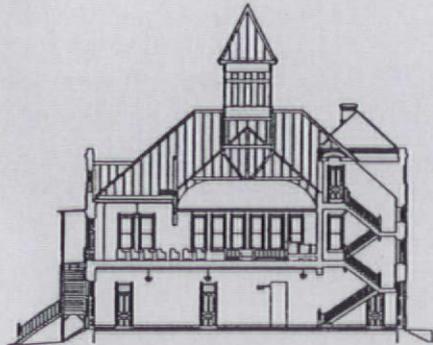
Please send me additional information about the Symposium:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_

**HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY**

Graduate course work in Historic Preservation is offered as an emphasis in the professional graduate degrees in Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Planning and in the research degrees of M.S. in Architecture and Ph.D.

A diverse faculty in a comprehensive college with a strong research program provide a unique opportunity for study in this critical field.



Contact: Professor David G. Woodcock  
Department of Architecture  
Texas A&M University, College Station,  
Texas 77843-3137

*Places: A Quarterly Journal of Environmental Design* is published four times a year by the Design History Foundation.

© 1992 by the Design History Foundation

#### **Subscription Information**

Subscription orders, single copy orders, address changes and mailing list correspondence should be addressed to:

*Places*  
P.O. Box 1897  
Lawrence, KS 66044-8897  
(913) 843-1221  
(913) 843-1274 (FAX)

#### **Rates**

Annual subscription for individuals: \$48 U.S., \$30 U.S. students, \$56 Canada, \$68 elsewhere. Add \$35 for airmail.

Annual subscription for institutions: \$55 U.S., \$65 Canada, \$80 elsewhere. Add \$35 for airmail.

Single copies (current issues): \$12 U.S., \$14 Canada, \$17 elsewhere. Add \$2 per copy for postage and handling.

#### **Missing Issues**

Claims must be made immediately upon receipt of the next published issue. Call (913) 843-1221.

#### **Postmaster**

Send address changes to:

*Places*  
P.O. Box 1897  
Lawrence, KS 66044-8897

#### **Copyright Information**

Permission to photocopy articles for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by the copyright owner for users registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transactional Reporting Service, provided that the fee of \$10 per copy is paid directly to CCC, 27 Congress Street, Salem, MA 01970.

The fee code for users of the Transactional Reporting Service is 0731-0455/91 \$10. For those organizations that have been granted a photocopy license with CCC, a separate system of payment has been arranged.

*Places* is available on microform from:

University Microfilms  
300 N. Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106  
(313) 761-4700

*Places* is indexed in the *Architectural Periodical Index*, the *Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals*, the *Design and Applied Arts Index*, the *Journal of the American Planning Association* and the American Society of Landscape Architects Information Resource Center.

#### **Editorial Offices**

Center for Environmental Design Research  
390 Wurster Hall  
University of California  
Berkeley, CA 94720  
(510) 642-9322

110 Higgins Hall  
School of Architecture  
Pratt Institute  
200 Willoughby Ave.  
Brooklyn, NY 11205  
(718) 399-6090

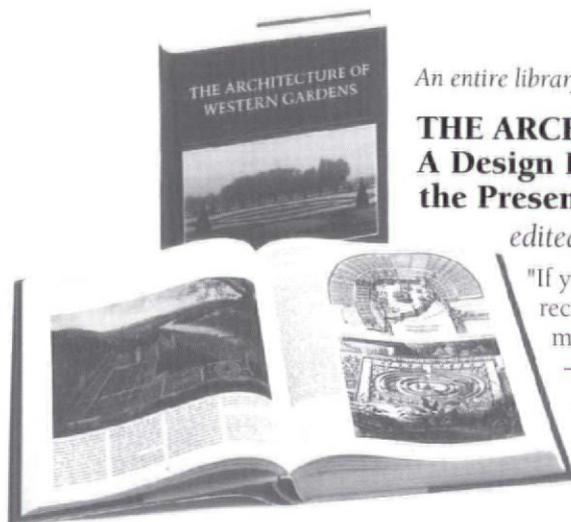
*Places* encourages submissions from its readers. Copies of our current Call for Submissions and editorial guidelines are available from our editorial offices upon request.

