

Narrative Contradictions in Space

An architectural study of spatial simulacra, temporal displacements and
story-based reenactments

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of
Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

by

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August 2019

Abstract

In the tendentiously visual culture of our times, scholars, such as Daniel Boorstin ([1961] 2012) and Juhani Pallasmaa (1988), have called for a renewed search for identity and authentic experiences. Interestingly, when we look at our contemporary built environment, we find spatial settings, neighbourhoods or entire towns, which question or even contradict issues around authenticity of place and their contextual (spatial and cultural) environment, yet, undeniably, are tailored to create the narrative of an experience of locality, culture and identity. For instance, in the case of *Thames Town* that was designed to recall British urban sceneries in China; *Zaanse Schans* that features architectural heritages from the 1800s in the Netherlands; and the Spanish small town of Júzcar that became the reenactment of the fictional *Smurf Village*, creating an image and the role of narratives became intrinsic part of architectural design and urban planning practices. These narratives deliberately *tell a story* that is manifested in their architectural articulation and through social practices.

Scholarly arguments contesting issues around topics, such as authenticity, theming and place-making, are endless (see, for instance, Boorstin [1961] 2012; Eco [1967] (1986); Relph 1976; Augé 1995). However, it can be argued, that the above-mentioned cases have left the realm of what Boorstin defined as ‘pseudo-events’, Umberto Eco’s definition of ‘hyperreality’, or what Marc Augé termed as ‘non-place’, since these models are not theme parks or such, but are designed to be, or already are, inhabited as ‘lived spaces’ (Lefebvre [1974] 1991). It is argued that such ‘themed experiences’ have overloaded our everyday life (Gottdiener 1997) and inhabited themed environments alike, such as Disney’s planned community of Celebration and Colonial Williamsburg in the USA, as well as the numerous Chinese *copycat towns*, have been in the focus of scholarly debates (see, for instance, Huxtable 1997; and Bosker 2013). However, these examples are only scrutinised individually, or examined in a micro-environment, such as in a particular region or country, like the United States or China, but not considered and measured as a cohesive global phenomenon.

In my thesis, I examine such phenomenon, what I hereby call *narrative contradictions*, with the intention to untangle its complexity. By using the three above-mentioned examples as case studies, *Thames Town*, *Zaanse Schans* and *Smurf Village*, my research, on the one hand, aims to bring an order and define a taxonomy that can potentially serve as a reference point for future research. On the other hand, I would like to highlight the importance of narratives and the lessons that can be learnt from these places in the fields of architecture and spatial design.

Acknowledgement

Completing this study would have been all the more difficult without the people who generously contributed to my work presented in this thesis.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof Richard Koeck, whose insight and knowledge into my field of research has been the most invaluable asset during my work. I am grateful for having him as a supervisor who encouraged and assisted me with patience, and who was always available for my questions and queries.

I am also highly appreciative to my secondary supervisor, Prof Robert Kronenburg, especially for his kind suggestions and encouragement.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my examiners, Dr Fei Chen (University of Liverpool) and Prof Andong Lu (Nanjing University). Their great insight into my research topic and recommendations helped me to finalise my thesis.

I am thankful for the residents and the people I met during my site visits, who took the time to respond to my questions and provide valuable information for my research.

I would like to reflect on the kind assistance and goodwill of the staff members and my colleagues at the School of Architecture, School of the Arts, University of Liverpool.

Finally, but by no means least, my thanks go to my friends and family, especially to my parents, for their endless and unconditional support, and my son and husband whose incredible support, patience and sacrifice were invaluable during this period.

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泰晤士小镇

THAMES TOWN

Welcome to Thames Town.
Taste authentic British style of
small town. Enjoy sunlight, enjoy
nature, enjoy your life & holiday.
Dreaming of Britain, Live in
Thames Town

INTRODUCTION

‘Welcome to Thames Town. Taste the authentic British style of small town. Enjoy sunlight, enjoy nature, enjoy your life & holiday. Dreaming of Britain, Live in Thames Town.’ (Quoted from the Welcome Board in Thames Town)

Contextual overview

I would like to start my thesis with a short extract from the welcome board in Thames Town, Shanghai, China. The sign of the British-themed newly-built development invites us, let alone suggests, if you are ‘dreaming of Britain’, you can simply ‘live in Thames Town’ without the toil of crossing the continent to settle in a foreign country. This exemplifies what attracted me to this research; the seemingly *contradictory* spatial phenomena which we occasionally encounter when travelling to places we have not been before. What I refer to here is that we normally regard architecture and town planning as a sequential or evolutionary process; a more or less organic system that developed with a degree of continuity over time and in accordance with the architectural, socio- and cultural context of a particular environment. Spatial settings like Thames Town, on the contrary, challenge our perception of place and question one of the core beliefs that are prevalent in Western culture, which is our notion of the value of authenticity.

In peculiar cases alike, that question or even contradict issues around the authenticity of place and both its spatial and cultural contexts, the concept of image-making took priority over place-making since the spatial environment of this nature left the realm of what Edward Relph or Christian Norberg-Schulz defined as ‘place’ (Relph 1976; and Norberg-Schulz 1980), and yet, eschewed what Marc Augé coined as ‘non-place’ (Augé 1995). Like so, it can be argued that such a spatial environment was transformed into a mere representation of an image and became a piece of ‘architectural souvenir’ (see, for instance, Pallasmaa 1988: 26). This raises the question of how these places are manifested architecturally in different locales around the world. I would like to introduce the reader to my hereby created term to describe the phenomenon as *narrative contradictions*, which I will define in more details later.

We all seem to know what the term narrative means, or can mean. It is commonly referred to as a story or a sequence of connected events or experiences whether it is true

or false. If we were to consult the Cambridge Dictionary, it gives an answer, in which we can learn that the narrative is ‘a particular way of explaining or understanding events’. When we look at the notion of narratives in relation to the city and our built environment, the situation becomes far more complex.

Before this topic of the narrative in the context of modern urban setting became widely adopted in academic literature, intellectuals and artists have approached this subject from their different directions and various art forms. Charles Baudelaire, for instance, offers a reading of Parisian urban narratives in poems. Soon after, sociologists have drawn thoughts from such conceptions. Walter Benjamin, for example, gave his accounts on the *passage* and the modern urban sceneries (Benjamin [1972-1989] 1999). Roland Barthes, on the other hand, unfolds the language of the city, and studies the world of architecture through the dialectal discipline of architectural signification and meaning (Barthes [1967] 1997, see also Eco 1976).

In the field of urban studies, there are several theories that point towards the perception of urban narratives. Kevin Lynch argues in his seminal work, *The Image of The City* (1960), that since people form a cognitive map of their surroundings, the ‘legibility’ or ‘imageability’ of the city is essential in spatial planning, which therefore gives a ‘sense of emotional security’, or, as I would argue, informs a narrative of place (Lynch 1960: 5). Gordon Cullen developed the idea of serial vision, by which the urban setting becomes a sequence of images – what he regards as ‘townscapes’ (Cullen [1961] 1971). The notion of narrative also plays a role in the work of Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter who, in *Collage City* (1978), propose that urban environments are simply built up from not one, but a whole range of various fragments in line with different planning theories and practices.

Undeniably, there is an overlapping between urban and image culture which ultimately forms our architecture and urban spaces. Indeed, a number of prominent architects, such as Peter Eisenman, Rem Koolhaas and Bernard Tschumi, have specifically used image and movement as a design concept for their work. It is, therefore, perhaps unsurprising that scholarly research emerged over time which has looked at cinema and film from an architectural vantage point. Dietrich Neumann’s *Film Architecture* (1996) provides a closer look into set-design and how these have informed the narrative of the film. François Penz and Maureen Thomas have been one of the pioneering educators in this field and have produced seminal works, such as *Cinema and Architecture* (1997), seeing architecture as a quasi-protagonist in certain films and providing insight into how

architects have contributed do the production of film in the 20th century. This is also argued by Nezar Alsayyad in *Cinematic Urbanism* (2006), which demonstrates the important narrative role of architecture in film. Richard Koeck reverses this argument and sees film and moving images as important conceptual drivers that inform our understanding of space and place. In his book, *Cine-scapes* (2013), he argues that narrative is seen as a ‘sequence of events’ that are essential parts of ‘human experiences’ and emotions (Koeck 2013: 19). Finally, although this is by far not the end of important scholarly research in this field, in *Urban Cinematics* (2011), Andong Lu and François Penz argue that cinema and architecture can be seen as overlapping disciplines in the sense that film contributes to our understanding of cities.

Now, returning to my phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*, I would like to argue that if we look at the articulation of places, which I am investigating in this thesis (see *Case Studies* in the following), we find spatial settings that are unquestionably tailored to create the narrative of an experience of locality, and the image of a particular culture and/or identity. These are places that deliberately *tell a story* through, for instance, their architectural expression and social practices. They do this also by employing popular motifs and themes from other places, cultures, histories, as well as mythologies, novels, plays, fables and tales of which narratives seemingly contradict the contextual spatial and cultural environment. All of these contradictory qualities of such peculiar places offer a new look on contemporary architectural practices.

Definition of *narrative contradictions*

Before explaining the rationale behind the selection of my case studies, I would like to offer a definition that allowed me to shortlist and eventually select three places from a much larger list of contenders, namely Thames Town in China, Zaanse Schans in the Netherlands and Smurf Village in Spain. These will be introduced in more details below in the *Selection of case studies*. I also made a list of exclusions, the *non-narrative contradictions* (see in Appendix 1), which are other examples that I collected and studied during my research due to the fact that these locales have similarly strong narrative qualities, yet, did not fit within my definition of *narrative contradictions*.

Narrative contradictions, according to my definition, describe places that are characterised by a pronounced, clearly visible narrative (e.g. architectural expression) which, at the same time, display some sort of contextual contradiction (e.g. spatial and/or cultural). In contrast to theme parks, however, these places are meant to be

permanently inhabitable – an existing locality or intentional proposition for people to work and live in them. Their expression is often characterised by the deliberate use of architectural symbols and images (in the wider sense) in order to evoke an experience of a locality, culture and/or identity. In simplified terms, they are defined by the following four points:

- pronounced narratives
- emphasis on locality, culture and/or identity
- contextual contradiction
- inhabitable place

What is interesting is the fact that there are countless places worldwide in our built environment that correspond to the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*, such as the replica of the Austrian town of Hallstatt in Louyang, China, the Danish town of Solvang in California, USA, the colourful Tobermory Main Street in Scotland giving place for the television series, *Balamory*, and many more. Even this brief list of examples highlights that this is clearly an international phenomenon and not simply a *blip* or *architectural slippage* that can be linked to a particular cultural context (e.g. China, or the USA).

Selection of case studies

At the beginning of my research I collected and studied all cases I came across with and started to find commonalities and differences between them. I, therefore, was able to delineate preliminary types of *narrative contradictions*. My hypothesis is that there are three major categories – *spatial*, *temporal*, and *story-based* – that define these cases within the overall phenomenon, with possible overlaps and/or subcategories. In order to further explore the hypothesis and to see if there are indeed three or more categories that can be identified, I have chosen to select three case studies: Thames Town – designed to recall British urban sceneries in China; Zaanse Schans – featuring an architectural heritage site that is meant to be from the 1800s in the Netherlands; and Smurf Village – the small Spanish town of Júzcar that is now known to be the home of the fictional characters of the Smurfs.

The selection of case studies for this research was carried through a considered process. My criterion was to find a wide range of examples from various localities, in different sizes as well as different cultural, historical and spatial contexts, with different

architectural characteristics and conceptual backgrounds. For instance, while one is a semi-urban, new development in one of the largest Chinese cities, Shanghai (Thames Town), the other is a neighbourhood from the 1960s in the industrial district in the Netherlands (Zaanse Schans), and the third is a secluded small town in the mountainous area of southern Spain (Smurf Village). I am going to describe each case study in greater depth in the following.

- Thames Town, China
- Zaanse Schans, the Netherlands
- Smurf Village, Spain

Thames Town



Location: part of the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan* in Shanghai, China

Purpose: urban development project, town for inhabitation

Construction: newly built

Time of construction: 2003-2006

Theme: British town

Description:

Thames Town is a newly built urban area in Shanghai's suburban district of Songjiang in China, designed and constructed in a way in which it features formal characteristics

of a British townscape. It is part of a pilot project, the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan* (1999-2020), in which the “one city” is the urban regeneration project of the old town of Songjiang as Songjiang New City that includes the British-themed Thames Town. The other “nine towns” were planned as new satellite towns strategically located in the surrounding districts around the central city of Shanghai. Each of the towns were proposed to have their unique character following various themes of, more predominantly, imported townscapes of foreign lands to be built on a tabula rasa – namely Canadian/North American (Fengjing, Jinshan District), Dutch (Gaoqiao, Pudong District), German (Anting, Jiading District), Italian (Pujiang, Minhang District), Scandinavian (Luodian, Baoshan District), Spanish (Fengcheng, Fengxian District), as well as traditional southern Chinese water town (Zhujiajiao, Qingpu District), and two European-American (Baozhen, Chongming County and Zhoupu, Nanhui District – which was eventually cancelled).

The intention for the overall project was to ease the population pressure in the central city of Shanghai and, therefore, to lay emphasis on rural development (see, for instance, den Hartog 2010: 4). The idea behind the thematic scheme was a response to the lack of identity that new urban developments faced in China (see, for instance, *ibid.*: 36). Moreover, the striking foreign sceneries were seen to act as tourist attractions, as well as a solution to the Shanghai central government’s intention ‘to export the international influences from the central city to the suburban districts’ (*ibid.*: 122). Each town was developed and coordinated by the local government and municipal corporations. However, along with local design companies, foreign architects and design firms were commissioned for the planning and design stages for each new town respectively ‘with the aim of catching up with international standards’ (*ibid.*: 78). Thames Town was the first one to be built. The Shanghai Songjiang City Construction and Development Co. Ltd. (SNCD) and the Shanghai Henghe Real Estate Co. Ltd. were the clients and developers, and the project was designed by the British firm, Atkins Design Studio, and its Chinese partner office, China Shanghai Architectural Design and Research Institute Co. Ltd. The design work took place in Britain as well as in China between 2001 and 2003. The implementation was carried out in two phases; infrastructure and main facilities between 2003 and 2004, and housing between 2004 and 2006. Therefore, in 2006, the 1 km² new town of Thames Town was entirely completed and ready to be occupied by the 10,000 inhabitants, which was projected by 2020. The other new towns were partially completed and some were even cancelled.

Eventually, the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan* was set aside in 2006 and in its place the 1-9-6-6 urban system was put in order – which stands for one central city, 9 new cities, 60 new towns and 600 central villages (*ibid.*: 4). One of the new cities is Songjiang New City covering 36 km², which, in addition to Thames Town, incorporates various other housing estates, as well as the refurbishment of Songjiang Old Town, the newly built Songjiang University Town (including seven new universities), metro line and stations, industrial zone, governmental district, and green spaces. Within this project, as a suburban residential environment, Thames Town was intended to attract and accommodate professors, may as well students and other people who are associated with the nearby universities (*ibid.*: 122). It needs to be highlighted, that the developers had a clear vision of the residents in the other towns as well. For instance, the German town was constructed in the close vicinity of the Volkswagen car manufacturing plant, and therefore the town was intended to attract engineers and associates. Similarly, the Dutch town was planned with the aim to represent a typical Dutch water town by the port, and the idea for the town was to attract workers in relation to such industries.

Zaanse Schans



Location: near Zaandam, the Netherlands

Purpose: conservational project for an inhabited open-air museum village

Construction: collection of surviving structures, transported and refurbished

Time of construction: 1961-1974

Theme: Dutch village from the industrial past

Description:

Zaanse Schans is an architectural and cultural conservation project realised in the Zaanstreek area in the Netherlands. It was created with the aim to preserve the regional historical heritage and the architectural legacy of the early industrial era. Buildings from that period were in a threat of disappearance as a result of a gradual demolition in the course of making place for factory extensions and housing estates. Several civil initiatives pointed out this issue and the municipality of Zaandam made a location available for the project on the shoreline of the Zaan River at the western side of the Kalverpolder (Meurs 2013: 201). This area was then the only unoccupied space along the Zaan River in the region, and which natural landscape was also endangered due to an urban development scheme for a large scale residential district (Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 15). Shortly after, archetypal structures of wooden houses, barns, factories, warehouses, shipyards and windmills were collected from around the region and transported to this site. Originally, the concept was based on a study of the typical Zaan wooden houses and structures by the local architect and urban planner, Jaap Schipper. He proposed a preservation project in the way in which instead of demolition, the remaining few structures should rather be relocated in a collective space. In most cases, these buildings in matter were in a dismantled state abandoned and in the way of new developments. The idea was to refurbish them and bring them back into life so as to be made fit for occupancy. In this manner, a new small-scale neighbourhood was envisioned, which plans were drawn up in 1951 by Schipper, originally including only houses and farm buildings on the Kalverpolder (*ibid.*: 22). By this means, the natural landscape of the polder was to be protected as well.

The works only started in 1961 and Zaanse Schans was officially opened in 1976. The place was gradually extended with existing structures that were conveyed via roads or sailed on the river. Many of these old houses were often restored into their former state featuring the original Zaan architectural characteristics. Then, old windmills, industrial units and traditional wooden structures were also transported to the site, which were also endangered due to new developments (*ibid.*: 73, 78). Moreover, in addition to the existing buildings, newly built structures were constructed as replicas following the traditional Zaan style (*ibid.*: 73, 79). In the year of 1967, Zaanse Schans transformed into something more than a residential area. From this year, the Bergman Travel Agency started Friday coach trips from Amsterdam to the newly formed neighbourhood. Furthermore, based on the precedent of the popular restored town of Williamsburg, VA in the United States, the area was expanded with potential tourists in

mind (*ibid.*: 40). Over the years, Zaanse Schans, as an architectural reserve, indeed attracted many visitors and eventually the planned small scale residential neighbourhood developed into an inhabited open-air museum. As such, it claims to offer an insight into the day in the life of the prosperous industrial Zaanstreek back in the 18th and 19th centuries (see, for instance their official website, Zaanse Schans).

Smurf Village



Location: Júzcar, Andalusia, Spain

Purpose: existing inhabited town

Construction: transformation by painting the building façades blue

Time of construction: 2011

Theme: Smurfs' village

Description:

Based on the original Smurf characters, created by Pierre Culliford, aka Peyo, in the 1950s, its first 3D cinema adaptation, *The Smurfs* movie was produced by Sony Pictures Animation and Columbia Pictures. Its worldwide release in cinemas, including Spain, was on 29 July 2011. Beforehand, the Madrid advertising agency, Bungalow25, and Sony Pictures España stepped into collaboration in launching and promoting the film. According to the agency, their foremost objective was to create something 'very special' (Bungalow25 2011). The plan was to select one of the more than 1500 whitewashed villages in Spain as the location for the first Smurf Village in the world. There were more than 300 villages visited by the representatives, and eventually, the secluded small Andalusian town of Júzcar, hidden in the Mountains of Ronda, was

found to be the perfect site for the reenactment of the fictional village (*ibid.*). The project was approved by the local authorities and the then mayor of Júzcar, David Fernández Tirado. In this manner, the typically whitewashed façades of every house in the village were painted *smurf blue*, even the church and the external walls of the cemetery. The work was completed in three weeks by the 50 hired people. Overall, 10,000 litres of paint were used up for the 170 buildings (*ibid.*; and Sony Pictures Releasing UK 2011).

The promotional event was held on 16 of June, and just like that, in its full blue glory, Júzcar became the world's first official Smurf Village. The initial proposal involved the restoration of the village to its original (white) state at the end of that year. However, the launch campaign seemed to be effective as the novel site of Smurf Village became a prominent tourist attraction that helped boosting the prevalent struggling economy in the area (Bungalow25 2011). Due to the success of changing the townscape and becoming the Smurf Village, the residents of Júzcar voted against the restoration in favour of “staying blue” in the same year on 18th of December (Town Council of Júzcar, History). Since then, many events and the release of the following Smurf movies, *The Smurfs 2* in 2013 and *Smurfs: The Lost Village* in 2016, were celebrated in the blue village. However, many of the events and activities practiced in the name of the Smurfs were seen to be unauthorised by the International Merchandising Promotion and Services (IMPS).

IMPS is the company that was founded by the descendant of Peyo in order to represent and manage the rights linked to the Smurf characters in Europe. Therefore, the town of Júzcar agreed to a deal with the branding company in June 2017. According to the agreement, only authorised images could be used and official merchandise products could be sold in the town, after which 12% of the revenues had to be paid to the IMPS (Melgar 2017a). Yet, on the official website of the Town Council of Júzcar, an announcement was posted stating, with no further explanation, that the town lost the authorisation to promote itself as the Smurf Village and all smurf-related activities had to be terminated from 15 of August 2017 (Town Council of Júzcar, see also Melgar 2017b). (This post has been removed from the website since.)

Literature review

There are a number of researches and scholarly debates contesting issues around the themes, such as authenticity, theming, symbolism, pseudo-reality, place-marketing and so forth that would be relevant to the here discussed phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. For instance, there is a rich literature related to the use of architectural symbolism in place promotion and branding. In the book, *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions* (1994), John R. Gold and Stephen V. Ward collected a selection of essays that examine the role and use of symbolic images in the processes of place-marketing. Such promotional imageries are analysed through various case studies from fairs and festival to entire cities around the world.

Saskia Sassen has carried out extensive studies on globalisation from a socio-economic viewpoint (see, for instance, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* [1991] 2001). She argues that globalisation has contributed to the generation of transnational activities and the formation of cross-border dynamics. It has changed political strategies, formed new economic interests and reshaped the geography of the built environment, in certain aspects by means of politicising the urban spaces, and therefore, facilitating the production of design narratives, themed places and branding (see also Sassen 2006: 7). Similarly, in his book, *The Political Economy of City Branding*, Ari-Veikko Anttiroiko uses the phrase; ‘cities are like mirror images of globalization’ (Anttiroiko 2014: 19). He discusses that cities use their inherently evolved assets and/or deliberately developed identity as tools of city branding in the competition of economic global acknowledgement. Such marketing strategies involve the utilisation of symbolic images, creative arts as well as the creation of iconic architecture.

In many cases, the generated spatial narratives draw ideas and project images from foreign cultures, which may or may not merge with the indigenous traditions, but potentially aim for a globally recognised identity. Such transnational spatial settings have gained grounds not only in global cities, megalopolises and economic centres, but also spread to smaller localities as well as suburbs. Anthony D. King, in his theoretical study, entitled *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity* (2004), examines how architectural and building cultures are affected by such transnational processes. He coins the term, ‘globurbs’ that stands for the ‘globalized suburbs’ (King 2004: 98). More precisely, a *globurb* ‘manifests spatial, cultural and architectural developments originating from locations not only outside or away from the “indigenous” city, but often, from outside the country itself’ (*ibid.*: xv). This

phenomenon happens, for instance, by the Westernised ‘villafication’ of residential outlying neighbourhoods in locations where it is not architecturally and culturally innate, like in Chinese cities (*ibid.*: 111-126). Unarguably, such transnational building practice has been inevitable in colonial territories from the earliest times, but it gained a new connotation during the 20th century in the search for new identities and by the process of place branding.

Spatial design and urban regenerations in the name of invented identities and place branding often result in issues concerning the commodification and sanitisation of the local heritage. The article by Noha Nasser, *Planning for Urban Heritage Places: Reconciling Conservation, Tourism, and Sustainable Development* (2003), examines the effect of globalising forces on the local cultural heritage, including the built environment. She argues that in the emergence of creating unique spaces that are competitive and attractive on a global level, indigenous values are being commercialised, compromised or even diminished.

Scholars have been in debates to identify and delineate such specific examples in the built environment that have explicit narrative qualities, are highly themed and seemingly contradict spatial and cultural authenticity. Daniel Boorstin in his pioneer work, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (1961), has defined alike places as a stage for ‘pseudo-events’ in the context of international expositions, theme parks and tourist attractions. Likewise, Umberto Eco and Jean Baudrillard refer to such tourist locales, like Disneyland, ghost towns, the casinos of Las Vegas, themed hotels, even zoos and wax museums, as ‘hyperreality’ (Eco [1967] 1986; and Baudrillard [1981] 1994). However, these models cannot necessarily be applied to describe the phenomenon I investigate in my thesis, since the examples of *narrative contradictions* are designed to be inhabited as ‘lived spaces’ (Heidegger 1971; Lefebvre [1974] 1991; and Soja 1996).

Urban sociologist, Mark Gottdiener argues in his book, entitled *Theming of America* ([1997] 2001), that from the 1960s in America, the then ‘new trend of symbolic differentiation’ has gradually overloaded our built environment with certain symbols and themes, and therefore ‘themed experiences’ has increasingly characterised our everyday life (Gottdiener [1997] 2001: 2-3). While he highlights individually the themed elements of an urban landscape, such as theme parks, casinos, shopping malls, restaurants, museums and the like, the city is not measured as a whole cohesive inhabited themed environment.

In his work, *Fantasy City: pleasure and profit in the postmodern metropolis* (1998), John Hannigan similarly elaborates on the issues of themed experiences. He investigates the societal impact of the newly emerged urban form which embraces and intensifies the ever expanding fantasy experiences. Hannigan studies the city as a whole, but his focus only reaches to a single, that is the American, cultural and geographical background.

In the context of architectural and socio-cultural debates, architectural critic, Ada Huxtable, examines in her books, for instance, *Will They Ever Finish Bruckner Boulevard?* (1970) and *The Unreal America: Architecture and Illusion* (1997), those *invented environments* in which the architectural manifestations of a fantasy theme supersedes authenticity and integrity. She makes her argument by focusing on various cases including shopping malls and theme parks, as well as Disney's planned community of Celebration in Florida and Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia. Huxtable's study include entire urban/semi-urban settings, but only which are situated within the American landscape.

Bianca Bosker looks into the phenomenon of Chinese copycat towns, which she calls 'simulacrascapes' in her book, *Original Copies* (2013). She explores China's attitude toward copying and investigates several examples from around the country, including Thames Town, in a wider context with a focus on the local social, political, cultural and architectural perspectives. While these settings are recognised as towns, neighbourhoods or communities, where people live their everyday life in, rather than theme parks, she only focuses on the contemporary cases within the Chinese (spatial and cultural) landscape.

Her work in addition to the short selection of literature mentioned above makes an excellent contribution for us to understand such individual phenomena in isolation. However, it also exemplifies a large knowledge gap. Clearly, and as my work will show in particular, such seemingly narrative-driven or contradictive places are not isolated examples. Rather, they are part of a global and rising phenomenon. I, therefore, would argue that Juhani Pallasmaa's proposition, that we gradually begin 'to live in a fictitious and fabricated culture', become even more relevant today (Pallasmaa 1988: 26). I would like to highlight again that we are dealing with a worldwide phenomenon for which we currently have neither a clear definition to delineate such phenomena, nor a sense of its origins or genealogy, and for that matter, not even the beginnings of a verifiable taxonomy. In all of this, my thesis is aimed to bring us one step closer.

Aims and objectives

The aim of this research, on the one hand, is to bring an in-depth understanding and make sense of the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. That is to say, I hope to create a taxonomy and to define particular orders of contradictions. On the other hand, the study is carried out with the purpose to demonstrate the significance of narratives and the important lessons that can be learnt in field of architecture and spatial design.

One cannot ignore the possibilities that the occurrence of such *narrative contradictions* has potentially taken place in different forms and various eras in the past. What I refer to is, for instance, the several revived and neo- architectural styles, such as the Renaissance and the Gothic Revival amongst others, as well as the architectural and cultural novelties of modern and postmodern cities, from the Rotunda to the world fairs. Therefore, the objective of this research, in view of the phenomenon, is to review a historical data in architecture, urban planning and spatial cultural practices in order to trace its genealogy and identify related underlying principles. Following on from this, I examine the respective cases, which seemingly contradict their spatial and cultural contexts, with a focus on three key research aspects, to be more explicit, on architecture, narratives and people, who occupy/use these peculiar spatial settings. (This integrative research framework will be discussed in more details later in *Research questions* and *Methodology*.) In view of the above, I start my thesis with the overall aims and objectives:

Aims

- to bring an in-depth understanding and make sense of the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*
- to demonstrate the significance of narratives and the important lessons to be learnt in the field of architecture and spatial design

Objectives

- to review historical data on the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*
- to trace the underlying principles of the phenomenon
- to take a closer look at the contextual environment of each case study
- to examine each case study in terms of architecture, narratives and people
- to identify commonalities and differences between them
- to categorise by bringing order and structure of these spatial environments
- to reveal elements that do and do not make these places successful

Research questions

In this research, the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* is treated as a manifestation that is not a sole and unique occurrence in the field of architecture and spatial design, but hypothetically derives from a lineage. In addition, its underlying principles are seen to potentially have correlations to certain spatial phenomena from earlier ages. Therefore, my investigation into the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* aims to find a lineage and a relation to its underlying principles. Additionally, with regards to the specific case studies, the research questions touch upon three key research aspects: **architecture** (since each project was created with the use of archetypal architectural features and spatial design), the roles of **narratives** (as all places were deliberately constructed to “tell a story”) and **people** (because all projects are intended for permanent inhabitation). A simple diagram in Figure 1 shows the relation and intersections of this integrative framework including the three key aspects.

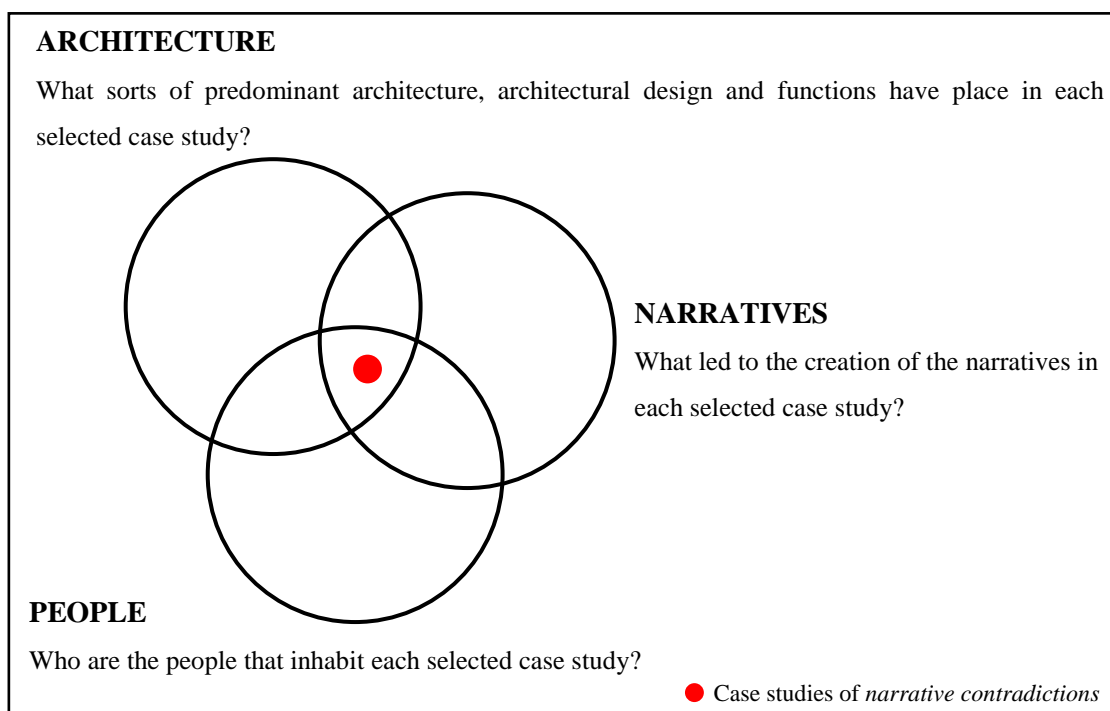


Figure 1: Key aspects of research

With reference to the above-mentioned, I have set out the following specific questions for my research into the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*:

1. What **precedents** for the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* can be found in the history of architectural design, spatial- and urban planning in the Western context? What was the role of architectural ornamentations, iconic images and symbols used in these historical examples?
2. What sort of other **cultural practices**, which are found in the history of architectural design, spatial- and urban planning in the Western context, can be related to the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*? What underlying principles can be identified that potentially relate to the selected case studies?
3. Which specific **spatial contexts** are the selected case studies situated in? What relevant architectural and cultural characteristics can be distilled from them?
4. What sorts of predominant **architecture**, architectural design and functions have place in each selected case study? What architectural features characterise the spatial environment; town structure, townscape as well as individual buildings and structures?
5. What led to the creation of the **narratives** in each selected case study? How were these particular narratives implemented in each place?
6. Who are the **people** that inhabit each selected case study? What sort of spatial and/or cultural practices can be observed in each place?
7. What sort of **taxonomy** can be applied to these cases of *narrative contradictions*? How can we make sense of and/or bring order to this phenomenon?

Methodology

My research has been carried out using a mixed methodology, which is a combination of a traditional literature research, a study of historical data and information, as well as on-site visits including conversations with local residents, workers and visitors. I describe in more details the applied methodologies as follows:

- Scholarly data
- Collected data from fieldwork
- Primary research data
- Secondary research data
- Research into the phenomenon
- Analysis of case studies
- Limitations

▪ **Scholarly data**

I would like to point out again, that there is no or very little scholarly data available on the global phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. However, as I have highlighted above, there is scholarly literature available in the field of architecture, spatial design and urban planning, which focuses either on the issues of theming, authenticity, simulacra, symbolism, space, place-making, place and identity, place promotion and branding, and so forth; or on various aspects of the selected case studies. I have used such data in my investigation into the phenomenon and the analysis of case studies in order to contextualise the here examined *narrative contradictions*.

▪ **Collected data from fieldwork**

Over the period of four years (2012-2016), my research involved visiting the aforementioned case studies as well as other selected places with the intention to carry out fieldworks using the method of collecting original systematic data. I used observational techniques, for instance taking photographs and moving images, and I carried out semi-structured personal interviews. Then, these acquired data were later processed and analysed. In the followings, I will outline the strategies for my site visits, and describe my approach for on-site observation, visual recordings and personal interviews. Then, I will list the other locations I visited beyond my selected case studies.

Strategy for site visits: I planned to spend several days in each of the selected case studies to collect materials and to complete on-site investigations, which allowed me to get a first-hand experience of the place and the space. I set out a plan for the visits that included a journey to and from the sites in order to get a sense of distance and connectivity as well as to situate them in a wider (spatial and cultural) context. On site, I was able to examine the spatial environment, take photographs, observe social and cultural actions and interaction, as well as to have conversations with people, including residents, workers and visitors.

Observational strategy and visual recordings: My aim was to record each step of my visit to the case studies in order to have a comprehensive visual resource that I was able to analyse later on in my analysis. There are three types of visual recordings that my observational strategy entailed:

- **Serial views**
 - approaching and leaving the site: to have a better understanding how the place sets within its contextual environment
 - on site: to have a better understanding of the structure and narrative of the place and space
- **Details of spatial environment:** to gather data on the specific architectural features
- **Use of space:** to gather data on the specific spatial activities and to get a sense of the social and cultural actions and interactions

Interview strategy: During my fieldwork, I planned to carry out personal interviews in order to collect data from people on site: inhabitants, workers as well as visitors. Prior to my trip, I prepared a set of particular questions in form of a survey that are in line with my previously mentioned hypothetical framework of *narrative contradictions: spatial, temporal and story-based*. By this means, I set out three separate questionnaires corresponding to the three themes, and therefore the various locations (see the survey forms in Appendix 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3). Albeit these actual forms were not used on site, the questionnaires served as a great basis for semi-structured interviews. This approach allowed my interviewees and I to engage in a rather personal and more sincere conversation, which, in fact, revealed information that the questionnaires might not have done.

Other locations: In addition, above and beyond the selected case studies, I have also, whenever possible, visited other locations, which relate to the here examined phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. For instance, I have seen first-hand and spent time in the newly-built *historic* market district, Souk Waqif, as well as the pearl-shaped Pearl Island when I lived in Doha, Qatar in 2008-2009. Later, during my studies, I travelled to Las Vegas, NV and the Danish-themed town of Solvang, CA in the United States in October 2013.

In addition to the above sites, I have also visited places, of which themed environment relate to the phenomenon, but I do not necessary consider them in my selection due to various reasons. For instance, they are not inhabited or were not intended for permanent habitation. In May 2012, I went to carry out on-site investigation at the *Görög falu* (trans. Greek village) in Balatonfüred, Hungary. As a shopping quarter, it was designed to portray the crisp, white scenery of the Greek town of Santorini. During my fieldwork

in China in November 2013, I also visited the newly-established shopping district of Laomendong in Nanjing. The former residential area was restored with the aim to recall the *old town atmosphere* from the Ming and Qing dynasties. I have to highlight that, even though these locations might not qualify to be *narrative contradictions* according to my definition, my visits to these additional places have yet played an important role in forming my understanding and conception of the here studied phenomenon and ultimately helped me to delineate the different orders of contradictions and define terms.

▪ **Primary research data**

During my investigation, I aimed to collect and use primary research data, which I obtained from local and governmental resources, published materials and official websites that give information on the places that I studied and visited, including the three selected case studies.

▪ **Secondary research data**

I have used secondary research data to assist my research and gained information from literature review, online blogs and resources. As mentioned before, spending time on site at the selected case studies and other similar places allowed me to personally talk to people. Hearing their accounts and perceptions of the places that either they lived and/or worked in or visited has greatly formed my thinking.

▪ **Research into the phenomenon**

As I have mentioned before, my hypothesis is that the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* is not entirely new in our architectural history. Therefore, my investigation into the current spatial phenomenon involved a critical and systematic study on the history of architectural design, spatial- and urban planning. This study of historical precedents was carried out in two phases:

- History of architecture and urban planning
- Occurrences of narrative and spatial experiences

I reviewed key theories, ideologies, trends as well as architectural novelties in order to unfold a hypothetical lineage and underlying principles of the here studied phenomenon.

▪ **Analysis of case studies**

In addition to the study of the individual selected places in matter, the analysis of case studies involved an investigation of their contextual environment. I approached each case study from a wider (historical and spatial) context following a systematic framework:

- Overview of local history
- Analysis of spatial context:
 - Vernacular architecture
 - Historical sites
 - Contemporary architectural developments

I believe that this research method allowed me to get a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the local architectural and social culture which has a great impact on the specific built environment, and therefore, the case studies in question.

After the contextual analysis, I was able to look into each case with a particular awareness and to process the collected data from my fieldwork with greater proficiency. I examined each individual case in line with an integrative framework that embraces the systematic structure of the three key research aspects, which was mentioned before:

- Architecture
- Narratives
- People

However, I would like to point out that, while I followed the systematic framework, in each case, my investigation took on a different vantage point in the way in which it best related to their individual nature as well as to the outcome of the contextual analysis.

▪ **Limitations**

I would like to mention that the limitation of my research lies in the nature and number of case studies as well as my personal language skills. While there are hundreds of spatial settings underpinned with thematic narratives that can be identified and found around the world, I have selected only three examples to be examined following a certain definition in line with the above described phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. I would like to highlight that my case studies are located in three different countries of which I am not a native speaker. This, of course, has brought to light difficulties which I mitigated through translations.

Thesis structure

My thesis is structured around five key chapters, in which I am planning to take the reader through my 1) contextual study framing the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* and 2) the analysis of the selected case studies themselves. This is then followed up by a conclusion chapter.

In Chapter 1, I am going to trace the *Genealogy of Narrative Contradictions* in architecture in the Western context with the aim of finding a potential relation and a lineage to the here debated phenomenon. I will engage in a deep historical review of the different modes of thoughts in architecture and urban design that occurred in the past from the ancient times of the Greeks to the postmodern architectural era.

In Chapter 2, *Identifying the Related Narrative and Spatial Experiences*, I am going to review cultural practices in architecture and urban design that hypothetically show relevant underlying principles to the phenomena of *narrative contradictions*. I will go into this debate by using examples from the first moving image attractions of panoramas in rotundas, through utopian urban visions, to the world fairs.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are dedicated for each selected case study. These chapters are divided into two main sub-chapters, *Spatial Context of Case Study* and *Analysis of Case Study*. In the first parts, I am going to explore and study the contextual environment by unfolding the historical layers of the architectural and cultural traditions from the ancient times to contemporary projects. In the second parts I am going to analyse each case study in the way in which the investigation is set around the previously defined integrative framework comprising the three research aspects: architecture, narratives and people.

My research hopes to shed light into the complexity of the global phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. Therefore, in my *Conclusion*, I am going to present a bespoke taxonomy with the purpose of bringing order and a deeper understanding of what could be called, in simplified terms; architectural simulacra, displacements and reenactments. Finally, I aim to highlight the importance of narratives in architecture and spatial design that can be learnt from the phenomenon and the case studies, and that may ultimately help forming better socio-economical and more sustainable places.

CHAPTER ONE

TRACING THE GENEALOGY OF NARRATIVE CONTRADICTIONS

In this chapter my intention is to highlight architectural events and movements in the history of Western architecture, spatial and urban design, that may contribute to our understanding of the here studied phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. By doing so, I aim to find relations that potentially help to locate the phenomenon in our architectural culture, and therefore to trace the genealogy of *narrative contradictions*. I would like to highlight that this section is not a stylistic review on architecture and building design, yet, I engage in a deep historical debate that follows a chronological order. I start my investigation with the *early principles* from the Greek history and the origins of spatial and architectural orders. This is followed by the section, *tectonics of Christianity*, in which I elaborate on the novel form of architectural manifestation in accordance with the emerging practice of the Church's teachings in the Middle Ages. Next, I investigate the apparent *change in perspectives* that entailed a movement revisiting the antiquity and classical orders during the Renaissance. From this, I move on to the era in which architecture, and more specifically architectural style, became to be seen as a tool for decorative spatial displays, and in which *a question of style* rose to a highly debated issue. After that, I focus on the theories and practices that were initiated in the early modern times with the aim of *rediscovering the truth in architecture*. Finally, I examine the architectural principles that followed the postmodern ideologies and advocated *complexity and contradictions* in architectural design, spatial and urban planning.

1.1 Early Principles

The first idea of founding and structuring a city was an outcome of philosophical debates in the ancient Greece, namely, the books of Plato (c. 380 BCE; and c. 360 BCE) and the books of Aristotle (c. 350 BCE; and c. 322 BCE). During their time, the history of humanity took a radical change, in the way in which the notion of democracy started to be defined and which soon was to be put into practice. The concept of a perfect social order was believed to be reflected in the architectural form and spatial design. In addition to the city as a complex entity, such perfected orders were also applied in the practice of individual building design in accordance with the treaties of Vitruvius (c. 25

BCE). Such early principles have established the foundation of our architectural belief system in the Western world.

1.1.1 City as the reflection of society

The city as an institution was proven to be a product of the human nature and social acts. Plato, in his book, *The Republic* (c. 380 BCE), proposes the order of an ‘ideal’ and ‘just’ society that consists of three classes; workers, warriors or guardians and rulers, and as such constitutes the ‘ideal’ and ‘just’ polis; the city-state.¹ He recognises that the city ‘arises out of the needs of mankind; no one is self-sufficing, but [they] have many wants; [...] food, dwelling and clothing’ (Plato 380 BCE: 220). Consequently, citizens, for instance the husbandman, the builder and the shoemaker, rely on each other, more precisely, on each other’s products. Then the intersection (or place) where such individuals happen to gather, exchange goods and inhabit, that is what Plato terms as ‘city or state’ (*ibid.*: 221).

Aristotle, in his book entitled *Politics* (lit. trans. the things concerning the polis, c. 322 BCE), takes this debate further. While Plato places justice as the principle and essence of the ideal order of the city, Aristotle’s conception of such order is ‘natural’. His well-known quote that ‘the man is by nature a political animal’ can be applied here (Aristotle 322 BCE: 2024). He argues that ‘social instinct is implemented in man by nature’ and therefore he must be part of a ‘whole’, and on the contrary, the man who, by nature, is unable to live in society and is ‘without a state’ must be a ‘beast’ or a ‘god’. Accordingly, his proposal, that ‘the state is a creation of nature’, is more than evident (*ibid.*: 2024-2025). He suggests that the state comes into existence ‘in the bare needs of life’, and persist ‘for the sake of a good life’, it is formed not only as the ‘union’ of friendships and families, but also for ‘the sake of noble actions’ (*ibid.*: 2082). Yet, this is not far from Plato’s theory where he points out that the same principles exist in the city and in the individual (Plato 380 BCE: 299). Even though Plato’s idea of the well-ordered state pictures rather an utopist system, he clearly illustrates that the city corresponds to its citizens; to the ‘individual souls’ of the three classes. That is to say, virtue and quality – such as wit, courage and justice – of the individuals constitute the same virtue and quality of the city. In a similar way, such ‘good’ characters can imply the ‘true and good city or state’, the ‘evil’ that human nature may acquire entails

¹ Polis can be best translated as city-state.

deficiency and degenerates the city (*ibid.*: 305).² Therefore, Plato concludes that the city or ‘states are as the men are; they grow out of human characters’ (*ibid.*: 402).

Humphry D. F. Kitto elaborates on the life and culture of the Greeks in the classical era in his seminal work, *The Greeks* (1951). He argues that, besides economic reasons and geographical positions, ‘the real explanation’ for the formation and rise of Greek poleis is the ‘characters of the Greeks’ (Kitto [1951] 2007: 69). He explains that the Greek mind, their intellectual capacities, artistic productions, religion, and essentially, their ‘way of life’ defined the polis as a social institution; an active and formative community for human fulfillment. In view of that, it can be argued that the polis (or the city) became the reflection of its citizens; the society.

1.1.2 Perfecting architecture

Plato, in his book, *The Statesman*, made a preliminary ‘neat division’ between the ‘master-builder’ (or architect), who is concerned with knowledge, and the ‘workmen’, who contributes to the manual labour (Plato 360 BCE: 260 A-B). However, in spite of the highly developed physical appearance of cities, regarding the great achievements in design, planning and construction, Greek philosophy lacked to recognise and define a terminology that implies a distinction between buildings in general and architecture in particular. The Roman architect, engineer and scholar, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (Vitruvius) expounded the importance of the role of the architect. Furthermore, he was most certainly one of the firsts – and until now the only one who’s writing on architecture survived Western antiquity – to identify the principles of architecture. His work, *De Architectura* (trans. On Architecture, or generally referred to as the *Ten Books of Architecture*, c. 25 BCE) elaborates on this subject and offers an insight of the modes of thoughts in the denominated classical era. He addresses the books to the Roman Emperor, Caesar, in order to master his knowledge of the ‘quality’ of architecture, in addition to attain perfection and construct ‘public and private buildings [as well as fortified towns to] be worthy’ for the future generations of the recently born Empire (Vitruvius [c. 25 BCE] 1914: 3-4). The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, shown in Figure 1.1 is one of the great examples of Vitruvius’s treatises on the quality of the perfect edifice.

² Plato identifies five possible forms of governing the city reflecting the different qualities of human nature. ‘Aristocracy’, as the only reasonable form of government, is supported, and the remaining four, ‘timocracy’, ‘oligarchy’, ‘democracy’ and ‘tyranny’, are considered to be ‘evil’ (see in Book VIII).

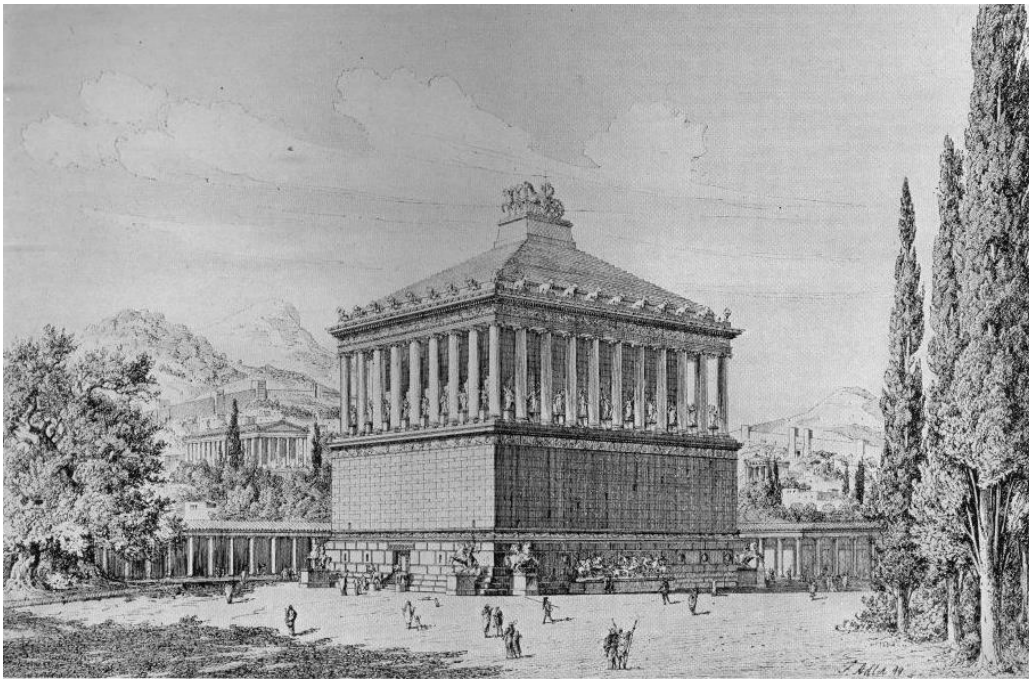


Figure 1.1: The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus

According to his treatises in *Book I*, such architecture depends on six fundamental principles; ‘Order, Arrangement, Eurythmy, Symmetry, Propriety’ [décor] and Economy’ (*ibid.*: 13-16). In more details, *Order* denotes the ‘symmetrical agreement of the proportions of the whole’ work, and by ‘putting the things in their proper places’ in line with the ‘character’ of the work, the essential *Arrangement* can be found and perfected (*ibid.*: 13-14). *Eurythmy* is achieved when all three dimensions of the building (height, width and length) are suited to one another in the way in which they correspond symmetrically. With regards to *Symmetry*, Vitruvius considers the ‘symmetrical harmony’ between the parts of the human body (forearm, foot, palm and so forth) as a model of natural proportional excellence for the ‘perfect building’ (*ibid.*: 14). *Propriety* develops from ‘prescription’, ‘usage’ or ‘nature’ and culminates in the ‘perfection of style’ (*ibid.*: 14-16).³ *Economy* implies to the ‘balancing of cost’, the ‘proper management of materials’ and of the site (*ibid.*: 16). In the next chapter, Vitruvius discusses the ‘departments of architecture’ and suggests both private buildings and public places to be built in accordance with the principles of *‘firmitas’, ‘utilitas’* and *‘venustas’*, that is ‘durability’, ‘convenience’ and ‘beauty’ (*ibid.*: 17). Later on, in *Book III*, he demonstrates the ‘greatest harmony’ in the concept of proper arrangement and

³ ‘Prescription’: ‘hypoethral’, open to sky to gods. ‘Usage’: proper usage of established orders and building to correspond custom. ‘Nature’: in accordance with, for example, light and other natural sources (Vitruvius [c. 25 BCE] 1914: 14-16).

symmetrical relation of the different parts to the whole scheme. He argues that the rule of nature, which is reflected in the perfect symmetrical proportion of the human body, is inevitable in the design of the ‘perfect buildings’ of all kinds, most particularly, of temples (*ibid.*: 72-75).

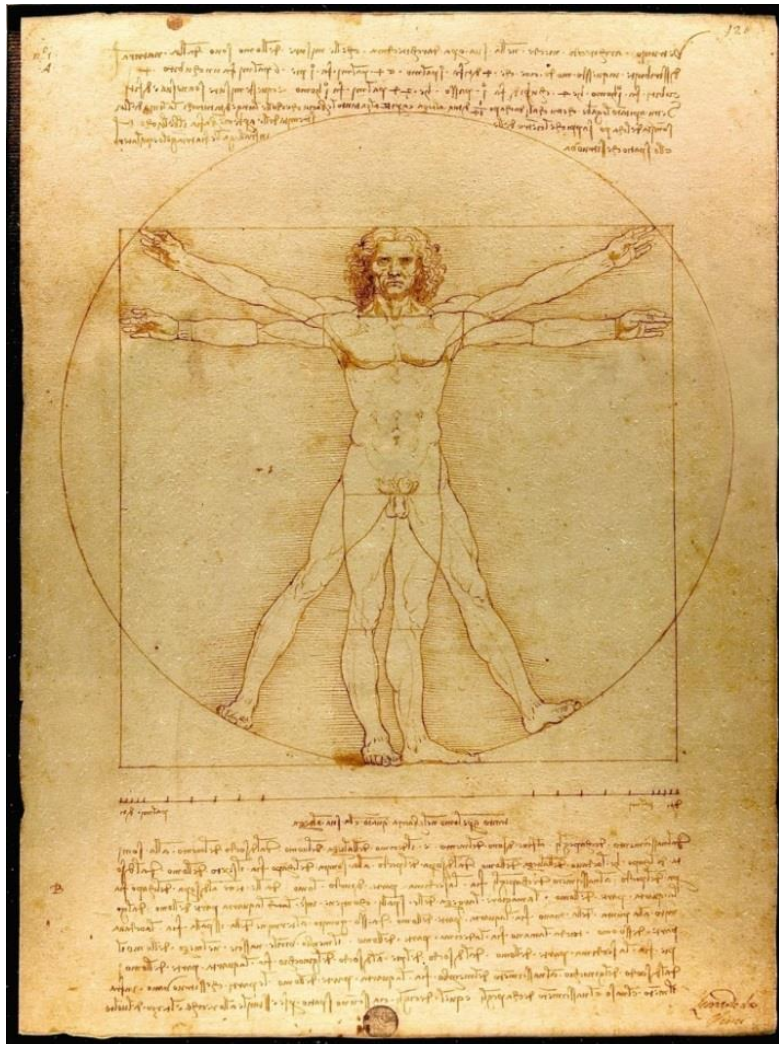


Figure 1.2: Vitruvian Man by Leonardo da Vinci (c. 1487)

Vitruvius's treatises are primarily based on Greek sources, such as Arcesius, Hermogenes and Pytheos, therefore, he is considered as the ‘champion of the Greek revival’ (see, for instance, Mallgrave 2006: 5). As a movement among the Roman intelligentsia, this concept was prevailing at the time. He and other contemporaries, such as Cicero and Seneca, made a remarkable practice in the way in which Greek culture was not only brought into light, but was also promoted as a perfect model to learn from and develop it to one's needs.

What was highlighted in this section is that the first architectural debates come from the analysis of human nature and the human body. It shows the close relation not only between the human anatomy and the proper architectural proportions, but also between the people and the place we inhabit. Somehow it suggests that the design of the building and the state of the human can be only regarded inseparable. It was also revealed that architectural principles were revived by another realm, bringing something to a foreign environment that might have been considered spatially and culturally alienated structures at first. There are still several reminders of these principles found manifested in our spatial environment, yet the classical treatises were to lose prominence once Christianity and the teaching of the church gained ground and became widespread, mainly across Europe. As such, it not only affected the modes of thoughts in theoretical means, but also prompted new practices in the built environment. What I refer to is the use of symbols that are manifested in decorative architecture as well as structural design.

1.2 Tectonics of Christianity

Scholars, such as Harry Francis Mallgrave (2006) and Hanno-Walter Kruft (1994), describe an ambiguous case about the views on Vitruvius's treatises in the following ages. On the one hand, it became evident that his book was read during this time, since copies of his work were distributed by the monastic route from the 5th century, for instance the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. In addition, in 1183 Rotrou, the Archbishop of Rouen bequeathed a copy to his Cathedral. Others, such as Vincent of Beauvais, have quoted him on proportion (Mallgrave 2006: 5). On the other hand, his treatises had 'very limited' influence on Roman architecture. Mallgrave argues that it was not an influential text until the Renaissance; moreover, classicism was seen as 'marks of paganism' (*ibid.*).

1.2.1 Foundation of faith

Mallgrave states that 'the great monuments of the Middle Ages [distinctive to classical customs] were extensions of the Church's teachings' (Mallgrave 2006: 5). He collected a wide range of texts that shows the origins; the theological and pedagogical awareness that gave ground of the modes of thoughts and architectural practices in this era (*ibid.*: 15-25). Taking the book of *Revelation* (also known as the *Apocalypse* in the *New Testament*, c. 95) as an example, in which John describes the 'holy city [...] coming out of heaven' and illustrates a clear picture of three gates on each of the great high walls facing the four directions (east, north, west and south). At the twelve gates, there are twelve angels and twelve pearls (see the illustration of Clarence Larkin in Figure 1.3).

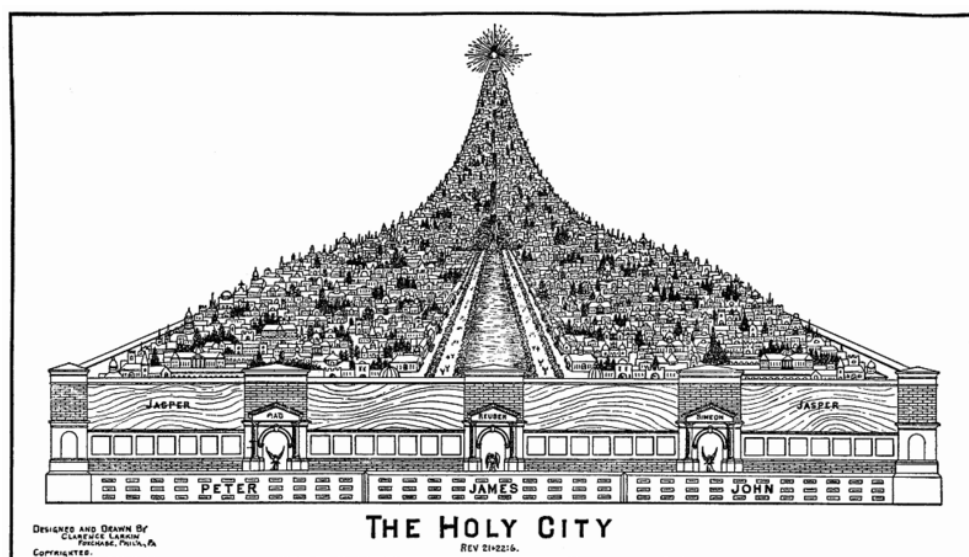


Figure 1.3: "The Holy City" drawn by Rev. Clarence Larkin (1919)

The twelve foundations represent ‘the twelve apostles of the Lamb’. The walls are of twelve precious stones, for example jasper, sapphire, emerald and others alike. The length, breadth and height of the city are equal and it is of pure gold and clear glass. The description goes on and paints a well-defined image with the excessive use of symbols, signs and meanings that correspond to the church’s teachings (c. 95 in Mallgrave 2006: 20-22). The importance of such symbols, spiritual numbers and figures as well as the precisely defined proportions could be recognised also in the actual built environment from this period. Churches and monuments were constructed in line with the Christian modes of thoughts. This architectural practice commenced with the rebuilding of the Church of Saint-Denis in the early 1100s by Abbot Suger in France. Mallgrave highlights that the religious canons became immensely influential during the Middle Ages (*ibid.*: 20). Unsurprisingly, as the teachings of the church spread across the lands, so as the monuments featuring such sacred symbols and images. It cultivated with the rise and dominance of Christianity in most parts of Europe until the 16th century (see Figure 1.4).



Figure 1.4: Church of Saint-Denis drawn by Eugène Viollet-Le-Duc (1860)

In his work, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments* (1286), William Durandus, the bishop of Mende, details the symbols and images manifested in the architectural elements of gothic churches and explains their specific meaning and messages for the worshipers. For instances, the glass windows are Holy Scriptures that let through only ‘the light of the true Sun, that is, God’ and keep out all that is wicked and harmful, such as the wind and the rain. The door is Christ and also the apostles. The ornaments of the capitals of the piers are the words of Sacred Scripture. ‘The beams which join together the church’ are princes and preachers who ‘defend the unity of the Church’. The pavement is ‘the poor of Christ: [...] who humble themselves in all things,’ in addition, it is ‘the foundation of our faith’ (Durandus [1286] 2006: 24-25). It has become evident therefore that ornaments and every architectural components of the church design correspond to certain liturgical rites and possess explicit symbolical religious significance.

1.2.2 Art challenging structure

In addition to the symbolic principles of the gothic model, Mallgrave argues that the monuments of this time ‘followed local traditions and technical knowledge’ (Mallgrave 2006: 5). A good example for such is, for instance, vaulting, which had grown out of the Romanesque building methods since the Late Roman times. Certainly, the renovation of the Church of Saint-Denise, as the first architectural manifestation of the religious enthusiasm prevailing in this period, was not only a conscious symbolic and formalistic exploration, but also an innovative structural achievement. Suger explains the ideas and concept of the reconstruction in his book, *The Book of Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denise* (c. 1144). In order to accommodate a new choir through the length and width of the church, the vault was replaced by connecting the two level crypts. In this manner, the top of the attained single crypt also acted as a pavement from which the visitor can appreciate ‘the view of the relics and saints’ (Suger [c. 1144] 2006: 22-23).

What I would also like to mention is that the building is projected to *another size* by the two groups of twelve columns in the ambulatory, of which the first group represents the twelve Apostles and the second one represents the twelve Prophets. Suger explains the concept of the building approach that is to construct the ‘edifice materially as tall and with as much fitness as [possible]’, which is in accordance with the Apostle who built spiritually, so as to the church becomes the ‘house of God in the Holy Spirit’ (*ibid.*). More importantly, he gives an account of an intolerable storm that suddenly arose

before the completion of the reconstruction and endangered the unsupported arches, which were still detached from the entire mass of the vaults (see Figure 1.5). Interestingly, the pouring rain and the violence of the opposing winds caused serious damages to ‘many well-built buildings’, but the intact arches remained reaching to the sky in their full height. Nonetheless, Suger does not make the strength of the structure responsible to hold up, but claims that ‘God’s goodness and the glory of the Saints’ saved the unfinished construction from collapsing (*ibid.*).

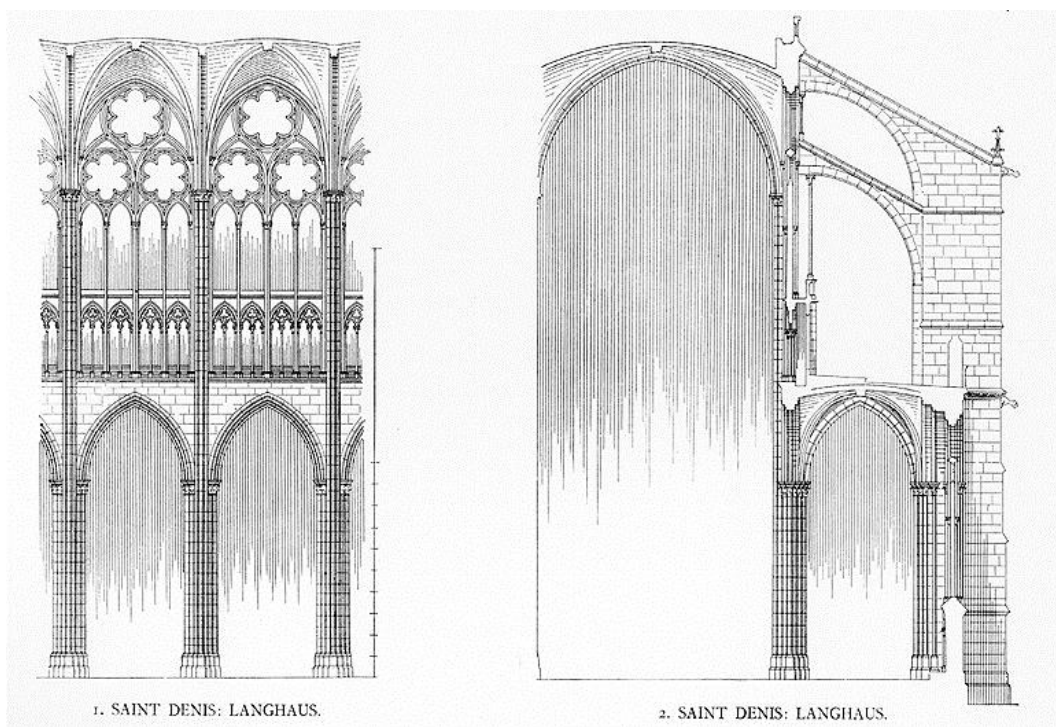


Figure 1.5: Illustration of vaults and structures of Church of Saint-Denis

I would like to highlight that Suger was a friend and trusted adviser of Louis VI and aimed to emphasize both the religious and political power (see, for instance, Mallgrave 2006: 22). Banister Fletcher points out that abbots and bishops played a dominant role in political affairs of parishes and towns (Fletcher 1905: 268). Additionally, because of many settlements grew into important townships during this period, churches in the form of monuments, or cathedrals, were erected to attract worshipers, and also to promote wealth and power. He discusses the architectural characters and principles of the apt construction methods in great detail; the economic use of materials, exploiting new materials, glazed windows and the urge for seeking for the ‘laws of elasticity and equilibrium’, to name only a few (*ibid.*: 223). Furthermore, he argues that the climatic

conditions also played a fundamental aspect in the development of architectural design. In view of the low angle position of the sun, the prevalent snow and severe weather in Northern Europe, gothic architecture is more suitable than classical in these areas (*ibid.*).

In any cases, the concept of gothic architectural design developed as a necessary sequence of the Romanesque art. It showed an entirely independent cultural manifestation of the prevailing social and political conditions. In accordance with the statement from Hermann Muthesius, it emerged and fully developed as ‘the only original art’ since the Greek antiquity by providing the ‘artistic roots of the new time’ (Muthesius 1902: 51). While ornamentations and the principles of classical architecture were based on well-ordered proportions, the structures of gothic churches emerged by the power of Christianity. As such, these structures were not only novel forms of architectures within the *conventional* spatial environment, but also introduced the notion of symbols and signs manifested in architecture and spatial design. However, as time passed, the dominance of the gothic art was also subject to change. The rise of the cultured, intellectual and the wealthy brought about a new philosophical mode of thoughts within the arts; a renewed appreciation of antiquity. It was not directly connected to the church and, in most cases, not necessarily aiming to override it, but rising beside it as a novel, unique arrangement. Eventually, the revival of the classical virtues and ideals became a leading (architectural, as well as cultural and moral) principle in the subsequent era.

1.3 A Change of Perspectives

There were two central approaches towards the ordering of elements in architectural works in Europe until the 1900s. The first one originated from the early principles of classical Greek architecture defined in the treatises of Vitruvius. The other one followed the gothic architectural traditions derived from the Middle Ages. In this section, I will focus on the first most significant cultural movement, which brought about a change of perspectives; the renaissance of the classical school of architecture.

1.3.1 Longing for revisiting antiquity

In the 14th century an international movement, to be more precise the Renaissance, evolved in Italy. As a humanist activity of educational and cultural reform, including religion, art, science, literature, music and then architecture, it spanned also to other parts of Europe. The movement called for a renewed search for realism and human emotion. It derived from the classical legacy of ancient times with the intention to create something ‘new’ and idealised following the medieval approach.⁴ The desire for the classical visual order, the emergence of science and geometry, the discovery of one-point perspective as well as the new conceptions of space related to time, all governed the law of architectural design. It has to be highlighted that architecture was one of the latest arts concerning with the new movement. By the time architectural works manifested themselves in accordance with the novel modes of thoughts of the humanist movement, other forms of art work, such as literature, painting and sculpture, had been cultivated for decades by authors (see, for instance, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Giotto and Ghiberti).

What is considered as the first edifice that brought about the Renaissance views is the Foundling Hospital in Florence. The building was designed by the Florentine architect, Filippo Brunelleschi, and was built in the early 15th century (see in Figure 1.6). Brunelleschi observed and highly valued the building approaches and the symmetry of the works left from the time of antiquity. As a consequence, he decided to ‘rediscover the fine and highly skilled method of building and the harmonious proportions of the ancients’ and considered the ways to employ with no deficiency, but convenience and economy (Manetti [1480s] 2006: 28).

⁴ Some theorists in the Italian elite felt strongly about the change from the Middle Ages and urged the renewed perspective. For instance, Il Filarete despised medieval architecture and suggested that it was brought into Italy by “none other than the barbarians” (c. 1460s cited by Holt 1957: 248).



Figure 1.6: The Foundling Hospital in Florence by Filippo Brunelleschi (1419-1426)

In addition to Brunelleschi, the Italian architect, painter, sculptor, and writer, Leon Battista Alberti, is also regarded as one of the pioneers who contributed to the architectural theories in this era. His treatise on the revival of classical order, entitled *On the Art of Building* (1443-1452), is based on the previously mentioned Vitruvian concept of durability, convenience and beauty. According to Mallgrave, his theory on ‘the absolute beauty’ defined in *Book 6*, and the ‘absolute numerical scheme for beauty and proportion’ discussed in *Book 9* hold primary importance to the Renaissance modes of thoughts (Mallgrave 2006: 32; 34). What needs to be highlighted is that beauty is seen as an inherent property and is to be found in the work of the whole. Ornament, on the contrary, is rather extrinsic than natural as it is something ‘attached or additional’ to the whole (Alberti [1443-1452] 2006: 33). The ‘absolute and fundamental rule in Nature’ generates the definite number, outline and position that identifies beauty, more precisely the ‘sympathy and *consonance*’ of the parts within the whole. As such, it is ‘the main object of the art of building and the source of her dignity, charm, authority, and worth’ (*ibid.*: 35, italics in original).

1.3.2 Longing for reliving antiquity

Considering the works of Brunelleschi and Alberti, according to Bates Lowry, the appreciation in classical orders in the Renaissance was initially not to *reproduce* forms and designs from the antiquity as a style. More precisely, the theory behind building design was not merely formed by visual evidence, but was ‘a result of their entire humanistic training’ (Lowry 1962: 15). Even though the visual appearance of the emerging architecture resembled the ones that remains were still present from the

ancient times, a clearly new attitude could be identified that pointed towards the design of the work of art. The concern for how the building would appear to the eye of the human observer was the principal aspect in the presentation of the visual compositions of architectural forms and spatial design. The new architectural approach gained increasing appreciation for the artistic quality rather than for the ‘power to evoke historical association’ (*ibid.*: 16). Peter Murray points out that men of the Renaissance knew little about the past and ancient architecture therefore the revival was restricted to ‘a figment of their own historical imagination’ (Murray 1978: 7). Yet, such early architectural works had value and meanings that perhaps only the sophisticated, *classical-minded* man was able to read and appreciate in accordance with the ideals and experiences acquired from the advanced works of other artists, poets and writers. Therefore, it can be argued, as Edmund N. Bacon also suggests, that the ‘upsurge of the renaissance’ to revive the antique philosophy was to reinforce the power of capital and the elite interest (Bacon [1967] 2007: 9-16).

If one was to consider such architectural and urban design theory materialised in the age of humanism as an architectural simulacrum, displacement or reenactment of the Ancient orders, it can be argued that the approach has taken place in two stages. Firstly, the initial idea derived from the prevailing humanist theories, which were discussed above. Secondly, it flourished and later spread over other parts of Europe in around the 16th century. I would like to highlight, that arguably, the second stage was more of an imitation of the architectural forms, which developed from the originally rational principles founded initially in Italy. T. Roger Smith argues that the ancient classical style can be considered as ‘universal architecture’ since it was also introduced to some other parts of Europe, which were once under the control of the Roman Empire (Smith 1880: 2). Yet, the architectural practice of the so-called classical style passed through without an actual renaissance stage outside Italy. Murray highlights that ‘the forms of ancient and modern classical architecture were always much more easily imitated than the ideas behind them’. Also, because of the gothic spirit was still so prominent, it was able ‘to come back in the form of a jungle of decoration’ in a ‘flamboyant pseudo-classical’ style (Murray 1978: 159).

Muthesius brings a great example of such arbitrary imitations. He argues that the church of Saint Pancras in London, designed by William and Henry William Inwood in 1819 and shown in Figure 1.7, is an assemblage of stylistic imitations based on original Greek architectures (Muthesius 1994: 57). More precisely, when we look closer, the

building resembles the Tower of the Winds in Athens upon the colonnade of the Erechtheum, which is crowned with the Monument of Lysicrates.



Figure 1.7: Church of Saint Pancras designed by William and Henry William Inwood (1819)

John Soane's windowless creation, the Bank of England (designed and built between 1788 and 1833), can be also highlighted in this respect.⁵ At that time, it was considered as the largest neo-classical building in England. Muthesius claims that the reason for the lack of openings on the façades is not necessarily to serve security purposes, but rather to fulfil the stylistic requirements based on the originally windowless Greek temples. On one corner of the complex, a copy of the Temple of Tivoli can be recognised too, that is shown in Figure 1.8.

⁵ Soane's building was mostly demolished and rebuilt by Herbert Baker between 1925 and 1939.



Figure 1.8: John Soane's Bank of England (1788-1833)

Joseph Gandy, an English architectural theorist working with Soane, went even further and drew a visionary image of the Bank of England as a ruin, only a few years after its completion in 1830. The illustration, with the exposed raw earth falling underneath and the collapsed pieces of monumental structures on the side, which exposes a Corinthian capital and meander decorative motives found in the Greek arts, undeniably recalls the images of Greek spatial sceneries as were known at that time (see in Figure 1.9).

In view of the above, a spatial environment designed in such manner can be considered as less than an act to produce a work of art with principles being based on, in this case, the Renaissance ideologies. Rather it acts as a representation of the (national, collective or individual) power and makes superficial statements. It is condemned to suffer from being a raw visual symbol and contradicts the genuine harmony between the form, theory and culture.



Figure 1.9: An imagined view of the Bank of England in ruins by Joseph Gandy (1830)

1.4 A Question of Style

As it was mentioned in the previous section, there were two central approaches towards the ordering of architectural elements, the classical and the gothic doctrines. The classical was revisited in the forms of the art based on renaissance principles. However, a new form of debate was on the rise which was not necessarily built around the modes of thoughts and the theoretical notions behind certain styles or values. Rather, *the perfect* or *the ideal form* was chosen based on its aesthetical values. As such, the functional and symbolic design principles were overwritten by the aesthetic ideals.

1.4.1 Styles of beauty and good taste

The most comprehensive architectural movement after the Renaissance originated from garden design in Britain in the 18th century and gained ground not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world. It aimed to revive, in contrast to the classical school, the Christian traditional values and qualities of the medieval architectural model. However, according to James Macaulay, the resurgence in medievalism corresponded with the economical background in Britain, namely with the Agrarian and the early Industrial Revolution (Macaulay 1975: 1-10). He notes that the economic boom brought the great wealth to the landed classes and such architectural movement was even more prominent in areas with hitherto lack of architectural significance, such as north of England and Scotland. Consequently, gothic building design, that was common in the south and the Midlands, could be recognized as highly regarded examples. Evidently, a lavish architectural display of such style was required in the design of country houses by the many landed families who acquired affluence this time.

In addition, Macaulay connects the aesthetic theory of the revival – the picturesque and sublime – to the retrospective concept of the prevailing political condition (*ibid.*: 11-19). Men of edifices designed in accordance with such modes of thoughts were all members of the ruling Whig party (see, for instance the Inverary Castle of the Duke of Argyll (1746-1789); and Strawberry Hill of Horace Walpole (1749-1776)). The members of the party had ‘similar values, taste, judgements and usually the same political beliefs and opinions’ (*ibid.*: 12). Unquestionably, it was a sophisticated and controlled environment in which the celebrated style of high culture, good sense and taste was determined by the prominent social class. In fact, a number of magazines, such as *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, consciously advertised the currently celebrated trend, and scholars, for example Batty Langley, revised and encouraged the

architectural orders of that kind. Langley, in his work on rules and proportion, entitled *Gothic Architecture* (1747),⁶ reveals varieties of columns, frontispieces, along with other elements of the gothic works of architecture.

In addition to the renewed gothic tradition, classical order was yet not to be forgotten. Certain styles and the amalgamation of them became equivalent with beauty and good taste. Townscapes and even single buildings with a mixture of various highly regarded styles gained ground, such as the Castle Ward in Strangford, Northern Ireland. The country mansion was built during the 1763 by Bernard Ward and his wife, Lady Anne. Ward preferred the classical style, and, on the contrary, Lady Anne favoured the romantic sentiment of the gothic style. As a result, the front of the building was designed in a classical fashion, while the rear façade portrays images from gothic architecture (pictured in Figure 1.10).



Figure 1.10: Classical and gothic façades of Castle Ward in Northern Ireland (1763)

⁶ Initially Langley's work was entitled *Ancient Architecture Restored*, which was published in 1742 and reissued in 1747 as *Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions*.

The obsession to have an architectural style, but not only that, the *appropriate* architectural style of good taste, which also perfectly matches to certain functions, called for theoretical debates. English landscape designer, Humphry Repton, for instance, in the *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816), depicts variations for landscape architecture. Repton's plate is shown in Figure 1.11, which illustrates landscapes with the two distinctive features. One portrays the classical order of the 'Grecian' alongside another that follows gothic traditions (Repton 1816: 5). In practice, the Stowe Landscape Garden in Buckinghamshire, England is an excellent example. It started as an English Baroque Garden in the early 1700s, however, buildings and structures of the "appropriate" architectural styles have been constructed over the years. The garden features the neo-classical Lake Pavilions (1719), the Egyptian Pyramid (1726), the Palladian Bridge (1738), the Gothic Temple (1741-1748), as well as the Chinese House (1738), among many other pavilions, temples, rotundas, bridges, obelisks, arches and artificial ruins of various styles. As such, this landscape is a perfect model of variations for the practice of English garden design, in the way in which the scenic settings are carefully selected and constructed to achieve the flawless visual attainment for the "sophisticated" eyes in line with the actual appropriate modes of thoughts.

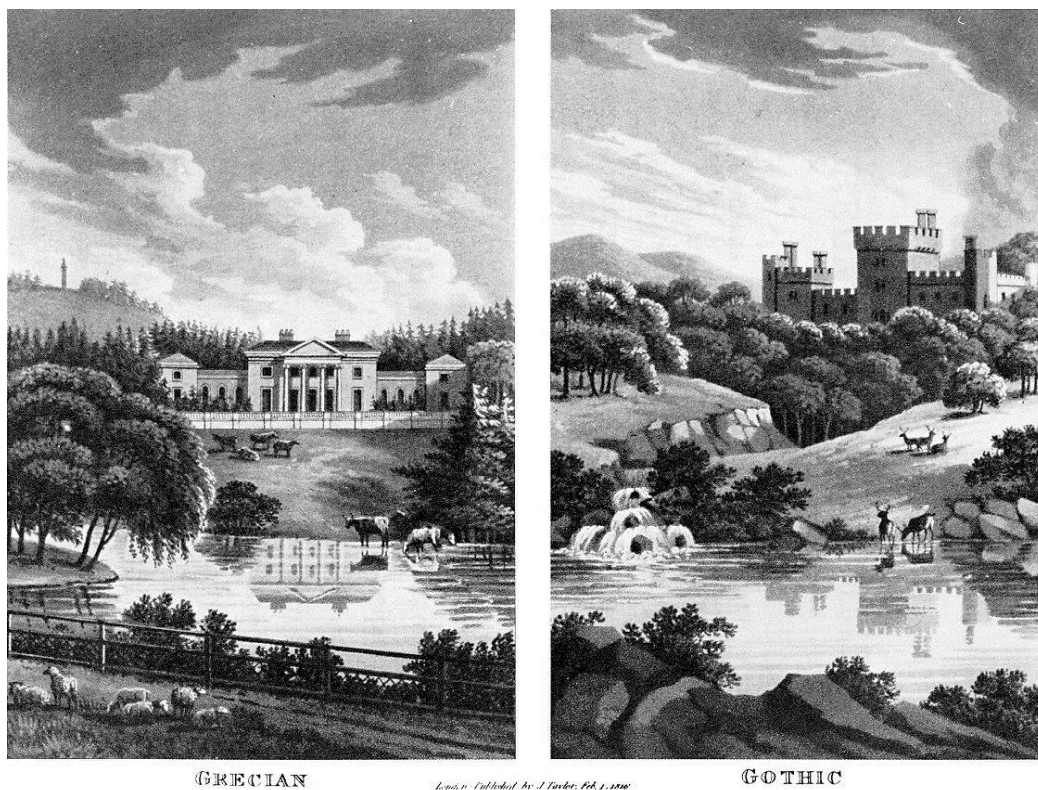


Figure 1.11: Repton's illustration of 'Grecian' and 'Gothic' landscapes

Further to this point, I would like to highlight a few more works in which the *question of style* is debated. Heinrich Hübsch analyses this contested topic in his book, *In What Style Should We Build?* (1828); Joseph Gwilt presents an extensive work on styles, orders and beauty in architecture of various countries in *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture* (1842); and John Loudon offers a detailed description of different architectural styles of wealth and good taste and sets out precise guidelines for the architectural order from around the world with the intention to ‘improve the dwellings of the great mass of society’ in *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* (Loudon 1833: 1). The apparent industrial revolution only assisted to the emergence of this trend, which supported the appearance of a miscellany of architectural styles from the Venetian to the Chinese pagoda. This, however, led to the situation of what A. Welby Pugin terms ‘the *carnival* of architecture’ by pointing out that, currently, styles are ‘*adopted* instead of *generated* and ornament and design *adapted to*, instead of *generated by*, the edifices themselves’ (Pugin 1843: 2, italics in original). By highlighting the fact that ‘the history of architecture is the history of the world’ he makes a clear argument of his intention and suggests returning to the principles of Christian architecture (*ibid.*: 4).

1.4.2 Architectural follies

Every form of the works of art with a social significance, such as poetry and paintings of this era, depicts picturesque landscapes with fragmented building structures, temples and castellated edifices in a somewhat melancholic, yet romantic manner (see, for instance, the works of Jane Austen). By this means, and due to the sentimental appreciation for historic remains as well as the collective agreement of good taste and beauty equalling pleasure, garden architecture and the interest in ruins as well as the so-called folly architecture gained grounds in the 1700s. However, this called for a detailed revision and assessment (Macaulay 1975: 18). As I have mentioned above, the appropriate architectural orders and principles, as well as the picturesque and sublime, were determined by strictly defined rules and guidelines. Similarly, this concept was not in any other way in the laws of *designing and constructing* ruins. Albeit all the efforts of the detailed guidelines outlined with the purpose to be able to create the ideal physical construction of the artificial ruins, William Gilpin questions the reliability of such concepts. He argues that in order to perfect the desired appearance of the structure one needs to put it ‘in the hands of nature’ (Gilpin 1808: 74). It becomes evident that

the arising trend, based on mere nostalgic imagery, is a physical representation of a picturesque scene with the purpose of decoration. Accordingly, Gilpin's concern for the lack of truthfulness and inauthentic bodily experience are, therefore, relevant (*ibid.*: 72). Yet the main idea of the newly-built-ruins relates to the issues around the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* in its pure existence.

A certain landscape with an actual ruin of a once existing edifice, for example a castle or a monastery, inherently entails a narrative of the place, it evokes emotions and the spectator may instantly falls in a romantic mood; pictures the regal magnificence in case of the castle or the committed monastic way of life in case of the monastery. It is honest and true; it has a spirit. On the contrary, a purposely designed landscape with a mere copy of a ruin (for instance, the Hagley Castle and the Rotunda in Worcestershire, England pictured in Figure 1.12), which may achieve the same effect in the spectator, that is to awaken emotions and put the observer in a certain mood, lies. It implies a fake history.



Figure 1.12: Hagley Castle and the Rotunda by Sanderson Miller (1746-1747)

The trend of such *purely visual* approach to architectural practice not only spread in Britain, but also set foot in other parts of Europe. The hamlet of Marie Antoinette, Queen consort of France, needs to be highlighted here as one of the most prominent examples. The cluster of buildings was built in 1783 in Versailles, France, representing an entire country setting in a lavish rustic garden with peasant cottages, farm buildings, barns, stables, a dairy, a fishery tower and a watermill (see in Figure 1.13). The complete set, including all buildings and the landscape, was designed in accordance with the imagination of the queen only, and not based on actual facts. Out of all the

structures, the watermill is probably the most interesting element of the entire scenery. Its self-contradictory narrative qualities are clearly detectable. Figure 1.14 shows its fake timber structure and openings, the artificial mill and its generally odd proportion.



Figure 1.13: Sceneries from the hamlet of Marie Antoinette in Versailles, France (1783)



Figure 1.14: The watermill

The function of such imaginary settings, either in the case of only a piece of ruin or an entire peasant village, is to be an indulgence for the wealthy and cultured elite (see, for instance, Macaulay 1975: 20). On the contrary, Niel Lavine suggests that the unfinished state of René de Girardin's Temple of Modern Philosophy in Ermenonville, France, is considered as the epitome of the beginnings of the modern modes of thoughts (Lavine 2009: 51). The *newly-built ancient folly*, shown in Figure 1.15, was designed with the help of Hubert Robert in circa 1776-1777. Lavine argues that such forms corresponding to the classical principles were not only able to 'serve as representational figures' with the purpose to portray a 'pictorial or poetic narrative', but rather to 'function as integral elements of a self-referential architectural construct' (*ibid.*). What is referred to here is the state of a *highly advanced civilisation*, which evolved from a condition close to nature.



Figure 1.15: Temple of Modern Philosophy (1765)

In view of the above, it can be concluded, that this movement of finding the most appropriate style for designing buildings can be considered the first implication of using architecture as a decorative element within the built environment. It is employed to tell a story, it became a symbol, and the language is the stylistic characteristics of the principles that the form holds within.

1.5 Rediscovering a *Truth* in Architecture

After a few years long debate around the *ideal* formation of building design, a more practical and less subjective mode of thoughts emerged amongst architectural theoreticians. With the early revelation of purposiveness and practicality in architecture, the circumstances of the apparent arbitrary imitation of historical styles were proved to be insufficient. The idea to return to the purest forms and to actually deny stylistic architectural features became ever more prevalent in the 19th century.

1.5.1 Returning to the purity of antiquity

Karl Friedrich Schinkel is often credited amongst the firsts to cultivate structural and constructional framework with response to the notion of being *truth to materials* as architectural design principles. One of his most prominent works, the *Bauakademie* is shown in Figure 1.18.⁷ He found such slavish reproduction of classical architectural forms to be a degradation of the “continued development of mankind” (Hirt 1809 cited in Potts, who discusses Schinkel’s architectural theory, in Snodin 1991: 47-55). Schinkel argues that the particular effect, which certain styles evoke in people, is often entirely contradicted by its function (Schinkel [c. 1835] 2006: 414-415). However, by admitting his own mistake in conducting a pure radical concept of ‘utilitarian purposes and construction’, he aims to find solution in order to attain, additionally, ‘freedom’ as well as inhere ‘the historic and the poetic’ elements. These essential elements are able to raise a piece of structure/building to a work of art, which then can be called architecture.

It is worth mentioning that Schinkel also discusses in detail the role of architecture within the arts (Schinkel [c. 1805] 2006: 402-403). He considers the work of art as the ‘*presentation of the Ideal*’, and the ‘*Ideal*’ is the most perfect of a kind; it possesses the highest character (*ibid.*, italics in original). In relation to this, he argues, given that character and physiognomy contribute to the artistic merit of a building, architecture is part of the arts. Moreover, it has the advantages in combining the ‘real and actual content of its presentation’ in the course of its manifestation (*ibid.*: 403). However, finding the balance between artistic value and the most essential constructional honesty and functionalism seems to be the real issue. He aims to tackle the problem with a systematic approach and proposes four stages to be followed:

⁷ The *Bauakademie* was designed by Schinkel and built between 1832 and 1836 in Berlin, Germany. The building was damaged during the Second World War, which was partially restored; however, in 1962 the entire structure was demolished.

- i. Consider the demands of our age,
- ii. Review the past,
- iii. Make necessary modification of the ‘things found useful’,
- iv. Employ imagination to ‘produce something totally new’, but maintain a ‘harmonious accord with the old’ (*ibid.*: 415).

In this sense, Schinkel regards the architectural forms of the past are not to be imitated. Rather, architects should ‘rethink the role that antique models might be able to play in modern culture’ (Potts in Snodin 1991: 51). His theory of combining the concepts of constructional honesty and finding the truth in the purity of antique architectural principles and artistic merits, led his practice to pursue a new architectural form, which corresponds to the ever-changing constructional technologies, social and cultural conditions.



Figure 1.16: The *Bauakademie* by Friedrich Schinkel (1832-1836)

Adolf Loos, in his essay, entitled *Architecture* (1910), is concerned with the ‘moods’ and emotional effects that a building can arise in people. He argues that if it does, ‘*that is architecture*’ (Loos [1910] 2002: 84, italics in original). He illustrates the differences between particular cultures, and therefore, the different sentiments and ways of perception that architecture can evoke in people from different cultural backgrounds. He explains the contradictory connotation with the example of the colours black and white for Chinese people and for ‘us’ [Western people] (*ibid.*).⁸

He argues that our culture and state of mind is founded on the ‘recognition of the all-transcending greatness of classical antiquity’. However, he also agrees that since ‘we are more advanced’, one cannot be a ‘great master of architecture’ by only building like the Romans, therefore, he recognised Schinkel as ‘the last great master’ who picked up ‘the thread’ and recalled the true classical values in architecture (*ibid.*: 84-85).

1.5.2 The denial of style

In his text, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* (1902), Hermann Muthesius presents a critical review on the architectural development and the ‘battle of styles’ in the 19th century in Europe. He calls this period the “inartistic century” and suggests that because of ‘every acclaimed accomplishment is scientific in nature’ and ‘nothing is said of the arts; they obviously played no role’ during that time (Muthesius 1902: 49-70). He explains that political influence and the appearance of ‘the machine’ as the product of the industrial revolution, play key roles in the ‘loss of tradition’ and handicrafts, as well as the decline of the ‘natural support of the arts’ (*ibid.*).

The world is reshaped in a way in which society has not only faced with a structural change, but also developed a strong aspiration for ‘practical applications’ in addition to an urge for ‘knowledge of life’ and research in history. He argues that Greek art is considered as the eternal standard for the [Western] world, but he calls the attention to the only standard for the art is which ‘expresses the life and culture of the time’. He proposes that the ‘school of stylistic imitation’ comes to an end and, therefore, sees the opportunity in setting out ‘new goals in architecture’ for the next century; the need for ‘character’ in architectural works that follows modern tendency and constitutes the demands and conditions of the contemporary economic and technological developments, as well as the social and cultural changes (*ibid.*: 71-100). By doing so, he

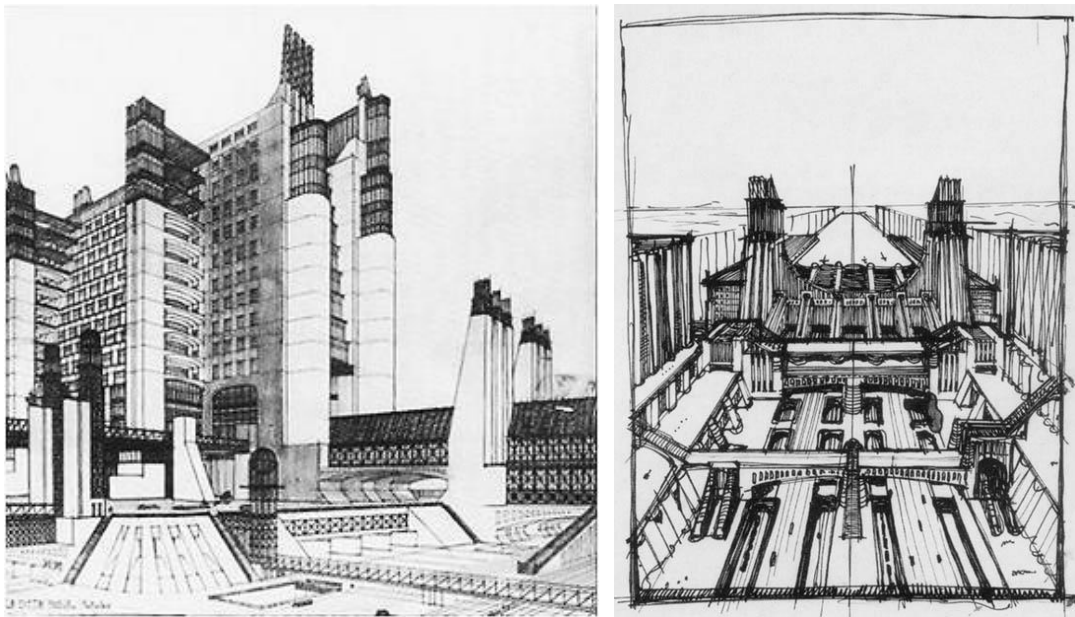
⁸ Loos highlights, that while the colour white is a connotation of mourning in Chinese culture, in Western culture, it is the colour black (Loos [1910] 2002: 84).

gives a clear idea about the “new style”, which is, in fact, not a *style*. He eliminates this word in the sense that is known and used at the time, such as developing external ornaments, fulfilling superficial formalistic requirements and arbitrary ordering of architectural elements, which has no relation to the ‘essence’ of the whole and attains purely ‘style-architecture’. He further argues that ‘true values in building-art are totally independent of the question of style’ (*ibid.*). Therefore, the notion of style, he commends, should be banned, and architecture, as ‘the art of daily life’, should have a ‘rejuvenation’. It must be resolved to constitute qualities, such as ‘sincerity, straightforwardness, and a purity of artistic sensibility’, that ‘avoid all secondary considerations and superficialities’ in the forthcoming modern ages (*ibid.*).

This notion took on an even more radical form as an economic and political ideology by the supporters of Futurist architecture. For instance, Italian architect and member of the Futurist movement, Antonio Sant’Elia states in the *Manifesto of Futurist Architecture* (1914) that ‘no architecture has existed since 1700’ (Sant’Elia 1914: 364). He proclaims that ‘architecture now makes a break with tradition’ because modern materials and technologies are ‘incompatible’ with the principles of *historical styles* (*ibid.*). Generally, the admiration of the past was declined, but the advantages of the machines and modernism was recognised and valued. More precisely, what the ‘new mechanical world’ offered was to be celebrated, that is practicality, dynamism, speed, movement, noise, energy, danger, audacity and so on. In accordance with the Futurists’ modes of thoughts, cities were believed to reveal ‘the immediate and faithful projection of ourselves’, the men of ‘the great hotels, the railway stations, the immense streets, [...] straight roads and beneficial demolitions’ (*ibid.*: 365). Sant’Elia’s utopic ideas for the future of modern cities are illustrated in Figure 1.17.

Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, the author of *The Futurist Manifesto* (1909), clearly states in his work, probably with excessive devotion, that war is something to be glorified. He considers it to be ‘the only cure for the world’ as it has the power to demolish the errors of the society (Marinetti 1909 in Banham [1960] 1996: 103). Interestingly, not long after, great demolitions of the First World War could provide the clean spatial canvas that was praised for giving shape to their vision and implementing the Futurist programme. Indeed, the attitude towards mechanisation and functionalism was carried forward, even during war time, but with a less violent zeal. Amongst many, Reyner Banham (1960) and Kenneth Frampton (1980) provide a great and extensive critical

analysis of the modes of thoughts that drove Western architectural theory and design practices in the late modern era.



**Figure 1.17: *La Città Nuova* (The New City, 1914) and *Stazione Aeroplani* (Airplane Station, 1921)
by Antonio Sant'Elia**

It needs to be pointed out that even though functionalism and constructivism took over and prevailed, the radical despise of the past and classical architecture, as advocated by the Futurists, lost their currency towards the end of the 1920s. Le Corbusier suggests that ‘architecture goes beyond utilitarian needs’; he draws the attention to and evaluates the ‘spirit of order’ and the qualities of classical architecture from a modern point of view (Le Corbusier [1927] 1986: 151-223). Additionally, he argues that architecture can no longer be counted as one of the decorative arts since a ‘new spirit’ developed, which is of ‘construction’ and ‘clear conception’ defined by the contemporary social and cultural activities (*ibid.*: 89). His well-known quote, “‘styles’ are a lie”, makes a strong statement and implies that the style of a particular era is not found ‘in certain productions of an ornamental kind’ (*ibid.*: 87). Rather, it is a ‘unity of principles animating all the work of an epoch, the result of a state of mind which has its own special character’ – hence, he asserts that ‘our epoch is fixing its own style’ (*ibid.*: 87-95). In this sense, while he abandons the tradition of ornamentation and styles, he makes a clear point of the fundamental virtues of the “great periods”. What is referred to here, for instance, the gothic period, when the ‘walls were as thin as they dare to make them’

– and finds ‘respect for the forces of nature’ by rediscovering the truth in architecture that can facilitate the already present modern demands (*ibid.*: 94-103). What needs to be highlighted here is that even though Le Corbusier disallows tradition and denies the styles of the past, at some points, his approach to architecture and spatial design resembles the previously mentioned four stages set out by Schinkel.