#### **Advertising**

Correspondence should be addressed to:

James F. Fulton, Publisher  
*Places*  
110 Higgins Hall  
School of Architecture  
Pratt Institute  
200 Willoughby Ave.  
Brooklyn, NY 11205  
(718) 399-6090

# G i n t o t h e GARDEN



An entire library of garden design in one beautifully-illustrated volume

## **THE ARCHITECTURE OF WESTERN GARDENS** **A Design History from the Renaissance to** **the Present Day**

edited by *Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot*

"If you wish to acquaint yourself with the full panoply of recent research in garden history, then I cannot recommend too highly this excessively lavish compilation."

— Charles Saumarez Smith, *The New York Times Book Review*

This international tour of garden design over five centuries and nine countries raises the standard of garden literature to a new level. The more than seventy essays — all commissioned for this book —

and over 650 illustrations provide a starting point for exploring the expressions of the place where nature and culture meet. The illustrations include ground plans meticulously redrawn from original archival material as well as a wealth of drawings, paintings, and photographs.

544 pp., 652 illus., including 130 4-color plates \$125.00

## **GARDENS AND THE PICTURESQUE** **Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture**

*John Dixon Hunt*

From Castle Howard in Yorkshire to French impressionist gardens, these essays explore the ways in which men and women have given meaning to gardens and landscapes.

300 pp., 127 illus. \$35.00 (July)



Now Available in Paperback

## **THE MEANING OF GARDENS**

edited by *Mark Francis and Randolph T. Hester, Jr.*

"[*The Meaning of Gardens*] is thought-provoking on almost every page. It will help us to understand the why of gardening. I think I know a little better now what Lawrence Johnston was up to at Hidcote, or Pierre Du Pont at Longwood and what in fact I am up to when I take pruner in hand and go out into the garden." — Christopher Reed, *Horticulture*

294 pp., 198 illus. 13 in color \$22.95 paper

Available at fine bookstores or toll-free 1-800-356-0343

55 Hayward Street **The MIT Press** Cambridge, MA 02142

# B

6.2

**Britain's Phone Kiosks**  
*Howard Mansfield*

**Where Gaia and Ouranos Make Love**  
*Bruno Queysanne*

**The Waste of Place**  
*Kevin Lynch*

**Carrara Quarry**  
*Joel Leivick*

**THE INTERNATIONAL CITY DESIGN COMPETITION**

*Jeffrey E. Ollswang  
Amos Rapoport  
Carlos Tejeda  
Allan B. Jacobs  
Cynthia Weese  
William Turnbull*

**Boston Visions**  
*Antonio DiMambro*

**Social Concern and Architectural Discourse**  
*James Ackerman*

**Surrealist Paris**  
*Alexander C. Irwin*

**Broadway and Columbus**  
*Larrisa Bilaniuk  
Mallory Cusenbury  
Christopher MacDonald  
Kevin Powell  
Ted Pratt*

**Streets as Landmarks**  
*Giancarlo De Carlo*

**In Defense of Street Trees**  
*Allan B. Jacobs*

# A

6.4

**Run it Down the Field Again, Fellows**  
*Grady Clay*

**Requiem for the Georgia Medical Dental Building**

**Questions to Ask a Place**  
*Ronald Lee Fleming*

**Economics, Politics and City Design**  
*Vincent C. Schoemebl Jr.*

**The Persistence of Vision: A Century of Civic Progress in St. Louis**  
*Tom Martinson*

**Place Defined by Time and Light**  
*Dale Eldred*

**Steam Heat: Winter Fountains in the City**  
*Joan Brigham*

**A Path in the City — A Path in the Woods**  
*Diana Balmori*

**Colstrip, Montana Digging for Our Roots**  
*David T. Hanson and Paul Shepard*

**Is Nature Good?**  
*Arthur Sullivan*

7.1

**Incidental Architecture**  
*Stuart Pertz*

**VISION, CULTURE AND LANDSCAPE**

**The Potential of Ethnic Places For Urban Landscape**  
*Dolores Hayden*

**Conflicting Landscape Values: The Santa Clara Pueblo and Day School**  
*Rina Swentzell*

**The Visual Character of Chinatowns**  
*David Chuenyan Lai*

**Seeing Beyond the Dominant Culture**  
*Wilbur Zelinsky*

**Tithing for Environmental Education**  
*Paul Groth*

**Sacred Places of the Southwest**  
*Laura Sue Sanborn*

**The Making of a Market**  
*Herb Childress*

**Solomon's Temple**  
*Laura Volkerding*

**An Indigenous Thing: The Story of William Wurster and the Gregory Farmhouse**  
*Daniel P. Gregory  
Lawrence B. Anderson  
Joe Esberick  
Robert A. M. Stern*