Interestingly, for decades, the absent traditional (visual) elements of the new, modern architectural principles what Le Corbusier, as well as his contemporaries, such as Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, pursued was uncustomary and unwonted, therefore not even acknowledged at the time. Even their school in Germany, the Bauhaus, was closed down by the pressure from the Nazi forces in 1933 (see, for instance, Frampton 1992: 129). However, the modernist design ideology fought itself through the difficulties when the political, economic and socio-cultural conditions changed and eventually became a prominent architectural practice that flourished until the 1960s. Architectural historian, Charles Jencks, marks date of the ‘death of modern architecture’ by the demolition of Pruitt-Igoe’s housing blocks in St Luis, MO, in the United States. It was designed according to the ideals of the Congress of International Modern Architects (CIAM), on 15 July 1972, and was demolished due to its deficient condition and unfitness (Jencks 1977 in Harrison-Moore and Rowe (eds) 2006: 455). Around this time, initially in the United States, a new movement, namely the postmodern, gained a foothold as a critical reaction to the modernist rationality and functionalism.

1.6 Complexity and Contradictions

As was highlighted before in the case of the ancient classical treatises and later in the Renaissance, the *interest* of the purist clean forms, once again came to an end by the decline of modern theories and architectural models. Instead, a thirst for *style*, *decorations* and *symbols* became prevalent in the field of architecture. More precisely, the emerging revival of symbols and signage was rather a critical view on the modern architectural movement. Therefore, the imminent architectural theory reaches back to the original principles and aims to renew the architectural ornamentations and symbolic connotations, as was seen in the Middle Ages and the revivals of the gothic style. The renewed modes of thoughts regarded modern architecture oversimplified and therefore gave ground to the upcoming theory that allowed and even encouraged architecture to be styled and to embellish symbolic ornaments.

1.6.1 Revisiting architectural concepts and principles

Michael Dear and Steven Flusty, for instance, in the introduction of their collection of works, *The Spaces of Postmodernity* (2002), identify the three principal constructs in postmodernism. That is ‘style, epoch and method’. They originate the movement in the emergence of ‘new *styles* of literature’ that spread to the other artistic activities, such as painting, photography and design (Dear and Flusty 2002: 2-6, italics in original). In the same manner, the architectural manifestation of the postmodern concept aims to address the limitations and the issues of the apparent failure of modern architecture. At the forefront of this movement, Robert Venturi, in his book, entitled *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* ([1966] 2002), presents the main concerns that need to be considered for the future generation of architects. His *Gentle Manifesto* for the ‘nonstraightforward architecture’ starts by a strong declaration that he likes ‘complexity and contradictions in architecture’ and dislikes the ‘incoherence or arbitrariness of incompetent architecture [or] the precious intricacies of picturesqueness’, and he goes on by comparing architecture to other forms of the arts and sciences in which complexity and contradiction were already acknowledged (Venturi [1966] 2002: 16). He argues, by referring to the previously discussed traditional elements of Vitruvius, which is durability, convenience and beauty, that architecture is inevitably complex and contradictory. He aims for ‘vitality’ and ‘validity’, however, finds difficulties in the current prevalent expanding dimension and scale of architecture in urban planning. By recalling concepts of the modernists and setting them in opposition to his proposition,

he certainly makes his point more apparent. He lists elements which he prefers, for instance, 'hybrid rather than "pure"', 'distorted rather than "straightforward"', 'messy vitality over obvious unity' and "'both-and" to "either-or"' (*ibid.*). He rejects the strict rules of modernist theory and argues that there is more than one 'truth' in architecture. The concluding statement of his manifesto, 'more is not less' lays an emphasis on his interpretation of architecture and urban design principles contradicting the aphorism of Mies van der Rohe, 'less in more' that became the crucial agenda of the modernists (*ibid.*).

In the next chapter, simplicity and picturesqueness are the key themes in Venturi's discussion and explanation of contradiction and complexity in architecture (*ibid.*: 16-19). He suggests that 'valid simplification' is part of the process of the analysis. However, in the course of the current practice, 'oversimplification' is mistaken for a 'goal'. The currently increasing 'complexities of the functional problems' needs to be recognised and accepted, because not only the multifunctional types of buildings, but even the most modest ones, for instance, the house, can be 'simple in scope' but 'complex in purpose', and as a 'whole' is the challenge to achieve. It is also underlined that the architecture of complexity and contradiction is not of the model of 'picturesqueness or subjective expressionism', but is 'an attitude common in the Mannerist periods' (*ibid.*). Venturi discusses in more details his critical remarks of the constrained effort succeeding the orthodox modern principles in architectural and urban design practices. He proposes the specific solutions for such problems emerged, by opening a debate on functioning and conventional elements in architecture and the contrast between the *inside and outside* spaces, in addition to *adaptation, juxtaposition* and *ambiguity* of architecture that is evident of the medium of poetry, painting and so forth. He aims to support his statements by revisiting architectural principles and using historical precedents, such as of the gothic and baroque and often comparing to the modern architecture, as well as providing detailed description of his own architectural works.

There are several prominent cases that can be highlighted which have shown a trend towards the new style in the Western architectural theory and practice. Amongst many cases, here can be included, for instance, the apartment housing for the elderly, the Guild House (1960-1963), and the residence for Venturi's mother, the Vanna Venturi House, both in Philadelphia, PA, United States (1962) (see Figure 1.18).



Figure 1.18: The Guild House (1960-1963) (top) and the Vanna Venturi House (1962) (bottom) by Robert Venturi

1.6.2 Renewing ornamental and symbolic principles

The newly emerging architectural movement undoubtedly shows contradictory views on the modernist concept of the denial of traditional styles and the rejection of symbols and decorations. As such, it inherently aims to renew the ornamental elements and symbolic evaluation of architecture. Like so, Venturi exploits his postmodern theory further in the book, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* ([1972] 1977), co-written with Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour. The book reveals the outcome of an urban study exercise in Las Vegas, NV, USA as part of the design module directed by the authors at the Yale University. As emphasized by Scott Brown in the preface to the revised edition, the aim of this text is ‘to reassess the role of symbolism in architecture’ and not to be misinterpreted as ‘neon signs [placed] on the Champ Elysées or a blinking “2+2=4” [attached to] the roof of the Mathematical

Building’ are something to be celebrated (Venturi *et. al.* [1972] 1977: xvii). The main arguments are circled around the subject of styles, decoration and ornamentation, signs and image, as well as in a great extent of the symbolic values in architecture. For instance, the authors believe that Las Vegas can stand in itself as a *style*. They argue that as the ‘complex program’ of the casinos, the Caesars Palace is highlighted in this regard, and the agglomeration of the Strip as a whole are compared to the ‘the spirit, if not the style’, of the eclectic accumulation of the late Roman forum (*ibid.*: 50-51).

Venturi and Scott Brown point out that architecture often acts as a symbol when it responds to ‘images of past experiences’, hence emotional associations (*ibid.*: 7-8). The Miami Beach Modern motel on the highway in Delaware is taken as an example, which is a copy of the real hotel in Miami that corresponds to ‘international stylishness’. Therefore, the motel in Delaware reminds tired drivers of the ‘welcome luxury of a tropical resort’ (*ibid.*: 87). This debate is in accordance with the renowned notion for ‘the duck and the decorated shed’ dealing with the iconographic quality in architecture (*ibid.*: 87-92). There are two main manifestations of architectural practice that are regarded and discussed in the following way (see Figure 1.19).

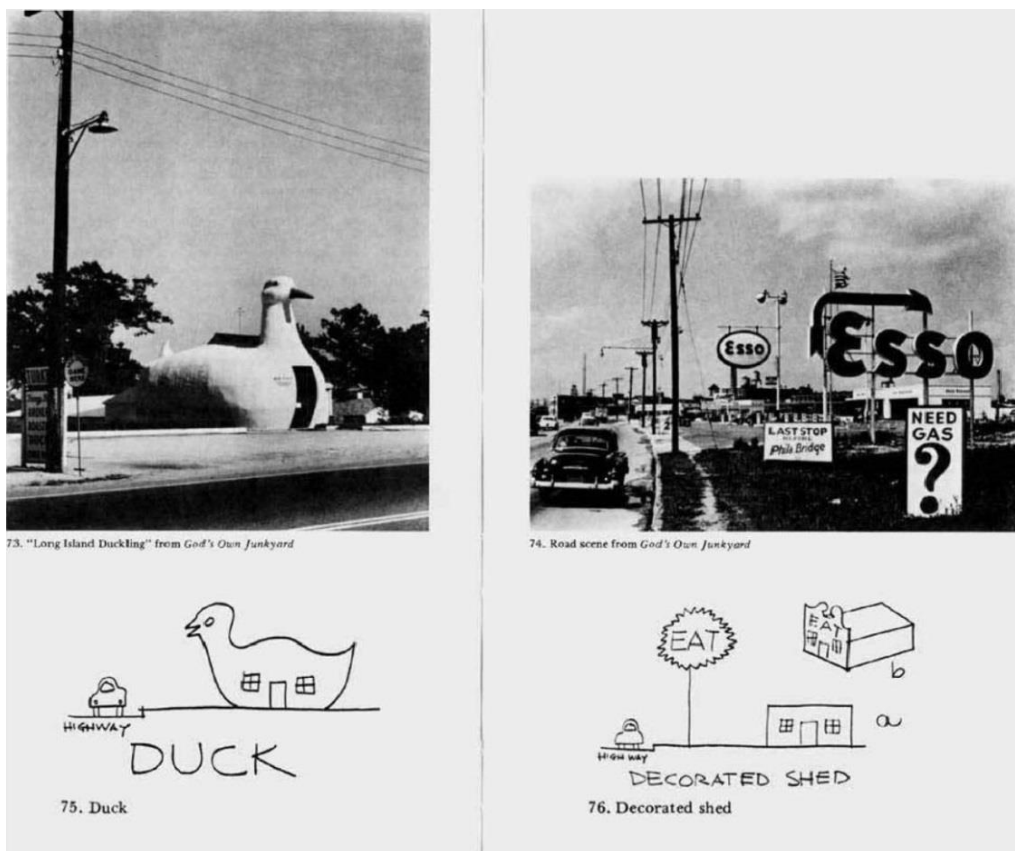


Figure 1.19: The “duck” and the “decorated shed” – illustration by Robert Venturi (1972)

The first one is where the building becomes a sculpture in the course of the distortion of ‘architectural systems of space, structure and program’ by ‘an overall symbolic form, the *duck*’ (italics in original, the name derives from the duck shaped drive-in, “the Long Island Duckling”). The second one is ‘*the decorated shed*’ where ‘the systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program’ and on which ornament is applied ‘independently’ (italics in original). Concisely, as a special building, the duck ‘is a symbol’ and on the other hand, as a conventional building, the decorated shed ‘*applies symbols*’ (italics in original). Both kinds of architecture are considered to be ‘valid,’ and with the intention to underline the significance of symbolic qualities and ornamentation in architecture of the past, such as the Renaissance, they make a radical argument with relation to the ‘symbolic evolution in Las Vegas’ (*ibid.*: 104-127).

What I would also like to highlight from this work is the idea of the illusionary image of Las Vegas, which is achieved through its highly symbolic and imaginary qualities. As a “pleasure zone”, Las Vegas, they argue, can place its visitors into a ‘new role’ of identity (*ibid.*: 53). Furthermore, Venturi and Scott Brown call for ‘the need of explicit and heightened symbolism’ by illustrating a picture of the ‘ornamented ranches with carriage lanterns, mansards and antiqued brick’ found in the Colonial town of Williamsburg, VA. They argue that ‘identity must come through symbolic treatment of the form’ of the building either through ‘styling provided by the developer’ or through a ‘variety of symbolic ornaments applied thereafter by the owner’ (*ibid.*: 153-154).

Huxtable calls the attention to the diminishing issues of such practices. She argues that in such ‘historical playacting’ that embodies Colonial Williamsburg (see in Figure 1.20), the ‘real and the imitation treasures and modern copies are carelessly confused in everyone’s mind’ and the end result ‘devalue authenticity’ as well as ‘denigrate the genuine heritage of less picturesque periods’ (Huxtable 1970: 211). Nonetheless, the apparent effect of the highly symbolic and imaginary qualities in architecture might have induced, and certainly approved, the trend of what Hannigan terms, the ‘fantasy cities’ (1998). He offers a great discussion on how American cities represented themed fantasy experiences as a new form of urban development in the 1960s. He argues that, in addition to employing certain thematic imagery, such cities are also ‘aggressively *branded,*’ and ‘*modular,*’ in the way in which they mix and match an ‘increasingly standard array of components in various configurations’ (Hannigan 1998: 3-4, italics in original). They are also ‘*solipsistic,*’ in the way in which they are isolated from their surrounding neighbourhood (*ibid.*: 4, italics in original). Ultimately, they are

'postmodern', in the way in which they are 'constructed around technologies of simulation, virtual reality and the thrill of the spectacle' (*ibid.*, italics in original). In addition to Colonial Williamsburg, there are plenty more other examples across the United States that stand for these statements, for instance, the Danish town of Solvang, CA; the Bavarian Leavenworth, WA; Seaside, FL; as well as the several Christmas-themed towns almost in every state.



Figure 1.20: Scenery from Colonial Williamsburg

Hannigan explores this phenomenon mainly from a sociological, cultural and perhaps an economical point of view, but I would like to argue, that this trend potentially regards issues in the context of architecture and urban design practices too. This study has shown that the preceding architectural modes of thoughts led to the endorsement of the emergence of places alike, which are, seemingly, desired by the society. It can be concluded, that the once again upcoming revival of symbolic meanings, ornamentations and decorative architecture by postmodern theories not only gave ground to, but encouraged and reassured such design practices. The initially individual structures, and eventually, entire settlements and cities of this kind, aimed at achieving the illusionary effect by the use of iconic images and symbols drawn from former and/or foreign models, or even from fictional ideals. By this means, the illusionary effect might recall a different spatial and/or cultural experience, with other words, a certain *narrative contradiction* in space.

CHAPTER TWO

IDENTIFYING THE RELATED NARRATIVE AND SPATIAL EXPERIENCES

In this chapter, I will take a look at various forms of cultural practices that were results of the emerging modern city in Western history, namely *moving image attractions*, *urban utopias* and *world fairs*. Such events and movements ensued in novel architectural and urban forms, as well as spatial and cultural experiences. An early example for such is the Panorama Rotundas in Paris (1800 and 1801) (see Figure 2.1). This complex embraced the novelty of the modern era; it manifested a novel architectural form and building typology that housed a novel art form of displaying landscape images as well as technology, and as such, it contributed to new forms of cultural entertainment and social experience, all in the emerging modern city.

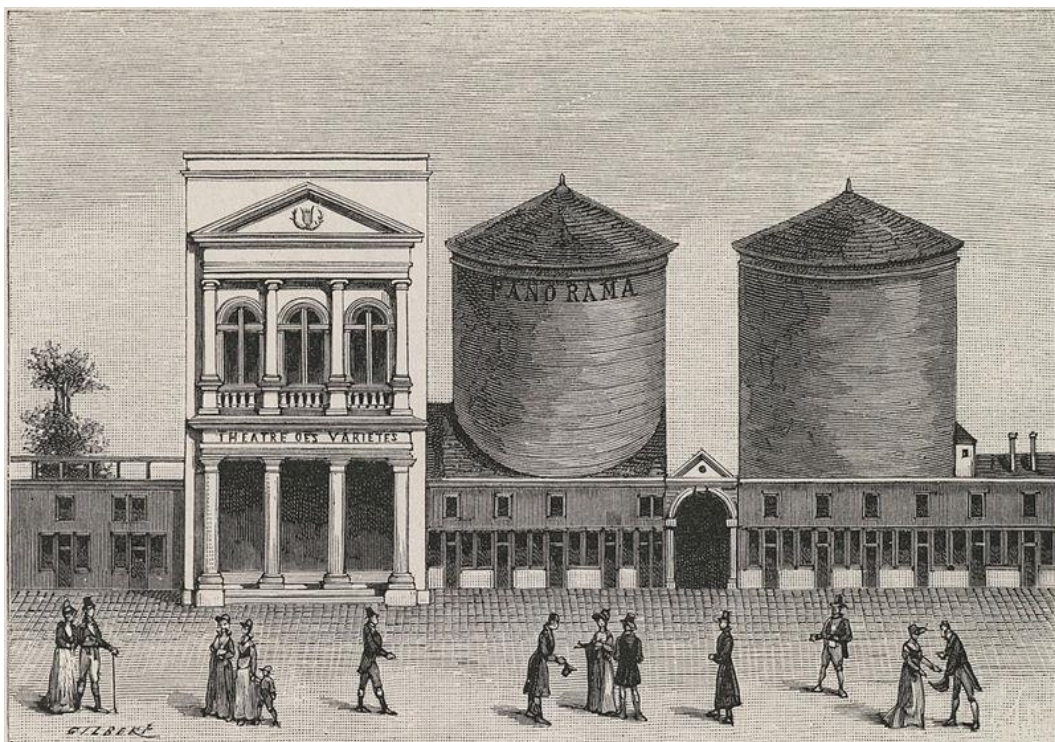


Figure 2.1: Panorama Rotundas in Paris (1800, 1801)

I will start my investigation with the moving image attractions, including *the panorama*, *the diorama* and *the cinema*. Then, I will highlight two prominent, but different utopian urban forms that were considered radical and highly influential in the field of architecture and urban planning, to be specific, the *Garden City* by Ebenezer Howard

(1902) and Le Corbusier's *Contemporary City* (1922). Lastly, I will investigate the phenomenon of world fairs and its inherent socio-cultural and architectural features. I believe that particular characteristics can define world fairs into three different stages during its history, which I call *cultural exchange*, *visionary and fantastic environments* and *national branding*.

By examining the above-mentioned social events, architectural and cultural practices, I aim to identify a genealogy and the underlying principles of narrative and spatial experiences that potentially relate to the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. The identified words or phrases will be italicised in the text and these research findings will be collected in a table at the end of each section.

2.1 Moving Image Attractions

In the late 18th century panoramic paintings, as a novel art of painting, opened a new perspective for the spectators. It was not only considered to be a new form of art, but also a technological achievement. The unique 360 degree view of its subject was an innovation of the Irish painter, Robert Barker. In 1787, he patented his technique with the French title “Nature à Coup d’Oeil” – ‘nature at a glance’ (Thomas 2005: par. 8). A few years later, he coined the word *panorama* to describe his cylindrical paintings. In 1793, regardless the lack of success of his first works in Edinburgh and London, Barker opened the Rotunda at Leicester Square in London, designed by Robert Mitchell, as the first purpose-built permanent edifice for displaying panoramas. Figure 2.2 shows a section of Barker’s Rotunda, which housed exhibition rooms on two levels. This novel form of entertainment with its visual attractions flourished and became a modern age fascination, not only in Great Britain, but also in Europe and beyond.

The panorama and its successors, the diorama and later the cinema, offered the modern society with a place for amusement that acted as an intersection between paintings/images and theatre (or with other words, plays/narratives). It incorporated the act of entertainment and education at the same time. They were structured to please the general public regardless of class and education. They satisfied the social desire to have a ‘visual mastery over the constraints of space and time,’ likewise, the visitor engaged in the ‘pleasures of mastery over an artificially constructed world, the pleasure of immersion in a world not present’ (Friedberg 1993: 28). The following subchapters will discuss the importance of this mass media (the panorama, the diorama and the cinema) as tools of sightseeing in the emerging modern era. It will highlight its features in

offering emotional connections and a spatiovisual pleasure to the modern society with a focus on the coherence to the current phenomena of *narrative contradictions*.

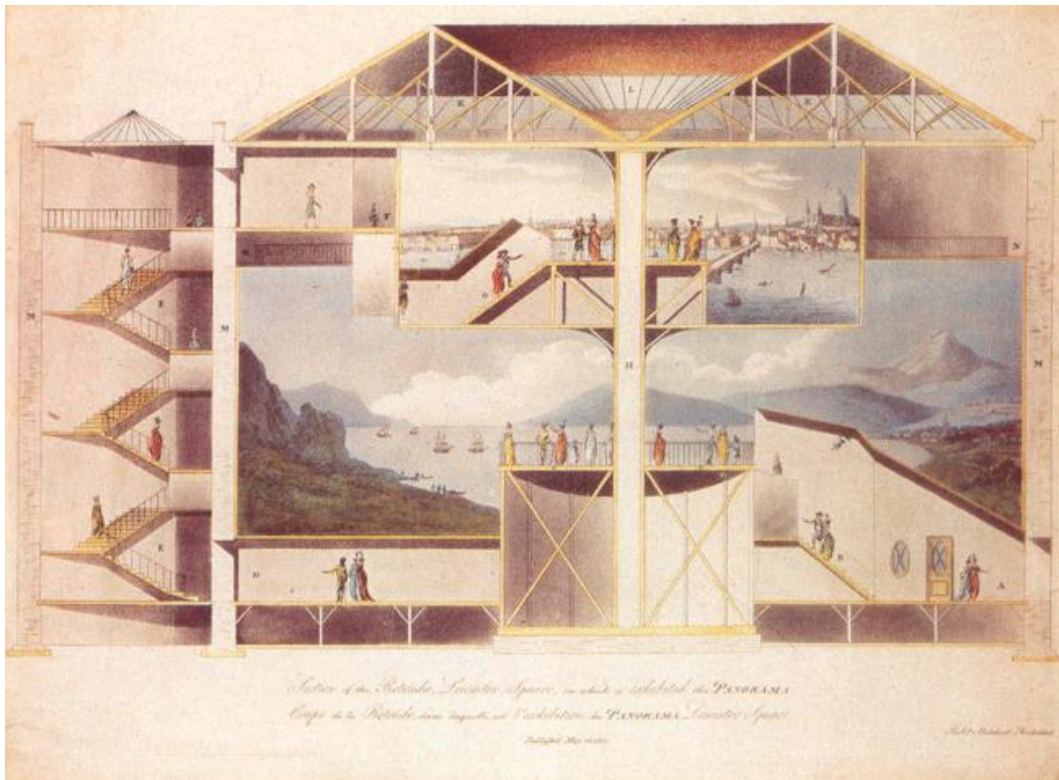


Figure 2.2: Section of Barker's Rotunda at Leicester Square in London

2.1.1 The panorama

Bernard Comment in his book, *The Panorama* (1999) discusses the important role panoramas played in early modern times. He calls the attention to the importance of visualising the situation that regards the transforming landscapes at the end of the 19th century. With the emergence of the first great metropolises, beginning with London, Comment argues that as the city expanded, they became 'opaque' and no longer 'visible' (Comment 1999: 8). He notes:

'In conditions like these, the panorama had a decisive role to play. Not only did it express the perceptual and representational fantasies that befitted such troubled times; it was at the very moment when individuals seemed to want to escape from mass culture and loss of identity that they became party to the primary alienation of the image. They returned to the *imaginary* situation that reality was preventing them from living.' (*ibid.*)

What this highlights is that the theme of the first paintings was to illustrate the actual cities in which the exhibition took place. Soon after, the panorama became a ‘propaganda machine’ in the way of representing military and historical events. Later, as Comment argues, the theme of ‘travel and distant lands’ emerged from the production of panoramas itself as they depicted iconic landscapes, exotic sceneries and displayed settings of topical interests (*ibid.*). The continuous circular representation of the theme, whether it portrayed historical events or images of cities, aimed to achieve the greatest visual accuracy: it had to be ‘so true to life’ that it could be ‘confused with reality’ (Comment 1999: 7). In fact, the rotunda was a circular enclosed space with a central viewing platform under a skylight where all visual borders were concealed. As such, it was able to offer its visitors an “all embracing view” of the painting and ‘simulate the experience of being “on the very spot”’ (Thomas 2005: par. 8) (see also in Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3: Panoramic view form the central platform

It needs to be highlighted that before the presence of panoramas, only museums, exhibitions and books were available where one was able to observe and study an illustration of the subject, whether it portrayed a cityscape or a battle scene and such. Panoramas, however offered the unique place which had the power to change the perspective of the spectator, who was no longer an outsider, but became surrounded by

the entire panoramic setting that aimed for *reality* and to imitate the *experience of being on the very spot*. By this means, the panorama contributes to a definite shift from being a *spectator* to being a *visitor*. In the pursuit of the maximum optical illusion, and thus, with the intention of enhancing the realistic attribute of the exhibition, panoramas often included three-dimensional objects in the foreground, for example taxidermies, vegetation, pieces of structures, vehicles and things alike. It is, however, argued that such additions only heightened the lack of movement and made the scene rather unnatural (see, for instance, Thomas 2005: par. 10). This might have led to the emergence of developed versions of this visual media with the aim of increasing the sense of reality and movement of the entire scene, such as moving panoramas and dioramas amongst many other forms.

2.1.2 The diorama

Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre and Charles Marie Bouton opened their first dioramas in Paris in 1822, then in London in 1823. The new, enhanced exhibit was, indeed, considered to carry the ‘optical illusion one stage further than the Panorama’ (Balzac in Comment 1999: 57). In order to compensate the inherent stillness of the panoramic picture, as described above, dioramas employed, for example, live animals, light and sound effects, and more importantly moving canvases and moving platforms. For instance, the diorama building at Regent’s Park in London comprised two sets of movable canvases around a rotating platform where the audience could take place (Figure 2.4). From then on, such exhibitions only developed and were enriched in terms of the panoramic experience.

Carl Ferdinand Langhans’ pleorama, the *Bay of Naples* (1831), for instance, was one of the most popular moving panoramas, in which visitors were seated in a boat, which floated in a pool, and rocked like by waves. In the meantime, moving canvases on each side represented scenes of the bay of Naples. The setting was accompanied with the sound of a boatman singing and the Mount Vesuvius erupting. Similarly, Daguerre’s diorama, *Salle de Miracle* (1830-1832) impressed all the senses of the visitor, not only the visual and auditory, but even that of tactile and taste. His display of a Swiss landscape included a live goat eating hay in a shed on stage and complemented with the sound of goat’s bells. In addition, girls were dressed up as peasants and served country breakfast for the audience.

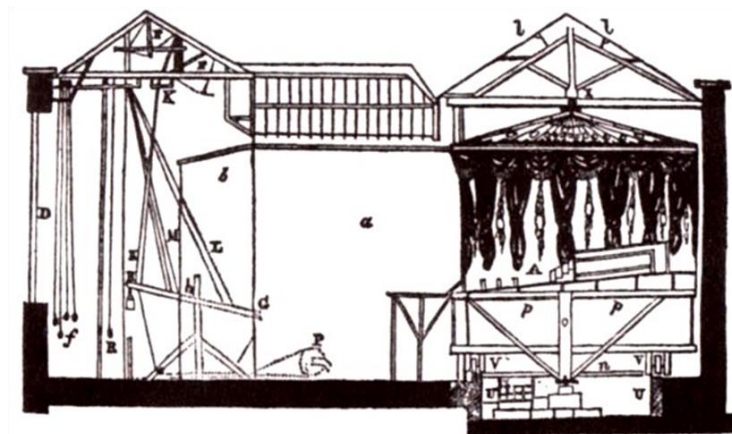
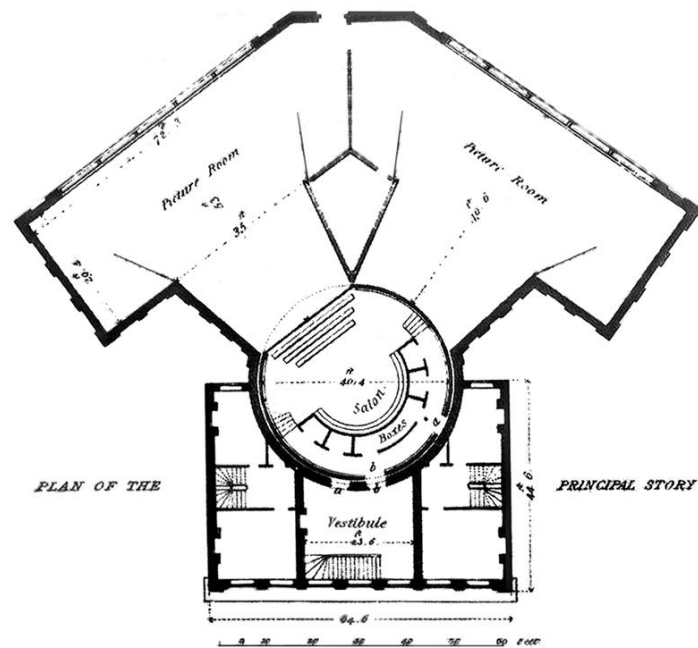


Figure 2.4: Ground plan and cross-section of the Diorama Building, London (1823)

In both cases, the movement of the entire display was amplified aiming for the greater visual and physical verisimilitude. By this means, the shift from being a spectator to being a visitor also goes one step further, in the way in which the *visitor became part of the scene* itself – by having a boat ride in *Naples*, or having breakfast *at the foot of the Alps*. The visitor, in this sense, is offered to have a narrative and spatial experience; the adventure that the diorama aims to illustrate in the heightened accuracy to reality.

Interestingly, Dolf Sternberger, however, suggests that the lure of these exhibitions ‘was not in their verisimilitude with reality, but rather in their deceptive skills, their very artificiality’ (see in Friedberg 1993: 24). Anne Friedberg recalls the words of William Wordsworth (1805) and argues that such enactments ‘were not the “subtlest craft” for presenting the “absolute presence of reality” [...] but to create an *artificial elsewhere*’

for the visitor (Friedberg 1993: 20-21, emphasis added). She highlights that ‘the technology of diorama offered a visual excursion and a virtual release from the confinements of everyday space and time’ (*ibid.* 28). Certainly, such *artificial elsewheres* were highly desirable destinations for the greater public since real time travel was a rarity at the beginning of the 19th century. Richard D. Altick explains that in the time of wars (1793-1815), and when only the wealthy and privileged could afford to pay a visit to other countries, and even less to distant continents, panoramas and dioramas played an important role in virtually transporting the public to places with high appeal (Altick 1978: 180).

Therefore, rather than visiting places in real time, the panoramic display of the artificial elsewhere with its all accompanied aspects (picturesque scenes, movement, sound, even taste and flavour and so on) aimed to conveniently bring the featured spatial environment to the visitor. In fact, *The Times* noted on Daguerre’s Switzerland that it is placed in front of the public eyes “without our encountering the nausea of crossing the Channel, the roguery of continental innkeepers, and all the other innumerable and indescribable miseries of foreign travel” (*The Times* [1830] cited in Thomas 2005: par. 1). Similar thoughts could be read about other exhibitions alike as well, such as on the poster of Harry Poole’s *Trips Abroad and Latest Events* (1891). *The Eco* considers his diorama the ‘most enjoyable trip around the world’ that the visitor can be taken on. Likewise, *The Morning Advertiser* describes that it can ‘teach geography without the toil of travel and without the study of books’ (see poster below in Figure 2.5).

In the view of these notes, the panoramas and dioramas could be seen as substitutes for travel. Upon entering the darkened diorama theatre, the visitor lost all judgement of not only ‘distance and space,’ as Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim suggest, but also temporal reality (Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1968: 6). Such a panoramic journey offered the illusion of experiencing distant cultures and of being in a new environment in a different time. Indeed, as Friedberg phrases, the theatre was a place that acted as a ‘machine of virtual transport’ and offered ‘virtual mobility’ (Friedberg 1993:4). Gernsheim and Gernsheim debate that ‘in the absence of any means of comparison with real objects, a perfect illusion was given’ (Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1968: 6). The visitor, therefore, was provided with the illusion of a narrative spatial environment, often with the use of iconic images and prominent landmarks, of which he might perhaps have *knowledge and understanding from books and magazines*, with other words, *mediated images*, but often little or even no physical experience. Ellis calls the

screening was held by August and Louis Lumière on 28 December 1895, at the *Salon Indien* of the *Grand Café* in Paris. The event included motion pictures featuring sights from everyday life, yet it offered the audience a radically different visual experience. Richard M. Barsam describes the images of the well-known short film, *The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat* (original title, *L'arrive d'un train à La Ciotat*, 1895) – in which a train came towards the audience and then at them – ‘so large, so believable, so convincing’ that some people got frightened as they believed that the train was going to come right out of the screen (Barsam 1992: 3).

Recording and projecting motion pictures were more than technological innovations. Barsam asserts that it ‘marked the end of one kind of seeing and the beginning of another’ (*ibid.*: 5). He highlights that the works of the Lumière brothers complied with the ‘continuum of experiments and inventions related to the Western representation of reality’ at the turn of the century (*ibid.*: 6).¹ A direct, non-narrative record of reality, such as actual people doing actual things, only added to such realist tradition. In general, there was a clear transition in the public interests from the romantic, picturesque art of dioramas to the query of verisimilitude that the cinema aimed projecting. Seeing moving pictures of familiar things, which the audience can *emotionally connect with*, fulfilled their hunger for factual content (*ibid.*: 28). As such, it could be argued that cinema was the most successful in imitating reality from all of other art forms, such as paintings, music, literature, and so on.

The level of experimentation during these first years, however, did not end with the Lumière brothers. Cinematography and associated technologies were developed with the intention to make the cinematic experience even more *spatial* and as such, more real. In itself, the cinema was already an attraction in the early years of its exhibition, but some screenings even capitalised on the trait of realistic experience. The art of film making was not the *imitation of reality*, like in the case of the other arts. Rather, the technology of film had the ability to record reality. It was able to capture and project ‘temporal sequences and make space move’ (*ibid.*: 6). At the 1900 Paris World Exposition the short-lived *Cinéorama* was introduced by Raoul Grimoin-Sanson.² An image of the exhibition is shown in Figure 2.6. The display included moving images taken from a hot air balloon rising 400 meters above the Tuileries Garden in Paris. The

¹ Barsam provides an overview of the visual and performing arts of the Realists, from Cézanne to Debussy to Baudelaire and more (Barsam 1992: 5-6).

² For safety reasons the exhibition was shut down after a few days.

theatre setting allowed the audience to observe the moving images in a 360 degree panoramic view from a fabricated balloon basket and simulated a ride over the city (Friedberg 1993: 84).

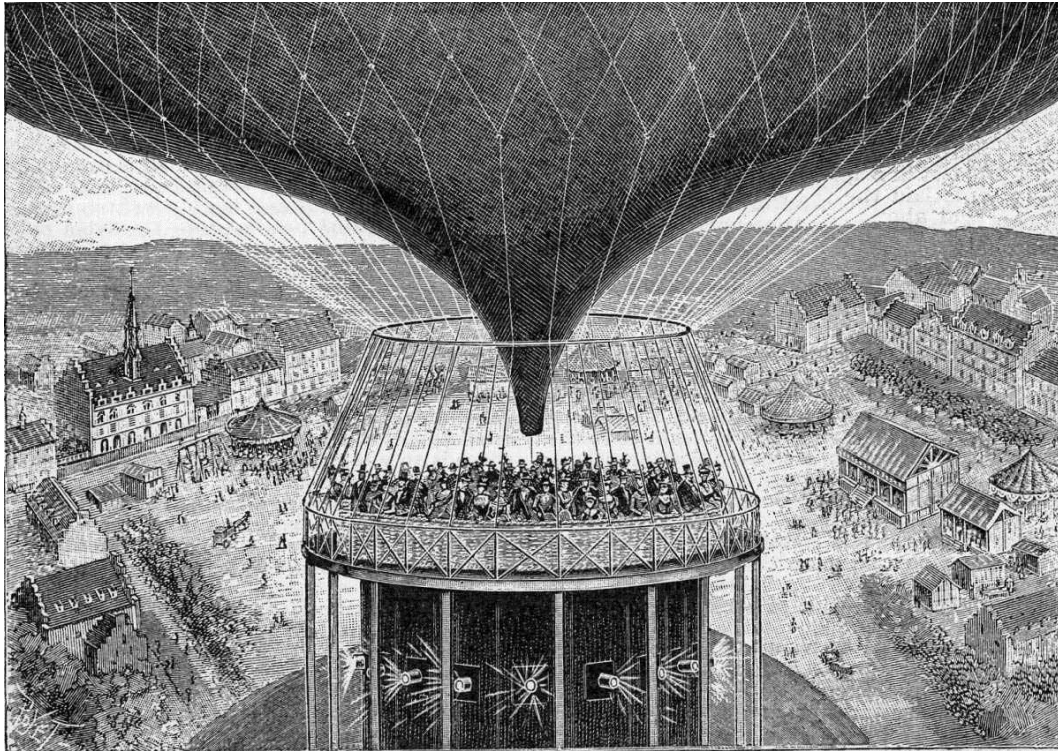


Figure 2.6: Cinéorama by Raoul Grimoin-Sanson (1900)

The more successful exhibition, *Hale's Tours and Scenes of the World*, was introduced by George C. Hale in 1904 in the United States. Its licenses were soon sold worldwide. It also presented non-narrative moving images filmed from vehicles, mostly trains. More interestingly, the theatre itself was arranged as a train car (see Figure 2.7). The spectacle was completed with the usher dressing as a conductor and taking the tickets, and with sound effects simulating steam whistles and wheels clatters. With the aim to create better 'sensory illusion of movement' and verisimilitude the theatre was accentuated by mechanical devices that rocked and tilted the train car (Abel 2005: 293). The success of foreign views, which is also relevant to the panoramic and dioramic exhibitions, was an indication for the great 'desire for *consuming the world through images*' (Gunning [1989] 2004: 87, emphasis added).



Figure 2.7: Interior of Hale's Tours train car

These cases clearly confirm that the cinema, too, had the capacity to act as a *tool for sightseeing* by *bringing places to the people*, or else as Tom Gunning notes, by “*placing the world* within one’s reach” – notions that correlate to the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* (Gunning [1986] 2006: 381, emphasis added). What is more, the pleasure of virtual travel and virtual mobility – recalling Friedberg’s thoughts which were discussed above in the cases of diorama – was excelled by the cinema since this experience was enriched by the moving images of certain (actual) places in certain times. Indeed, by entering the cinema, the spectacle is taken a few steps further from that of the panorama and diorama by the visual illusion of movement produced by the projected scenes of real-life happenings.³ Albeit there was an apparent longing for realistic content, the verisimilitude of the projected images/image sequences can be arguable. After the very early experimental works of non-narrative films, ‘*artificially arranged scenes*’ and trick photography encouraged the evolution of narrative content (Abel 2005: 204, emphasis added). By this means, the construction of a narrative – the design of the space on screen, and in some cases, along with the design of the theatre itself (like the train car shown in Figure 2.7) – is fabricated for the audience’s

³ Moving images do not exactly ‘move’ on the cinema screen. The ‘illusion of movement’ is the result of “persistence of vision” – the human eye sees twenty-four images per second and merges those images together into fluid motion. (Dixon and Foster 2008: 1).

amusement. In this manner, the cinema presents; a *virtual form of time and space*, a spectacle of a carefully *controlled and constructed narrative(s)*, and cautiously *structured and fabricated sceneries* that is entirely *staged* and made for *visual consumption*.

The entire display of such moving image attractions (including the panorama and the diorama as well), with an all-pervading visual and sensory illusion of movement and fabricated contents, acts as a *tool of sightseeing*, or as Giuliana Bruno argues ‘*site-seeing*’ (Bruno 2002: 15-16). As such, it offers a ‘*spatiovisual pleasure*’ that the visitor can emotionally engage with and urges to seek (*ibid.*: 171). I would like to highlight an evolution of the kind of physical movement in terms of the visual and sensory attractions, mentioned above. While the panorama engaged the visitor to move around in order to perceive the 360 degree exhibition of still images, the diorama used special effects and moving seats. The cinema further enhanced this spectacle with the projected moving images.

Table 2.1: Summary of identified narrative and spatial experiences – Moving Image attractions

Underlying principles	
Moving Image Attractions	- Imaginary situation that reality prevent one from living
	- True to life, confused with reality
	- All embracing view
	- Experience of being on the very spot
	- Pursuit of maximum optical illusion
	- Aim for visual and physical verisimilitude
	- Lure in verisimilitude or artificiality
	- Artificial elsewhere
	- Virtual travel and virtual mobility
	- Bringing places/cultures to the people
	- Losing judgement of time and space
	- Use of iconic images
	- Knowledge and understanding from books and magazines
	- Mediated images
	- Controlled and structured spectacles
	- Emotional connection
	- Virtual sightseeing
	- Visual narrative
	- Visual consumption
	- Consuming the world through images
	- Placing the <i>world</i> of a locality, time and culture within one's reach
	- Artificially arranged scenes
	- Imitation of reality
	- Virtual form of time and space
- Controlled and constructed narrative	
- Structured and fabricated sceneries	
- Staged	
- Tools of sightseeing /site-seeing	
- Spatiovisual pleasure	

2.2 Urban Utopias

The *architectural manifestation of a utopian society* reaches back to the ancient time. The *polis* with its well-structured community and ideal social order, envisioned by Plato in *The Republic* (c. 380 BCE), was discussed in the previous chapter. He points out that the polis, or the city, is the reflection of the society, and therefore he proposes a definite guideline how it should work in order to eliminate the ‘evil’ and, therefore, deficiency (Plato 380 BCE: 305). Evidently, Plato’s effort was a utopic concept, yet the word utopia was only coined later, in 1516 by Thomas More. Similarly to Plato, More defined the concept of an ideal society in his book, entitled *Utopia* (lit. trans. *no place* or *nowhere*). He gives a picture of a well-defined fictitious island, called *Utopia*, which offers a living space for such an *ideal and well-structured commonwealth*. Figure 2.8 shows More’s illustration of the island.



Figure 2.8: Island of *Utopia* by Thomas More (1516)

Since architecture was used to form the contrived island of *Utopia*, More employs it as a *narrative tool*. He clearly creates a *socio-spatial difference* between the island and its context; the actual world, more specifically, England. The reasons for writing his book are debated. Nonetheless, it is clear that More called the attention and critically assessed the economic and social aspects of his time in Book I, while in Book II he suggested a solution by describing the rules and laws and the way of life on the island (Manuel and Manuel 1979: 122). It is, though, argued that More proposed his concept with an aware of it being unrealistic and unobtainable (see, for instance, Skinner 1986: 124). With other worlds, such idyllic model of commonwealth is understood to only find fulfilment in *nowhere*.

The great urbanisation in the modern era has also resulted in issues that certainly imposed concerns and attention. Modern cities, in addition to featuring unique opportunities to employment, offered a wide range of social interactions and prospects of advancement. The industrial age required not only men to work, but also women to leave behind their role around the household and find employment in order to provide financial support and maintain a sustainable life in the hastily *growing city*. Unquestionably, all the amenities, the social and cultural opportunities of the new economic system draw people into the city leaving the ever-declining countryside and agricultural lands neglected. Figure 2.9 illustrates the total population of urban and rural districts in England and Wales that almost doubled from 1851 to 1901 (Vision of Britain, Census Reports 1911). It clearly shows that the migration in cities nearly tripled the number of inhabitants under urban conditions, and left the rural areas with a scant 23% of the total population by 1901. By this means, the process of industrialisation, and the consequent urbanisation, can be regarded as the key ground for the transition from the agricultural society into an urban society in the 19th century.

Census	Population			Proportion of total population (%)	
	Total	Urban district	Rural district	Urban district	Rural district
1851*	17 927 609	8 990 809	8 936 800	50.2	49.8
1861*	20 066 224	10 960 998	9 105 226	54.6	45.4
1871*	22 712 266	14 041 404	8 670 862	61.8	38.2
1881	25 974 439	17 636 646	8 337 793	67.9	32.1
1891	29 002 525	20 895 504	8 107 021	72.0	28.0
1901	32 527 843	25 058 355	7 469 488	77.0	23.0

* The figures for the aggregate of Urban and Rural areas for the censuses of 1851-1871 are only approximate.

Figure 2.9: Population in England and Wales

The apparent urbanisation and the continuous migration of people into the already overcrowded cities and the increasing tendency of the gap between the urban areas and the countryside became pressing national problems in the United Kingdom as well as in other countries in Europe and the United States. This has certainly called for theoretical debates and practice in the field of not only economics and social studies, but also in urban planning, such as Ebenezer Howard's *Garden City of To-morrow* (1902) and Le Corbusier's *Contemporary City* (1922). In both cases, similarly to More's *Utopia*, Howard and Le Corbusier offer an architectural solution to the perceived problems in the great modern city, which significantly differed from the contextual urban reality in spatial design and socio-economic terms. Some of the places I visited and which are going to be mentioned in my analysis later, exemplify how a sudden growth of population in urban centres pose such great demands that radical and radically new solutions are being sought. In the case of Thames Town in China, for instance, this is expressed by taking foreign narratives, which contradict their spatial and cultural context and which I will illustrate later.

2.2.1 Garden City

In 1902, in his book, entitled *Garden City of To-morrow*, Ebenezer Howard proposed a plan for 'moderate *decentralization* [of the great cities] and corporate socialism' (Fishman 1982: 8, emphasis added). The Garden City was envisioned to offer an answer for the questions of how to keep the population from moving to city centres, London in particular, and how to encourage them to return to agricultural lands in a 'spontaneous and healthy manner' (Howard 1965: 45). As a consequence, the aim was to release the tension from the overpopulated urban environment. Howard, therefore, summarises the good and poor qualities that feature the town as well as the countryside. The town is described as the symbol of society, science, art, culture and religion. At the same time the countryside is understood as the source of life, happiness, wealth and power, and its beauty is regarded as the inspiration of art, music and poetry. However, none of these spatial constructions characterise the perfect living conditions since both comprise deficiencies, either in the form of 'slums and gin places' or lack of social opportunities, amongst other issues. The whole list of issues can be seen in Howard's illustration of *The Three Magnets* in Figure 2.10.

He regards the good qualities as "attractions," which people are drawn to, like needles to a 'magnet' (*ibid.*: 45). In this manner, the good qualities of two magnets, the Town

and the Country, according to Howard, need to be joined together in order to construct the *ideal place for the people to live and work in*. The so-called Town-country magnet in the diagram includes these elements with the intention to benefit from only the best of both and free from their drawbacks (see in Figure 2.10). In view of that, Howard developed the Garden City, as a ‘coherent design for a new environment and a new society,’ in a way in which it holds such magnetic power (Fishman 1982: 28). As ‘*a new hope, a new life, a new civilization,*’ the *novel form of semi-urban spatial settlement* is meant to *provide a vision for the future* of urban-like living by combining all the principles that may not only stop people to migrate to the obsolete congested great city, but also encourage them to return from it (Howard 1965: 48, emphasis added). In this sense, the continuous construction of such carefully planned towns, as Howard suggests, will assist to the *decentralisation*, and ‘*well-ordered communities*’ (*ibid.*: 74, emphasis added). The Garden City, as a novel form of spatial settlement is designed to stand as a self-sufficient, autonomous whole from the great city, meanwhile it still aimed at contributing to the economic stance of the nation.

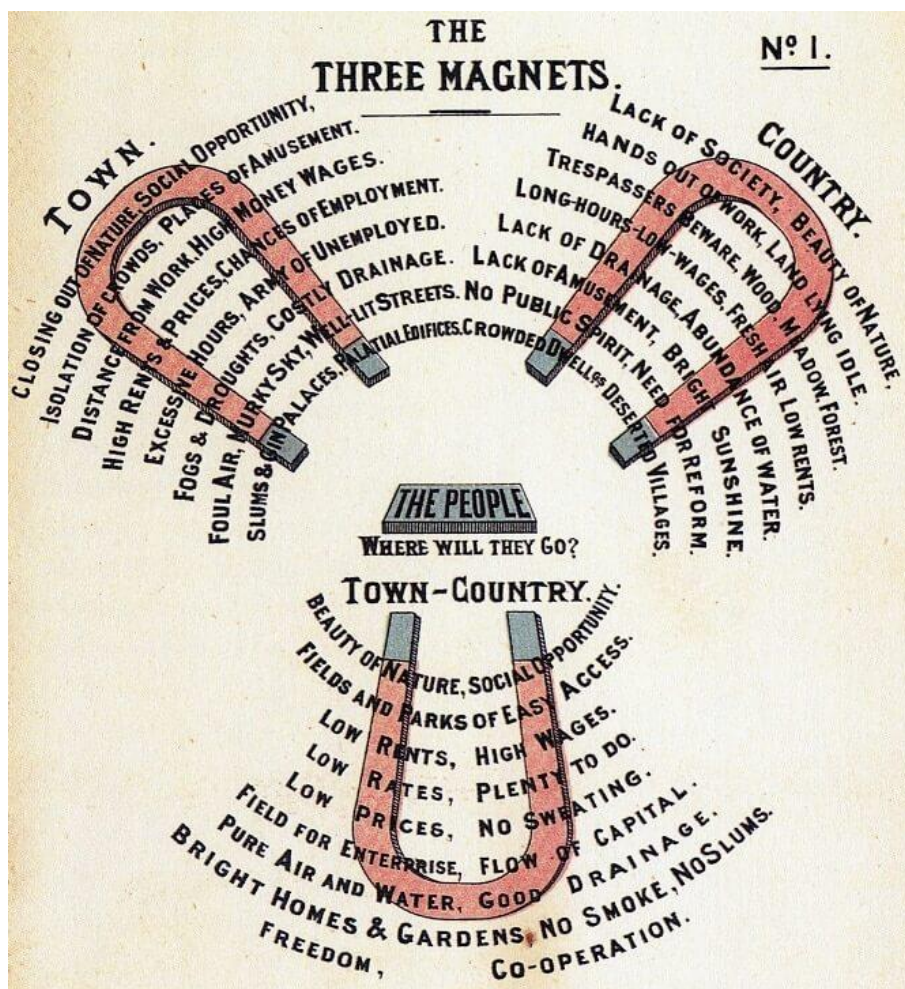


Figure 2.10: *The Three Magnets* by Ebenezer Howard (1902)

The idea of a Garden City was influenced by the model industrial settlements, such as the one that was built in New Lanark, Scotland by Robert Owen (Madanipour 1996: 202). The spatial form of model towns alike followed the ideal cities of the Renaissance, since the “perfect” geometrical forms of circles and squares comply with the spatial structure for the “perfect” (utopian) social order (*ibid.* 203). Howard, too, employs such *narrative tools* of classical arrangements to define the new socio-spatial conditions in his design; symmetry and the clearly defined circular plans pervade the entire scheme (see the diagram in Figure 2.11). In fact, there is a clear image described of how such Garden Cities are spatially arranged including the fixed number of inhabitants, size of lands and even the number and width of avenues and such (Howard 1965: 51-57).

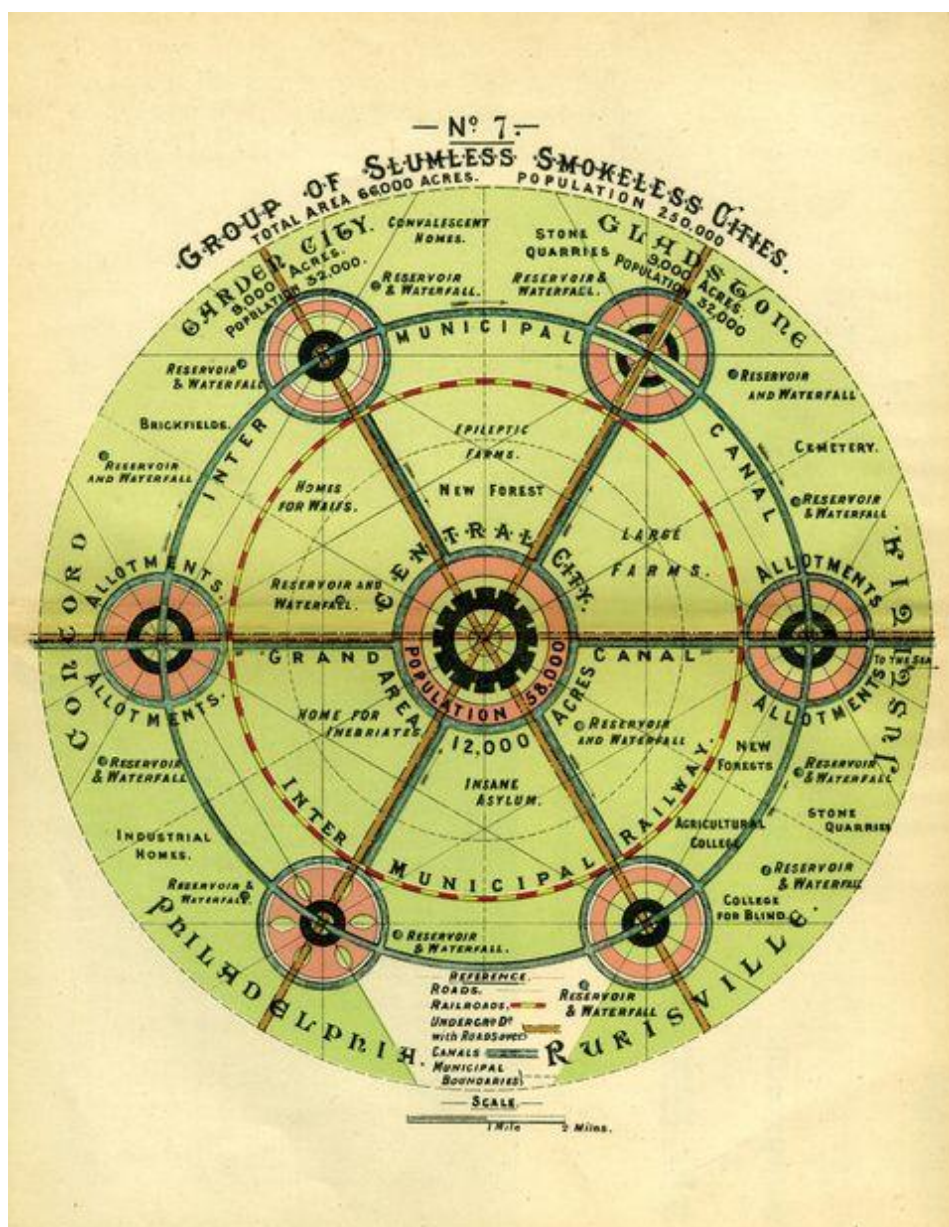


Figure 2.11: Diagram of the Group of Slumless, Smokeless Cities by Ebenezer Howard (1899)

In essence, this highlights, that the architectural manifestation of the ideal social structure is constructed with a high attention to details. The future society embraces a strictly *controlled community* that can only be accommodated in such *specifically organised spatial environment*. On the one hand, these Howardian principles call to mind Plato's vision of the *polis* and More's *Utopia* in the way in which the entire concept is based on a prospect for a *better quality of life* that is realised in a new system and which creates a *socio-spatial difference* to the contemporary circumstances. On the other hand, the approach to the spatial design of Garden Cities evokes the *staged quality* of the Moving Image Attractions, discussed above. The space, that defines the Garden City, is an enclosed arrangement of *carefully structured and highly controlled pieces of (rural- and) townscapes*.⁴ Moreover, it uses tools, such as Classical design approaches, in order to *create narratives* of the perfect way of modern life. Consequently, such *fabricated spatial sequences* offer a *desired stage for the ideal society to inhabit*.

2.2.2 Contemporary City

In view of the existing issues of the overpopulated industrial city centres, Le Corbusier drew an entire opposing vision for the future of the modern cities than the decentralised plans of Howard. Le Corbusier proposed his scheme, the *Contemporary City of Three Million* in 1922, which was further explored in his following works, the *Plan Voisin* (1925) and *La Ville Radieuse (The Radian City, 1930-1935)*, of which plans comprise a thoroughly centralised urban arrangement. He did, too, recognise the pressing problems of the ever growing and overcrowded great modern cities. His fundamental principles included actions to 'de-congest the centres' of the cities, however, he suggested to 'augment their density' in order to reduce distances by means of fully utilising the technological attainments what the modern age's industrialisation gave rise to (Le Corbusier [1929] 1987: 170). Therefore, the conceptual plan included high-rise buildings with elevators, transportation systems and highways for automobiles, elevated pedestrian routes and so forth (see Figure 2.12). Figure 2.13 illustrates Le Corbusier's "ideal type" of an industrial city for "our time" that extends vertically, rather than horizontally as the *Garden City* (Fishman [1977] 1982: 189-190).

⁴ If the population of the Garden City has reached its suggested maximum of 32 000, it can only grow by establishing another city beyond its "country" zones, so that the new city has a zone of itself. In this way, the additional space for the growing population would not destroy the purpose of the concept (Howard 1965: 142).

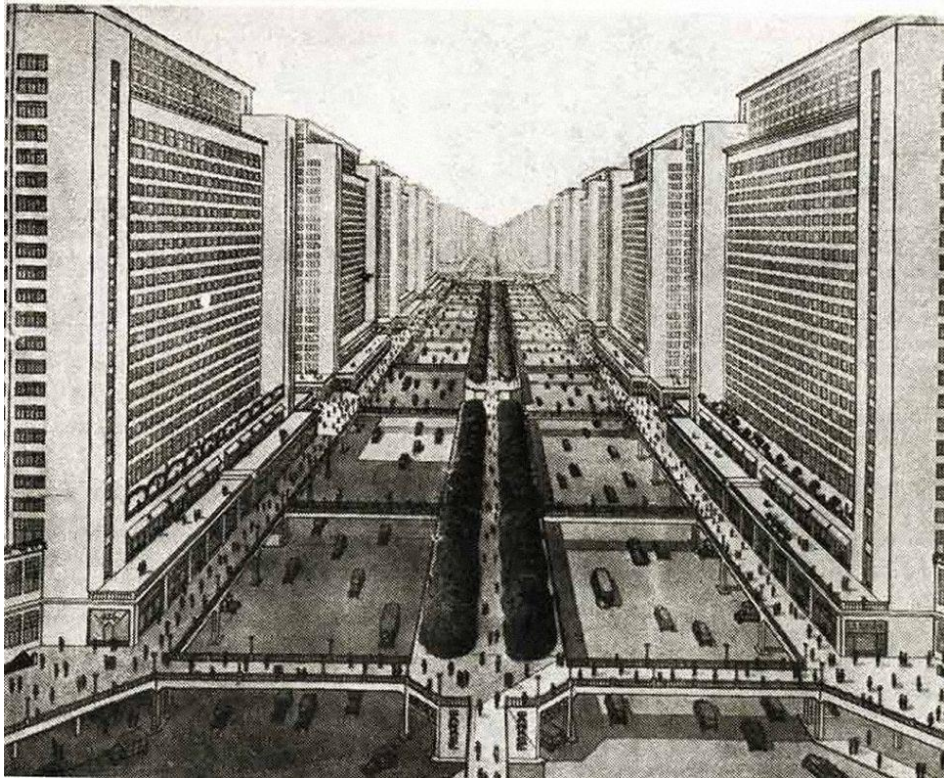


Figure 2.12: Le Corbusier's vision for the modern industrial city (1930)

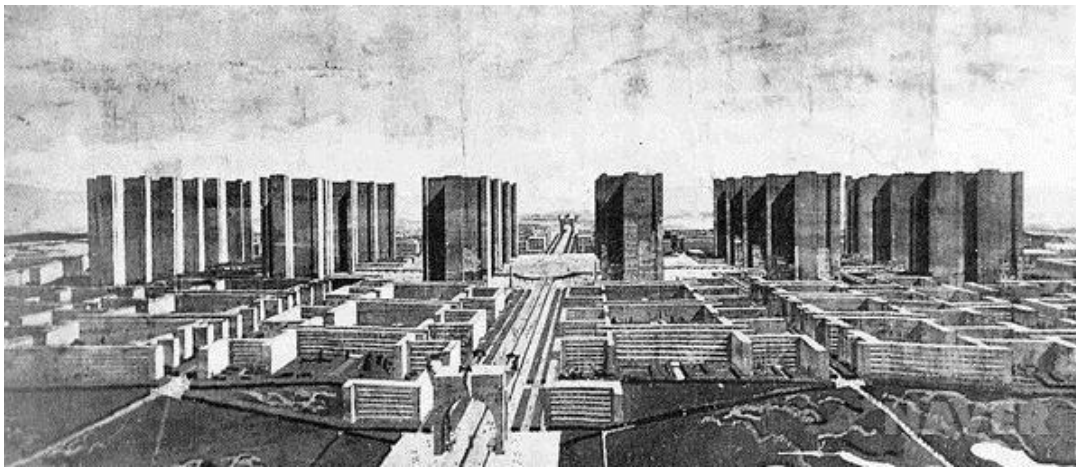


Figure 2.13: The ideal city extends vertically (1922)

More to the point, Le Corbusier argued, similarly to Howard, that the chaotic concentration of cities was not only 'inefficient' and 'inhumane', but also 'unnecessary' (Fishman [1977] 1982: 12-13). He found that the naturally developed city, consequent by the many individual decisions, is a 'thing of the past,' and that in the Machine Age, the 'design of the city is too important' to be left in the hands of the citizens (*ibid.*: 190). In contrast, he suggests that a 'rigorous theory' is necessary to be *implemented by a great power (ibid.)*. He also agreed with Howard about the problem that lays in the lack of geometrical organisation in the city's plan. Therefore, he proposes that a 'uniform

lay-out' need to 'replace the present haphazard arrangements' (Le Corbusier [1929] 1987: 175, italics in original). Essentially, the idea to bring his vision to fruition involved destroying the existing urban landscape and building the new, modern city up from their dust. More precisely, Le Corbusier claims that 'modern town planning comes to birth with new architecture,' and therefore let us 'burn our bridges and *break with the past*' (*ibid.*: xxv, emphasis added). The centralised rigid plan and the purely geometrical order of the visionary modern city, as it is shown in Figure 2.14, is placed on a perfectly flat plain, a *tabula rasa* (Fishman [1977] 1982: 190). This is also not far from the idea of the *narrative tools* of classical arrangements used in the planning of the *Garden City*. Here, the order is also expressed by pure forms, such as the perfectly symmetrical grid of streets, which in effect completely *disregards the past*.

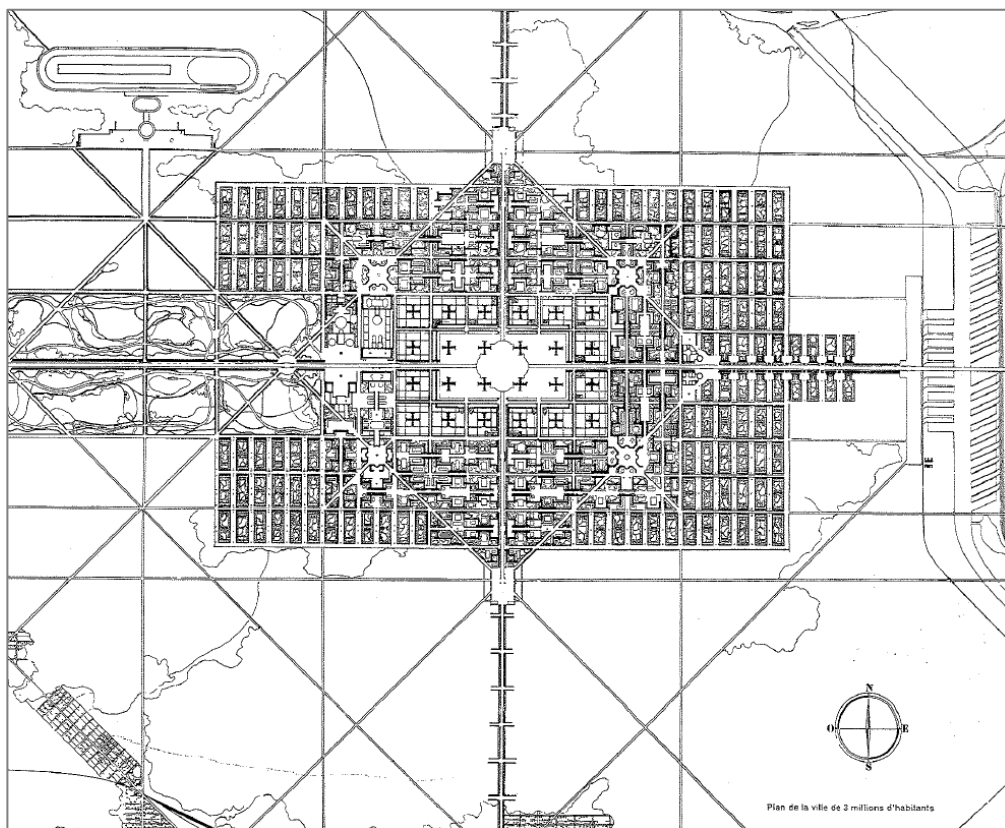


Figure 2.14: Plan for the ideal city by Le Corbusier (1922)

The image of the perfect solution for the ideal city *contradicts* not only the *historical spatial context*, but also the *cultural and social substance*. Nonetheless, this is exactly the way Le Corbusier envisioned the ideal great city that manifests in the *rebuilding of the industrial modern society*. On this subject, planning the ideal society by the use of architectural design and urban planning strategies was discussed above in the case of

Howard's *Garden City*. And as such, the *Contemporary City* also evokes the concepts for the *carefully structured spatial environments* of both Plato and More. In addition, the *staged* quality of the Moving Image Attractions is also relevant in the case of this utopian urban setting. What is more interesting about Le Corbusier's idealistic plan, however, is the fact that it was designed as a completely *class-segregated city*. By this means, the great city is planned to only accommodate the 'citizens' (or with other words, the elite), and to exclude the workers, who spent their time in factories. These people were not expected to come to the city, therefore, for them, surrounded *Garden Cities* were planned to provide places to live in (Le Corbusier [1929] 1987: 166).

It could be argued that the here studied examples of *narrative contradictions* phenomenon, such as the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan* in Shanghai, China, and the *Zaanse Schans*, in the Netherlands, do relate to such *classification of society*. What is interesting here is that each of the schemes similarly included a description of population and their profession, such as the academics to live in the *British* town, engineers in the *German* town or the *Dutch* town, as well as the specific craftsmen to live and work at the *Zaanse Schans*. These will be discussed later in more details.

Table 2.2: Summary of identified narrative and spatial experiences – Urban Utopias

Underlying principles	
Urban Utopias	- Architectural manifestation of society
	- Structuring society, social order
	- No place, nowhere
	- Ideal and well-structured commonwealth
	- Narrative tool
	- Socio-spatial difference, contradiction
	- Concerned with urban population
	- Decentralisation
	- Ideal place to live and work in
	- New hope, new life, new civilization
	- Providing a vision for the future
	- Novel forms of spatial settlement
	- Well-ordered, balanced and controlled community
	- Specifically organised spatial environment
	- Better quality of life
	- Staged
	- Structured and controlled arrangement of pieces of townscapes
	- Create narratives
	- Fabricated spatial sequences
	- Desired stage for inhabitation
	- Plans implemented by a great authority
	- Break with the past
	- Tabula rasa
- Disregarding the past	
- Contradicting the historical spatial context, the cultural and social substance	
- Rebuilding of society	
- Class-segregated city	
- Classification of society	

2.3 World Fairs

The modern era with its technical and industrial innovations gave rise to the event of fairs, where novelties in manufactured products were on display. This tradition originates from the 1798's trade fair that was held in Paris. The first national exposition, the French Industrial Exposition, took place also in Paris in 1844. From then on, similar fairs were organised by other countries as well, initially only on a national level, which soon grew to be sprawling events on a global level. The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, held at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851, is considered to be the first (international) world fair. Fundamentally, such events gave a great opportunity to showcase the current innovations and manufactured products, the advancement of firms and creators, and ultimately the progress of the participating nations. Over the course of time, however, the nature of these exhibitions has gone through several changes. Penelope Harvey debates that there was a gradual process in the move from the display of technological inventions to the '*display of the nation itself*' (Harvey 1996: 100, emphasis added).

Tjaco Walvis suggests that world fairs can be categorised into three eras from 1851 (Walvis 2004). Accordingly, the first era of "industrialisation" starts with The Great Exhibition in 1851. The New York World Fair in 1939 marks the beginning of the second era, namely the "cultural exchange," which is then followed by the era of "national branding" with the Expo '92 in Seville in 1992 (*ibid.*). In this chapter, however, I would like to carry his concept further in relation to my research. These events can signify slightly different aspects taking into consideration the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. Beside the celebration of industrial achievements, The Great Exhibition in London can be considered as the first event for *cultural exchange* since it offered a meeting point for *several different nations under one roof* for the first time in the history of world fairs. New York World Fair was the first exposition that looked into the future and was based on the motto: 'the world of tomorrow'. Therefore, the exhibitors and their pavilions proposed *visionary and fantastic environments* throughout the fairgrounds. Finally, the Expo '92 in Seville marks the beginning of the era of *national branding*, as Walvis suggested above. In view of the *narrative contradictions*, these three events define different eras in the history of world fairs:

- Cultural exchange
- Visionary and fantastic environments
- National branding

Before I discuss the three related events in more detail, I would like to also highlight that world fairs have an important role in shaping our built environment (see, for instance, Sorkin 1992, Sharp 2002, and Leinberger 2009). Pavilions and the organisation of the fairgrounds are the architectural manifestations of the current social, cultural and economic conditions, whether they portray a novel technological innovation, project the future, or even aim to improve national image. There are fairs that were seen to recall former urban design theories (such as the Futurama exhibit at the New York World Fair, which will be discussed later), and in the same way they were able to prompt architectural movements (for example the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition encouraged the City Beautiful movement). Moreover, Michael Sorkin argues that world fairs are the 'most direct ancestors' of theme parks as well, more precisely, Disneyland (Sorkin 1992: 208). In this regard, in several aspects mentioned above, they can be also considered as precursors to the phenomena of *narrative contradictions* when considering the case studies, for instance Thames Town and the other towns in the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan* in China, as well as Zaanse Schans and the Smurf Village. These aspects will be discussed later in my thesis.

2.3.1 Cultural exchange

The first world fair, held in London in 1851, was prompted by the success of the Industrial Exposition of 1844 in Paris. Watson and Rappaport regard the full title of the fair, The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, as hugely ambitious in its concept (Watson and Rappaport 2013: 207). After the difficult decades of political and social upheaval in Europe, the event aimed to promise a better future and better cooperation between nations, as the exhibition welcomed exhibitors from all around the world. It provided a platform for manufacturers worldwide to showcase their industrial achievements at their best. However, according to Kishlansky *et. al.*, the principal objective of the fair itself was for 'Great Britain [to make] clear to the world its role as industrial leader' (Kishlansky *et. al.* 2008: 684). Likewise, the event showcased Britain's new empire with exhibits from India, Australia, and New Zealand. At that time, organising such a grand global event was an adept way to showcase one's aptitude and domination, and in this case, the British industrial hegemony.⁵

⁵ It is not an uncommon practice to showcase one's power with great pieces of architecture since the ancient times, and today this practice has grown to include pieces of districts or even entire urban areas. This will be discussed later.

The exhibition was organised by Prince Albert, the consort of Queen Victoria, and was held at the brand new, purpose built Crystal Palace in the Hyde Park in London. The building, shown in Figure 2.15, was designed by Sir Joseph Paxton. The unique, multi-storey structure can be regarded as a revolutionary architectural achievement; the architectural realisation of the industrial developments. The recent invention of cast plate glass allowed the assembly of large sheets of glass walls. In fact, the Crystal Palace, this temporary edifice, was the largest enclosed space constructed from such glass modules at its time, and required no interior lightning. The Crystal Palace by itself formed a novel building typology.



Figure 2.15: The Crystal Palace (1851)

Moreover, with its cast-iron and plate-glass structure, the building itself, not only was promoting the advanced technology of the industrial era, but also showed the significance of the exhibition itself (Ffrench 1950: 201). Indeed, the entire exhibition with all its spectacles could be seen as the celebration of contemporary technology and design of the modern industrial era. The Crystal Palace was intended to accommodate all exhibitors of several nations with different cultures in this isolated monumental architectural space only for the event of the global exhibition (see in Figure 2.16).



Figure 2.16: Showcasing all the nations at the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace (1851)

In his inaugural speech, Prince Albert emphasised the social and cultural factor of the industrial modern era, and consequently, of the fair:

‘[...] The distance which separated the different nations and parts of the globe are rapidly vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and we can traverse them with incredible ease; the languages of all nations are known, and their acquirement placed within the reach of everybody. [...] The products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have only to choose which is the best and the cheapest for our purposes, and the powers of production are entrusted to the stimulus of competition and the capital.’ (Prince Albert 1851, cited in Sorkin 1992: 209, emphasis added)

On the one hand, this highlights that the event (at the Crystal Palace) broke down such cultural and geographical distances and suggests the beginning of cultural openness; it brought together the state of the art in science and technology from different nations all

around the world displaying them side by side, within one singular architectural space.⁶ It deliberately gave ground for different cultures to be able to come together, connect and ultimately merge. On the other hand, such exhibitions also raise the ‘spirit of international competition’ (Harvey 1996: 100). They set a competitive mind in a way in which participants were impelled to showcase their finest and worthy products, and prove that they have the skill and the ability to complete such products and to compete on a global level. Unquestionably, the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations can be regarded as a momentous event of which primary subject was to celebrate the thriving modern industrial era and to indicate the importance of the apparent technological achievements. In view of the above, it became, indeed, clear that the first global exhibition marked the beginning of a series of events that encouraged nations to trade and where different cultures could congregate at the same place and at the same time. It emphasised its social significance and encouraged cultural exchange.

2.3.2 Visionary and fantastic environments

At the New York World Fair of 1939-1940, innovations still played an important part. However, Walvis argues, that the main subject of the exhibition began to change (Walvis 2004). After the First World War and the Great Depression, the world fair intended to give hope to a better, prosperous and peaceful future. The event grounded a ‘specific theme of *cultural* significance’ and opened a new perspective in addressing issues of mankind (*ibid.*, italics in original). The exhibition showed the prospect of the future and promised to take the visitors to see *The World of Tomorrow* (the original title of the world fair’s theme in 1939). By this time the form of the venue for such exhibitions also had changed. It had grown from a singular building to an entire site comprising a variety of pavilions arranged thematically. An image of the various pavilions at the site of the New York World Fair is pictured in Figure 2.17.

⁶ Soon, world fairs have grown out of one singular building, and the exhibitors of different nations showcased their achievements in and through temporary pavilions, and even through urban segments during the exhibition.



Figure 2.17: New York World Fair (1939)

Sorkin gives a clear description on the evolution and architectural importance of these temporary structures as they developed with the growing fairs over the time:

‘From the first, these structures, while impermanent, *competed in architectural extravagance*. And, as the scope of the fairs grew, the ordering and connection of these elements assumed paramount importance. Reaching the *scale and density of small cities*, the fairs also became *models*, adopted *visionary urbanism* as an aspect of their agendas, both offering themselves as models of urban organization and providing, within their pavilions, *panoramic visions of even more advanced cities to come*. The crucial role played by movement systems within the enlarging fairs was not simply a product of necessity but a *paradigm for physical relations in the modern city*.’ (Sorkin 1992: 210, emphasis added)

His words are particularly relevant at the New York World Fair. Pavilions and even segments of urban settings featured utopian themes and visionary spatial sceneries; they were the architectural manifestations of the rosy future (see Figure 2.18 and Figure 2.19).

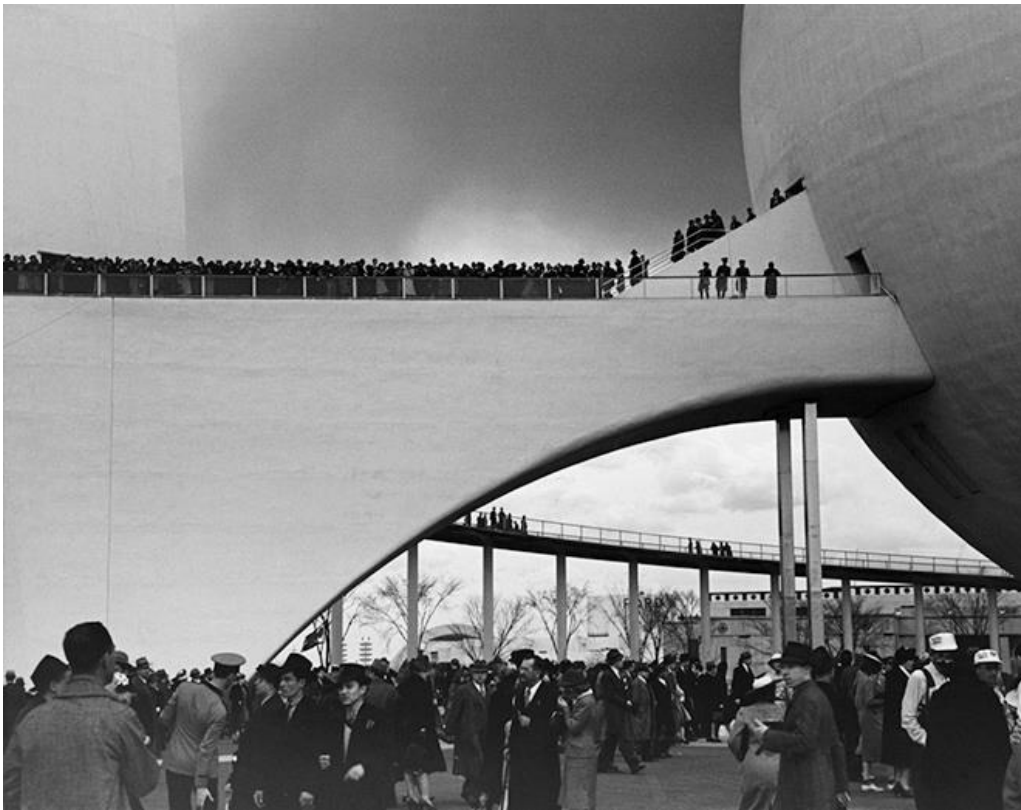


Figure 2.18: The Perisphere (it had its own model city of the future presented inside, 1939)

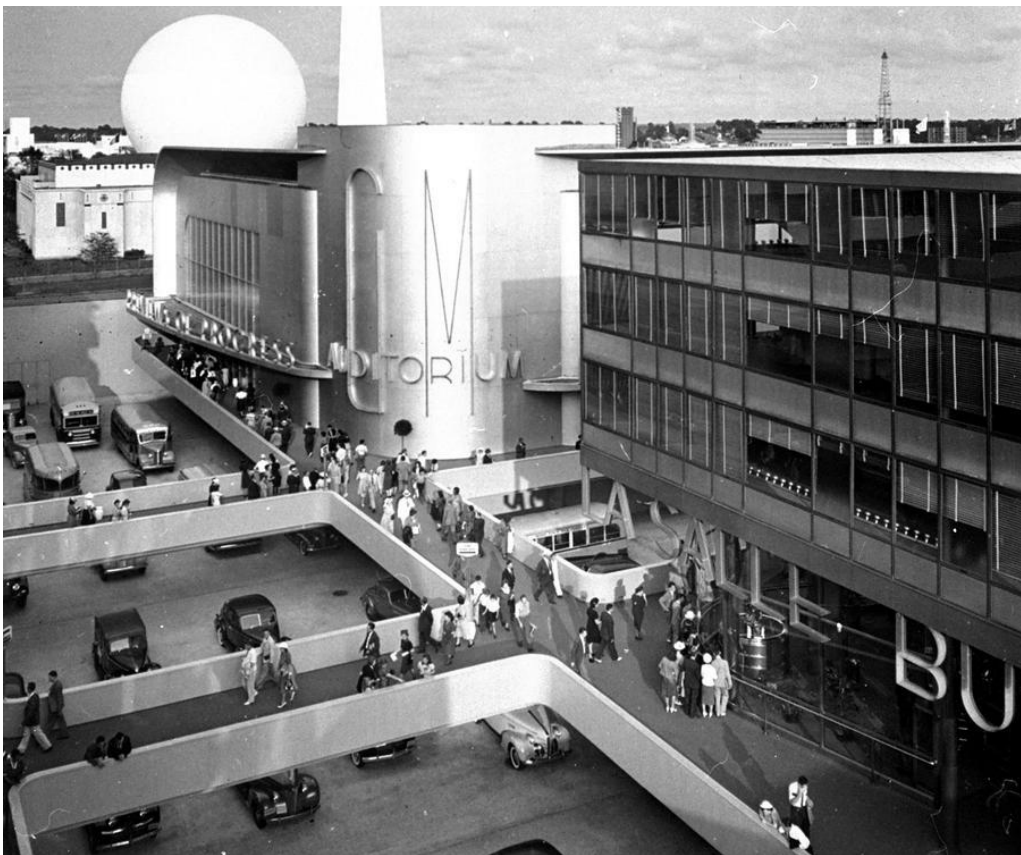


Figure 2.19: General Motors' Pavilion, designed by Norman Bel Geddes (1939)

The exhibit included models of a full-size street intersection with separated pedestrian route ways, moving walkways and escalators.

In addition to the above-mentioned, the event gave place for two grandiose exhibits. Each illustrated a visionary and fantastic environment and depicted a harmonious way of life. One of them was showcased inside the Perisphere pavilion, shown in Figure 2.20. The other one was designed by Norman Bel Geddes for the General Motors' *Futurama* exhibit. A short documentary, *To New Horizons* (1940), was produced for this event in which Geddes's utopian spatial scene was referred to as the 'Wonder World of 1960' (The Jam Handy Organization 1940). Figure 2.21 shows the exhibition ride displaying the miniature prototype of the future world. Sorkin argues that these models embodied the two indispensable ideas of order for future cities: 'movement and the garden' (Sorkin 1992: 213). Indeed, the model city in the Perisphere recalls Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept. In the same way, the 'Wonder World of 1960' evokes the Le Corbusian version of ideal city, where the then current inventions – such as skyscrapers, as well as automobiles and escalators – are crucial features for the modern urban living.

These models and the way it was delivered were 'entirely different than any society ever built in history' (Leinberger 2009: 21). They gave *hope for the future* by projecting an image of the way people could live, work and play. However, the spectacle did not stop there; pavilions even aimed to contribute to empirical and physical experiences. As a stage to *play* future urban living, these mock-up cities were able to be walked through, their size and volume could be experienced, their materials could be touched, and so forth. By this means, the exhibit helped demonstrating that this vision could come true (Leinberger 2009: 19). Visitors to the fair were able to take for instance, a ten-minute ride going around and overlooking the model of the 'Wonder World of 1960' and then they were emerged into a full-sized replica of the urban sections from the plan they had just seen. This instant transition from being a *spectator* to being a *visitor* at the portrayed city of the future is striking here. This shift was already discussed in the cases of Moving Image Attractions, however, such pavilions at the fair were not simply places for entertainment, but these *visionary and fantastic environments* were designed to project the forthcoming prosperous future, in which 20 years ahead these *visitors* might well be living their everyday life.



Figure 2.20: City of future, inside the Perisphere (1939)



Figure 2.21: 'Wonder World of 1960' – General Motors' *Futurama* exhibit (1939)

2.3.3 National branding

Marketing has raised its head at the event of world fairs; for example, in the way in which the American General Motors Company advertised their automobiles at the aforementioned *Futurama* exhibition (see, for instance, the model city, the pavilion and the documentary by The Jam Handy Organization 1940). Burton Benedict argues that ‘the growth of multi-national corporations vitiated the character of World’s fairs’ and highlights that the ‘pavilions of multi-nationals grew at the expense of general exhibit halls, state and even national pavilions’ (Benedict 1983:60). For this reason, he notes that ‘World’s fairs were turning into trade fairs’ (*ibid.*). In this sense, pavilions of the exhibiting participants and nations became tools for *advertising campaigns*. Even though the Universal Exposition, the Expo `92, held in Seville in 1992, was ‘officially promoted as a cultural event rather than a trade fair’, Benedict’s statement was still relevant in other means (Harvey 1996: 60). The pavilions were attributed for advertising campaigns: perhaps not for products of multinational corporations (in every case), but for national identity and presence. According to Walvis, exhibiting countries have started to use such fairs ‘more strongly as a platform to *improve national image*’ and this was seen more intensely from the Expo `92 onwards (Walvis 2004, emphasis added). In fact, research has shown that the primary participation goal for countries at the fair was to improve national image (see, for instance, Harvey 1996). In such manner, *national branding* has become an utmost fundamental element of exhibitions at world fairs.

Penelope Harvey provides a great discussion on the participating nations and highlights the ways and reasons they *promoted their national culture, tradition and identity* (Harvey 1996: 50-98). For instance, the Expo offered Britain to show ‘a powerful new Image to the world: an image of an inventive, creative, original and modern nation’ (*ibid.*: 63). Similarly, John Urry notes that ‘exhibitions [like the Seville Expo] operate as a technology of nationhood, providing narrative possibilities for the imagining of national cultures and indeed the national “brand”’ (Urry 2002: 136). He argues that nation states are represented as ‘repositories of stability, continuity, uniqueness and harmony’ by the use of powerful *images, symbols and icons* (*ibid.*, emphasis added). This was particularly a central theme in the cases of the so-called new nations, like, for instance, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Such post satellite states of the Soviet Union, as new individual countries, took the opportunity to present their nations at their best with the intention to establish a sense of their state and ‘European presence’, and therefore to

encourage and ‘promote new economic connections’ and ‘political interests’ (Harvey 1996: 65, 85-91).

The Hungarian pavilion, designed by Imre Makovecz, comprised a montage of such images, symbols and icons that are placed together in order to create a unified whole. These national trademarks are, however, reductionists as they only provide reference points to the original objects or subjects. Also, such symbolic identifiers seize onto narratives that proposed links to, for instance, cultural heritage, historical events and their importance, such as the seven towers or the features of the main entrance (see in Figure 2.22).⁷ These spectacles aimed to comply with the general knowledge, so as to be recognised, moreover, to engage the visitor. At the fair, other nations also utilised such tools of symbolism in the design of their pavilions and exhibitions. Only to mention a few, for instance, the Chinese and Moroccan gates can be highlighted here that are shown in Figure 2.23.



Figure 2.22: The Hungarian Pavilion by Imre Makovecz (1992)

⁷ The seven towers represent the chieftains of the seven tribes who are believed to unite and found the Hungarian nation in 895. Above the entrance is the wing-like decoration that refers to the *Turul*, a mythological bird of prey. It is known as a national symbol of Hungarians.



Figure 2.23: The Chinese Pavilion (left) and the Moroccan Pavilion (right) at the Expo '92

Harvey notes that ‘material representations of national achievements and attributes were [also] the commonplaces of the expo displays’, such as the Australian and Brazilian pieces of rainforests and tropical environments, the Chilean iceberg from the Antarctic, or even ceremonies including folkloric performances which encouraged the ‘display of national dress and national dance’ (Harvey 1996: 54-55).

Another point I would like to highlight here, is that since the fair mustered nations from around the world with all their pavilions, which were references to their countries by the use of iconic images and symbols, these *mediated spaces* created borders, which visitors to the fair were able to cross. By this means, people were able to pay a visit to one *country* and ‘cross national borders’ then enter to another one, or two, or all, in the matter of few hours in the course of the fair (Urry 2002: 136). In this sense, this phenomenon indicates, once again, a shift, in this case, from being a *visitor* to the fair to being a *tourist* to the countries of the world. Moreover, a special Exhibition Passport could be obtained at the fair with collectible stamps at each pavilion, which only added to the *tourist experience* (see in Figure 2.24).



Figure 2.24: Exhibition passport

What is even more interesting, perhaps, is the idea that holding a *passport* sort of suggests that people gained a *citizenship* of a *fictional realm* within the world fair and became part of a *fictional society*. Consequently, world fairs, like the Expo `92, of which particular objective was to showcase the theme of national image and where pavilions featured a dense display of iconic images and symbols referring to as national brands, create a sense of a *World* as a *constructed, well-defined and enclosed milieu* within our actual world.

Table 2.3: Summary of identified narrative and spatial experiences – World Fairs

Underlying principles	
World Fairs	- Showcasing
	- Ways of showcasing domination (industrial)
	- Industrial hegemony
	- Set a competitive mind, international competition
	- Cultural openness
	- Cultural exchange
	- Different cultures in one place
	- Architectural extravagance
	- Visionary urbanism
	- Hope for the future
	- Fantastic environments
	- Improve national image
	- Display of nations
	- National branding
	- Advertising campaign
	- Symbolism
	- Mediated spaces
	- Tourist experience
	- Citizenship of a fictional realm
- Fictional society	
- Constructed, well-defined and enclosed milieu	

CHAPTER THREE

THAMES TOWN

In this chapter I will investigate the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* by a comprehensive examination of the case study, Thames Town. The first part of the chapter will look into the contextual environment in Songjiang District, in which Thames Town is situated. To begin with, this study will offer a brief historical summary of the region. Then, I will focus on the spatial setting in the context of *vernacular architecture, historical sites and contemporary architectural developments*.

The second part of the chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the case study itself. As was mentioned before, the investigation will be set around the systematic framework that embraces the three key aspects, *architecture, narratives and people*. In a similar way, I will follow this structure in the next two chapters in which I examine the case studies of Zaanse Schans (Chapter 4) and Smurf Village (Chapter 5).

3.1 Spatial Context of Thames Town

Illustration below shows the geographical location of Thames Town within the context of Songjiang District (Figure 3.1). Highlighted sites, amongst another few, will be discussed in more details in the following sections.

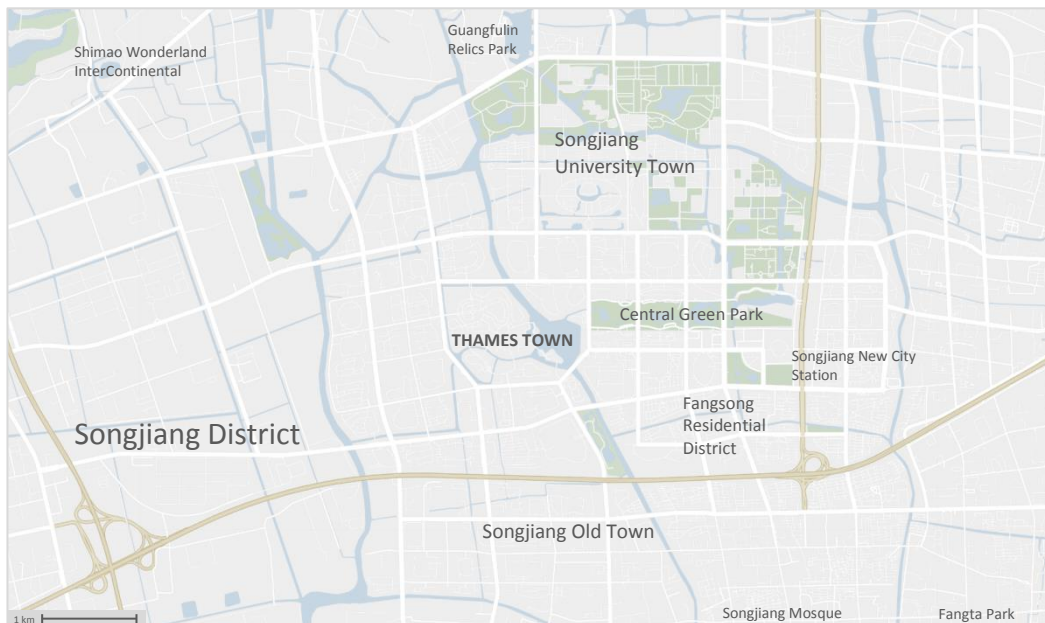


Figure 3.1: Illustration of geographical context – Thames Town

3.1.1 Historical summary of Songjiang District

Thames Town is part of the major urban development plan, Songjiang New City (2001-2012), located in the Songjiang District (commonly referred to as Songjiang).¹ It is a south-western satellite town of the Shanghai Municipality in eastern China. This area of Shanghai has a rich history that reaches back to the prehistoric times. In fact, the nearby archaeological sites reveal that the earliest human activities date back to about 7000 years ago. These earliest residents of Shanghai settled in today's area of Songjiang and the neighbouring District of Qingpu developing Neolithic cultures, including Majiabang, Songze, Liangzhu and Guangfulin (see, for instance, the Guangfulin Relics Park and the Songze Ancient Culture Relics Site). Further to this point, Harry den Hartog highlights that the former town of Songjiang has 'a history that goes back further than the old city of Shanghai' (den Hartog 2010: 122). Daniel Harper phrases in a way, that Songjiang was flourishing while 'Shanghai was still a dream in an opium trader's eye' (Harper 2007: 277). Likewise, Shelly Bryant states that, 'in search for Shanghai's earliest history, the eye naturally turns to Songjiang' (Bryant 2016: 24). Indeed, as a town it was not only earlier and better established than Shanghai, but it is also seen as the 'birthplace for Shanghai's history and culture' (Yueran *et. al.* 2010: 359).

The *Encyclopaedia of Shanghai* offers a more comprehensive historical summary of this area from its earliest times to date (*ibid.*: 358-360). Accordingly, Songjiang is also known as Yunjian, Rongcheng and Gushui. In the ancient times the area was called Huating, of which first historical record was dated 219 of the Eastern Han dynasty.² Figure 3.2 shows the early settlements around Shanghai. It became an independent county in 751 of the Tang dynasty under the name of Huating, and was part of modern-day Zhejiang Province. Then, during the Yuan dynasty, in 1277 it was raised to prefecture status. The next year, in 1278, its name was changed to Songjiang Prefecture.

¹ Songjiang and Songjiang District should not be confused with the former Province of Songjiang located in the area of today's Heilongjiang and Jilin Province in North East China between 1945 and 1954.

² For the timeline of Chinese dynasties, refer to Appendix 3.



Figure 3.2: Early settlements of Shanghai

Around that time, Shanghai developed from a fishing village to a market town, and in 1291, it became officially a county administered by Songjiang Prefecture. During the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1912) dynasties Songjiang originally was a major source of grain revenues, then it grew to be the centre for cotton production and textile industry. As such, it was regarded as a significant contributor to the economy, and was considered a ‘superior prefecture’ as an important asset of the entire Chinese Empire (The Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014). Besides, its natural attributes with ‘abundant rivers, creeks and hills make for a wonderful landscape’ and attracted many ‘famous scholars and men of letters’ (Yueran *et. al.* 2010: 359). However, since Shanghai developed into one of the most important sea ports in the area, the customs office for Jiangsu Province was moved from Songjiang to Shanghai in 1732 that left Songjiang in a less advantageous position. As a result of the foreign concessions between 1845 and 1943, Shanghai became even more prominent. All the foreign settlements, British, American, and French, designated their zones nearby the old town of Shanghai (see map in Figure 3.3).

During this time, Shanghai garnered an extensive list of epithets (Denison and Guang 2006: 14). On the one hand, the sprawling exotic city was denoted as the *Paris of the*

East, New York of the Far East, Queen of Eastern Settlements, City of Palaces, and many others, inferring its significance, lustre and multicultural attribute. On the other hand, however, it was also referred to as the *Whore of the Orient* that more likely implied the shady, depraved and corrupt side of the decadent metropolis. In the meantime, Songjiang became to be an interest of the wealthy classes as it boasts the only mountainous area in the entire region, namely the Sheshan Hill (den Hartog 2010: 122). For instance, it was chosen as the site for the Basilica Minor of St Mary to be built by the French, more commonly known as the Sheshan Basilica. At the end of the Imperial Era in 1912, the prefecture designation of Songjiang was abolished and Huating County was established in its place. Two years later, the county was once again renamed to Songjiang and was placed under the jurisdiction of Jiangsu Province. After the liberation of China, in 1949, the area came to be also known as Songjiang Special District. Songjiang was separated from Jiangsu Province in 1958, when it was assigned under the administration of Shanghai Municipality as Songjiang County (Yueran *et. al.* 2010: 358). The plan was to incorporate Songjiang as an industrial satellite town accommodating a target population of 360 000, which was essentially unsuccessful due to lack of funds for non-productive investments and little progress in urban construction. However, in the 1980s Songjiang economy took off as a result of a range of market-oriented reforms (Shen 2011: 110).

Later, in 1998, the State Council of the central government approved it to be a district and today's Songjiang District was established governing six sub-districts, eleven towns, four township-level administrations, 185 neighbour committees and 86 village committees (as of 2013 according to the Government of Songjiang District 2014; and the Administrative Divisions 2015). Today, it is considered as not only a major industrial base, with municipal- and district-level industrial parks, as well as a national export-processing zone, but also a major academic centre. In fact, as a result of the newly established Songjiang University Town, founded in 2000, den Hartog refers to Songjiang as "a cradle for the elite" (den Hartog 2010: 122). In addition to Thames Town, this project was part of the Songjiang New City urban development project, which also includes the refurbishment of the Old Town of Songjiang, road networks, industrial centres, recreational parks, residential and governmental zones.