# C

7.2

**The House of Montisi**  
*Jill Stoner*

**VISIONARY SAN FRANCISCO**

**Dreamscape, Reality and Afterthoughts**  
*Paolo Polledri*

**Visions of Movement: Exhibition Notes**  
*Dorlyn Lyndon  
Neema Kudva*

**Planning and the Image of the City**  
*Lisa R. Peattie*

**Looking for Life in the Heart of the City**  
*Denis Wood*

**HOUSING ON TORONTO'S MAIN STREETS**

**Putting Toronto's Best Self Forward**  
*Jane Jacobs*

**City Structure as the Generator of Architectural Form**  
*Melvin Charney*

**Finding Buildings to Fit Main Street**  
*Anne Vernez Moudon*

**Urban Design for Architectural Diversity**  
*Kees Christiaanse*

**The Reemergence of the Courtyard**  
*Ken Greenberg*

**The Imperative for Housing on Main Streets**  
*Richard Gilbert*

**Lessons from California**  
*Dan Solomon*

**Setting the Stage for Main Street Housing**  
*Lorne Cappe*

**The Place of Imagination**  
*Rosalyn Driscoll*

# K

7.4

**Death Valley: Notes from a Visit**  
*Reed Dillingham*

**THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON SCIENCE COMPLEX**

*J. David Rowe  
John Moseley  
Buzz Yudell  
Alice Wingwall  
Stephen Harby  
Christie Johnson Coffin  
Charles W. Moore  
Lotte Steisinger  
Kent Bloomer  
Marc Pally  
Robert Campbell*

**Promises, Promises—of Earthly Power and Heavenly Glory**  
*Michael Mercil*

**DESIGNERS AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY**

*Richard Sennett  
Janet Lippman Abu-Lugbod  
Saskia Sassen  
David P. Handlin  
Marshall Berman*

To order back issues or subscribe, use the convenient order form on the facing page.

**Sponsors**

George Gund Foundation

National Endowment for the Arts  
Design Arts Program

National Institute for the  
Conservation of Cultural Property

Pratt Institute  
School of Architecture

**Patrons**

Department of Landscape Architecture  
College of Environmental Design  
University of California, Berkeley  
Beatrix Farrand Fund

Mr. and Mrs. Jeffrey Kenner

The New York Community Trust  
Blecher Family Fund

**Friends**

EDAW, San Francisco

Eskew-Filson Architects

Haines Lundberg Wachler  
Architects, Engineers and Planners

The New York Community Trust  
Ruth and Frank Stanton Fund



Verona

**Scarpa's Castelvecchio:  
A Critical Rehabilitation**  
*Tamara Coombs*

Jerusalem

**Conflict of the Heavenly  
and Earthly Jerusalem**  
*Michael Turner*

Zhuozhuang

**A Chinese Village  
in Transformation**  
*Joseph C. Wang*

Bombay

**Bazaars in Victorian Arcades**  
*Rabul J. Mebrotra*

Urbino

**Planning, Preservation  
and Polyculture**  
*David Vanderburgh*

Burkina Faso

**The Writing on the Wall**  
*Leslie Rainer*

Russia

**Preservation in Soviet Russia**  
*Richa Wilson*

**Riga Faces its Future**  
*Interview: Sigurd Grava*

Caribbean

**A Little More Gingerbread:  
Tourism, Design and  
Preservation in the Caribbean**  
*William R. Chapman*

**Renewing Old Havana**  
*Interview: Eusebio Leal Spengler*

Madrid

**Water and Culture: The Canal  
de Isabel II Elevated Reservoir**  
*Roque Gistan / Maria Fuentes*

Shanghai

**Preservation and  
Progress in China's Largest Port**  
*Jeffrey W. Cody*

Japan

**Cultural Hurdles for Adaptive Re-  
use of Historic Buildings in Japan**  
*Cberilyn Widell*

**Buddhist Priests 2: Developers 1**  
*Catby Tuttle*

Australia

**The Burra Charter**  
*Grabam Brooks*

The Design History Foundation  
110 Higgins Hall  
Pratt Institute School of Architecture  
200 Willoughby Avenue  
Brooklyn, NY 11205

ISSN 0731-0455