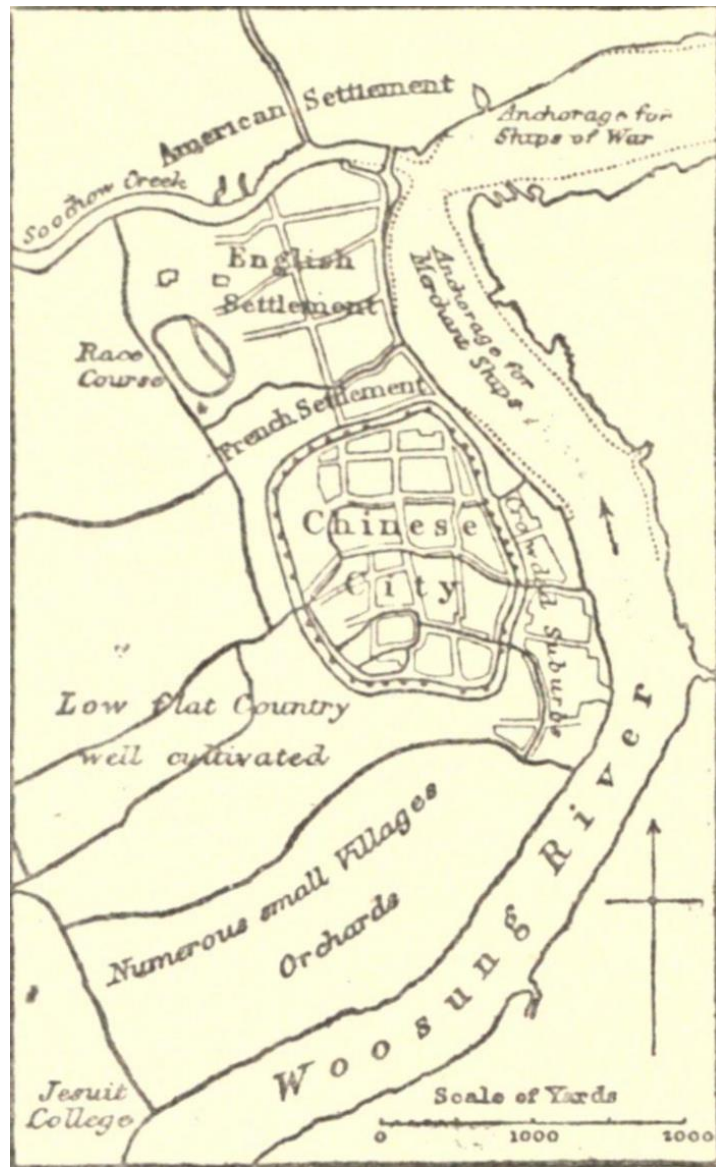


Figure 3.3: Shanghai (c. 1886)

This short historical background of Songjiang highlights that this area is not a modern district of Shanghai that offered a place as a “test bed” for contemporary urban development projects, such as Thames Town. Rather, it holds a remarkable piece from the Chinese history, a place that gave home to several prehistoric cultures, and which from a world leading megacity developed, namely, Shanghai. These were unexpected, yet important findings for my study into the architectural and cultural contextual environment of Thames Town. In the following, first, I will look into the *vernacular architecture*. Then I will study the *historical sites*, as well as the architectural impact of the foreign cultures and concession in the region of Songjiang. Ultimately, I will focus on the more current practices and examine the *contemporary architectural developments* and in the near context of Thames Town.

3.1.2 Vernacular architecture in Songjiang District

By investigating the traditional and vernacular architectural features in the region of Songjiang, the local and nearby archaeological sites can lend assistance. In fact, the Jiangnan region, the area around the Yangzi delta and Hangzhou Bay are particularly rich in archaeological sites. As was mentioned above, relics belonging not only to a single cultural phase, but to several different cultures, have been unearthed throughout modern day's Shanghai. Solely the District of Songjiang, for instance, gave home to four unique Neolithic cultures, which will be discussed below, including the Majiabang, Songze, Liangzhu and the most recently delineated, and debated, Guangfulin Culture. Therefore, the Guangfulin Relics Park, covering more than 5000 m² near Thames Town in Songjiang District, as well as the Songze, and Fuquanshan excavation sites in Qingpu District are important in this matter. In addition to the numerous archaeological sites in Shanghai, there are many others in the close vicinity. For instance, along with possibly the most extensive and illustrious Liangzhu Archaeological Site in Hangzhou located in Zhejiang Province, which is on the Tentative List for the UNESCO World Heritage (UNESCO 2013). There are numerous excavation sites found in the neighbouring Jiangsu Province as well, such as, the Chenghu site in Suzhou, the Caoxieshan site in Wuxian, and the Chuodun site in Kunshan. These historic sites not only indicate the region's rich cultural significance, but also shed light onto the vernacular architecture of the prehistoric Chinese Civilization.

▪ Majiabang and Songze (5050-3350 BCE)

The earliest culture currently known in the region of today's Shanghai Municipality is the Majiabang. Remains and architectural artefacts were found at the Songze, and Fuquanshan Ancient Culture Relic Sites located in today's Qingpu District, both about 20 km north from Thames Town in Songjiang District. This late Neolithic culture existed in the lower reaches of the Yangzi River, predominantly around the Lake Taihu and flourished from around 5050 BCE to 3350 BCE. However, the later phase of this age, dating from 3950 BCE to 3350 BCE, is now considered as a separate cultural period and referred to as Songze Culture (Wang 2001: 206). Nevertheless, this indicates that the earliest residential places in today's Shanghai, settlements explicitly proximate to Thames Town, belong to the Majiabang culture. Moreover, archaeological remains from the later period, namely the Songze, were also discovered at the Guanfulin Relics Park in Songjiang, about five kilometres from Thames Town.

Wang Hai Ming delineates a descriptive summary on the cultural aspects and features of this cultural era (including the early and late periods) in the *Encyclopedia of Prehistory* (Wang 2001: 206-221, see also Chang and Goodenough 1996: 45-47). Accordingly, Majiabang villages were built on naturally high grounds or artificial fill raised marshes and intertidal littoral zones near rivers and ponds. The housing was initially a raised, hollow column style construction in the early period of Majiabang, but later during the Songze phase, ground-level structures were primary. There were two types regarding the formal attributes: a smaller, round hut with pointed roof covering an area of approximately 6 m², in addition to a larger, rectangular structure with sloping, inverted “V” style roof, that had an area of about 20 m². Typically, conch shells, red-fired earth with gravel and pottery shards fill were used as for the floor to protect them from moisture. The wall frames were constructed from bamboo and rushes with grass-mud mixture spread on the outside walls. The roof was made of cogon grass as well as rushes (Wang 2001: 206-207). Chang and Goodenough point out that the Yangzi River, as a major highway of trading and population movement, required rather advanced boat constructions. They argue that house building, carpentry and joinery from this culture were of a kind that could have easily fashioned seaworthy vessels (Chang and Goodenough 1996: 45-46). This highlights that the Majiabang as well as the Songze building techniques were relatively sophisticated in their time.

▪ **Liangzhu (3350-2400 BCE)**

The Majiabang culture (including the Songze period) was succeeded by the Liangzhu culture existing between circa 3350 BCE and 2400 BCE. Actually, Charles Higham highlights that excavations carried out at the Songze site revealed a ‘sequence,’ or more precisely a lineage, which initiated with the Majiabang culture, progressed through the Songze period and finished with the transition to the Liangzhu culture (Higham 1996: 66; see also Wang 2001: 206). There is no wonder then that this culture feature similarities along with more advanced attainments. Similarly, to their Majiabang ancestors, typical Liangzhu villages were built at riversides and lacustrine lowlands. Likewise, archaeological relics of boats and oars signify their proficiency of watercraft. Architectural remains feature traces of probable wooden bridges, embankment along the river margin, as well as houses built on wooden piles against possible flooding. On the contrary, however, semi-subterranean houses with thatched roofs were also revealed most particularly on higher ground level (Higham 2004: 198). In accordance with the

model village based on the excavations at the Longnan site near Shanghai, houses were furnished with a small round earthwork table and a damp-proof sleeping pit padded by eleven layers of reeds and clay. Such settlements also included sacrificial pits, a kitchen pit including a stove and pottery cooking vessels, a storage cellar and a well (see at the Shanghai Qingpu Museum).

Probably the most remarkable site featuring the Liangzhu culture is the aforementioned Liangzhu Archaeological Site in Hangzhou, which is expected to become a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is located approximately 150 km south-west from Thames Town. The site complex has revealed city walls enclosing an area of 1800 by 1600 meters, which makes the Liangzhu site the largest Neolithic walled settlement area in China known up to date. For that reason, it is regarded as a “city” or rather the *capital city* of the Liangzhu “kingdom” (Underhill 2013: 577-578). The area covers about 290 hectares, yet historic remains were found densely in the surrounding area of 700 hectares. The city was built in a roughly rectangular shape with round corners and was surrounded by clay walls. So far there have been a total of six gates found, all of which are waterway entrances that linked to an advanced water network inside as well as outside of the city. Two gates were located on each, south, east and north side of the wall (UNESCO 2013). An illustration of the ancient city is shown in Figure 3.4. While this particular ancient city is located approximately 150 km south-west from Thames town, there are about 300 other excavation sites belonging to the Liangzhu culture, and many of which are distributed through the lower Yangzi delta, including Shanghai city area, such as the Fuquanshan site in addition to the Guangfulin site near Thames Town.

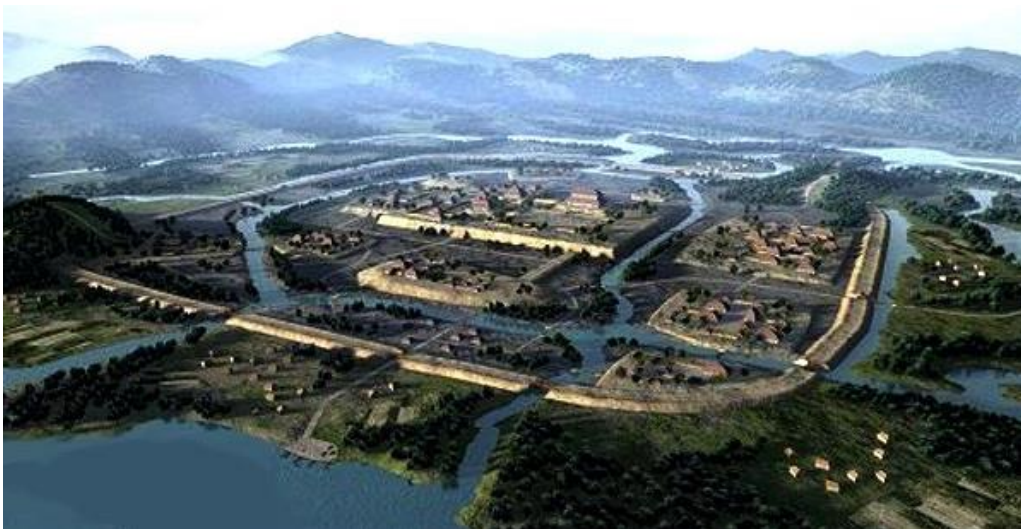


Figure 3.4: Illustration of Liangzhu city

▪ **Guangfulin (2250-2050 BCE)**

The ancient archaeological site of Guangfulin in Songjiang District was discovered in 1999. Today, it covers an area of above 5000 m². Artefacts from the Songze and Liangzhu cultures were identified at early excavations. However, in the course of later investigation, some researchers argue, that new archaeological feature has been separated from the latest period of Liangzhu, which represent a distinct cultural phase (see, for instance, Chen 2002; and Qu 2006). Moreover, it is suggested to bridge the temporal gap between the cultures of Liangzhu and Maqiao, from around 2250 BCE to 2050 BCE (see, for example, Song 2006; and Wang et.al. 2015). As such, this period was named after the first excavation site, Guangfulin, and since then more than ten other sites have revealed relics claimed to be associated with this cultural phase (Wang *et.al.* 2015: 53). On the contrary, due to the lack of well reported radiometric dates and therefore a reliable source for chronological control, others even question whether this ‘proposed cultural phase’ existed (Long and Taylor 2015: 120). Nevertheless, it seems to be approved that this ancient site in Songjiang offers an opulent array of relics belonging to the late Neolithic Period, as well as the Zhou (1046-256 BCE), Han (206 BCE – 220 CE), Song (960-1279), Yuan (1271-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Qing dynasties (1644-1912).

Amongst numerous artefacts of potteries, weapons, jade and silk articles, excavations have revealed watercourse and architectural remains; namely the loess terraces dating to the Songze period, tombs and cemeteries of the Liangzhu culture as well as of the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BCE), in addition to significant residential remains that are thought to belong to the Guangfulin phase (Shadong 2013; and China Daily 2012). While well-preserved foundations of a double-room, ground style building were discovered, both stilt and ground surface houses were considered to be typical. The area of the quondam building was about 13 meters in length and four meters in width, covering 52 m² in total and facing to northwest-southeast direction. The east room was about 19 m², and the west room was about 33 m², each with a southward facing doorway. Scattered pottery fragments were discovered on the surface, and the walls were possibly wood-structured with mud daubed on the outside. A stove was found in the west room, which had an arch wall and flat bottom. Due to the burnt earth and pottery debris inside, the roof was presumed to be built in an ‘eaves style’ (Shadong 2013). Also, a roadway was found that was paved with red baked soil blocks and fine pottery debris running in northwest-southeast direction. What is more interesting, however, that these remains were parts of a larger architectural component, which was

most probably a town. More specifically a town, which was considered to be the earliest, not only in the District of Songjiang, but also in present-day's Shanghai Municipality (China Daily 2013).

It is evident then that Songjiang shares a long history in architectural culture. The ancient sites revealed that the natural attributes of the Jiangnan region at the mouth of the Yangzi River, with abundant waterways and ponds, were vital for these Neolithic cultures. This is clearly reflected in the architectural techniques and building methods, for example the stilt houses, artificially raised ground levels, bridges, embankments along the waterlines, and more importantly, the advanced water networks. This has tailed in the following periods too. In fact, it was pointed out that no significant roads were shown on early maps, even in the early 19th century (He and Henwood 2015: 80). Rather, waterways were dominant features of the spatial as well as cultural context, and thus, such canals gave an identity to this region. Today, this can be still observed through the countless examples of ancient water towns, in most cases well-preserved; for instance, the well-known town of Zhouzhuang in Jiangsu Province, but also in Shanghai; Zhujiajiao and Jize in the district of Qingpu, Qibao old town in Minhang, Xinchang in the district of Pudong, the ancient town of Luodian in Baoshan District, as well as the ancient town of Sijing and the Old Town centre in Songjiang District, only to mention a few. (The latter two examples will be discussed in more details below.)

3.1.3 Historical sites in Songjiang District

Songjiang District claims several historical sites featuring architecture that are preserved and still in use today with the intention of keeping cultural and traditional customs alive. It is argued that the traditional building techniques and features, for instance, orientation, layout, structures and roofs that are so distinctive and considered as the principles to Chinese architecture, have developed from antiquity. More interestingly, such principles of spatial planning have essentially remained unchanged over the centuries (see, for instance, Liang 2005: 8; Yanxin 2011: 4; Wang 2017: 7). In fact, the rectangular layout of buildings, as well as cities, has been determined by the ancient philosophies of the contrary, but complementary forces of *yin and yang*,³ along

³ The principle of *yin and yang* is one of the fundamental concepts in Chinese philosophy. It constitutes all inseparable, but contradictory elements in the universe, such as female-male, dark-light and earth-heaven. Neither of these opposing poles are superior to each other, rather they are complementary in the way in which their unity succeeds in harmony. *Yin* is feminine, dark, black, north, water, valleys, even numbers, soft, and provides spirit to all things. *Yang* is masculine, light, white, south, fire, mountains, odd numbers, hard, and provides form to all things (see, for instance, Cartwright 2012).

with the doctrines of the Five Elements of water, fire, earth, wood and metal. For instance, duality, which pervades both philosophies, is responsible for forming a central axis and symmetry (Yanxin 2011: 9).

In addition to the above-mentioned, *feng shui*, literary meaning “wind and water,” has been also a significant element of the Chinese (architectural) culture since the Bronze Age. It recognises certain invisible currents and lines of magnetic forces, such as wind and water, running through the landscape over the entire surface of the earth. The practice of *feng shui*, as geomancy or *the art of placement*, discusses architecture in metaphoric terms of such *invisible forces*. It aims to place every structure in order ensuring that people live in harmony and balance with their surroundings. In the Jiangnan region, where the body of water presents a powerful geographic element, *feng shui* is naturally inherent in architectural traditions and building siting (He and Henwood 2015: 80). These fundamental systems also offered a foundation for prominent and influential philosophies, Confucianism and Taoism, which has essentially shaped traditional Chinese architecture. Accordingly, Taoist influence is more evident in landscape architecture with open and flexible arrangements (which also corresponds to the *yin*), which is in opposition to the rigorous features of built structures (or else, the *yang*), that have been formed in accordance with Confucian principles (Yanxin 2011: 1). Yet, these doctrines are not antagonists, but complimentary to each other.

In Songjiang, the above-mentioned ancient town of Sijing, as well as the Old Town in the centre frame spatial contexts of traditional Chinese architecture. Additionally, the Fangta Park, as an open-air museum, encloses quintessential pieces of traditional Chinese architecture, including the Square Pagoda that still rises above the skyline in the Old Town of Songjiang. Furthermore, the importance of water also played a great role, and became rather a symbolic element, in the practice of garden design. Generally, the esteemed Chinese classical gardens, and more specifically in the case of Songjiang, the Zuibaichi Garden, is in this favour. Besides the ancient Chinese thoughts and traditions, religions from different cultures were adopted into the local social and cultural life, and therefore, also manifest in Songjiang’s architecture. Great examples are the countless Buddhist pagodas and temples, the Islamic Songjiang Mosque and the Roman Catholic Sheshan Basilica. With regards to this research, these historical sites are in interest owing to their fundamental principles that either question or relate to the development of the case study, Thames Town. By this means, in the following sections,

I will focus on the classical Chinese gardens as constructed sceneries, investigate the principles of traditional Chinese architecture, and examine the effects of foreign cultures on Songjiang's architectural traditions.

▪ **Constructed scenery**

Taoist doctrines invigorate the harmony with nature, and therefore, Chinese landscape architecture has been practised to create green open spaces as a harmonious and idyllic atmosphere for meditation and contemplation of nature. Chinese Gardens, for instance, are good examples in which we can see a strong correlation between space and narrative (see, for instance, Lu and Penz 2006). The composition of such spaces and sceneries, on the one hand, corresponds to the principles of *feng shui*, by means of siting in line with the rules of geomancy. On the other hand, it reflects a collection of microlandscapes, echoing the patterns of landscape paintings (Rinaldi 2011: 45). Similarly to the English landscape gardens mentioned in the first chapter, a classical Chinese garden is a series of carefully selected and constructed scenic settings. This is in order to achieve the flawless visual attainment, thus to provoke certain sentiments, emotional reactions, and ultimately, spiritual solace. However, Chinese gardens are more compact as they are designed to evoke at once all the beauty of the countryside. Their spatial complexity aims to bring together the rhythms and the diversity of natural landscapes, including hills, mountains and plains, valleys and gorges, ponds, rivers and creeks, islets, rocks and caves as well as its foliage and fauna. Bianca Maria Rinaldi in her work, the *Chinese Garden* (2011), identifies this 'unique compositional formula' as 'artificiality in nature' (*ibid.*: 12). She argues that the 'spatial perception of the garden is difficult' owing to the various sceneries that are knitted together often in an unexpected way and without any apparent hierarchy. However, she goes on with the discussion:

'Despite their apparent confusion, Chinese Gardens are in fact organized and ordered. They are places where the visitors' senses are continually simulated through compositional effects intended to awaken curiosity, surprise and aesthetic appreciation. Chinese Gardens are slow. Like films, their effects are built through a sequence of different scenes and settings; separated by screens, walls and doorways, theirs is an unfoldment, a revelation by degrees. Chinese Gardens are never perceived in their entirety. Like music and poetry, they are built through progression, variation

and repetition of theme, rhythm and elements, which make them coherent and harmonious.’ (*ibid.*)

This highlights that every corner, scenery and stage of a Chinese garden are deliberate and carefully planned. Every component and the arrangement of landscapes are designed with significance. As such, this constructed naturalness can be even enhanced by the so-called concept of “borrowed scenery”, in the way in which framed sections of the contextual landscapes outside the garden’s property are designed to be incorporated in the composition and visual effects within the garden (see, for instance, Chen 2011: 180; Rinaldi 2011: 7; and Bryant 2016: 50). By this means, the garden becomes visually boundless and, ultimately, appears infinite.

Out of all the elements, however, the mountain and the water carry the most essential symbolic implications and therefore are the fundamental elements in garden design. In accordance with ancient animistic philosophies such living elements, like mountains as the earth’s skeletons and rivers as its arteries, were complementary in the harmony of the universe. While the mountains are considered as the solid masculine element, the water is seen as the changeable feminine component. With other words, the water is the *yin* to the mountains’ *yang*. Their fertile juxtaposition constitutes the virtue of entity in garden design, even if this is presented artificially or metaphorically (see, for instance, Chen 2011: 210; Rinaldi 2011: 74; Bryant 2016: 8-10). In addition to such simulated natural landscapes, architectural structures and carefully selected plants, flowers and trees are accompanied, which bring in another facet to the garden experience. Pavilions, for instance imply the human presence in nature, and floras, not only provide another tangible sense by their fragrance, but their seasonal changes play upon a temporal dimension (see, for instance, Chen 2011: 53; Rinaldi 2011: 74; and Bryant 2016: 68).

Zuibaichi Garden

Classical Chinese gardens are particularly abundant around the Lake Taihu. Suzhou, for instance, as the home of classical Chinese gardens counts over fifty examples. Nine of which are UNESCO World Heritage sites (UNESCO 1997). Nevertheless, Shanghai also boasts a few examples. Bryant, in the *Classical Gardens of Shanghai* (2016), claims Songjiang’s Zuibaichi Garden to be the oldest classical garden in Shanghai (Bryant 2016: 24). Originally under the name of Guyan Garden, as a private garden, it was first founded by Zhu Zhichun in the 9th century during the Song dynasty. It,

however, went into despair and was rebuilt and reshaped several times throughout the following centuries. During the Ming dynasty, when the garden culture flourished the most, the landscape was rebuilt once again and took a form that has lasted into the present day. It was then later expanded during the Qing dynasty by Gu Dashen, who named it Zuibaichi in 1650. Figure 3.5 highlights some of the traditional elements within the park.



Figure 3.5: Zuibaichi Garden

From top to bottom: pagodas; bridge and zigzag pathway; and moon gates.

Bryant highlights that this classical garden clearly demonstrates ‘the notion of following the traces that others have left behind [that] is fundamental to Chinese garden constructions’ (*ibid.*: 25). Formerly the garden was built around a pond of water on an area of one hectare featuring ten scenic settings, namely, Thatched Cottage on the Pond, Four-sided Hall, Puzzling Boat, Fragrant Flower Dew, Lotus Leaves in the Southeast, Half Mountain with Half Water before a Half Opened Window, Happy Balcony, Forest Pavilion, Treasured Bower and the Gate. Today the garden occupies more than five hectares of land, counting additional attractions and sceneries. These sceneries, each referring to a specific theme, highlight the nature of Classical Chinese gardens as spatial manifestations of a consciously arranged collection of landscape paintings. Each setting feature objects and structures relating to traditional Chinese culture and architectures, such as the lotus flowers, peonies and ginkgo trees, white stone walls, wood-structured waterside pavilions and verandas with black-tiled curved roofs, and carved beams decorated with traditional Chinese motifs. These scenes are often enriched with traditional music and performances.

▪ **Traditional Chinese architecture**

In his book, *Philosophy of Chinese Architecture: Past, Present, Future* (2017), David Wang questions what Chinese architecture is. He argues that before the modernisation of China in the 1840s,⁴ ‘*there was no Chinese architecture*’ in a sense that in China, there was no self-contained philosophical contemplation on architecture as opposed to the architectural treatises in ‘Greco-European West’ (Wang 2017: 1, italics in original). Vitruvius’s architectural theory, the *Ten Book of Architecture* (c. 25 BCE), and from then on the continuous line of opining the proper manner, architectural aesthetics and sublime buildings of all kinds, as was discussed in the first chapter, are called upon as examples here. For instance, unlike building façades designed in accordance with the Western ideals, which followed philosophical debates in a fashionably manner, Chinese architecture was not animated by such stylistic or formalist modes of thoughts. Chinese buildings were not even considered to have façades (*ibid.*: 98). Rather, the physiognomies of built structures were the organic outcome of social culture and building traditions.

⁴ It is argued that China has faced modernity from the beginning of the First Opium War in 1840, in the way in which the assailant European nations had brought ‘all the powers of Industrial Revolution’ by means of railroads, gas lighting, piped water and entire planned urban sectors to treaty ports, such as Shanghai (Wang 2017: 2).

The earliest historical description of Chinese architecture is appended to Liang Sicheng and his first book, *Qing Structural Regulations* (1934). Liang, who is hailed as the “the father of Chinese architecture,” based his studies on empirical measurements. He innovated Chinese architectural “order” and sought to develop national architectural styles (*ibid.*: 2). Wang, however, argues that Liang’s mission was rather ‘for architecture in China to *have* a history’, instead of accepting architecture in China as it historically was. In this manner, the idea of ‘historic Chinese buildings must have façades’, in a Western point of view, became prevailing only from the 20th century. It also needs to be highlighted, that the façade is one of the ‘most notable problems’ for Chinese architecture after it became self-conscious (*ibid.*: 87, italics in original). Nevertheless, along with other professionals, for example Lin Huin, or Liu Dunzhen, and international scholars, such as Ernst Boerschmann, Johannes Prip-Møller, Gustav Ecke, Osvald Sirén and Sekino Tadashi, Liang was a member of the *Society for Research in Chinese Architecture* (Kögel 2015: 24). This was the first professional research foundation in 1930 focusing on detailed investigation of technical, local and historical aspects through the investigations of historic buildings, like dwellings, palaces, temples and pagodas. Interestingly, the knowledge proclaimed to be found on the close relationship between religion and architecture was, however, soon undermined. In fact, religion was seen as obstacle in the early days of the Chinese Republic, so its power and influence on spatial order, [and ultimately the importance of the historical], was at its weakest point (*ibid.*).

The custom of denying the importance of history has reached its apogee during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) when historical sites and artefacts were institutionally destroyed. On the contrary, today, scholars agree and it is generally accepted that principles of traditional architecture and building design in China were formed compliant with ancient philosophies of, predominantly, Confucianism and Taoism (see, for instance, Knapp 2005; Yanxin 2011; Kögel 2015; and Wang 2017). Taoism was mentioned previously in accordance with the contemplation of nature and the harmonious atmosphere of the supple Chinese landscape architecture. Dwellings, palaces and temples, on the other hand, all seem to embrace similar architectural forms and a general pattern of layout, which comply with the essential Confucian values (Yanxin 2011: 1).

Confucianism is rather a social and ethical philosophy than a religion. However, concepts were based partially on *feng shui* and, in order to revive, ancient religions,

rituals and divinations from the Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BCE). The founder, Confucius, was a politician and philosopher in ancient China (c. 551-479 BCE). His treatises, collected in the *Analects* (written by his disciples c. 479-221 BCE), can be set in parallel with the principles of Plato and Aristotle in Western history (see in Chapter 2.1.). All had the intention to outline the ideal human society as a productive and peaceful unity. Confucian teachings accentuate the importance of personal and official moralities, besides the hierarchical structure of generally impermeable social classes and social relationships. I aim to illustrate these frameworks embracing the hierarchy of social classes and relationships by the diagrams below in Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7.

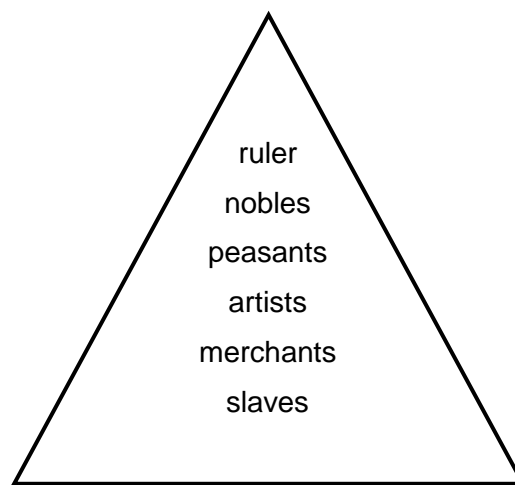


Figure 3.6: Confucian hierarchy of social classes

Diagram is based on the teachings of the *Analects* ([c. 479-221 BCE] 1979).

ruler	father	older brother	husband	friend – friend
subject	son	younger brother	wife	

Figure 3.7: Confucian hierarchy of social relations

Diagram is based on the teachings of the *Analects* ([c. 479-221 BCE] 1979). The ruler is above its subjects in the social hierarchy, in the same manner the father is above his son, the elders are above the youngsters, and so on. However, the relationship between friends sets an equal social order.

Such orders of the social classes came to be represented in architectural design and decorative art. Therefore, size, decoration, theme and architectural sophistication of a building were important measures in the manifestation of the owner's social status (Yanxin 2011: 3-4). Similarly, the "proper" social affairs – the hierarchy of rank, generation and gender – were also translated into the spatial hierarchy of institutions and family homes. In addition to a simple, rectangular-layout of small peasant houses, there were the more complicated set of dwellings in which different rooms were structured around a central courtyard patterning the social relationships within the family members. These building complexes were *supple*. Jie Li points out that, like a tree grows, additional structures along the central axis could be adapted to the expanded family in order to accommodate multiple generations (Li 2015: 6). Before Shanghai became a treaty port, when Western nationals settled and transformed the city, Li highlights that 'such "treelike" Confucian family homes grew sparsely and freely' in the area spreading into 'forestlike townscapes' (*ibid.*). Considering this all, as Wang summarises, 'the fundamental linkage between social and architectural structure remained' until the end of the Imperial Era (1912) (Wang 2017: 58). Therefore, unlike in the case of Western architectural culture, which went through several fundamental principles and stylistic revolutions (from the Classical through the Gothic and Renaissance to the denial of style and Modernism, then Postmodernism), the principles of Chinese architecture and building manners, which were driven by the values of Confucianism and Taoism, did not change throughout the centuries.

Yanxin Cai offers a broad introduction to ancient and traditional Chinese architecture in her book, *Chinese Architecture* (2011). Generally, each building composed of three parts; the upper section as the roof, the middle section as pillars, walls and openings, and the lower section as the foundation. Out of all, the roof, that is indeed the most distinctive visual component of Chinese buildings, is considered as the utmost important element of traditional Chinese architecture (Yanxin 2011: 1-2). She points out that all roofs are 'graceful and gradually curved', but the various degree of the curve represents different classes of buildings, such as veranda, pavilion and dwelling (*ibid.*). A variety of roof types is shown in Figure 3.8.

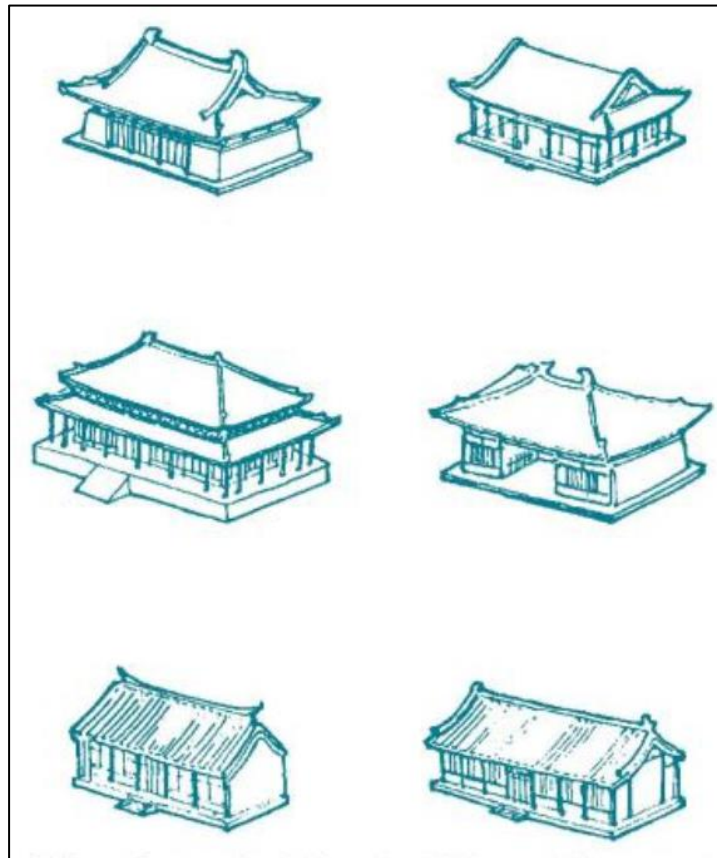


Figure 3.8: Various roof types

Certainly, not only typological, but also regional, formal, technical and era-based variations of traditional Chinese architecture are evident. However, I would like to summarise the general and common features that can be identified in most cases:

- north-south facing layouts,
- courtyards, built on ground level, or occasionally two storeys,
- wood or stone structures,
- light-coloured walls,
- decorated, carved wooden beams,
- black-, or grey-tiled curved roofs with eaves,
- colours commonly used: white, black/grey and red/brown on public buildings (excluding imperial edifices).

Since the area of Songjiang was present and inhabited in the ancient times and flourished through the ages gone by, there are several great examples of structures and entire towns that have been preserved featuring traditional Chinese architecture, namely the Fangta Park, Old Town of Songjiang and the ancient town of Sijing.

Fangta Park

The Fangta Park, resembling an open-air museum, was developed from 1978 to 1982. It was deliberately founded and designed to preserve and protect significant architectural pieces from the area (see Figure 3.9). In its centre stands the Xingshengjiao Temple Pagoda, or as commonly known the Square Pagoda, that is considered as a National Key Cultural Heritage Site (State Administration of Cultural Heritage, 1996). This site is one of the prime examples of traditional Chinese architecture originally constructed between 1068 and 1093 during the Northern Song dynasty, although, its grand and imposing presence features architecture from the earlier Tang dynasty (610-907) (Tan 2017: B2).



Figure 3.9: Fangta Park

From top left to bottom right: Square Pagoda; Tanfei Palace; stone wall; and Wangxian Bridge.

In front of the tower, a 4.75 meters high and 6.1 meters long whitewashed stone wall of Taoist origin was placed as a screen for the optimum *feng shui*. It dates back to 1370 in the Ming dynasty and was built with ornamentations portraying ancient mythological animals and legendary creatures. It is regarded as the oldest and most intact relief sculpture in Shanghai (*ibid.*). The park also encloses the Wangxian Bridge from the Song dynasty, made of stone and wood structure, as well as the Tanfei (Mazu) Palace that was relocated from downtown Shanghai to the Old Town of Songjiang for preservation purposes.

Ancient towns in Songjiang

The ancient towns in Songjiang, most particularly the Old Town and Sijing, exemplify the traditional form of water towns in this area. Both towns preserved housing traditions, most typically, from the Ming and Qing dynasties. Whitewashed courtyard townhouses with grey or black tiled gabled and curved, eaves type roofs, decorated carved beams, and firewalls had clustered alongside the riverbanks, with narrow pathways interwoven by copious ancient bridges. In addition, pieces of early architectural structures and protected sites are also present. The Old Town, that was once the former town of Songjiang and the seat of Songjiang Prefecture, gives home to, for example, the aforementioned Fangta Park and the Zuibaichi Garden, the Songjiang Mosque from the Yuan dynasty (which will be discussed later), the Xilin Pagoda and Temple from the Song dynasty, traditional schools, as well as many ancient bridges across the rivers. Similarly, the ancient town of Sijing comprises a vast number of bridges, traditional temples and pagodas, for instance the Anfang Pagoda and Futianjing Temple from the Song dynasty. The Old Town, shown in Figure 3.10, went under major constructions during the development of Songjiang New City, in addition to the construction of Thames Town. Traditional buildings were renovated and newly built structures were designed following strict guide lines with the purpose to keep with the local traditional architecture and also to “look” historic (Shen 2011: 124). Indeed, while Thames Town adapted a theme of a British historic town, the neighbouring Songjiang Old Town was restored as a traditional Chinese water town with buildings featuring white façades, black or grey curved roofs and carved wooden details.



Figure 3.10: Songjiang Old Town (left) and the shopping street of the new development (right)

Sijing is also undergoing a redevelopment these years (see Figure 3.11). In this case, however, instead of “just copying the timeworn traditional “water-town” scenario”, the priority is on cultural protection and preservation with a tailor-made plan (Minji 2017: B2). This recalls the debate about “the need of building façades” (discussed above), which Sijing seems to be determined to act against. This ancient town was once a vibrant mercantile centre and a retreat for intellectuals and craftsmen. The main concern for the renovation is to restore the historic and cultural value of the ancient water town. Therefore, the strategy is to reinstate the structures by utilizing existing materials, wherever is possible, as well as employing traditional construction methods (*ibid.*).



Figure 3.11: Sijing old town (left) and new housing development (right)

Today, these sites are great examples in Songjiang that feature traditional architecture and urban planning principles by following the most valued ancient Chinese philosophies throughout the years. However, in addition to the spatial manifestation of

such indigenous doctrines, there are other dogmas, more precisely religions, which originated from foreign cultures and yet melted into the essentially Chinese landscape.

▪ **Imprint of foreign cultures**

Foreign cultures from the very early times had arrived in China through the Silk Roads, and eventually reached Songjiang even though it was far located from the routes. However, since Shanghai, as a treaty port, was open for foreign trades, it grew to be an important, affluent and modern urban site. The town began to expand and foreign concession zones – British, American and French – bordered the inner-city area. The entire settlement encountered major changes and developments on many level during the concession era (1845-1943). The housing system, for instance, and thus the way of life, went through a transformation as a result of the occupying Western nations. Even today, the city embraces a uniquely Shanghainese housing type in the areas of the formerly foreign settlements, the so-called *shikumen*, or *lilong* (see in Figure 3.12). In their glory, these alleyway homes were ‘hybrid’ in their architectural design (Li 2015: 29; see also Denison and Guang 2006: 161; den Hartog 2010: 220). Decorated with local motifs, the individual houses had a traditional north-south facing courtyard layout that merged into the form of English terraced houses. They were designed to accommodate a single multigenerational family and were constructed in high density, each on two to three storeys. This spatial arrangement was fit for the tight land uses, and therefore the high rental prices. As such, this type of dwelling became archetypical for Shanghai, but was hardly adapted in any other parts of China, not even in the surrounding regions.

With regards to Songjiang District specifically, the foreign influences are more evident in architectural practices of sacral places. Songjiang was a flourishing county since the early times, and traders and missionaries from foreign cultural background had set foot in the town, settled and founded institutions in order to fulfil their social and cultural demands. By this means, the belief system of Buddhism, and the religions of the Islam and Christianity gained ground in various eras and coexisted with the innate Chinese philosophies of Confucianism and Taoism (see, for instance, Yanxin 2011: 64). In the case of Songjiang, this is clearly recognizable on the architectural fabric, which features one of the earliest places of worship for each of these three foreign religions that will be discussed below.



Figure 3.12: *Shikumen* housing and use of space

Buddhist temples

One of the first and, perhaps, the most potent foreign culture introduced in China was Buddhism. In addition to Taoism and Confucianism, the teachings of Buddha gained ground and spread into the Chinese culture inseparably at early times. Buddhist missionaries from India arrived via the Silk Road during the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE). In the 6th century, Buddhism was regarded as a national religion in China and reached its great heights during the Tang dynasty (618-906) (see, for instance, Yanxin 2011: 73-86). Initially modelled on Indian traditions, the ever-increasing number of temples and pagodas reflected the importance of the religion. Later, during the Tang dynasty, in the way in which principles of Buddha doctrines developed into the indigenous Chinese civilisation, the architectural forms of these sacred places also Sinicized and merged into Chinese traditional design and construction approaches.

In Songjiang, for instance, the Li Pagoda was built in the early Tang dynasty, which makes this tower the oldest in the district (pictured in Figure 3.13). The Yanshou Temple was constructed around it during the Song dynasty. Along with the previously mentioned pagodas and temples in the area, this complex embodies the principles of Chinese Buddhist architecture. Similarly to traditional Confucian palaces and dwellings, temples encompass small courtyards, and in which either the pavilion-style pagoda or the main hall serve as the central axis. The black/grey tiled roofs with carved beams are typically curved creating vast eaves, which are more apparent in case of the pagodas than the temples. Generally, pagodas were constructed on odd numbered layers. The Li Pagoda, for instance, is a seven-story high tower, but nine- and thirteen-floor pagodas are prevalent too. Such numerical mythology also comes from ancient traditions and relate to the philosophy of *yin and yang*, in which the odd numbers represent the *yang*, as emerging, positive and auspicious energy.



Figure 3.13: Li Pagoda (left) and Yanshou Temple (right)

Islam mosques

In addition to Buddhism, Islam was the other notable Asian religion spreading into China, and leaving behind sacred places that supposedly showed certain diversity to the local architectural traditions (Yanxin 2011: 65). Muslim merchants brought the Islamic faith during the 7th century of Tang China via the maritime and inland Silk Roads (Mi and You 2004: 2-4). Mosques can be found across the country, but the earliest places of

worship were built by Sahaba of Prophet Muhammad,⁵ explicably at the starting points of these routes. For instance, the Huaisheng Mosque is considered as the first mosque in China, constructed in 627 at a main port town of the maritime Silk Road, Guangzhu. Similarly, the site of today's Great Mosque was founded in 742 in Xi'an, in the first town on the inland Silk Road. At both sites, the today existing buildings were constructed later, during the Ming dynasty. Nevertheless, mosques feature a 'uniquely Chinese Islamic architecture' (Yanxin 2011: 94). Initially, existing buildings were altered to be suitable for Islamic worship and religious practices. Then, early mosques were influenced by Arab architectural characteristics of Central Asia. Later, similarly to the Chinese Buddhist architectural approaches, these characteristics merged into the local traditional temples and courtyard houses. In fact, the only difference can be pointed out, between mosques and courtyard houses, is the orientation of the buildings. While Chinese buildings were traditionally laid out in a north-south axis, mosques face in the direction of Mecca. On the other hand, both have symmetrical layouts, curved, black-tiled roofs, decorated beams and a pagoda, or more precisely, a minaret. Interestingly, Islam in China not only architecturally assimilated elements of traditional Chinese architecture, but as a belief system too, it adopted Confucian thinking in explaining Islamic doctrine (*ibid.*: 65). This traditional Chinese architectural form with Islamic functionality is also relevant to the mosque in Songjiang (see in Figure 3.14).



Figure 3.14: Songjiang Mosque

⁵ Sahaba: from Arabic to English, it is translated as Companions. It refers to the disciples of the Islamic prophet Muhammed.

Songjiang Mosque is the oldest operating place of worship in Shanghai. It was originally built between 1364 and 1367 during the Yuan dynasty, then was rebuilt and expanded during the Ming and Qing dynasties in order to accommodate additional functions. Chinese mosques are not only places for prayers, but fulfilled relevant purposes for the practice of Islam (Mi and You 2004: 29). Indeed, in addition to the main hall and the minaret, sites often also include a rostrum for preaching and learning, public place, service centre and a tomb.

Christian churches

It is not surprising that Christianity, too, was first introduced to China via the Silk Road during the Tang dynasty. Yanxin discusses in details the spread of Christianity and its architecture in China (Yanxin 2011: 101-108). Accordingly, the first Christians were from the Nestorian branch, arriving from India. Churches built that time were called temples and featured oriental architectural characteristics. However, for a long time, until the Yuan dynasty (1206-1368), Christianity sunk into oblivion in China. Then, it was revived and spread again with Roman Catholicism, but both went into decline with the destruction of Yuan dynasty. The churches from this period took a form of traditional Chinese structures and façades with foreign interiors. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the spread of Christianity was progressive, but it was not until the middle of the 19th century when it gained ground and became substantial as a religion in China. In the beginning, churches congregated in simple, traditional Chinese buildings, homes or temples with Westernised decorations and crucifixes. This was in order to harmonise between the two cultures.

The first Catholic Church in Shanghai, the Jingyi Church (or the Church of the Saviour in English, and commonly referred to as The Old Catholic Church) is an example for this. The building, shown in Figure 3.15, was built in 1553 as a private resident in accordance with traditional Chinese principles and was converted into a church in 1640 using Westernised decorations inside. Later, missionaries advocated using Christianity ‘to revolutionize Chinese culture’ (*ibid.*: 102). In this manner, churches were purposely built and were mostly replicas of the ones found in the West, but generally took various foreign architectural forms. As a result, churches of this period represent the era’s architectural eclecticism in the country. These structures usually characterise a cross shape layout, with bell towers, rose windows, columns, vaults, arches, and domes where the *style* required. The Saint Francis Xavier Church, built between 1847 and 1853, is the

first church in Shanghai, which has broken with the Chinese traditions by featuring a Roman-Spanish baroque style (see in Figure 3.15). Undoubtedly, one may recall the Sant' Ignazio Church in Rome. Shanghai boasts several other examples too, for instance the classical French-Roman Church of St. Joseph (1860-1861), the Gothic Holy Trinity Church (1869) and St Ignatius Cathedral (1906-1910), as well as Songjiang's Romanesque Sheshan Basilica (1925-1935).



Figure 3.15: Jingyi Church (left) and Saint Francis Xavier Church (right) in Shanghai

As a result of Shanghai becoming a treaty port, the city became crowded. Songjiang, more particularly, the Sheshan Hill has embraced the only natural forest and offered a tranquil and picturesque place to escape from the hustle and bustle of the ever-growing modern city. It was a renowned destination for the foreigners and the wealthy elite (Yueran *et. al.* 2010: 346-347; and den Hartog 2010: 122). The church was originally built by French missionaries in 1867 in a form of a six-cornered pavilion. In 1871, the pavilion was replaced by a cathedral that was designed and built based on a combination of Chinese and Western traditions. Later, this was also replaced by the current building of a granite and red-brick structure with stained glass windows on a rectangular Latin cross layout, shown in Figure 3.16. Albeit the roof is partly covered with Chinese colour-glazed tiles, the church's history attests to the transformation of Christian churches in China, from traditional Chinese structures to the all-embracing Westernised forms.



Figure 3.16: Sheshan Basilica

Summarising this research into Songjiang’s historical sites in relation to the case study of Thames Town highlights that the traditional Chinese building techniques and design principles reach far beyond formal appeal and spatial arrangement is actually planned to follow ancient philosophies. For instance, the forces of *yin yang*, the doctrines of the “Five Element” and *feng shui*, are the fundamental systems that are taken into the architectural practice as indispensable values by the prominent and influential philosophies of Confucianism and Taoism. Therefore, the principles of such doctrines are the key components that shaped the traditionally Chinese built environment, as was seen in both garden design and housing structures.

It is worth mentioning that in this study has revealed that there has been a rising interest in preserving Chinese architectural traditions and historical legacies in Songjiang. The aforementioned historical sites, including the Fangta Park, as well as the Zuibaichi Garden, are precedents – either in a form of a conservation project as an open-air museum, such as the Fangta Park, and the Zuibaichi Garden, or a “traditional themed” urban development as in the case of the Old Town’s restoration, or a cultural protection and preservation as the development project in Sijing. All are great examples of structures and dwellings built in the traditional morale of ancient Chinese values, and underline that the principles of architecture remained during the course of the successive dynasties until the end of the Imperial Era. However, since foreign nations and religions crossed this land throughout the history, they have left not only their footprint in cultural means, but also an imprint on the architectural scene. Indeed, Songjiang has encountered foreign cultural traditions from its early history, even before

Shanghai became a treaty port and before Songjiang was assigned under its jurisdiction. As such these foreign customs assimilated with the local culture and therefore left their marks on the architectural scene. It is also important to highlight, that currently, Songjiang is part of Shanghai municipality, which is considered to be a ‘unique city’ in terms of foreign affairs (Denison and Guang 2006: 26). It is argued that the old town of Shanghai, shown in Figure 3.17, was grown in an annular form in an organic way, as opposed to the traditional rectangular towns.

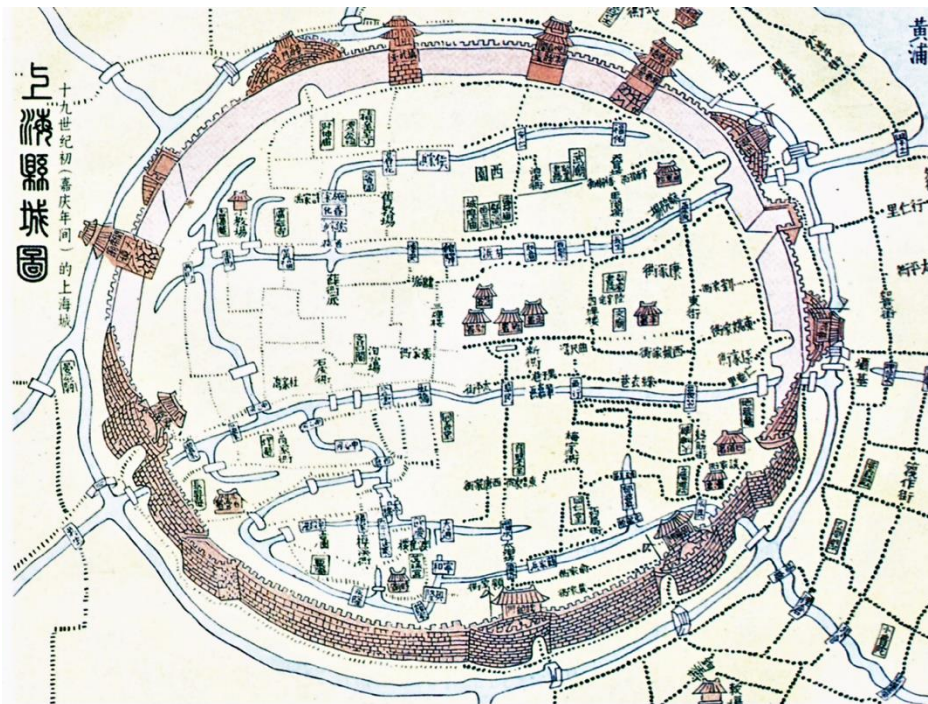


Figure 3.17: Shanghai County (1800-1820)

At that time, Shanghai was seen as a ‘melting pot of new ideas’ and an experimental field of immigrants (*ibid.*). Due to its renowned tolerance of cultural diversity, Shanghai to become a significant trading centre was foreseen. This is also responsible for being open and the acceptance of the new type of *shikumen* housings, urban arrangements and the Westernised neoclassical edifices along the Bund during the foreign concession. By this means, Shanghai was developed into a city which was formed by an assimilation of traditional and foreign cultures; an interesting blend of oriental and Western architectural forms. The Bund, for instance, constitutes Shanghai’s greatest and most impressive stretch of mercantile heritage. Interestingly it projects an image resembling to the Liverpool Waterfront, which at the time was one of the most significant port in Great Britain. Undeniably, the similarities between, most particularly, the Royal Liver

Building along with the Port of Liverpool Building at the Pier Head and the Customs House next to the HSBC Building at the Bund, are striking (see in Figure 3.18). This clearly shows that Shanghai has an experience in dealing with Western architecture.



Figure 3.18: Liverpool Waterfront (left) and the Bund (right)

Liverpool Waterfront: Royal Liver Building, Cunard Building and the Port of Liverpool Building. The Bund: HSBC Building and the Customs House.

Therefore, even though this may not be the main reason, it is not surprising, that the majority of the proposed new towns, included in the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan*, courageously take on themes of Western cultures and project images of their countries, such as Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain. Moreover, similarly to the development of the Bund, taking an image of a building, or set of buildings, and creating a copy of it in a different spatial and cultural context also pertains to the development of these new towns.

3.1.4 Contemporary architectural developments in Songjiang District

In the midst of the several and various historical sites, which were discussed previously, the extensive urban development project of the Songjiang New City found place. Since Thames Town is part of this urban regeneration plan, its contextual information and specifics will be discussed in more details in the next section where I examine the case study itself. However, the project also includes several other initiatives for urban regeneration purposes that have taken place in the neighbouring precincts of Thames Town, and have an important role in Songjiang's growth. These projects are the newly established Songjiang University Town, the Central Green Park and the various high-rise and villa residential zones. In this case, the urban development plan will be

discussed below with a focus on these projects. Having said that, these are only parts of the recent architectural and urban development schemes in Songjiang. In fact, there are many other sites placing the case study of Thames Town in a contextual spatial framework that can be analysed in this section, such as the subtle underwater structures of the previously mentioned Guangfulin Relics Park, as opposed to the striking administrative centres (see in Figure 3.19). There are also newly established industrial districts and business hubs, green spaces and recreational zones, theme parks and many others.



Figure 3.19: Contemporary urban development projects

From top to bottom right: Guangfulin Relics Park; Songjiang District Administrative Centre; and Sijing Town Government Building

I have selected two more cases to be included in this section of contemporary projects, namely, Shanghai Film Studios and Amusement Park, also known as the Shanghai Film Park; and the Shimao Wonderland InterContinental, also known as the Quarry Hotel. Both are underpinned with a clearly pronounced narrative. The Shanghai Film Park features a deliberate themed milieu primarily based on the foreign concession era. The Quarry Hotel, is under construction with the intention to attract, and indeed to host, visitors with its grandiose and unique spatial environment. These two examples will be introduced in addition to the Songjiang New City urban regeneration schemes.

▪ **Songjiang New City**

Within the urban regeneration and development project, Songjiang New City gave place to the establishment and construction of the Songjiang University Town that renewed the narrative of Songjiang as the “cradle for the elite,” as it was previously pointed out (den Hartog 2010: 122). The entire complex, as a tertiary education hub, encompasses seven universities and colleges. Shen introduces the reasons, the background of the strategies for such a great scale establishment, as well as its impact on the local economy (Shen 2011: 129-136). Accordingly, the education department of China implemented a policy in 1999 to expand higher education due to a major increase, more than 40% from the previous year, in the total number of students enrolled at universities across the country. In the following years, this number only showed a growing tendency, with about 30% per annum (see also Li *et. al.* 2008). The Municipal Education Commission of Shanghai even set a goal to promote enrolment rate to reach a 50% increase in five years, by this means 500 000 university students were expected to be registered in the city by 2005. However, accommodating for such growth essentially needed a systematic strategy. The plan was to relocate existing universities to, and possibly establish new institutes at, the outer peripheries of Shanghai, where large plots of more affordable land were available. Overall, it was understood as a suburban development project, since favourable policies and investments into infrastructure were expected in support of the relocations.

The newly-built settlements were aimed to attract even more people, therefore various businesses and industries. In fact, the idea was to create a suburban magnet that pulls the crowd out from the overpopulated city centre of Shanghai, and at the same time, as such, contributes to the local economic growth. As such it shows a resemblance to Howard’s Garden City idea. Nevertheless, the suburban districts of Shanghai competed by offering cheaper lands as a financially appealing location for the proposed new university town. The government of Songjiang District won with its unbeatable bid of free and expansive sites. Subsequently, the Songjiang University Town was established in 2000 and constructions began later in November at the centre of the district. By September 2001, the first phase of the development was finished and three universities started to operate by the time the teaching semester commenced in October. The second phase was carried out by 2003, and four more universities were constructed (Shen 2011: 133). Interestingly, some of the campuses bear an eerie resemblance to those historic, lavish university precincts in Great Britain and the United States, with their grandiose

buildings featuring a Westernised image of (neo)-gothic-like or (neo)-classical-like design (see, for instance, in Figure 3.20).



Figure 3.20: Sceneries from Songjiang University Town

Out of all, however, in terms of formal design, probably the most fascinating campus is the one of the Shanghai International Studies University. Many of the teaching buildings depict a stylistic image of typical foreign architectural physiognomies corresponding to the departmental function (see also in Figure 3.21):

Departmental buildings

Architectural style

- School of Asian and African Studies - Islamic
- School of Russian and Eurasian Studies - Byzantine
- School of English Studies - Victorian
- School of Japanese Studies - Japanese

According to the university, all these styles echo the multi-lingual nature of the Institute (Shanghai International Studies University, Songjiang Campus).



Figure 3.21: Departmental buildings of the Shanghai International Studies University

From top left to bottom: School of Asian and African Studies; School of Russian and Eurasian Studies; School of English Studies; and School of Japanese Studies.

Additionally, the design of some other buildings not simply takes on stylistic features, but brings to mind great historic edifices, such as the colosseum-like library building of Lixin University of Commerce, the library of Shanghai International Studies University recalling, for instance, the St. Peter's Basilica of Rome, as well as the domes of its Law School evoking the image of the capital of Renaissance, Florence in Italy (see in Figure 3.22).



Figure 3.22: University buildings resembling historic structures

From top to bottom right: library building of Lixin University of Commerce; library building of Shanghai International Studies University; and the Law School.

At the same time, there are also structures that present more contemporary and high-tech architecture, such as the buildings of the Donghua University, the Shanghai Institute of Visual Arts and the Shanghai University of Engineering and Science (see in Figure 3.23). Like so, looking at the overall university townscape, one may recall the set of various narrative architectural imageries that can be found in EPCOT at Walt Disney World Resort, the Global Village in Dubai and other theme parks alike.



Figure 3.23: Teaching buildings at the Songjiang University Town

From top to bottom right: Donghua University; Shanghai Institute of Visual Arts; and gymnasium of the Shanghai University of Engineering and Science.

In any case, the universities brought about an immediate influx of population in Songjiang, as was anticipated (see, for instance, Shen 2011: 134). Therefore, the scheme of Songjiang New City included housing estates and residential areas to accommodate the potential inhabitants from the universities as well as from the adjacent industrial and commercial zones. For such purposes, Thames Town was only one project in addition to the university residential units, the neighbouring high-rise apartments and the villa district of Fangsong (shown in Figure 3.24). In total, the planned residential zones take up almost 41% of the entire Songjiang New City (den Hartog 2010: 282).

The high-density multi-storey luxurious apartment buildings were constructed along the Central Green Park, just opposite the river from Thames Town and south to the Songjiang University Town. The high-rise structures feature a design that can be witnessed popping up around the globe in the past decades, majorly or totally disregarding local and indigenous cultural traditions. Furthermore, the Central Green Park is laid out in a way in which its spatial environment more likely resembles Western models, with large greenery, lakes and English landscape garden style pavilions.

Additionally, the low density upmarket villa-style gated communities of Fangsong are located in the neighbourhood south-east to Thames Town. Similarly, the design and layout of the residential compound recalls very little, if no relation to the local traditions, rather it presents a more Europeanised or Westernised spectacle.



Figure 3.24: Housing districts

From top to bottom right: high-rise luxury apartments by the Central Green Park; Westernised accommodation within the Songjiang University Town; and the luxury villa district of Fangsong.

▪ **Shanghai Film Park**

Shanghai has been regarded as the ‘natural birth place’ of the Chinese filmmaking industry (Ong 2014: 8, but see also Berra and Ju 2014: 5). Due to its nature being a treaty port and, in fact, a prominent cosmopolitan metropolis in the early 20th century, images of the events in Shanghai and therefore film production in the city became prominent. As a result of the foreign concessions in the city by the great forerunners of filmmaking, the French and Americans, it is no wonder that Shanghai then became the first capital of Chinese cinema. Moreover, the entire industry was modelled on the glamorous Hollywood studio system (Ong 2014: 8). What is left for today from this era,

which is also referred to the “Golden Age” of cinema, is recollected by the settings at the Shanghai Film Park (see in Figure 3.25). It is located south-east to Thames Town, next to the old town quarter. It was founded and built in 1999 by the Shanghai Film Group as an interactive site for ‘film and television shooting, sightseeing, and cultural communication’ (Shanghai Film Park).



Figure 3.25: Various settings at the Shanghai Film Park

Settings from top left to bottom right: Nanjing Road; English house at the European quarter; *shikumen* alleyway; and an old Chinese street.

The park consists of several studios depicting different sceneries, such as the 1930s’ Nanjing Road, Suzhou Creek, streets of *shikumen* housings and alleyways, and the port of Shanghai, in addition to the European and Western townscapes and country houses.

As such, the studios provide stages, literally, designed for giving a complete picture of the city during the concession era, more precisely, in which the aforementioned binary characteristics of the decadent *Paris of the East* and the filthy *Whore of the Orient* can be portrayed. It is pointed out that filmic images of Shanghai often capture this contradictory essence of epitomes (see, for instance, Wolte 2014: 6). The park welcomes both domestic and foreign clients, and provides shooting services with props, costumes and equipment for the productions. Also, beside tourist entertainment programs, its themed sceneries also offer outdoor sets for the idyllic wedding photoshoots.

▪ **Shimao Wonderland InterContinental**

More recent developments in Songjiang district include the hotel resort on the side of an abandoned water-filled quarry north-west to Thames Town. The concept was initiated in 2005, which was the winning entry for an international design competition from the British firm, Atkins Group (Atkins 2011: 63). The constructions began in 2013 by the Quarry Associates and J.A.D.E. Ltd., which was established by the concept and design director, Martin Jochman (JADE+QA). Looking at the conceptual drawings and images, shown in Figure 3.26, of the horizontal and uniformly linear segments sinking under the ground to nearly 100 meters, one may instantly recall the utopic subterranean city of *Everytown* from Alexander Korda's movie, *Things to Come* (1936). It features a utopian society within the underground city in the future year of 2036. Sections of the city are shown in Figure 3.27. The movie was based on H. G. Wells' book that elaborates topics on the Futurist movement (see Sant'Elia's *Manifesto of Futurist Architecture* discussed previously in the Chapter 1). However, the façade of the hotel in Songjiang represent more of a postmodern design with, for instance, the decoration of a glass "waterfall" cascading under and reflecting the nature of the proposed surrounding artificial waterfall tumbling down into the pit. In fact, the glass cladding will hide the main vertical circulation area leading to the guest rooms and main atria. Once ready, there will be 237 rooms on 14 underground levels, with one guestroom floor submerged under water. Two more floors above the ground will accommodate public facilities, restaurants and conference halls (JADE+QA). The complex was planned to offer also extreme sporting facilities, such as rock climbing and bungee jumping. Overall the project aims to utilise the natural environment at the foot of the Sheshan Hill and to enhance its touristic attraction.



Figure 3.26: Plans of Shimao Wonderland InterContinental

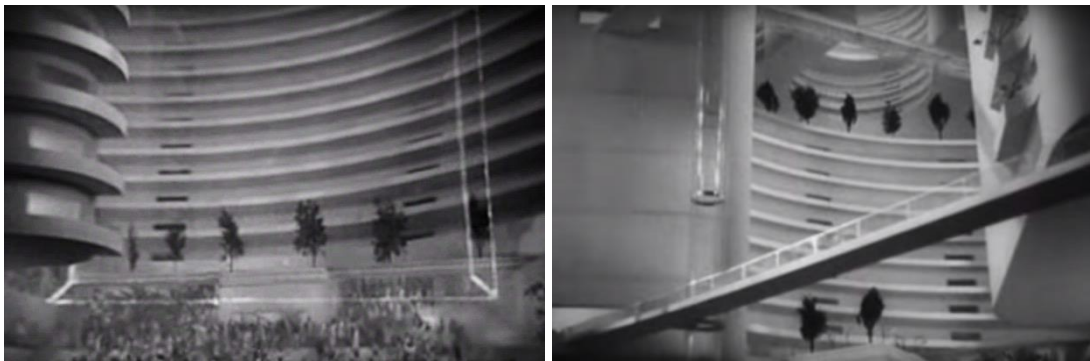


Figure 3.27: *Everytown in 2036*

Taking a closer look at the contemporary architectural developments and urban regeneration schemes in the close vicinity of Thames Town in Songjiang District, it can be concluded that, while in the previous section the rising interest in restoration of the traditional architectural legacies was pointed out, the more recent structures seem to ignore such principles. The examples, that I have chosen, show that development plans were carried out, on the one hand, with tourists in mind, on the other hand, to attract potential inhabitants. In any case, they reveal the recent trends in urban development in Songjiang. For instance, the Shanghai Film Park, as a matter of fact, does not essentially reject traditional architecture, but rather, builds its existence based on it on some level. It showcases mimicry from the decadent era in the past which was not quintessentially Chinese, but the one that was a result of Shanghai's openness to foreign cultures. More precisely, as a film studio, it uses well-known imageries from the history to construct various spatial settings and sceneries.

In contrast, other projects follow a more universal design concept, such as the high-rise apartment buildings as well as the hotel complex of Shimao Wonderland InterContinental. Additionally, there are many examples that not only disregard local

architectural traditions and project a universal style, but also employ well-known imageries, similarly to the film studio, but which are taken from foreign traditions. These are often imported with the intention to narrate functional purposes, such as the many teaching buildings of the universities, as well as the villa district of Fangsong.

3.2 Analysis of Thames Town

3.2.1 Architecture

▪ Townscape

Thames Town is located in the centre of Songjiang District, about 40 km away to the south-west from the central city of Shanghai. The entire town was built on a 1 km² former farmland that is now surrounded by man-made canals, rivers and larger water areas. For instance, the Huating Lake borders on the east side and the Thames River runs across the southern part of the town. There are only a few roads for car access into the town area; one from a major road of *Wen Cheng Lu* on the southern part of the site, and over the canals, one from the west and one from the north. There is also a pathway leading through a market from the south.⁶ Figure 3.28 shows the plan and illustration of the urban functions structured within Thames Town.

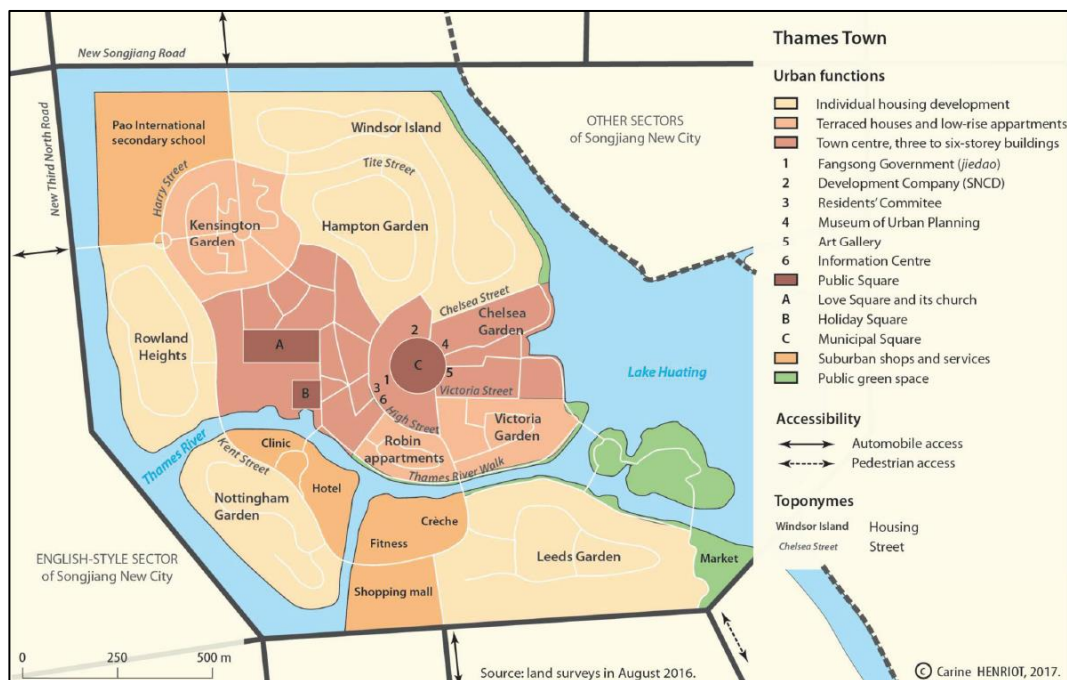


Figure 3.28: Town structure

The planning of Thames Town was entirely based on studies made of small town typologies in southern Great Britain. By this means, the urban structure was modelled after a typical rural market town (see, for instance, den Hartog 2010: 122). The Chinese version of the British town, in this manner, has a “historical” core centre, including a

⁶ The Pao International Secondary School, which is located in the north-western corner of the town, has a separate, gated entrance from the major road on the north, *Xin Songjiang Lu* (New Songjiang Road).

church and village green, corner shops, cafés, restaurants, pubs and chippies, public squares and townhouses. The outer boundaries give space for a more industrialised canal district, services, the waterside and the dock, public green spaces and recreational parks. Various types of residential quarters, such as the low-rise apartment houses and low-density villa neighbourhoods, are also situated on the outskirts of the town. The majority of these residential districts are designed as gated communities.

Along with the structural qualities, the physiognomies and typologies of buildings in a typical small British town were also taken as models for the design of the buildings in Thames Town. For instance, the core of the town centre portrays an urban scene of medieval market town with a variety of Neo-classical, Gothic-like and Tudoresque façades, including landmarks and structures of three to six stories. Typical building typologies are presented in forms of a church that is surrounded by greenery and municipal edifices that are laid out in a crescent, corner shops, pubs and eateries that can be found along the narrow winding cobbled streets. The town centre spreads into quarters evoking Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian terraced houses. Most of the services are located a little farther from the core centre, over the Thames River. Such brick-faced buildings in an artificial inland waterway district recall the industrial canal network in Birmingham. Evan Chakroff discusses that these industrialised features and more contemporary characteristics are reminiscent to the early works of Norman Foster, and the late style of James Stirling (Chakroff 2011). In addition, on the eastern edge of the town, the waterside of the Huating Lake encompasses a promenade and a small dock alongside a high-tech dome structure of a restaurant, which, as Chakroff points out, is likely to be inspired by Buckminster Fuller's Geodesic Dome House (*ibid.*). On other outer edges of the town, the gated residential districts either consist of a more (post)modernised low-rise apartment blocks or individual cottage-like villas. In both cases the edifices carry British building styles, while the entrance of the gated arrangements is based on a typically Chinese system. The overall townscape is eclectic encompassing the various stylistic elements from different British historical and architectural periods. Below, I aim to illustrate the above-mentioned points with a series of photographs that I have taken during my visit (Figure 3.29, Figure 3.30, Figure 3.31 and Figure 3.32).



Figure 3.29: Urban sceneries



Figure 3.30: Town centre



Figure 3.31: Canal district



Figure 3.32: Gated residential quarter

- **Replicas and symbols**

Even though the entire Thames Town was not designed as a copy of an existing location per se, which will be discussed later, some individual buildings and structures, however, unquestionably imitate particular edifices found across Great Britain. For instance, a very close reminiscent of The Cross and Rows in Chester can be found in the new town (see in Figure 3.33).



Figure 3.33: Thames Town (left) and The Cross and Rows in Chester (right)

In addition, the buildings of the Free House – Rock Point Inn next to the Cob Gate Fish Bar in Thames Town even carried the names of those they were most certainly copied from in Lyme Regis, Dorset (see in Figure 3.34).⁷



Figure 3.34: Thames Town (left) and Lyme Regis, Dorset (right)

Yet, the most prominent structure of such facsimilia might be the neo-Gothic-ish Catholic Church, which is set in the surrounding of the central green park, Love Square. Admittedly, it was designed as ‘a replica of a church in Bristol’ (Atkins 2011: 415). More particularly, it is a copy of the Anglican Christ Church in Clifton, Bristol. The original limestone structure was built in 1841 during the Gothic Revival period and is surrounded by a village green. Figure 3.35 pictures the two structures side by side. The Chinese version of the church fairly “successfully” mimics the formal appearance, however the applied materials used on the outside to finish the concrete structure in addition to the windows of coloured glass and painted lead comes instantly question its authenticity, even at first glance (see, for instance, in Figure 3.36).

⁷ The Free House – Rock Point Inn and the Cob Gate Fish Bar in Thames Town has been replaced by the French clothing store, Weill.



Figure 3.35: Church in Thames Town (left) and the Christ Church in Clifton, Bristol (right)

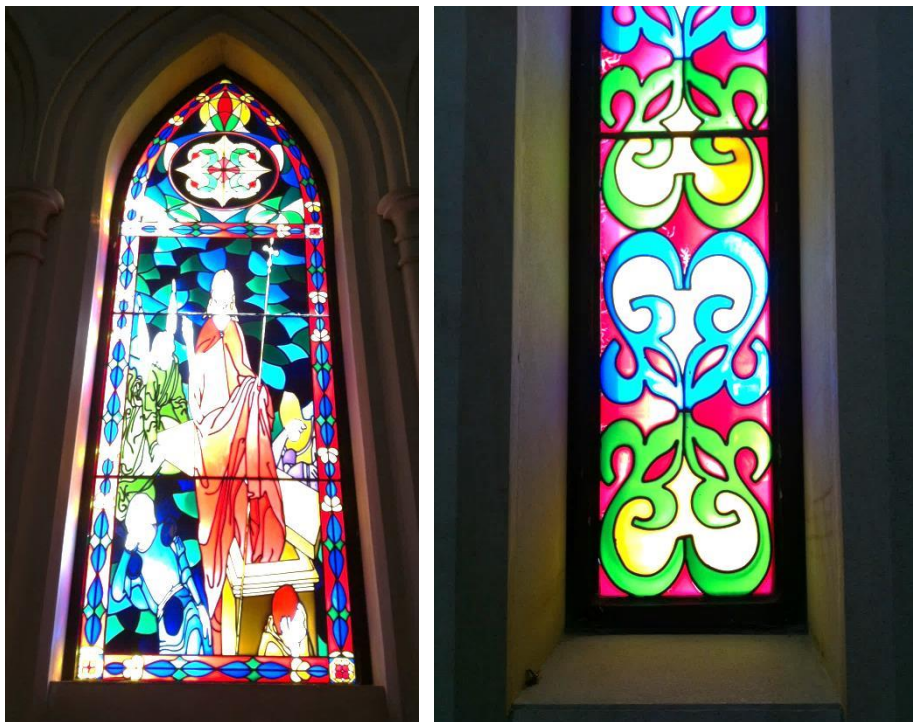


Figure 3.36: Painted church windows

This method of design and construction was commonly used in other buildings as well around the town. According to the designers, ‘the structure of all the buildings is concrete with applied brick, tile and render finishes’ (*ibid.*). Undoubtedly, this can also

be one of the fundamental reasons for the fact that the interior and function of certain buildings contradict what one may read or understand from its external stylistic and formal appearance. What I refer to is the unexpected and confusing experience, when walking into some of the buildings in the “medieval” town centre and their interior open up into a large open space with concrete columns and high ceiling that rather resembles a hangar, than a cosy café what one may expect from the outside. Figure 3.37 shows a warehouse-like interior of a wedding studio, where couples are getting ready for their memorable photoshoots.



Figure 3.37: Interior

When in Thames Town, one may find such *urban furniture* that has no particular structurally or architecturally functional role in the urban flow or as a shelter. Rather, they are used as *decoration*. There are not only several various ornaments scattered all over the town, such as fountains and sculptures, but also elements of everyday life, such as benches, phone boxes, letter boxes, litter bins, street lights, street signs, road signs, and other things alike, that are also designed in line with the British-theme concept. The most prominent urban furniture in Thames Town is, most likely, the British K6 red telephone box replicas dotted around the area. The ones in Thames Town, however, lack of the golden emblems of the British Crown. The reminiscent of the 1930s black and white British traffic lights are also prominent throughout the new town. In addition,

the old-fashioned street lamps, street signs and bollards, alongside the decorated letter boxes, bin covers and plant beds, which can be found in the town centre, are also obvious and essential components of the faux-British urban setting. Some of these elements, however, are accustomed to the several various districts, highlighted above. For instance, there are different styles of street lamps that can be identified, each corresponding to the appropriate formal “requirements” in the various town quarters. Moreover, the so prominent double solid yellow lines along the edge of the roads in Great Britain have been also imported to Thames Town, even though this type of road marking has a different meaning in China. In fact, it is not even present along the edges of the Chinese roads in general; rather it is used to separate oncoming traffic between lanes when passing is not permitted. Some of these symbolic elements and pieces of urban furniture are highlighted in Figure 3.38.



Figure 3.38: Symbolic elements and urban furniture

In addition to such functional and everyday urban components, there are also ornamental spatial elements dotted around the various quarters in Thames Town. For instance, there are many sculptures, more precisely, statues of notable and (supposedly) well-known figures installed, who played an important role in the British history, such as William Shakespeare, Sir Winston Churchill and Diana, Princess of Wales. In addition, statues of celebrated fictional characters of literature and film are also present, like the Secret Agent 007, James Bond, as well as the young wizard, Harry Potter, who is prudently portrayed flying on his broom (see Figure 3.39).

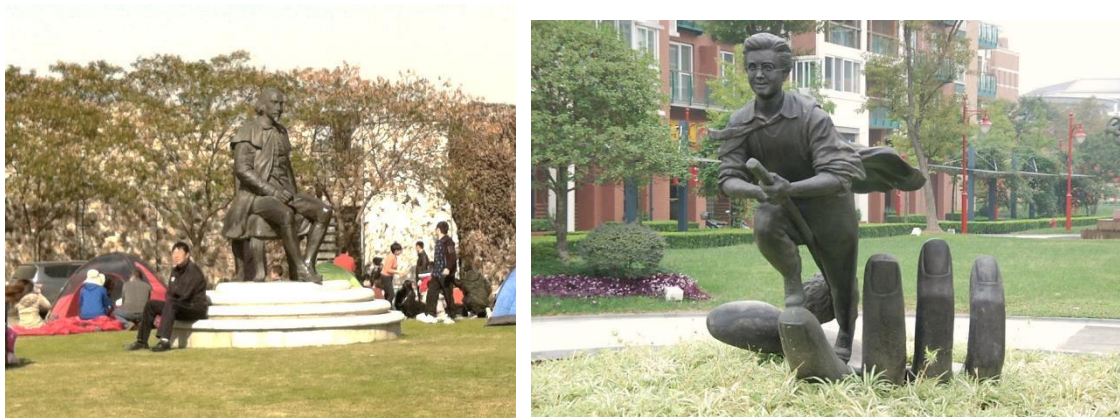


Figure 3.39: Sculptures

3.2.2 Narratives

▪ British identity

The overall image of the development seemingly is, indeed, a copy of a British rural town, more particularly, something similar that one may experience in Chester, or in the many other rural market towns in the southern British counties. Yet, unlike in the case of the Chinese Hallstatt in Guangdong province, which is a recreation of a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Austrian Alpine village of Hallstatt, Thames Town is not a carbon copy of a particular place in Great Britain. Neither was it simply designed as to be “perfection” manifested in urban planning, like in the case of the American model town of Seaside in Florida. The example of Thames Town rather resembles the small towns in the United States that were emerging in the 1960s. What I refer to is, not necessarily the townscapes that were remodelled by only portraying their ethnicity, such as the Danish town of Solvang, CA, but those places that adopted foreign typical features, both architecturally and culturally, such as the Bavarian town of Leavenworth, WA. Furthermore, I would like to point out that Thames Town had the advantage of not facing the *borders of alteration*, but the *comfort* of being designed and built on a tabula

rasa. The new town was shaped by piecing together several typical features from the imported townscapes of the faraway land of Great Britain in the pursuit of achieving something special and attractive.

The town was designed as a complex spatial entity including various urban zones depicting various architectural eras; the medieval town centre, the Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian townhouses, the (post-)modern “industrial” canal district, the high-tech waterside, contemporary apartment housings, and so forth. The complexity of the townscape suggests a certain level of urban density. The hierarchy and eclecticism of such urban spaces generates the illusion of the town’s historic development, and therefore, it creates a sense of community (see, for instance, Henriot and Minost 2017: 81; and den Hartog 2010: 122). According to Paul Rice, the design director of Atkins’s office in Shanghai, this model was a deliberate planning method. He explains that the ‘client was charmed by the storyline of an organically grown town. This make [the] plan more than just an image’ (den Hartog 2010: 122). By this means, the spatial setting of Thames Town, in fact, can be considered as a constructed narrative through a three-dimensional environment. In essence, it is storytelling without a dialogue, but with architectural elements and arrangements. However, the aforementioned building strategy of applied materials and finishes on the concrete structures with the aim to recall historic architectures, actually, indicate the opposite of being *more than just an image*. The buildings of Thames Town, representing certain styles, are simply iconic images that are carefully selected and organised into a structured arrangement of specific spatial sceneries. As such, the narrative of the organic development of the typical British urban setting is evoked by these fabricated spatial sequences of iconic images and symbols which depict various styles taken from the British architectural history.

Regardless its historic appearance, this urban environment was fully constructed in a few years in early 2000s, unlike the ones, from which these images were copied, that truly organically developed over the past centuries. Besides, as was previously discussed, the pieces of urban furniture; the telephone boxes, street lamps, traffic lights, statues and the other components that are scattered around Thames Town, also have a rather symbolic meaning than a functional role. I, therefore, would like to argue that in the cases of such themed spatial settings, like Thames Town, these pieces of urban furniture have become *spatial decorations*. These *accessories* or *props* are employed as *cultural shortcuts* in order to enhance the spatial narrative and therefore the spatial

quality of the town. In the creation of Thames Town, these spatial props play a key role, by which the locality becomes recognisable as a British rural market town with an imagined history, and which, in fact, lend the urban scene a British identity.

▪ **Chinese original copies**

As was highlighted before, Thames Town, which is designed and built with references to convey narratives of a foreign locale, is not a unique development in the world, neither is a phenomenon that can be found only in China. Bianca Bosker, in her book, *Original Copies* (2013), offers an insight into this phenomenon of mimicry in the contemporary Chinese urban environment. She carries out an extensive study and adopts the term of “simulacrum” or “simulacrascapes” to designate such residential communities in China that are modelled on historical Western prototypes (Bosker 2013: 4, 21). Several cases are featured in addition to Thames Town and the other towns included in the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan*, such as the Chinese Hallstatt, Ordos in Inner Mongolia, the several districts in the capital city of Beijing and in Hangzhou in the province of Zhejiang, and many other examples alike. Bosker takes into consideration that the attitude towards mimicry, and generally the act of copy, shares different viewpoints in Western thoughts and Chinese principles (*ibid.*: 20-36).

Since the Modern Age, the industrial advancement and its legacy of mass production, Western theories have been concerned with ‘reproduction’, ‘hyperreal’, and ‘simulation’ as well as the fear of not being able to distinguish the ‘real’ from its ‘copy’ that potentially drives our culture into the brink of futility (see, for instance, Benjamin 2008 [1935]; Eco 1986 [1973]; and Baudrillard 1994 [1981]). In contrast, while “originality”, as to “produce something unprecedented”, is considered as a great merit in China, at the same time, traditional philosophy and value systems have perceived replicas as equally “real” as the “original” since the early ages of landscape replication and classical garden design (Bosker 2013: 24-25, 28). Actually, the Chinese worldview of reproductions goes beyond the equivalency between the original and its replica. Making a copy is also an indication that its original is thought to have a highly desirable value, and in fact, it is being respected and admired by its reproduction.

Furthermore, Bosker argues, ‘to be able to make a perfect copy is to be able to take control of the world’ because a flawless replica represents an ‘advance of culture above nature’ and ‘human ingenuity’ over the material world (*ibid.*: 24). In that sense, the “act of copy” can rather be considered as the “art of copy” that instantly opens a positive

view on reproduction and those constructed simulacrascapes in the Chinese conceptual framework. It can be argued, therefore, that the peregrine spatial setting of Thames Town may be unconvincing for a foreign person, but through the lens of the Chinese people's eyes it may be seen as a contemporary site that is not only striking and enchanting, but also sincere and credible. As a matter of fact, what is faux or pastiche for a British person, that same spectacle can be very essentially British for a Chinese person. This notion is confirmed by Zhou Rong,⁸ who explains that Western architects are not necessary able to design and deliver the spatial setting that would meet the Chinese developers' expectation, but Chinese designers can ensure to satisfy the Chinese vision on the particular foreign styles (*ibid.*: 49-50). The creation of Thames Town can attest to this. The initial design works for the project was carried out in England, but the plan was further developed by Atkins's partner office in Shanghai, and other local semi-governmental and private companies (see, for instance, den Hartog 2010: 124).

What this study highlights, is that with the constructed narrative, the intention was, actually, not to replicate a perfect Britishness manifested in town planning. Instead, the aim was to pinch pieces from the historical and architectural heritage of the country and to construct an idealised scenery of a typical British townscape in the way in which it can be consumed without questioning its authenticity by the local people.

3.2.3 People

▪ Manifestation of social status

Thames Town, and in fact the other simulacra projects around Shanghai and in China, can be considered as a necessity for attaining national as well as individual fulfilment and prominence. As Bosker points out, China's former political structure set the stage for such Western-themed architectural displays (Bosker 2013: 71-73). In the heavily leftist political environment during the early years of the People's Republic of China, and the Cultural Revolution, architecture and city building were based on Soviet models of heavy industrialisation and production-based districts. Individuality and artistic ingenuity lacked both theory and practice in the field of building design and urban planning. This eventually led to an 'identity and creativity crises' in architecture all over the country (*ibid.*: 71). High density, congestion and pollution have dominated the modern Chinese cities. During this time, the country faced with a notable growing

⁸ Zhou Rong is a professor of architecture at Beijing's Tsinghua University.

population, from which the youths were sent to the countryside by the act of *rustication* of the nation as the result of the Up to the Mountain, Down to the Village Program (see, for instance, Chris Billing's movie with the same title (2005)). Yet, the growing urban population after the Cultural Revolution was still apparent and still had to be dealt with by several different policies (see, for instance, the One-child policy implemented in 1979).

At the same time, China's Reform and Opening-up policy was put in action to improve economic factors and to attain global prominence. However, in the field of architecture and urban planning, due to lack of experience and precedents, designers were struggling to catch-up with international standards of quality, and therefore, turned to the West for inspiration (see also den Hartog 2010: 78, 126). Li Xiangning calls the attention to Shanghai's multi-national past and argues that it is a city, in which, due to the foreign concessions, people are used to a "culture of congestion" (Xiangning 2010: 228). In this sense, for many locals the idea of the foreign images in the presence of the new towns dotted around the outskirts of Shanghai is actually not that eccentric. Moreover, these Western-themed designs and imported townscapes imply social importance. What I refer to is, they offer a novel form of housing development that make people forget the gloomy past. Bosker also adds that the ability to make a copy suggests the nation's achievement of 'global status' (Bosker 2013: 89). I, therefore, see that the spatial simulacra of the highly respected Western culture, in a form of planned urban communities, are designed to have a strong and prestigious identity and are created to experience the fantasy of living abroad. In essence, these milieus are very appealing as they provide platforms where potential residents can proudly showcase their certain level of sophistication, wealth, good taste and style. With other words, living in a Western-styled property is seen to indicate its inhabitants' exclusive and prestigious social status.

▪ **Countryside living in Chinese style**

With housing prices on the higher spectrum, Thames Town was certainly marketed for the middle and upper classes. According to Shen, this promised to generate higher returns on the investment (Shen 2011: 145). Regardless, properties were claimed to be sold out soon after its completion. Although, these are considered to be *speculative* buyers, because only a few actual residents moved in (see also Bosker 2013: 99; and den Hartog, 2010: 124-126). When visiting Thames Town a couple of years ago, one

could see only little signs of permanent inhabitation. As a matter of fact, there were several houses and shops along the streets that were never even occupied.

As I have mentioned before, the original idea behind the urbanisation of the farmlands in Songjiang was to release the pressure on the overpopulated city centre of Shanghai. Getting to Thames Town from the central city of Shanghai takes about 50 minutes by car with no traffic, or about two hours using public transport and taxi. Walking from the closest metro station of the newly constructed Metro Line 9, Songjiang New City, is possible, but takes about 40 minutes. This shows how far the new town is from the central city, which is not surprising. According to the developer, ‘Thames Town was meant for “countryside living”. To live here, you need a car’ (den Hartog 2010: 126). Yet, talking to locals and visitors revealed that, in addition to the high property prices, the town’s distance from Shanghai’s centre seems to be one of the main arguments regarding the success of the development. Shen’s study in fact reveals that the inhabitants of the new town in Songjiang are from the neighbouring areas, and therefore, she argues that it has a magnetic pull of its surrounding vicinity rather than of the central zones in Shanghai (Shen 2011: 190). Nevertheless, den Hartog pointed out that Thames Town was also intended to accommodate people associated with the universities at the nearby Songjiang University Town (den Hartog 2010: 122). It is about two to five kilometres away, to which the daily commute takes only about five to ten minutes by car, or about 30 to 60 minutes on foot.

What is interesting to note here is that, the targeted residents need to be not only affluent, but also more willing to misplace traditional habits and to open towards occidental lifestyles. As the residential developments were designed based on the British models, the plans deviated from local building regulations. While they may easily accommodate to the apparent shift from the traditional multi-generation living to single-family households, they also disregard other imperative local traditions and beliefs. For instance, designers broke with the essential ‘south-facing’ rule of *feng shui*, and many houses even include a basement. I would like to point out that basements are generally considered abomination in Chinese culture. The act of digging into the ground is discouraged by the rules of *feng shui*, since it may disrupt the energy flows. Moreover, it is also associated with death and burial (see also, for instance, Bosker 2013: 44-45).

During my visit, the fact, that these British-styled homes do not comply with the inhabitants, was palpable. Facilities and “*add-ons*” have been installed, most

conspicuously, to dry clothes outside (see Figure 3.40). While drying clothes even just on one's balcony is generally prohibited in Great Britain, clothes hanging on drying ropes that are formed into complex cloth-drying systems, not only on balconies or outside windows, but also on the streets in China, are ordinary. In fact, when talking to locals about the British restrictions regarding drying clothes outside premises that are visible to others, locals were surprised and questioned how the laundry becomes dry then. This is one of the examples that show the habitual differences and highlights that residential properties of the “British style” in Thames Town lack essential features that would need to conform to the needs of potential (Chinese) residents. It seems like this became evident not long after its completion as Chen Chao, project manager at SNCD, admittedly stated that some people are not able to live in these houses, and added that “it seems that the architectural style doesn't match their lifestyle” (cited in den Hartog 2010: 126).



Figure 3.40: Adapting to needs

- **Spatiovisual experience**

In addition to be an inhabited countryside settlement, Thames Town was also meant to be a place that acts as a tourist attraction in the centre of Songjiang. Visiting the site indeed revealed that the town is filled with tourists and visitors. Families set up tents

onto the green space and enjoyed the outdoors, for instance, by the statue portraying one of the most iconic figures of Great Britain, William Shakespeare (see Figure 3.41). However, it turned out that as a *spatial decoration*, or *prop for cultural shortcut*, the statue provided from little to no value to the British-themed space, as upon having a talk to some of the people there, none of them recognised him, if at all noticed, or if at all were familiar with the late writer. This poses the question whether some people visit Thames Town for its themed environment or because it provides places for relaxation, which any other public green park would do. The latter may be true in some cases, but for others strolling around the town with cameras, Thames Town as a whole is the attraction. Some of them stated that they travelled here for its unique ‘British’ ambience and ‘beautiful’ architecture.



Figure 3.41: Day out in Thames Town

The scenery of Thames Town seems to be so convincing that it is most popular for visitors as a stage, more precisely, an open-air studio for wedding photography. Since culturally Chinese people, especially the younger generation, aim to open toward a Westernised lifestyle, the foreign British-like architectural scenes of Thames Town provide an exceptional setting. The conventionally red wedding dresses are often replaced by the occidental white bridal gowns, – surely ignoring the traditionally obituary connotation of the white colour in China, but complementing the image of the British-like scenery. This theme seems to be very popular. In fact, the wedding industry has taken over the entire space of Thames Town. For instance, shops are transformed into wedding ateliers one next to another, where gowns and suits can be rented, as well as where hair and makeup can be done. What is more interesting, is that the countless

couples, with their photo crew, somewhat conquer the town's streets and parks (see various locales shown in Figure 3.42). While taking their photographs, the couples make other visitors instinctively stop or make a turn so not to interfere with their pictures. However, with their happiness, innocence and precious moments of celebrating their coming nuptial and marital life, they also add to the romanticised sentiment of the spatial scenery. I would like to argue that in this manner, these young couples became one of the most prominent protagonists of Thames Town, by whom the spatial environment is used solely as a set.

Yet, the town is not simply an appealing place where one can relax and enjoy a day trip, nor just a unique setting for the picture-perfect wedding photos. Discussions with Junjie Xi highlighted that such foreign-themed sites are also considered as places that offer, so to speak, alternatives to a three-dimensional sightseeing to abroad, in the case of Thames Town, to Great Britain.⁹ People of low income and/or at an older age generally cannot afford to pay a visit to the actual places. It needs to be highlighted again that since authenticity and originality is not an issue in the Chinese cultural context, these fabricated towns are believed to substitute the real ones with even a better spatiovisual experience by picturing only the desirable and eliminating the unpleasant.



Figure 3.42: Myriad of wedding couples

⁹ Junjie Xi is a lecturer at the School of Architecture, University of Liverpool.

CHAPTER FOUR

ZAAANSE SCHANS

4.1 Spatial Context of Zaanse Schans

The geographical location of Zaanse Schans is shown in the illustration below (Figure 4.1). The highlighted localities will be discussed in more details in the following sections.



Figure 4.1: Illustration of geographical context – Zaanse Schans

4.1.1 Historical summary of Zaanstreek

Zaanse Schans is a neighbourhood of Zaandam that is part of the Zaanstad municipality in the province of North Holland. It is located on the Kalverpolder along the Zaan River, opposite the town of Zaandijk, to the north of the capital city of Amsterdam within its metropolitan area, in the Netherlands. A good source for my research is the book by Aris van Braam, *Zaandam in de Middeleeuwen* (trans. *Zaandam in the Middle Ages*, 1993), available in Dutch language. It offers a historical review of the proximate area. In addition, Roel W. Brandt carried out extensive works on the excavation sites in Zaanstreek that is described in the works entitled *Assendelver Polder Papers* (1987).

Yet, there is scarce scholarly data available in English language that principally scrutinise the history of the Zaan region. Peter Vos offers an extensive palaeogeographical study of the so-called Oer-IJ region in his book, *Origin of the Dutch Coastal Landscape* (2015).¹ However, his work only focuses on the landscape history. There is a variety of other great resources that comprise the economic, social and cultural history of the Netherlands from the earliest settlements, through the Middle Ages, to the kingdom in the 21st century. For instance, Louwe Kooijmans *et. al.* (2005) collected a great selection of essays on the prehistorical Netherlands. Besides, only to mention a few, Grattan (1830), Kampen (1837), Davies (1851), Edmundson (1922), Hooker (1999), and more recently, State (2008), Bailey (2016) and Kennedy (2017) offer an overall comprehensive historical review of the country. The following historical summary, therefore, is based on the aforementioned resources with the attention focusing on the cultural and geographical formation of the landscape. In this brief overview, I aim to give an account on the eventful historical background of the Netherlands, and more particularly of the province of North Holland and Zaanstreek, of which Zaanse Schans is an elemental part today.

During the last ice age, glaciers reached to the north of Amsterdam and covered most parts of the present-day Netherlands. Later, due to the melting ice and natural forces, this area was under constant transformation. It was either under water or was of tidal sands, mudflats or peat marshlands. The geographic evolution of the landscape is shown in Figure 4.2. Today, most of this region, and generally the western part of the country, is below sea level and consists of a low-lying land reclaimed from the seas and rivers in a form of polders. Interestingly, the very name of the country, the Netherlands (trans. the Low Countries), in fact, denotes the physical character of its terrain. In order to create safe grounds from floods and make it more suitable for inhabitation, *man has his hands in* altering the land from the earliest ages by either building dwelling mounds, otherwise known as *terpen*,² or by creating polders through draining the wetlands. Paul F. State duly recalls the oft-heard saying that is commonly attributed to the French philosopher and mathematician, René Descartes; “if God made the world, the Dutch made Holland” (State 2008: 1).

¹ Oer-Ij is the present IJ River that runs through Amsterdam today.

² *Terpen* (sing. *terp*) are artificial mounds that served mainly as dwelling places, primarily in the northern parts of the present-day Netherlands. These will be discussed later in more details.

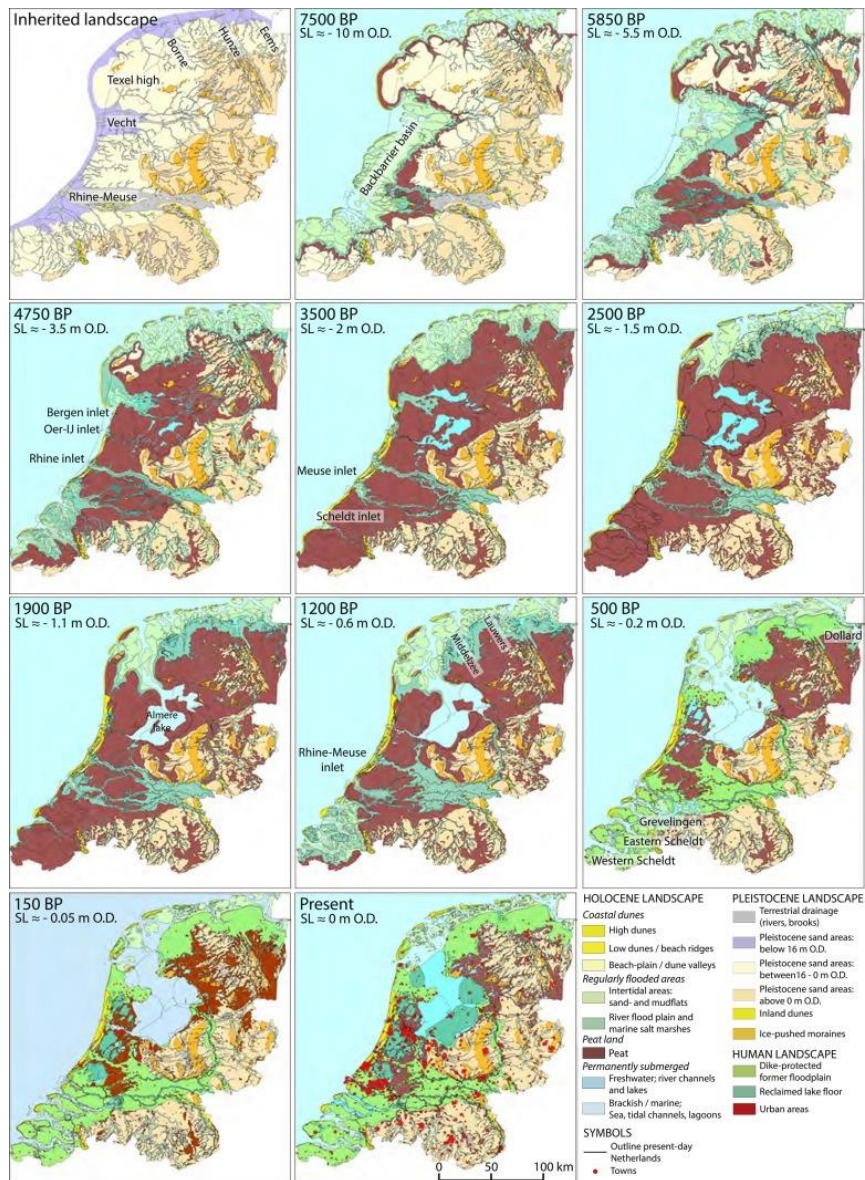


Figure 4.2: Evolution of the Dutch landscape

Even though there are evidences for very early human habitation, more precisely the presence of various roaming Palaeolithic groups of hunter-gatherers, the first permanent inhabitants settled on the loess areas in the southern regions during the years of around 5300 BCE (Roebroeks and von Gijn 2005: 87). The area of the central west coastline and the inner peat zones were only fit for permanent occupancy from about the first millennium BCE. The peat area to the north of the so-called Oer-IJ River became permanently inhabited from 600 BCE, but gained more attention only when the coastal areas became abandoned in the 1st century BCE (van Heeringen 2005: 581-583). It is presumed, however, that this area, which is at the present-day Zaanstreek, became too swampy and barely habitable between 300 and 1000 (van Braam 1993: 69). Travel here was usually by boats and on the ice sheets that formed on the waterways during winter.

The Germanic tribes, who migrated and settled here first, successfully withstand the Roman conquest in around 50 BCE. Romans then remained to rule the southern regions for centuries. The Germanic tribes eventually developed into the Frisian culture. These *Frisii* people mainly occupied the northern coastal areas. Later, the kingdom of *Frisia Magna* (650-734) was formed that comprised the area of today's North Holland and reached to Jutland in northern Denmark. The Frankish attacked the kingdom for years and eventually succeeded by 734, hence *Frisia* was incorporated within the Frankish Kingdom. Afterwards, it became part of Lotharingia and then the Duchy of Lower Lorraine as part of the Holy Roman Empire. In 880, the County of Holland was formed, and Zaanstreek was permanently reoccupied not long after, in around 1000. It soon developed into a dominant industrial region within the County of Holland which was initially part of the Holy Roman Empire, then the Burgundian Netherlands (1432-1482), the Habsburg Netherlands (1482-1581) and finally the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, otherwise known as the Dutch Republic (1581-1795). In the course of the Eighty Years' War, between 1568 and 1648, many areas of Zaanstreek were occupied by the assailant Spaniards.

Ultimately, the successful Dutch revolt against the Spanish conquest only made the Republic stronger. Although, during the Batavian Republic (1795-1806), which was a client state of France, the County of Holland was divided into three departments, Delf (the southern area), Texel (the northern area), and Amstel (the middle area including Amsterdam). The latter two were united as *Amstelland* in 1806 under the government of the Kingdom of Holland, and then was directly administered by the French Empire between 1810 and 1813. In the next year, the County of Holland was reinstated and *Amstelland* was reunited with the southern department. It roughly covered the area of the present provinces of South Holland and North Holland, which were established by the division of the former county in 1840.

As a result of the low-lying lands and unregulated waterways, the threat of tides and floods, and generally, the struggles with water have remained endemic and become intolerable. From the 7th century consequent flood prevention has commenced. Artificial dikes became widespread on the coastal line to avert seawater inflow to the fertile farmlands. The management of the marshy inland areas begun in around the 10th century, and wetlands were systematically drained, making these regions (more) inhabitable. In this manner, as a cluster of reclaimed lands, Zaanstreek was beginning to form at around this time. Van Bram states that the exact date is unknown, however, he

discusses that some suggest the area was in the process of drainage as early as the 10th century, and others place this date later in the 11th or 12th centuries (van Braam 1993: 99). Creating such polders farther from the coastal areas, however, required water pumps and energy in order to activate them and lift the water out into the canals, thence the rivers and the sea. By harnessing natural forces, wooden windmills made this technique possible and were set up across Zaanstreek.

The growing number of such windmills along the Zaan River became a dominant feature of the Dutch landscape. Soon, they were used not only as water pumps, but also as sawmills, oil mills, paint mills, paper mills, peel mills, threshing mills, and so forth. The map shown in Figure 4.3 gives an idea about the number and density of windmills in Zaanstreek. By 1600, there were about 1000 mills in operation across the region (Schipper 1987: 172; and Kleij 2017: 89). Only Zaandam, for instance, was dotted with approximately 600 mills by 1700 (Bailey 2016: 150). The region grew to be a prosperous and important industrial district, not only within the republic, but also gained recognition worldwide. With an open connection to the sea, towns developed into prominent international ports, predominantly Amsterdam. This prominent growth made the country famous for its local trades of wood cutting, shipbuilding, paper making, beer brewing, tulip cultivation, dairy farming and cheese making, only to mention a few, alongside the exotic imported goods that were processed in the mills, such as spices, tobacco, coffee and cocoa.

Due to the booming maritime trades, the Dutch became one of the most influential colonising nations of the time. Beside the affluent industries and major economic growth, the nation excelled in other cultural fields too, like philosophy, sciences, arts and architecture (see, for instance, Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Jan Leeghwater (1575-1650), Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), and Jacob van Campen (1596-1657)). It is not surprising then that this era, which spans through the 17th century, is commonly referred to as the Dutch Golden Age. However, as a result of industrial developments, the introduction of the steam engines reformed customs in terms of energy base from the mid-1800s. Wooden windmills were gradually replaced by the more powerful machineries, factories and warehouses, and thus, Zaanstreek went through a fundamental shift in the industrial structure (see also, for instance, Davids 2015). At present, industry is still significant, mainly food and agricultural, but to a lesser degree. It can be argued that most of the still standing wooden windmills in Zaanstreek today became symbolic pieces of the once affluent industrial heritage.

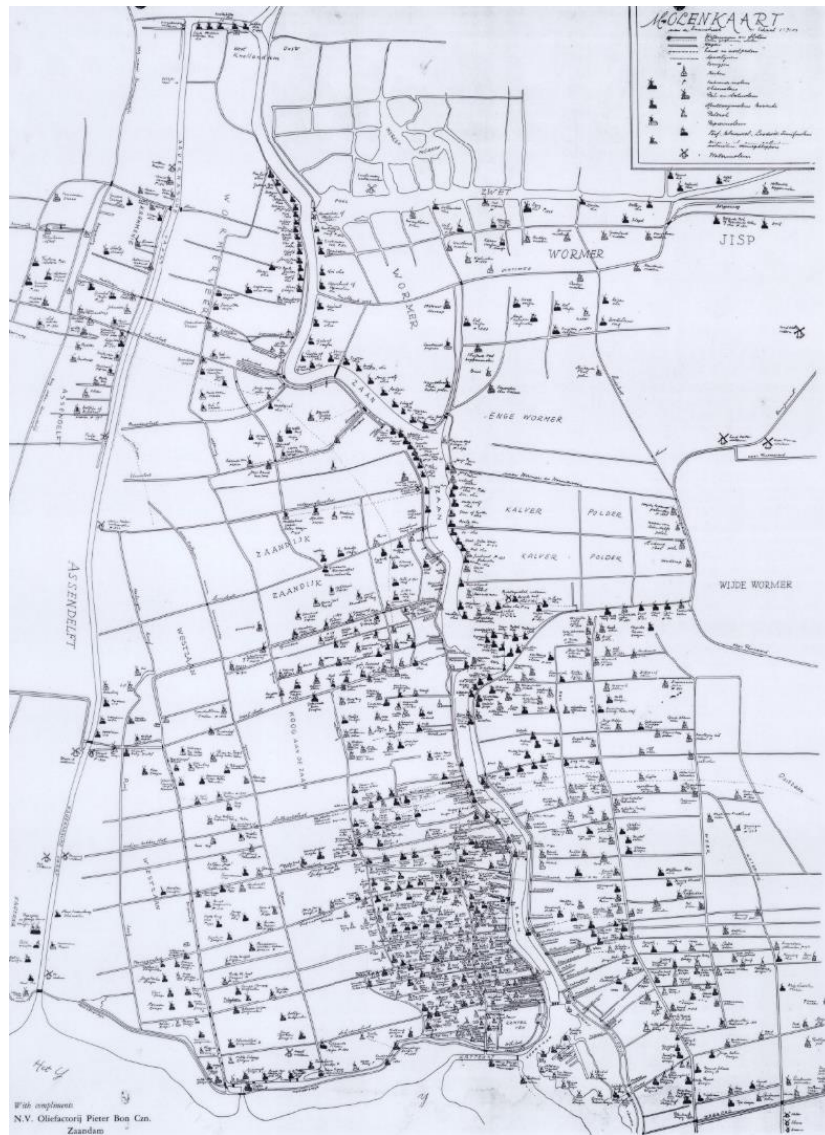


Figure 4.3: Map of Mills in Zaanstreek

This brief historical review highlighted that, from a very early era, the natural topography of the low-lying wetlands has been a key element in serious struggles, but also in brilliant accomplishment. It fostered developments in the field of architecture and engineering and then made the nation to be centred on an affluent industrial culture and naval exploits. Interestingly, throughout the years and under various realms, this area of the former province of Holland has preserved its unique character; the quintessential landscape of dikes, polders, canals, wooden houses and windmills (see for instance, Kennedy 2017: 4). In order to investigate the contextual spatial environment of Zaanse Schans, similarly to the previous case study of Thames Town, the next sections will address first the *vernacular architecture* of the low-lying lands. Then, I will examine the *historical sites* and traditional architectural features, and ultimately, the *contemporary architectural developments* in the close vicinity.

4.1.2 Vernacular architecture in Zaanstreek

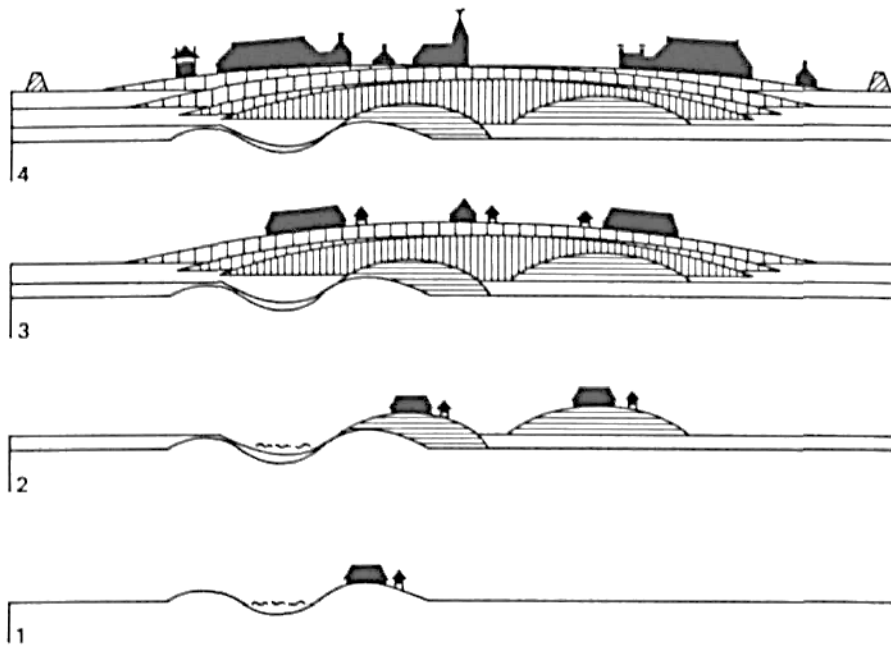
There are several major archaeological sites across the country revealing prehistoric topographies, housing and settlement layouts, building structures and architectural features of different cultural periods. As such, these confirm that the present area of the Netherlands gave home to several cultures in the prehistoric ages, such as the Swifterbant (c. 5300-3400 BCE), Funnel Beaker (c. 4300-2800 BCE), Bell Beaker (c. 2800-1800), Elp (c. 1800-800 BCE), Ems (c. 1100-500 BCE), and Frisian (c. 250-12 BCE), only to mention a few (see, for instance, Kooijmans 2005). The earliest traces at the Oer-IJ region were found from 1900 BCE in Velsersbroek (Therkorn 2008: 91). The excavation site at the Assendelpolder also offers valuable findings in relation to the vernacular culture (Brandt 1987). Both sites are in close proximity to Zaanse Schans. They are located about 10 to 15 kilometres away.

As was mentioned above, the area was suitable for permanent habitation from 1000 BCE. Yet, excavations revealed that it was only occupied temporarily or on a seasonal basis (*ibid.*). The unearthed remains of farmsteads suggest that permanent occupation more likely took place between 600 BCE and 300 CE, and then again from the 10th century onwards. Van Braam highlights that there was no prominent occupancy in other areas in Zaanstreek even at that time (*ibid.*: 78). Therefore, due to the sparse, intermittent and even non-existent habitation of this area, prehistoric housing and settlement features that are more relevant to the further northern regions will not be included in this section. However, taking into consideration the fact that Zaanse Schans was intentionally created in the way in which it features a planned spatial scenery on an artificially made polder, this section will rather focus on the eminently Dutch, man-made landscapes. I will look into the origins of the artificially raised, ramparted terrains and drained farmlands, which prevail predominantly across the northern coastal regions and the province of North Holland.

- ***Terpen***

The first man-made mounds were built in around the 6th century BCE in the northern coastal areas of the Netherlands, in the present provinces of Friesland and Groningen, with the intention to create liveable fields and/or protect dwelling places that were often exposed to floods and high tides. These artificial mounds are very typical to these provinces; yet, they spread across the shoreline of the North Sea from North Holland through the north-western coastline of Germany to the south-western part of Denmark.

Jaap Boersma discusses them in greater details and points out that they are commonly referred to as *terpen* and replaced the original term of *wierden*, which is only continued to be used in Groningen (Boersma 2005: 556-560). From here on, I will refer to such artificial mounds as *terpen*. Boersma explains and illustrates a schematic representation of the development of a *terp*:



1. First phase of occupation on a levee bordering a stream.
2. Accumulation of refuse and the raising of the surface level with sods cause the occupied area to grow in height and circumference (horizontally hatched area). This takes place in response to floods resulting in new deposits. A house *terp* is erected on such a new deposit (also horizontally hatched).
3. In the next phases the two *terpen* are raised and expanded jointly (vertically hatched). The gulley, which meanwhile fell dry, has disappeared beneath the *terp*.
4. The expansion of the *terp* comes to an end with the construction of dikes. Buildings are made of stone and become more varied. This marks the beginning of the development of the present-day *terp* village. (*ibid.*)

Such dwelling mounds are the first tangible proofs that the inhabitants not only confront with the elements of nature, but, more importantly for my argument in this research, also shape the natural environment in accordance with their way of life (see also State 2008: 4). *Terpen* were raised with turfs and sods, and combined with human and animal refuse. Today, only a few have remained since such fertile soil was excavated and used for cultivation purposes over the ages. In its time, though, there were hundreds, if not thousands of *terpen* emerged in various sizes, shapes and types. Accordingly, the dwelling mounds could rise from less than one meter to almost nine meters in height and were laid out in different patterns, such as circular or rectangular, as can be seen in Figure 4.4.³

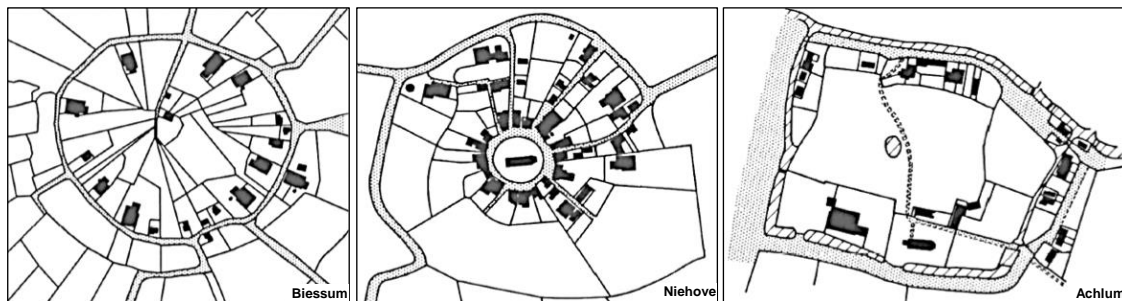


Figure 4.4: Various layouts of *terpen*

Dotted trails are roads; the hatched is water; and the hatched zone in the middle of the settlement at Achlum indicates drinking water.

There were *terpen* as ‘raised podiums’ only for one house or a farmstead, or for pasture, or solely for a church and cemetery, which eventually ‘fused’ together, for an entire village (Boersma 2005: 558-560). For instance, the inner city of Amsterdam and some other towns in North Holland, like Zaandam and Assendelft, were founded in such *house terpen* that grew together as a *village terp* in the Middle Ages (*ibid.*). As was also highlighted above, with the construction of dikes around this time, the development of *terp* came to an end. By this means, dikes have provided a cheaper and safer water protection system against floods in areas that lie below sea-level.

³ There are *terpen* also in an elongated layout in which houses and buildings are accumulated along a main street, however, this type has been found mostly in Germany (Boersma 2005: 560).

▪ Polder

People returned to the marshy peat area at the north of the Oer-IJ River in around the 10th century. According to archaeological findings, the Assendelpolder was first inhabited permanently along the waterlines, and then people moved further inwards to the even swampier region. The direction of land exploitation is shown in Figure 4.5. The land had to be drained in order to be used for arable farming. Therefore, farmers dug long channels in the peat soil in which water could be directed away. These initially hand-dug ditches were parallel to each other and in between, the land dried out. These elongated peat cushions served as arable farmlands, on which individual farmsteads were built. Unlike the typical one- or three-aisle longhouses in other neighbouring regions, such farmsteads in the Zaan district usually consisted of separate structures of a house, byre and hay barrack (Schipper 1987: 173).

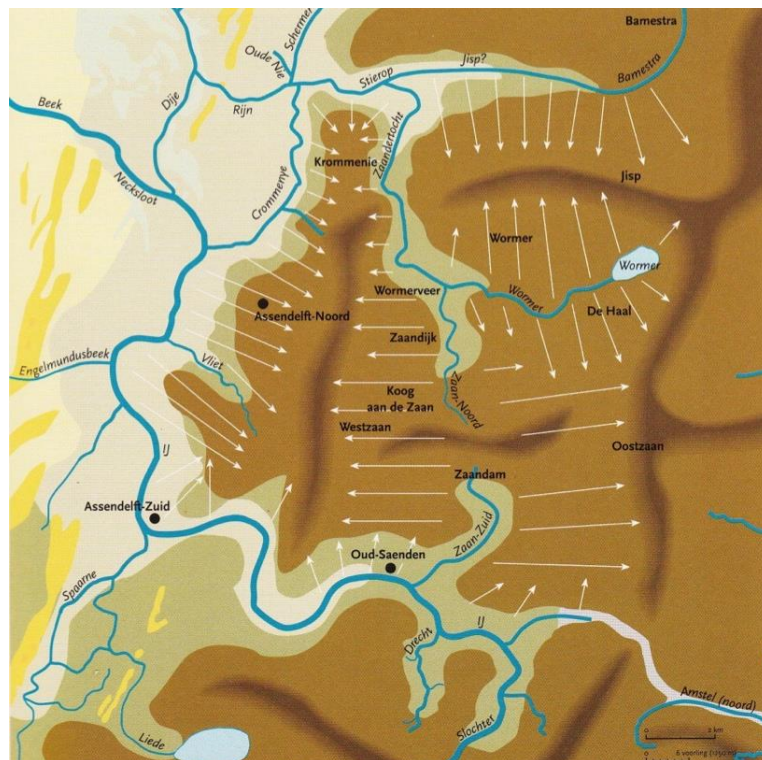


Figure 4.5: Exploitation of Zaanstreek in c. 1000

Soon, as the peat desiccated, it collapsed and sunk even lower. The subsidence of the land not only caused infertile soil, but also the need for protection from floods. Consequently, the land was used for only pasture, and dikes were built along the canals and riverbanks. The geographical development of the peat area, including the Zaan River, is shown in Figure 4.6.

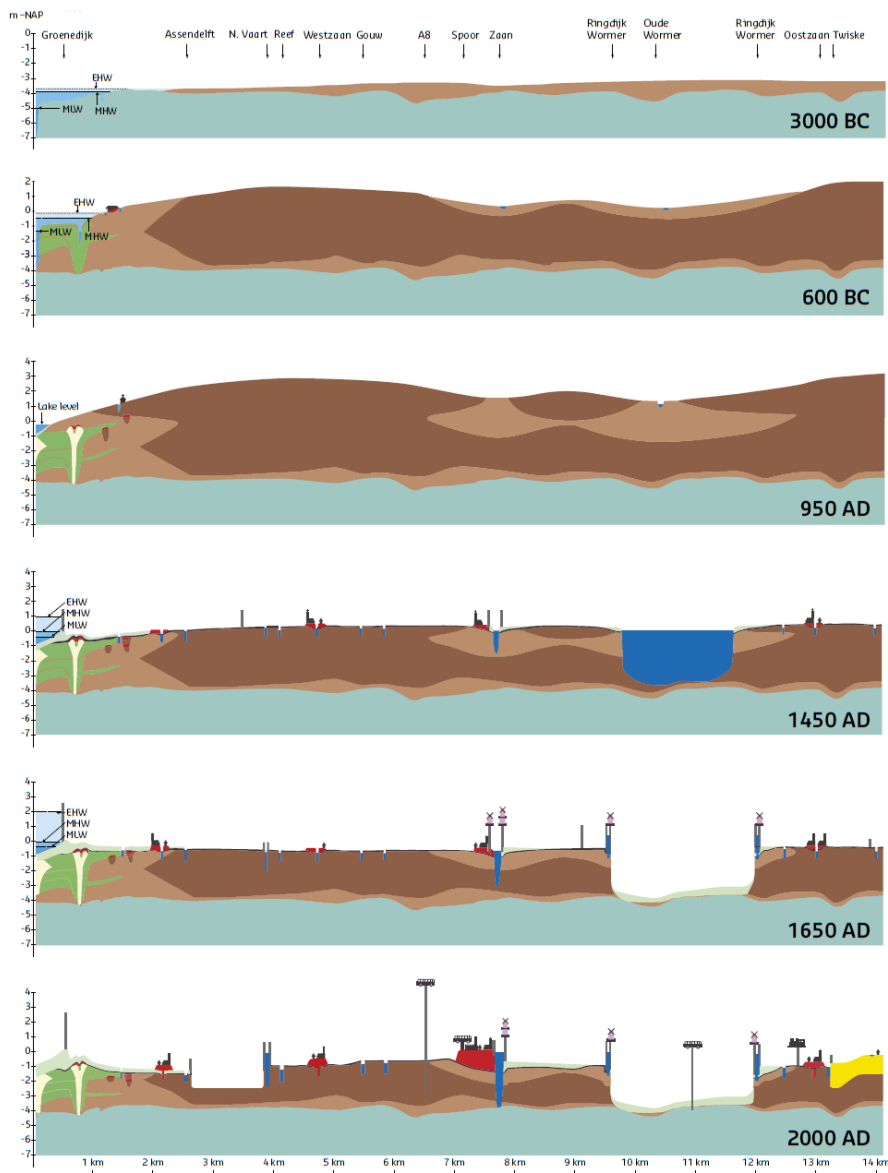


Figure 4.6: Geographical development of the peat region (3000 BCE – 2000 CE)

The dikes served as safer sites by the life-giving water. Therefore, the medieval towns developed alongside these dikes in a rather linear form, as opposed to a circular layout. The towns of Zaanstreek are typical examples of such practice. Like so, the Kalverpolder was born, on which situates Zaanse Schans as well as the historic neighbourhood of Haaldersbroek (which will be discussed further in the section below). Interestingly at the east and the west side of the polder, the canals run in opposite directions as can be seen in Figure 4.7; in a somewhat north-south direction at the eastern part and east-west direction at the western part by the river. This probably suggests that the two areas were created in different times, or more probably, the waterways were under various water management divisions as they are today (Municipality of Zaanstad, Chapter 5.4). Windmills were utilised initially as water

pumps that were later normally replaced with oil and electric engines. However, as an exception, an American wind engine, a so-called *roos mole* (trans. rose mill), aka *Herkules*, is still standing at the eastern part of Kalverpolder maintaining the optimal water level (see Figure 4.8).

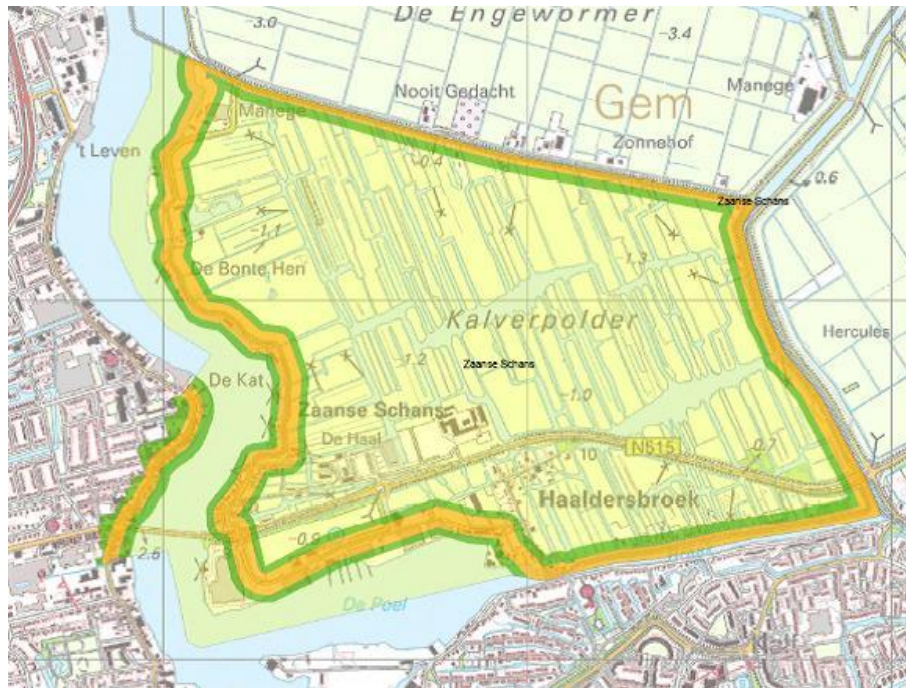


Figure 4.7: Kalverpolder

Highlighted area also includes Gortershoek on the other side of the river.



Figure 4.8: Herkules

In view of the above, it is clear that the ever-changing landscape of the Netherlands, including particularly the Zaanstreek, is not only the result of nature, but also the diligence of the inhabitants. From the very early times, Dutch people have not simply adopted their life to the environment, but also learnt to regulate and control it. Moreover, they actually transform it into inhabitable lands, from which the establishment of Zaanse Schans is only a few steps further; as per transporting the entire buildings and structures to create a historic village.

4.1.3 Historical sites in Zaanstreek

Hailing from the Dutch Golden Age industrial culture, the traditional archetypal architecture that characterises Zaanstreek is featured fundamentally at Zaanse Schans. In fact, its pure existence was a deliberate strategy ‘to create a typical Zaans residential area’ (Zaanse Schans). For this reason, the specific spatial and architectural characteristics of such Middle Ages’ industrial sites and structures will be discussed in the next chapter, which elaborates on the architectural analysis of this case study (Chapter 4.2.1). This section, however, will highlight the spatial context, the nearby sites and structures that are in relation to Zaanse Schans and carry historical value. Amsterdam Marketing features Zaanstreek as the ‘traditional Holland’ scenery with its ‘picturesque villages and water-rich landscapes as well as industrial-heritage sites’ (Amsterdam Marketing 2006: 1). Indeed, the characteristic of Zaanstreek cannot be better described than the way Amsterdam Marketing did:

‘Just north of Amsterdam lies an idyllic, largely man-made landscape. This is where Holland is quintessentially Holland, with ruler-straight canals, winding ditches, drawbridges, ancient wooden houses, traditional windmills and classic Dutch farmsteads. Thickly green pastures with grazing cows, sheep and horses stretch in all directions, with always at least one church tower visible on the horizon.’ (*ibid.*)

This highlights the essence of the present spatial context of the region that is mainly agricultural with a hint of industrial heritage, which was reliant on the natural forces of wind and water. In view of that, and since this region would not have become what it is today without the significant role it played during the industrial upsurge, beside the fact that Zaanse Schans was designed as a model industrial village, this section will focus on the architectural legacy of the industrial era. I will examine the early and modern industrial sites as well as the traditional industrial Zaan towns nearby.

▪ Industrial heritage sites

In their book, *The First Modern Economy* (1997), Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude provide a comprehensive economic history of the Netherlands. They place their extensive analysis of the country in its European and world context and argue that the Dutch established the first modern economy rising from the Golden Age. Likewise, some resources state that, in such an ‘enormous scale’, Zaanstreek became the first industrial region in Europe in the 16th century (see, for instance, Kleij 2017: 89-90; and Zaanse Schans). Others agree that ‘wind power had created the first industrial Revolution in Europe’ and even go further claiming that ‘such a concentration of industrial power [at Zaanstreek] existed nowhere else in the world’ at that time (Woelfle 1997: 29). Amsterdam Marketing simply promotes the area of ‘the lush Zaanstreek’ as ‘the oldest industrial area of the world’ (Amsterdam Marketing 2016:1). In any case, the argument is based on the fact that the region developed into a prominent and influential trade and maritime centre, and which was the cause of the thousands of mills that processed and produced goods using the power of wind force long before the modern industrial era of motorised engines. Regardless of the technical advancement, for mainly touristic reasons and preserving cultural heritage, some of these traditional windmills are still operating in the area, also outside Zaanse Schans. Many of the refurbished mills are listed on the official site of *De Zaanse Molen* (The Zaan Mill Association). Figure 4.9 shows *De Ooijevaar* and *De Bleek Dood* as prominent examples.

One of the earliest windmills, *De Ooijevaar* (trans. The Stork), is located next to Zaanse Schans just on the opposite side from the *Julianabrug* (trans. Juliana Bridge) on the Kalverpolder. It was originally built in Assendelft in 1622 as an oil mill, which was demolished and rebuilt in its current location in 1669. It has an octagonal plan with wooden structures, detached from its wooden storehouse. After the Second World War, the mill was not in use. In 1956, under the ownership of *De Zaanse Molen*, various refurbishments were carried out, and today it is used as a workshop. Over the river stands the great example, *De Bleek Dood* (trans. The Pale Death). It also has an octagonal layout and wooden structure, and painted green wooden cladding. As a flourmill, it was built in 1656 at the southern riverbank of Zaandijk. In the middle of the 19th century, the mill fell into disuse, hence decay. In 1950, however, it was also taken under the ownership of *De Zaanse Molen*, and soon after, radical restorations were carried out in 1954 and later in 2001. Today, the flourmill is in operation again. What may also make this site even more interesting is that it is regarded as the oldest still existing wooden mill in the entire country (*ibid.*).



Figure 4.9: *De Ooijevaar* (left) and *De Bleek Dood* (right)

Due to the high risk of fire in urban areas, such as Amsterdam, wooden structures were replaced by brick or stone buildings. In less urbanised areas, where houses were detached and therefore fire risks were lower, buildings and factories with brick walls only emerged later in the late 19th century (Schipper 1987: 171). Numerous factories arose along the Zaan River from then onwards, of which many are still in use. Figure 4.10 shows *De Stijfselabriek De Bijenkorf*, the old starch production company in Koog aan den Zaan that is the industrial town between Zaandam and Zaandijk. It was one of the prominent factories founded in 1895 by Honig Breet. Likewise, the former soap factory of *De Adelaar* (trans. The Eagle) is another great component to the early modern industrial Zaan landscape. The original stone factory was entirely destroyed by fire in 1906, but a new factory, as can be seen in Figure 4.10, was completed soon after in 1908 with the iconic water tower, on which a reinforced concrete eagle poses (van der Kleij 1975).

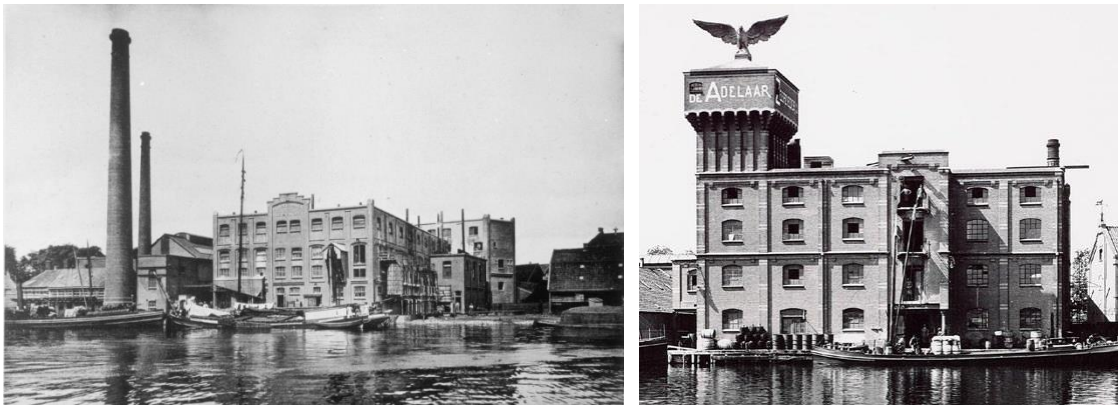


Figure 4.10: The old starch factory in 1910 (left) and the former soap factory in 1912 (right)

▪ **Traditional Zaan towns**

The apparent industrial upsurge of the Dutch Golden Age called forth substantial urbanisation and town developments. Figure 4.11 illustrates the growth, as well as the decline, of urbanisation in the Northern Netherlands, comparing Holland with the other provinces (de Vries and van der Woude 1997: 52-66).

	Holland	Other Provinces	Total
<i>Number of Cities</i>			
ca. 1525	17	21	38
ca. 1675	23	38	61
ca. 1750	21	39	60
1795	19	42	61
1815	20	43	63
<i>Total Urban Population</i>			
ca. 1525	120,000	180,000	300,000
ca. 1675	540,000	275,000	815,000
ca. 1750	475,000	280,000	755,000
1795	469,000	312,000	781,000
1815	429,000	332,000	761,000
<i>Urbanization Rate (%)</i>			
ca. 1525	44	22	27
ca. 1675	61	27	42
ca. 1750	61	25	39
1795	60	24	37
1815	57	23	35

Figure 4.11: The urbanisation of the Northern Netherlands (towns of at least 2500)

Accordingly, in the province of Holland from c. 1525 to c. 1675, the urbanisation rate grew by 17%, the total urban population grew by 4.5 times and the number of towns increased from 17 to 23. What this shows is that the province of Holland achieved a high-level urbanisation already in the early 16th century. Moreover, the population of the Zaan region, in particular, rose by four times from 1514 to 1750 (see Figure 4.12).

	1514	1622	circa 1650	circa 1680	circa 1750
Holland north of the IJ:					
Seven cities ^d	22	64	70	—	35
Zaan region	7	20	24	—	28
Rural population	52	106	117	—	65
Total	81	109	211	188	128
Holland south of the IJ:					
Twelve cities ^d	105	299	—	—	—
Rural population	89	183	—	—	—
Total	194	482		695	655
Grand total	275	672		883	783

Figure 4.12: The population of the province of Holland (in thousands)

It can be argued, that such degree of urbanisation has transformed the formerly rural landscape along the Zaan River. To begin with, the town of Zaandam developed into a quintessential Dutch industrial city due to its thriving shipbuilding industry and its prominent location close to Amsterdam at the mouth of the Zaan. Additionally, further north along the shoreline early industrial small settlements appeared, such as Koog aan den Zaan, Zaandijk and Wormerveer. Over time, these rudimentary settlements developed into modern industrial towns with the ever-growing grand-scale factories and associated industrial zones. At the same time, despite modern industrialisation, there are also small neighbourhoods that preserved the historic spatial quality. They feature painted wooden buildings with white framed openings and often gabled roofs, which are decorated with carved white cornices. These characteristics, which will be discussed in more details in the next chapter, have become associated with the early industrial era. I would like to highlight here two of these neighbourhoods due to their close proximity to the site of Zaanse Schans, namely, Haaldersbroek and Gortershoek (see illustration in Figure 4.13). Both neighbourhoods gained the status of a nationally protected village; Gortershoek in 1986 and Haaldersbroek in 1990 (Municipality of Zaanstad, Chapter 2.1).



Figure 4.13: Kalverpolder, including Haaldersbroek and Zaanse Schans, and Gortershoek

Haaldersbroek, shown in Figure 4.14, is located on the southern edge of the Kalverpolder. Presumably, the neighbourhood was inhabited as early as the 13th century. It was originally a farming village, which later became part of the industrial spatial context. Mills and small factories were set up in the close proximity and the village offered housing for the workers. From the prominent industrial towns over the river, Zandijk and Koog aan den Zaan, Haaldersbroek was only accessible by boat. Despite the high level of industrialisation during the 19th century, it still preserved its pastoral village landscape with the small-scale wooden houses (*ibid.*: Chapter 2.1.3). Even today, the main old street is car-free and, therefore, only accessible on foot or by bicycle.



Figure 4.14: Haaldersbroek

In the same way, Gortershoek, shown in Figure 4.15, remained as the residential quarter, but rather for the wealthier merchants. The first buildings were built around 1500 and developed into a popular location in the 17th and 18th centuries (*ibid.*: Chapter 2.1.2). One of the early examples built in this era is the renowned *Honig Breethuis* (1709). It features a brick and wooden structure with white frames, cornices and carved gable roof (see in Figure 4.16). Today, Gortershoek is the historical neighbourhood of Zaandijk. It is located just opposite Zaanse Schans over the river, contouring the shoreline with its authentic Zaan houses.



Figure 4.15: Gortershoek



Figure 4.16: *Honig Breethuis* (1709)

Looking at the historical sites in the close vicinity of Zaanse Schans, it becomes evident that as the area was created, it became to power the industrial growth not only for the region itself, but also contributed to the country's wealth as a whole. Both the industrial units, including the individual structures of windmills, and the suburban districts of the traditional Zaan towns point to that direction. As such, its historical heritage is well preserved. It needs to be highlighted that the area is still an important industrial region, although most of the aforementioned historical sites are more likely exploited as a mainspring for tourism. These aspects are also reflected in many of the more recent architectural and urban developments, including factories and industrial units as well as tourist sites, of which some fundamentally bases its design concept on the local, traditional architectural forms.

4.1.4 Contemporary architectural developments in Zaanstreek

Looking at the more recent architectural developments around the site of Zaanse Schans, one can find various examples that can be grouped into three sub-sections. First of all, the most conspicuous structures are the vast factories and gigantic industrial units. Secondly, Kalverpolder embraces a variety of projects. For instance, with the intention of better connection and road access, the infrastructure on the polder from the 1930s has become prominent. In addition, the developments of the Zaans Museum and the Catholic Secondary School of St Michaël College found places right next to Zaanse Schans, on the southern part of the polder. Thirdly, a little bit further from the actual site of the case study, yet, the contemporary urban development in the city centre of Zaandam is striking in the way in which it features *Zaan-style* architecture. Accordingly, in this section I will highlight a brief description of the local factories that are in the view from Zaanse Schans, the modern sites at the Kalverpolder and the developments in Zaandam city centre. It needs to be highlighted that this is not a critical analysis of these modern and contemporary buildings and structures; rather it is a collection of sites that gives an insight to the spatial context of Zaanse Schans.

▪ Factories

As was discussed above, Zaanstreek has preserved its predominant character of being an essentially industrial region throughout the centuries. Factories of large-scale, mainly food companies, are present in the close vicinity of Zaanse Schans. For instance, one can pass along the Olam Cocoa factory on the way to Zaanse Schans from the railway

station (Figure 4.17). Despite its voluminous scale, as seen on the aerial view, some of building units of the factory are less noticeable than the smell of cocoa in the air. For instance, from the sidewalk on the left, including the factory's office buildings are seemingly consistent with the surrounding. From the waterfront, on the other hand, the plant is more protruding next to the mill of *De Bleek Dood*.



Figure 4.17: Olam Cocoa factory

From top left to bottom: view from the sidewalk; aerial view; and view from the waterfront

Opposite the river, the factory building of the Duyvis peanut and nut manufacturer is situated next to *De Ooijevaar* mill, overriding the wooden structure and dominating the landscape (Figure 4.18). The company was founded in 1806 by Teewis Duyvis, who worked on the oil-mill, and two other mills, pressing oil as a by-product of cattle feed. The company was inherited from generations to generation and started trading with peanuts and nuts in 1961. The contemporary manufacturing plant was built in 1991 (Duyvis).

Furthermore, taking one of the examples from the modern factories mentioned previously, *De Stijselfabriek De Bijenkorf* has expanded year by year. Today, it is owned by the British Tate and Lyle food processing company. The additional

manufacturing units, which have practically overgrown the original building, can be seen over the river in close distance (Figure 4.19).



Figure 4.18: Duyvis



Figure 4.19: Tate & Lyle

▪ **Kalverpolder**

The Kalverpolder was rather an isolated land from the more developed western bank of the Zaan River until the *Julianabrug* was opened in 1936, pictured in Figure 4.20. Then, the Leegwaterweg, which is the main road that runs through the polder, was constructed by the year of 1938. In that way, the bridge and road provided easier access and a better connection to the polder. The original bridge was demolished in 2008 due to high maintenance costs (SD+P; and Antea Group). The present structure, shown in Figure 4.21, as a ‘stripe across the water’, replaced the original structure (Smits). It was built in its place in 2009. According to the architect, Joris Smits, the aim was to design a

‘subtle bridge that blends in with the historical surroundings’ (*ibid.*). The bridge has won several prizes, such as the Dutch Concrete Prize 2009, the European Concrete Prize 2010, and the Routepluim 2011 (SD+P; and Antea Group).



Figure 4.20: Julianabrug

In order: the construction of *Julianabrug* and the formation of the Leeghwaterweg (9 May 1935); and the official opening of the *Julianabrug* on 2 July 1936



Figure 4.21: The new Julianabrug (2009)

The Zaans Museum and the St Michaël College are located on the Leeghwaterweg. The college was founded in 1956 as a Catholic secondary school (Brans 2006). It was housed in temporary buildings until the modern concrete buildings with brick façades were constructed in 1965 (see Figure 4.22). Originally the school included a side chapel for religious purposes, however, as the time passed, it became unused and eventually was demolished. Over the years, however, the school expanded. The latest developments and refurbishments were carried out between 2004 and 2008 by the de Jong Gortemaker Algra design firm (see official website). It included additional building units at the front of the site, shown in Figure 4.23, which correspond with the design features of the existing units.



Figure 4.22: St Michaël College in the 1960s



Figure 4.23: St Michaël College including the new units

The Zaans Museum, designed by Cor van Hillo, was built in 1998. According to Hillo, “the intention was to give the building a sober look, [...] with the use of untreated materials,” such as concrete, wood and copper cladded roof (Nieuwkoop 1999: 26). In 2009, the museum expanded with a new wing, the Verkade Pavilion. It is an exhibition space for the Verkade Experience, in which the history and archives of the well-known Dutch company of chocolate and biscuit manufacturer, Verkade, is on showcase (Zaans Museum). In line with the original museum building, the concrete structure with glass tile cladding gives the impression of the pavilion “floating” in the water (see in Figure 4.24).



Figure 4.24: The Zaans Museum (left) and the Verkade Pavilion (right)

▪ **Zaandam**

In recent years, Zaandam city centre went through a significant regeneration in the course of the Inverdam urban development project by Soeters Van Eldonk architects. The program incorporated the Inntel Hotels, the Town Hall and associated offices and library, in addition to retail, public buildings, public transport hub, residential housings and others. Designed by the Molenaar and van Winden Architecten (WAM Architecten), the Inntel Hotel was the first project completed in 2010. The aim of the project was to ‘reintroduce atmosphere into the somewhat impersonal and dull town centre [by] employing magnified stylistic features of the historical Zaanse Schans village’ (Molenaar and van Winden). The result was an artificial waterway, including a waterfall, running along a terraced-like hotel unit, and the main building that features an interesting collage of the various *Zaan-style* façades mounted up into a twelve-storey tower building (see in Figure 4.25). The core structure of the complex is concrete, which is covered by the montage of these symbolic colourful imageries. In a similar way, the concrete walls are clad by fake gabled roofs that hide the structural flat roof behind (see in Figure 4.26).

Near the hotel, the newly-built Town Hall buildings are located, shown in Figure 4.26. The project was designed by Soeters Van Eldonk architects and opened in 2012 (Architectenweb 2012). The building complex, similarly to the hotel, was also constructed as a concrete structure that is covered by the various images of the Zaan architectural characteristics. Undoubtedly, all the features of the green, black and maybe blue painted wooden façades, white opening frames, white cornices and gable-like roofs, have only symbolic connotation.



Figure 4.25: Inntel Hotel – the terraced-like units (left) and the main building (right)



Figure 4.26: Zaandam Town Hall (and the roof of the Inntel Hotel’s terraced-like units)

With regard to the few examples of contemporary architectural developments in the area, which were highlighted in this section, it can be concluded that there are various design approaches to architecture and spatial planning. The architectural characteristics of the newly built factories and industrial units follow the purposeful, serviceable and functional requirements. Likewise, the modern architectural developments next to the site of Zaanse Schans on the Kalverpolder, the bridge, the museum with its new wing and the refurbished school building, all reflect the period-correct architectural design trends. Interestingly, however, the most recent developments in Zaandam seem to be seeking new approaches to local traditional architecture by employing symbolic and iconic formal images from the highly acclaimed early industrial era.

4.2 Analysis of Zaanse Schans

4.2.1 Architecture

▪ Urban setting

Zaanse Schans was developed on about a kilometre long strip alongside the Zaan River at the western side of the Kalverpolder. It is located in the heart of the industrial region of the Zaanstreek, about an hour away from Amsterdam by bicycle and less than 30 minutes by car or public transport.⁴ The initial intention for the project was to preserve the architectural heritage from the 1800s industrial era in the way in which a typical Zaan neighbourhood was established. Similar to the neighbouring hamlet of Haaldersbroek, the streets of Zaanse Schans are generally car-free, except some areas for services. There is a designated parking lot for residents only by one of the entrances of the site, from which the houses can be reached on foot. The first houses were transported to the south-western part of the site and restored to their former state. A little settlement of initially three streets – namely the main road of Kalverringdijk running through the site, and two pathways, Zonnewijzerspad and Zeilenmarkerspad – was created across the canals and lands in the early years of the 1960s. Since then, the site has developed further, also with windmills, warehouses and barns, mainly along the river shore to the north of the Kalverpolder and inwards to the lands along the Leeghwaterweg (see, for instance, Zaanse Schans, History). Figure 4.27 illustrates the structure of the site.

As a result, Zaanse Schans has become an ensemble of residential housings, farmsteads, merchants and manufacturing units in a shell of the distinctive architectural physiognomies that were typical in the 1800s. It is worth mentioning that the structure of Zaanse Schans, including the buildings, public- and green spaces, is determined by the natural landscape; the main road of the Kalverringdijk along the shoreline and the paths perpendicular to it that follow the medieval reclamation pattern of the Kalverpolder. Meurs *et. al.* point out that this structure of the manifested village is ‘historically justified on the basis of settlement forms and allotments in the Zaanstreek around 1850’ (Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 96). Even though the entire site is on a smaller scale of about less than 0.05 km² land, a sense of different precincts is discernible. To be precise, there is a more public village centre, a more private residential quarter, an industrial zone, farmlands as well as an area that was unquestionably created with tourists in mind.

⁴ Bicycle is considered as a prevalent form of transportation for commuting in the Netherlands.



Figure 4.27: Site structure

Coming off the *Julianabrug*, just on the left from the Leeghwaterweg, there is one of the entry points to the site that leads right to the main road of Kalverringdijk. What one can find here is a cluster of buildings housing, for instance, the museum shop of Albert Heijn,⁵ a café and restaurant, a guesthouse, souvenir shops, green parks and a small dock. In its entirety, this area somewhat suggests the centre of the neighbourhood. Over the canals from the main street and on the two pathways, there are a few, more private residences with gardens which, however, are still accessible for tourists to walk around, and even to peek through the windows of halls, living rooms and kitchens.⁶ Further

⁵ Albert Heijn is the largest supermarket chain in the country. The company was founded by Albert Heijn (1865-1945) in Zaandam in 1887.

⁶ In the Netherlands, it is quite common to see into people's houses. Generally, there is a lack of curtains on windows, even on the ones that face public streets. Privacy is not an issue to a certain extent and when

along the main street is the more industrial precinct. The several different types of windmills and warehouses, processing spice, oil and wood, and also including private housing components, are dotted alongside the riverbank towards the northern part of the site. These units are placed further away from each other creating a more low-density quarter. Over the canals, inwards to the polder are the grazing lands and farm buildings including a typical cladded hay barrack.⁷ It also houses a traditional cheese making workshop and store.

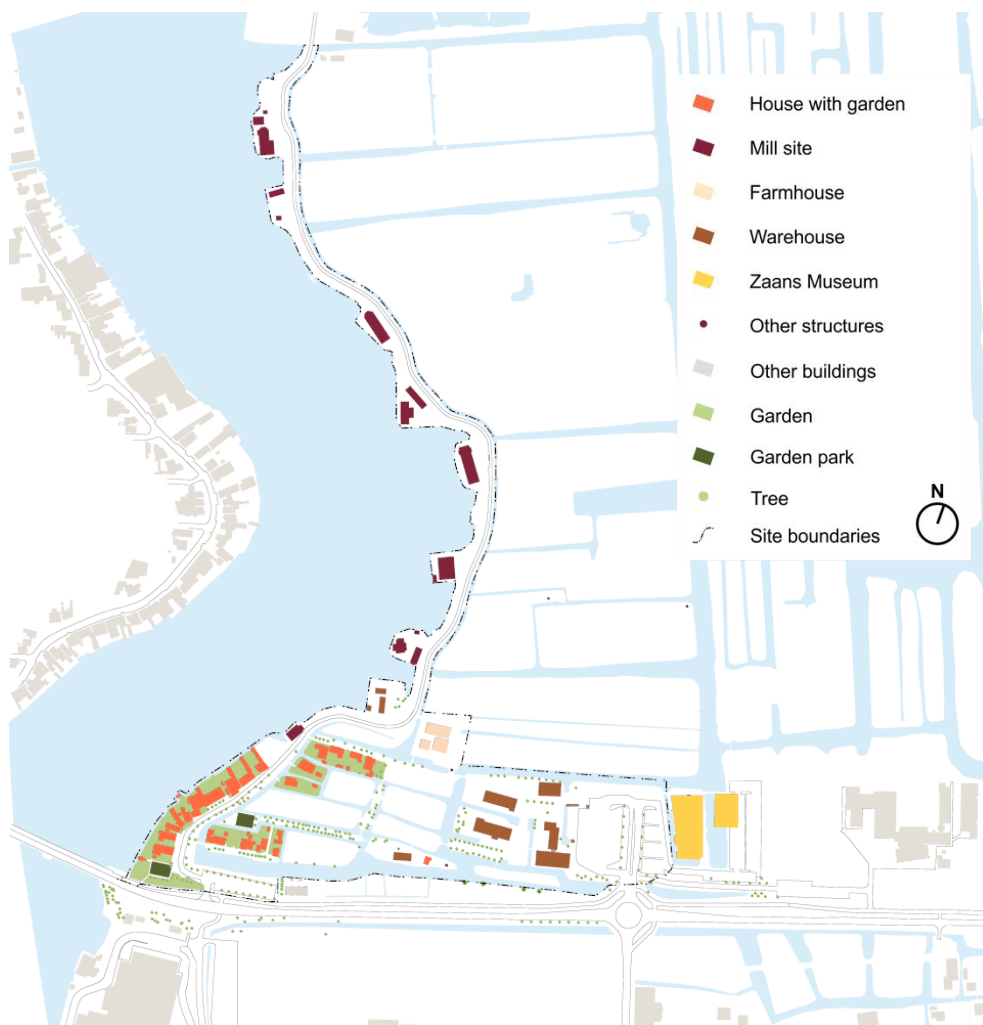


Figure 4.28: Building typology

walking by someone's home, one can look into the rooms like the stylish kitchens and picture-perfect living rooms are on a show.

⁷ Hay barracks in the Zaan region were typically two to three storeys in height and cladded with weather boarding or old pantiles. Keeping the hay in closed storage was essential in order to withstand from the harsh weather conditions due to large amount of precipitation and heavy windstorms (Schipper 2007: 10).

The newer part of Zaanse Schans is located by the Zaan Museum. Here is another entry point,⁸ where larger barn-like buildings accommodate restaurants, patisseries and chocolatiers, souvenir and gift shops, as well as craft centres including blue pottery-, diamond cutter-, goldsmith- and wooden shoe (clog) workshops. This area of Zaanse Schans is generally the busiest with the various amenities and spacious outdoor space, and has an atmosphere that was undoubtedly designed to attract tourists. Surely, there is a lack of residential units around. Nevertheless, the neighbourhood, overall, has a tranquil, quintessential *ye olde* industrial Zaan scenery. Building typology is shown in Figure 4.28. I have collected a series of images from my site visit with the aim to highlight the above-mentioned features (see Figure 4.29, Figure 4.30, Figure 4.31, Figure 4.32, Figure 4.33 and Figure 4.34).



Figure 4.29: Views of Zaanse Schans over the Zaan River from the Julianabrug

⁸ In addition to the two entry points mentioned in this section, there is a third, less prominent access that leads into the site from the northern part of the Kalverringdijk.



Figure 4.30: Kalverringdijk



Figure 4.31: Residential quarters

In order: Zeilenmarkerspad (top left); and Zonnewijzerspad (top right and bottom)



Figure 4.32: Industrial zone

In order: view of the mills over the grazing lands (top); *De Huisman* spice mill (bottom left); and *De Bonte Hen* museum mill (bottom right)



Figure 4.33: Farmstead



Figure 4.34: Newer part of Zaanse Schans, including the barn-like structures housing restaurants and souvenir shops

- **Building characteristics**

Zaanse Schans, as an architectural and historical reserve, was created based on the extensive architectural studies carried out in the Zaan region by Jaap Schipper. Schipper recognised the issue of modernisation and the threat of the disappearing architectural heritage from the industrial Dutch Golden Age. Many endangered houses and warehouses, also derelicts and ruined structures, have been studied and categorised from

that era, mainly from the 18th and 19th centuries (de Jong and Schipper 1987). Schipper pointed out the significance of the local architectural features and building traditions. The structural and formal physiognomies were considered to be unique and distinctive to the area. These architectural physiognomies were formed by the local industrial activities, like the prosperous shipbuilding industry, timber trade, and paint making. Such features are reflected in most aspects of the buildings, for instance, in the use of materials, applied technologies and structures, as well as in decorations.

Schipper highlights an interesting point about the use of building materials. He points out that regardless of the fact that the lands were particularly devoid of forest, houses traditionally were constructed from timber rather than brick for which clay has been extensively available in the area (Schipper 1987: 171). It is explained by the lack of support of the soil that primarily consists of peat (as was discussed in the previous chapter). As such, the land was unstable to support the weight of brick buildings. Even a timber house needed a foundation of wooden piles (*ibid.*). However, fire risk became an issue, but only in the densely populated urban centres, where wooden structures were eventually banned and replaced by brick houses in the 16th century. In the countryside, many of the wooden houses were burned by the Spanish troops, but were gradually rebuilt from the beginning of the Dutch industrial era. Timber was imported from Germany and Scandinavia and processed by the numerous saw mills. To some extent it was then exported, but generally used locally as construction material for ships as well as buildings. Around this time, as I have discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 4.1.3), the population in North Holland showed a growing tendency due to the industrial upsurge and urbanisation. Consequently, the social structure transformed too, which consisted primarily of craftsmen and merchants. Their demands for their homes and workshops were entirely different than those of the former farmers and fishermen (*ibid.*: 173). Farmhouses as well as urban houses were enlarged to the back with small workshops and storerooms. Windmills were built on barn structures that were generally used as storage. Larger spaces, both enclosed and open, were needed too for various industrial and work activities, such as stowage and drying large pieces of wood.

As a result, existing and purposely built longhouses were transformed into such industrial units. When looking closer at such buildings, it becomes evident that the thriving shipbuilding industry has left an imprint on the traditional building structures and façades, as was pointed out above. Simple timber structure sheds were strengthened by corbels or knee braces that was practiced in shipbuilding trade (*ibid.*: 182). While the

gables of the house were vertically cladded, in order for the sidewalls to be air- and watertight, they were planked with horizontal clapboards and nailed together like the boards of ships (*ibid.*: 175). House fronts, even in the case of brick structures, were decorated with wooden carved gables. In terms of decorations, it is noticeable that these artworks were made by shipbuilder craftsmen and woodcarver specialists from the quite simple triangular gable to the finest bell gable. Wood cladding as well as brick walls needed to be protected and therefore were painted.

It is also worth mentioning that the oil-, dye- and paint industries were flourishing in Zaanstreek in the 18th century. As a result, initially, the Zaan landscape flaunted colourful houses of vibrant yellow, red, lilac, light green and blue with white decorations, door- and window frames, and terracotta roofs.⁹ However, the colourful paint became less affordable as the economy went downhill after the area became independent from the French Empire in 1813 (Verroen 2011: 26). Later, in the mid-19th century, in addition to black and white, the endless shades of green colour, from medium light to the darkest, came to be available and more affordable. It was seen as a powerful colour and became popular and widespread in the area. In fact, it was renowned as the colour ‘Zaanse Green’ that defined the ‘affluent industrial society’ (*ibid.*: 27). The typical architectural features from the 18th and 19th centuries, the green and black coloured structures, two- to three storey brick and wooden houses, wooden warehouses and windmills, gabled roofs decorated with white painted carved ornaments, are all on ‘exhibition’ at Zaanse Schans. There is a collection of images below that I took during my site visit and by which I aim to highlight some of the architectural features and building details mentioned above (see in Figure 4.35).

⁹ Such scenery of vivid façades from that era can be primarily witnessed today at the Dutch colonial town of Willemstad, in Curacao.



Figure 4.35: Architectural features and building details

4.2.2 Narratives

▪ Architectural conservation

Architectural conservation of the Zaan industrial era had already been a subject matter even before the concept of Zaanse Schans was born in the 1950s. Meurs *et. al.* recall several other initiatives and projects that were also concerned with the endangered Zaan industrial heritage and its distinctive architectural forms, mainly focusing on the wooden windmills and merchant houses (Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 9-10). For instance, the Bond Heemschut was founded in 1911 as a national organisation that is committed to the protection of the Dutch cultural heritage and the restoration of valuable cultural landscapes. With similar interest, but focusing solely on the formerly prominent and disappearing wooden mills nationwide, the association of *De Hollandsche Molen* was established in 1923. Later, *De Zaanse Molen* was established in 1925 with the intention to protect and restore the endangered industrial windmills in the Zaan region particularly. Few years later, in 1928, a mill museum was opened by the association in the neighbouring town of Koog aan de Zaan. Initially, in 1920, an open-air windmill museum, the *Openlucht Windmolen Museum* was planned to be developed on the Kalverpolder, where Zaanse Schans is located today. Proposals for exhibiting steam and combustion engines in addition to the windmills were in discussion, which would have rather made the place a museum for the history of industrialisation. Nevertheless, lack of space and the associated costs of transportation and refurbishment were too high for the project to be ever implemented (*ibid.*: 11). The closest ancestor of Zaanse Schans, however, is located in the Holland Open Air Museum in Arnhem that is a reserve of the Dutch rural culture and architectural heritage. Within, a precinct was nominated as the “Zaan neighbourhood” that was instigated in 1939. It now functions as a village centre featuring several green painted wooden buildings as well as traditional crafts and industries. Zaanse Schans differs in a way in which the neighbourhood in the museum does not offer places for permanent occupancy and can only be visited within the opening hours of the museum for a certain entrance fee.

Originally, as Meurs argues, Zaanse Schans was never intended to be an open-air museum (Meurs 2013: 201). Simply it was proposed as an urban project with the narrative to preserve the regional architecture that was rapidly being replaced by modernisation and the developing industries. Figure 4.36 shows Schipper’s plan for the typical Zaan neighbourhood in 1951. It was only later, in September 1961, when The Zaanse Schans Foundation was established with the aim to promote and realise the project (Zaanse Schans, History). Its only purpose was to protect the endangered

architectural legacy and to give these buildings a second life. The found and identified remaining structures were treated as monuments. The only way to save these highly valued structures was to relocate them. They were systematically evaluated, appraised and transported to the designated collective space at the Kalverpolder. The idea was to restore these structures to their original state in order to realise an authentic ensemble of the architectural heirdom. “Authenticity” is defined precisely by the developers in three key aspects: ‘credible structure’, ‘faithful in form’ and ‘continuity of function’ (see, for instance, Meurs 2013: 201). Meurs explains these critical aspects in more details as follows. Credible structure can be achieved by a consistent urban development design that is situated at the appropriate location within the landscape. A structure is faithful in form when a complete transfer and exact reconstruction are ensued. The continuity of function requires the structure to be suitable for inhabitation and to be actually inhabited (*ibid.*). These guidelines aimed to ensure that Zaanse Schans fulfils its purpose as a conservational project. I, therefore, see it as a unique conservational concept at its time that engages not only with the formal and architectonic values of these originally non-prominent buildings, but also with their original function and purpose of tenure and usage.

Meurs *et. al.* explain that the architectural elaboration and building restoration works involved changes and adjustments in several cases with the purpose of achieving better efficiency and keeping the entailed costs down (Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 46). Another important factor of such alteration was to meet the needs of current living standards and users’ comfort level. As the neighbourhood project was successful, works have not stopped there and then. The site has developed throughout the years with additional structures and facilities. When endangered industrial units and workshops became to be relocated to the site in addition to the housing structures in the 1970s, Zaanse Schans was not simply a residential neighbourhood anymore, but also offered workplaces for practicing local and traditional early-industrial activities. It is worth noting that Zaanse Schans, as a representation of a former Zaan neighbourhood, has indeed become a unique living and working community within the historical setting of a planned architectural conservation area. Originating from the conservation scheme, the neighbourhood was lent a historic narrative, which is to create the manifestation of an inhabitable village from the 1850s industrial Zaanstreek.



Figure 4.36: Plan for Zaanse Schans by Jaap Schipper (1951)

- **Cultural spectacle**

The potential for Zaanse Schans to be a tourist attraction, rather than solely a historical neighbourhood of Zaandam, was realised soon after its opening in 1965. As a newly created bygone milieu, it has attracted many people from the surrounding area (Meurs 2013: 201). However, due to the scant and insufficient facilities for visitors, Zaanse Schans failed to offer a fine tourist experience. There was a lack of cafés, restaurants and parking places in general. What is more interesting, according to Meurs, is that residents were inhospitable and visitors were not welcomed (Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 40).

As a tourist destination, Zaanse Schans was not competent until the focus was made deliberately on tourism. According to Schipper, excluding the non-resident masses, who visited the charming historical locale, was not a solution. Therefore, with the aim to facilitate for tourists as well, adjusting the plans of the site was seen as a necessary step (Schipper 1969 quoted in Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 40). A change in attitude only happened after the local councillor had paid a visit to Colonial Williamsburg in 1969, which at that time had already been an active open-air museum-like neighbourhood in the historic district of the city of Williamsburg, VA in the United States. There is a

difference between the two places that I would like to highlight here. While Colonial Williamsburg was built with tourists in mind, the main concept for Zaanse Schans was “to preserve a piece from the past for posterity” (see also *De Typhoon* quoted in Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 40). By this means, the idea for a site extension was initially not entirely a shift from a conservational project to fabricating a tourist spot, but to keep a healthy balance between preservation, housing and tourism. The aim was to incorporate facilities and services so the neighbourhood would be worthy to visit and from which the site and its residents would benefit too. Like so, the expansion plans included additional car parks, warehouses transformed into restaurants, shops and exhibition spaces, as well as work places. However, Meurs *et. al.* argue that during this process, the site and its properties were taken under several different authorities and ownerships and ‘the exploitation of attraction’ went overboard (Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 43).

From the 1970s, newly-built structures and replicas have been constructed on site, such as the farm buildings, the warehouse for the wooden shoe workshop, the *Het Jonge Schaaap* wood saw mill and the Jisper House, in order to make the most of the potential commercial attraction. While this work of practice deviates from the initial strategy of transporting and conserving original structures, such new additions to the *Zaan collection* have been built in the way in which their formal physiognomy fit within the project’s historic narrative of the industrial Zaanstreek in the 1850s (*ibid.*: 46). These features can be seen in the building forms, structures, the use of materials as well as in the excessive application of the *Zaanse colours*, most particularly, the green. This prominent colour of the ‘Zaanse Green’ ultimately became even a trademark in order ‘to attract mass tourism’ (Verroen 2011: 27). Upon visiting the site, however, it is not evident for the lay eyes which building is a replica and which one is an original structure. Figure 4.37 shows two of the replica sites.



Figure 4.37: *Het Jonge Schaaap* wood saw mill (left) and the replica of a typical hay barrack (right)

Along with the additional buildings on the site, privately owned museums and shops have started selling merchandise in order to capitalise on the Zaanse Schans “brand” (Meurs 2013: 201). In this manner, the importance of branding eventually took over from the act of creating a credible and authentic milieu of the local cultural and architectural heritage. Interestingly, when looking closer, some of the structures are in use against their authentic functions. To be more precise, former residential buildings have been transformed into, for instance, hotel rooms, like the residences of the *Heerlijck Slaapen* guesthouse, or shops for merchandise and local products, such as the *Jagershuis* antique and souvenir shop, or workshops, like the Soap Factory, or museum shops, like the Jisper House. A similar case is the former tea house that turned into a tin speciality store for the Dutch tin factory, Tingieterij Holland. Here can be mentioned also the large barns and warehouses that are exploited as shops, restaurants and craft centres. It can be argued that such *identity-enhancer* extensions, like additional structures, merchandise and souvenir shops as well as insights into daily life and activities, have been necessary for Zaanse Schans to be more attractive and a better host for tourists. It was suggested that Zaanse Schans should be seen no longer as a ‘depot of monuments, but as a centre of regional culture’ (see, for instance, *Spijkers* 1990 quoted in Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 48-49). Certainly, what one may find at the site is a mixture of a traditional Zaan neighbourhood and touristic attractions. Entertainments are available in various forms of events and festivals, museums, handicraft workshops, boat tours, souvenir and gift shops, a guesthouse, restaurants and cafés.

In addition to the architectural spaces and merchandised products, the visitor experience is heightened with (intended as well as unintended) additional *props*, in a similar way in which it was discussed in the case of Thames Town previously. There several various elements can be found throughout the site, for instance, the display of the colourful and giant wooden shoes, milk and cheese stands, timeworn bicycles, shop assistants and guides wearing old-fashioned Zaan clothing and clogs, grazing and maundering farm animals, as well as traditional clothes hanging on drying ropes in gardens and many other things alike (see a few examples in Figure 4.38).



Figure 4.38: Props boosting spatial/cultural narratives

It is worth noticing though, that the visitor experience may vary in accordance with the different entrances through which people arrive to the site. What I refer to is, based on my observation, when entering the site by the main road of Kalverringdijk, visitors may find themselves in a place that is rather credible as a traditional Zaan neighbourhood, something similar to the nearby district of Haaldersbroek or even the shoreline of Gortershoek. From this part of the site, which embraces mainly residential houses, the visitor slowly and gradually immerses into the more touristic features that are mostly offered by the shops, windmills and their associated stores, such as exhibitions, educational tours as well as, for instance, spice-, cocoa-, and paint making workshops. On the contrary, coming to the site from the entry point by the Zaanse Museum, the “touristy” atmosphere is more concentrated in the midst of the cluttered large barns and storehouses. These newer structures accommodate for restaurants, eateries, craft centres, souvenir and gift shops selling extensive Zaanse merchandise and Dutch specialities by hosts in traditional outfits. One way or another, visiting Zaanse Schans, tourists can benefit from a comprehensive cultural spectacle of the open-air museum. Such a spectacle includes the ensemble of architectural monuments, whether original or replica, which can be considered as the manifestation of building traditions from the industrial era. The several revived craftsmanship and local activities that are put into practice, in addition to the various embodiments of local customs and regional commodities only enhance the cultural spectacle.

4.2.3 People

▪ Inhabitants

For the purpose of this study into the aspect of *people* and inhabiting the space of Zaanse Schans, I would like to propose to divide the local population into three groups, namely inhabitants, workers and tourists. This section will focus on the inhabitants, who are permanent residents of the neighbourhood. In the following sections, I will first describe the groups of workers, such as business owners, employees and volunteers, who spend their working hours at Zaanse Schans. Then, I will elaborate on aspects of tourism and tourists, both day trippers and short-term visitors, who spend their leisure time at the open-air museum.

The original intention of the Zaanse Schans project was to create, in formal appearance a historical, but an active and functional neighbourhood for the present and for the times to come. It is worth noticing that the closest neighbourhoods to the project's site, Haaldersbroek on the Kalverpolder and Gortershoek over the Zaan River, had sustained over the centuries from the industrial era and also been presenting a historical ambiance at the time when the Zaanse Schans project was launched. Therefore, populating the relocated and refurbished old houses of the *new historic development* did not seem as an ambitious plan. In fact, the idea was that 'the neighbourhood would fill itself with tenants and entrepreneurs' organically like in any case of a 'very ordinary village' (Meurs 2013: 191). The residential buildings were, indeed, gradually becoming inhabited. Soon after, the attention of craftsmen and entrepreneurs were called, as they were seen to be potential assets in turning the site into a flourishing tourist destination. As a result, there were two types of residents at Zaanse Schans; *passive* and *active* inhabitants, which have not changed since then. Currently, there are people who live in the residential houses, but work out of site, like Carleen Lebens, who occasionally shares some thoughts on her daily life as one of the residents at the museum village (see publications at Zaanse Schans, Press Release). In these cases, neither the inhabitants, nor their homes are *active* components of the tourist attractions in Zaanse Schans. Only the buildings can be considered as *passive* elements of the historic scenery. The residences on the main road of Kalverringdijk and the ones over the bridges can be considered as great examples for such.¹⁰ On the other hand, there are inhabitants, who are *active* participants of the museum village. These people while live at the site, they also run facilities, or work at one of the mills, workshops or stores. This group of people

¹⁰ Since 27 September 2017, all the residential buildings have been owned by the Zaanse Schans Foundation (Zaanse Schans, Press Release 2017a).

includes, for instance, the miller of *De Zoeker* oil mill, and the inhabitant of *De Os* mill barn.¹¹ Throughout the neighbourhood, as it is shown in the case of *De Zoeker* in Figure 4.39, signs indicating private properties were necessary to be applied in order to stop the visiting tourists from trespassing.



Figure 4.39: *De Zoeker* oil mill – private residence

There is a total population of about eighty to a hundred permanent inhabitants living in the fifteen residential houses, refurbished barns and storehouses. At present, there is no available official statistics for the exact number of inhabitants of Zaanse Schans, since both neighbourhood, Zaanse Schans and Haaldersbroek, in addition to the farmhouses on the area of the Kalverpolder are under a communal administration (see the Municipality of Zaanstad 2018).¹² Therefore, this investigation has relied on personal interviews and observations.

▪ Workers

In addition to the historical spatial environment, the workers at Zaanse Schans essentially contribute to the cultural spectacle. They not only welcome the visitors, ensuring a great tourist experience, but also they are the ones who interpret the narrative of the museum village by bringing back into life sceneries from the 1850s' industrial Zaanstreek. Some of the facilities, including souvenir shops, eateries, workshops and

¹¹ *De Os* mill and barn is not open for visitors currently, but its resident works on site. He is responsible for the maintenance of several mills around.

¹² According to the most recent census by the Municipality of Zaanstad, in 2018, the area of the Kalverpolder has a total population of 364 people (Municipality of Zaanstad 2018).

museums, are owned by private owners, others by the Zaans Museum and most of the mills by *De Zaansche Molen*.¹³

The working staff can be discerned in several groups. On the one hand, there are people who live and work at the site, as was mentioned above. On the other hand, for the majority, Zaanse Schans is only a work place. There are permanent, as well as seasonal workers, who can also be categorised as business owners, employees and volunteers. Furthermore, there are various profession types, such as skilled workers and professionals, hotel and restaurant workers, assistants, shop assistants and tour guides. In addition, the site requires service and maintenance workers as well.

In more details, the previously mentioned latter group of inhabitants, the *active* residents living as well working at the museum village, represents the *live-in* worker types. Interestingly, in addition to the touristic facilities, upon visiting the various mills along the river, it became evident that many of them fulfil their original functions and actual production is carried out in the way in which the produced goods, such as spices, oil, paint and timber, are even traded outside Zaanse Schans too. According to a personal discussion with the staff at *De Zoeker* oil mill, the miller, Ruud Nieuwhof, moved to Zaanse Schans in order to make use of the windmill and produce oil, because he considered it as a profitable business on its own. However, he admitted that revenues from tourism generally bring higher profits. There is no wonder then, as I previously pointed out, that the many seemingly residential houses were transformed into museums, souvenir shops, workshops, guesthouse and restaurants, and became *active* components as their doors were opened for visitors' consumption, such as the Jisper House, the *Jagershuis* antique and souvenir shop, the Soap Factory and the residences of the *Heerlijck Slaapen* guesthouse (see, for instance, Figure 4.40).

Such buildings typically do not offer permanent habitation any longer. This brings my discussion to the other group of workers; those people who live in the surrounding areas and work at one of the facilities or own a business. For instance, while *De Os* and *De Zoeker* mills are special as the millers live on site, other professional millers are employed to run the working mills and associated stores, but live off site. In addition to millers, other skilled workers are hired or volunteer to showcase a great variety of traditional craftsmanship in the several museums and workshops, such as cheesemakers, bakers, chocolatiers, clockmakers, coopers, weavers, wooden shoe makers, diamond

¹³ The living history museums of the Coopperage, the Jisper House, the Weaver's House and the shop are owned by the Zaans Museum. Excluding the *Het Kalverblad* and *De Os*, the mills are owned by the association of *De Zaansche Molen*, including *De Zoeker*.

cutters, goldsmiths and soap makers (see a shoemaker in action in Figure 4.41). All the working staffs, including people in assisting roles, are expected to wear costumes of the appropriate traditional clothing with the intention of corroborating the historical narrative.



Figure 4.40: Residential housing turned into shops

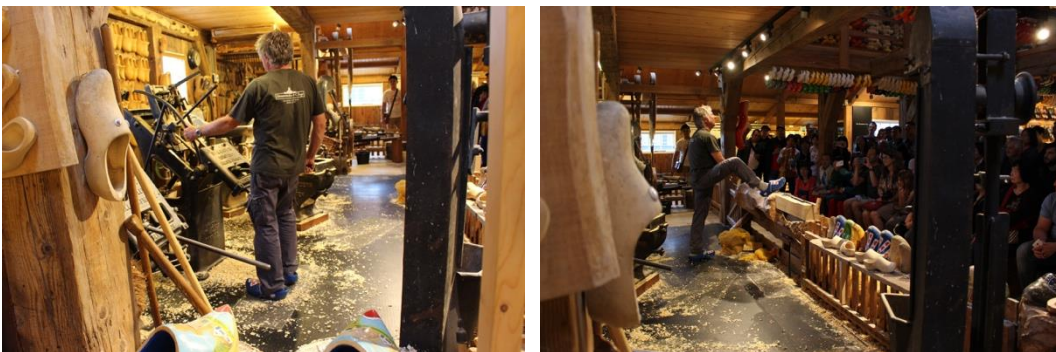


Figure 4.41: Wooden shoe maker showcasing his clogs

▪ **Tourists**

Zaanse Schans has attracted visitors since its opening, and soon after recognising its touristic potentials, the Bergman Travel Agency was the first to start coach trips to the site from Amsterdam. The interest to have an insight of the charming historical neighbourhood has not declined since then. Especially after the site went through the aforementioned expansion developments particularly for the visitors, Zaanse Schans became even more appealing. However, from the 1970s to recent years, the site did not change considerably, only the number of tourists increased year by year. In 2015, the site received a record number of visitors of almost 1.9 million (Zaanse Schans, Press Release 2017b). Consequently, the Zaanse Schans Foundation and the Municipality of Zaanstad entered into discussion about the possible future of the museum village, which

resulted in the Master Plan 2030 in 2016. With the prediction that Zaanse Schans would need to accommodate for approximately 2.5 to three million visiting tourists in the year of 2030, the supreme strategic themes were, once again, expanding services and improving facilities for tourists (see, for instance, Timmer and Meijer 2016; BVR Adviseurs 2016). Accordingly, by the end of 2016, measures were taken into action; the parking capacity was extended and new attractions were opened. This was the time when *De Bonte Hen* windmill was renovated as well as the Weaver House and the Jisper House were opened as additional attractions (Zaanse Schans, Press Release 2017b).

The tourist experience is, indeed, comprehensive in view of the above; the spatial setting of a historical heritage enriched with the cultural spectacle from the Dutch Golden Age. Especially, as it occurs in the form of a *real life* inhabited neighbourhood, the site is undoubtedly splendid with all the amenities and activities imposing for visitors. As a museum village, it offers entertainment and facilities for day trippers of all age groups, as well as accommodation for overnight stay. While there is no admission fee to get access to the site, visitors can purchase tickets for which the mills and other facilities offer an insight of the work processes by the craftsmen and general daily life. Some workshops allow visitors to participate for a certain fee, for instance, in soap making, amongst the other traditional craftsmanship. There are also cases, in which the craftsmen showcase the manufacturing of products for no additional fee as part of the associated shop or museum, such as the wooden shoemaker. In addition to the vast variety of local merchandise, visitors can certainly purchase these products on site, which are produced by the mills, like peanut oil and spices, as well as the goods that are made in the workshops, like soap, clogs, cocoa, jewellery and other things alike.

It is worth noticing that Zaanse Schans is also part of two prominent bicycle routes, the *Hotspot Wormerveer* and the *Kissing Couple*, which adds further dimension to the tourist attraction and an influx of additional visitors. By creating such a prevalent and marketable tourist destination, the previously mentioned projected number of 2.5 million tourists seems underestimated though. Even the three million might be a conservative expectation. The former director of the Zaanse Schans Foundation, Peter-Jan van Steenbergen, proposes that this number could reach rather four million by 2030, because, according to the statistics, there were already 2.2 million visitors in 2017 (Zaanse Schans, Press Release 2017c). By taking into account what I have outlined above, I, therefore, conclude that in order to facilitate for the already enormous and

ever-growing mass of tourists is even more important in the upcoming years. At the same time considering the residents, in the way in which ensuring that Zaanse Schans will still be a liveable neighbourhood in the future, is equally important so as to maintain the essence and authenticity of the original planned neighbourhood.

CHAPTER FIVE

SMURF VILLAGE

5.1 Spatial Context of Smurf Village

The geographical situation of Smurf Village (Júzcar) in its wider spatial context is shown in the illustration below (Figure 5.1). The highlighted towns, localities and historical sites, amongst a few others, will be discussed in the following sections.

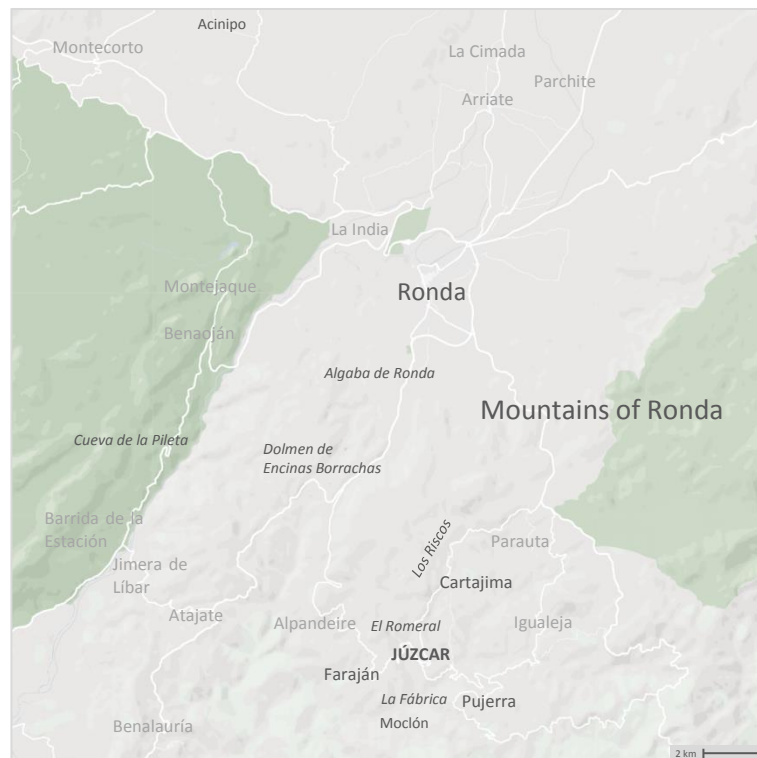


Figure 5.1: Illustration of geographical context – JÚZCAR (Smurf Village)

5.1.1 Historical summary of the Mountains of Ronda

The town of JÚZCAR that has turned into the Smurf Village is located near the ancient town of Ronda in the Province of Malaga, which is part of the Autonomous Community of Andalusia, in southern Spain. JÚZCAR is, or rather was before its buildings turned blue, one of the 1500 whitewashed mountain towns in Andalusia, otherwise known as the *pueblos blancos*, and one of the seven towns in the more immediate area of the Alto Genal Valley in the *Serranía de Ronda* (trans. Mountains of Ronda). It is situated within the natural environment of the widespread cork oak, chestnut and pine forests, the Genal River and the jagged ridges of the karst limestone formations, *Los Riscos* (Figure 5.2).

The closest neighbouring towns are, to the south-west, Faraján, to the north-east, Cartajima, and to the south-east, Pujerra. The surrounding area, including these towns will be the focus of the historical and, more importantly, the contextual spatial analysis of this case study. In addition to the Spanish resources on the history of Andalusia, for instance Lacomba and Ferrer Palma (1996) and Peña Díaz (2012), Gill offers a concise review in English language (2009). Guillen Robles discusses the history of Malaga and its province in two volumes (1987).



Figure 5.2: *Los Riscos*, one of the prominent spectacles in the Mountains of Ronda

Specifically on the history of Júzcar, there are scarce scholarly data available. However, since the region is a widely popular tourist destination for hikers and other activity tourists, there are numerous travel guide-type resources available, such as Nichols (2008) and Hunter-Watts (2018). They introduce the history and the spectacles of the area including historical sites as well as the neighbouring villages and towns dotted on the hiking trails across the mountains. Moreover, in the past few years, governmental bodies invested in expounding detailed information and descriptions about each town and the surrounding areas on their official website, for example the Council of Andalusia, the Provincial Council of Malaga and the Town Council of Júzcar. In view of these data, it can be concluded that the history of the area around Júzcar goes back to the prehistorical times. The mountainous landscape provided a wide range of inhabitable and safe places for the earliest humans, and who migrated from the land of Africa and settled here first before moving further into other parts of Europe. The surrounding caves containing early cave paintings made by the Neanderthals in addition

to the several dolmen burial places, as well as the Neolithic, Copper, Bronze and Iron Age relics found at the nearby archaeological sites show evidence that the area offered inhabitation for the several consecutive prehistoric and ancient cultures. The tribal society, that was first recorded occupying the southern parts of the peninsula, was known as the Iberians.

From around the first millennia BCE, Phoenicians and Greeks then Carthaginians began to settle too, who domesticated the landscape with crops, olives and vines. They traded and lived together with the Celts and the indigenous cultures, such as the Iberians and Tartessians, as well as their direct successors, the Turdetanos. Still standing towns, for example *Gadir* (today's Cádiz) and *Malaka* (today's Malaga), were founded during that time (Gill 2009: 35).¹ Afterwards, in 210 BCE, the Roman Empire expanded its borders into the Iberian Peninsula taking over the governance of Andalusia, then known as *Hispania Baetica*. Romans ruled the area until 426 when Western Barbarians trespassed and it fell under the control of the Visigoth Kingdom as *Hispania*. This era ended by the Muslim invasion in 711 and the conquered area was renamed as *Al-Andalus*. Their territory gradually expanded northward, towards the French border. Consequently, the population of the North African Muslim groups of mainly Moors, but also Berbers, grew while the Visigoth people were pushed into marginal regions. During this time, the so-called *pueblos blancos* were founded and gained importance as frontier villages.

In the case of Júzcar, historians believe that the place was habited before the invasion, and was recognised as a Mozarab community (see, for instance, Wawn and Gill).² Jewish people were also accepted amongst the inhabitants. They are thought to be responsible for the village's prospering silk industry (*ibid.*). In addition, watermills were dotted along the river of the Alto Genal Valley processing mainly flour and olive oil. Soon after, in 722, the Christian reconquest, known as the *Reconquista*, has commenced in order to reinstate the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslim groups. As a result, the city of Ronda fell to the Christian Kingdoms in 1485 (see, for instance, Gill 2009: 114; and Peña Díaz 2012: 140). Júzcar was most probably reclaimed around the same time and the Moorish occupants were expelled to make way for Christian inhabitants (Wawn and Gill). Eventually, by the year of 1492, the ultimate territories were reconquered and *Al-Andalus* was renamed as *Andalucía*. It became part of the then newly formed *España* (trans. Spain) by joining the unified Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. However, the

¹ Cádiz is regarded as the oldest and still standing town in Europe (Gill 2009: 35).

² Mozarabs were Christian people who adopted the Muslim culture without being converted to the religion of Islam.

now abandoned neighbouring village of Moclón continued to grow counting Mudéjar,³ then Morisco inhabitants,⁴ meanwhile Júzcar turned into a slave village. Not long after, however, the Spanish inquisition by the Catholic monarchs reached a higher decree. By this means, those Moriscos, who secretly kept practicing the Islam faith, were forced to leave their lands in Andalusia for North Africa. Moclón therefore became less habited and less significant until it was entirely abandoned, therefore leaving Júzcar to develop into a more prominent settlement.

The Age of Discovery was at its incipency at this time in which the Andalusian coastal towns, more prominently Cádiz and Huelva, played a great role. With the aim of exploring new trade routes, as well as disseminating Christianity, Christopher Columbus set off onto his first voyage from the town of Palos de la Frontera in 1492. As a result of the successful expeditions and colonisations, Andalusia developed into a wealthy and influential region of Spain within an economy that was predominantly agricultural. What may show the area's prominence is that the country's first tinplate factory, *La Real Fábrica de Hojalata* (trans. The Royal Tinplate Factory, or in short *La Fábrica*) was built near Júzcar in the Mountains of Ronda by the order of the king and queen of Spain between 1725 and 1730. Therefore, Júzcar was one of the villages that gave home for the workers. However, the production was relatively short-lived. The factory shut down in 1788.

While economically the area became less important to the country, the villages of the *Serranía* were the centre for the Spanish rebellions against the Napoleonic occupation during the Peninsula War (1807-1814). Júzcar too was involved in the successful guerrilla wars fighting the French forces for their independence. Therefore, in 1814, Júzcar along with the other villages received the title of '*villa muy noble y fidelísima*' (trans. 'very noble and very faithful village') by the King of Spain (Provincial Council of Malaga, Publications: 6). Wars, including the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), left the country economically and politically unstable. Due to the troubled times and the lack of job opportunities after the tinplate factory closed and the mills stopped operating, the population of Júzcar declined. After the nationalist Francisco Franco's regime (1939-1975), the formation of today's constitutional monarchy began. The Autonomous Community of Andalusia was formed in 1980. Its *pueblos blancos* have

³ Mudéjars were those Muslim inhabitants who were initially allowed to stay in Spain after the *Reconquista* and were not forced to convert to Christianity.

⁴ Moriscos were Muslim people who converted, or later were forced to convert, to Christianity after the establishment of Catholicism.

kept their traditional rural features and a still struggling economy that is mainly based on agricultural activities.

What this brief historical review highlighted is that Andalusia has a culturally vivid historical past and in which numerous different cultures were present in various times. Its characteristic landscape offered protection to prehistoric cultures, then the indigenous societies of Iberians, the Tartessians and Turdetanos, as well as the Celts. The untilled terrain welcomed the merit of the Phoenician, Greek and Carthaginian cultivation traditions, and which later gloried in the Roman architectural excellence before the Western Barbarian people intruded and Visigoths reigned. Thereafter, it developed into a Moorish landscape (tolerant to Jewish people), and ultimately shined as the Christian centre for the Great Discoveries and overseas colonisations.

Having this said, Júzcar itself, as one of the many *pueblos blancos* scattered across Andalusia, has followed this cultural timeline, yet on its own, it played only a little part in its historical development. It had not overgrown any others of its neighbouring villages, but settled within the landscape of the Mountains of Ronda, and in fact in the wider spatial context of Andalusia, until it became the promotional site for *The Smurfs* movie in 2011. This will be examined later in (Chapter 5.2). In the following sections, however, as in the case of Thames Town and Zaanse Schans, I am going to discuss the *vernacular architecture* and prehistoric relics, traditional architectural and *historical sites* in the close vicinity of Júzcar around the Mountains of Ronda. With regard to the *contemporary architectural developments* in the area, I focus on the neighbouring towns closest to Júzcar, namely Faraján, Cartajima and Pujerra.

5.1.2 Vernacular architecture in the Mountains of Ronda

The mountainous landscape of Andalusia, with its rich flora and fauna, was home of cultures from the earliest times. In fact, the *Serranía* boasts in several various archaeological sites that indicate the occupation of prehistoric cultures. Looking at the vernacular architecture and feature of the prehistoric settlements and customs, the explored caves and archaeological sites provide valuable resources. Excavated ruins and artefacts are dated from the Neanderthals through the Palaeolithic and Neolithic era to the Bronze and Iron Ages. Such relics consist of architectural remains, which suggest the ways of prehistoric and ancient life, and more interestingly, parietal arts, which were discovered in many caves all over the mountains.

- **Cave paintings**

Recent archaeological findings claim that the earliest rock arts known are present in Spain (Hoffmann *et. al.* 2018). Namely, in La Pasiega in the northern province of Cantabria, cave painting samples yield a minimum age of 64.8 thousand years old; in Maltravieso in the province of Extremadura, hand stencils date back to a minimum age of 66.7 thousand years; and in Ardales in Andalusia, the oldest sample of the featured more than 1000 paintings points to a minimum age of 65.5 thousand years. These examples claim Neanderthal authorship dating back to at least 20 thousand years before the arrival of the first modern humans (*ibid.*: 913). In addition to the caves of Ardales in the Province of Malaga, there are other sites have been explored in which parietal art is also present, but dates from the Palaeolithic times, such as the Cave System of Nerja, the *Cueva del Toro* (trans. Cave of Bulls) and the *Cueva de la Pileta* (trans. Cave of Pool). The latter is the closest location to Júzcar situating next to the village of Benaoján in the mountainous region. On its official website, there are detailed information about the cave and the artefacts it encompasses, including research papers, documents, catalogues of the paintings, and so forth (Cueva de la Pileta). The cave was discovered in 1905 by a farmer, D. José Bullón Lobato, who thought less of the images found inside. It was only later, in 1911, when the site was first explored by the British archaeologist, Colonel Willoughby Verner (see Verner 1911). The cave consists of several galleries on two levels, in which the more than three thousand graphic motifs are scattered around. Figure 5.3 shows few of these prominent cave paintings.



Figure 5.3: Cave paintings in *La Pileta*

Carbon date sampling suggests that the pieces of the rock arts are dated from more than 35 thousand years ago to about 2000 BCE. Figure 5.4 shows the chronological order of the different types of cave paintings in seven phases (*fase*), including various animals, human figures and other signs. The exact purpose of the cave paintings has not been identified yet. It is generally believed, however, that the symbolic depiction of mostly animals, but also human figures and other motives were either a way of communication, or part of religious ceremonies. It is also possible that they were mere decorations.

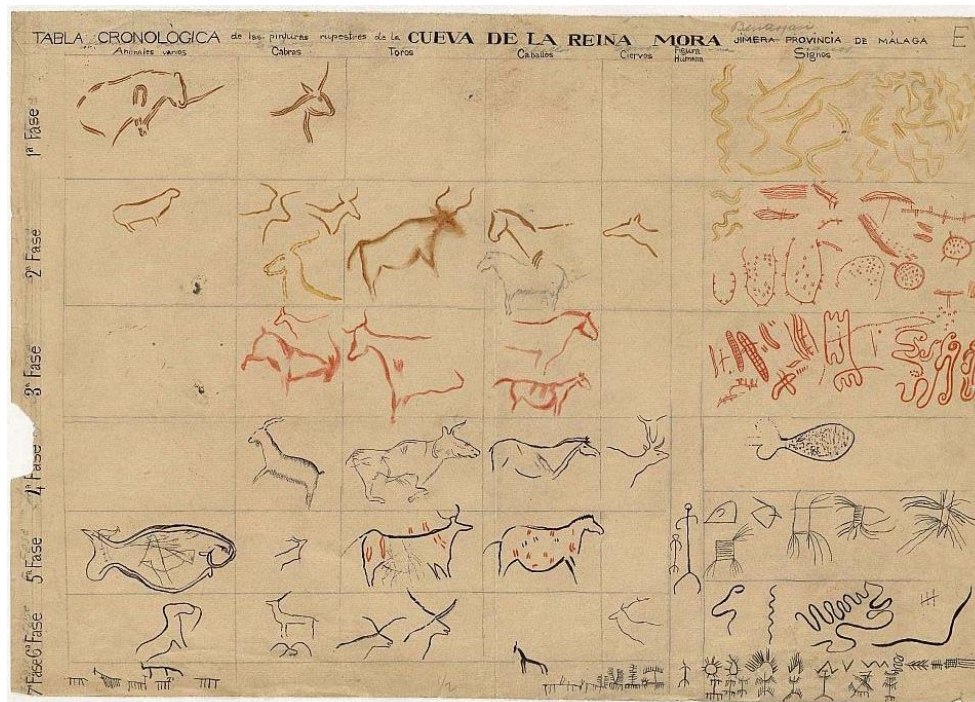


Figure 5.4: Chronological order of cave paintings

These findings not only show evidence that the area was occupied by the Neanderthals, but also reveal the earliest communication techniques and/or symbolic decorations. If such is regarded as the pictorial manifestation of expressions, it can be set side by side with the symbolic manifestation of Júzcar as the Smurf Village. In essence, the fictional village was brought into existence by repainting the traditionally white façades to *smurf blue* and stamping figures of various smurf characters randomly on the outside walls of some of the buildings. Simply by the use of pictorial approaches the town became the impersonation of the fictitious settlement. This becomes even more meaningful if we consider the fact that one of the world's earliest cave paintings and one of the highest concentration of archaeological sites are in close vicinity of Júzcar.

▪ Settlements

In addition to the parietal arts and other relics found in the *Cueva de Pileta*, the nearby dolmen sites hiding in the mountainous landscape of the *Serranía* are also great reminders of the consecutive prehistoric occupation of the region. As time progressed, the caves became abandoned and people started to build primitive assemblies and stone burial structures outside. For instance, near a cliff top just outside Júzcar, there is a dolmen site, *El Romeral*,⁵ of which remains suggest an ancient hill fort (Provincial Council of Malaga, Nature: 273). Also, in about ten kilometres from Júzcar, the *Necrópolis de Encinas Borrachas* (trans. Necropolis of Drunk Holm Oaks) from 6000 years ago is one of the great examples for such relics. It includes several different sites, such as the *Dolmen de Encinas Borrachas*, the *Dolmen del Cortijo de La Mimbre*, and the *Dolmen de Montero*. Unfortunately, there are not much preserved from their original structures. Figure 5.5 shows the humble remains of *Encinas Borrachas* and the suggestive construction method of such dolmens.



Figure 5.5: Dolmen site of *Encinas Borrachas* and suggestive method of construction

On the other hand, the UNESCO World Heritage site complex at Antequera, also in the province of Malaga, displays well conserved structures of several similar dolmens (UNESCO 2016). To its north, ruins of a Neolithic settlement site, named *Los Silillos*, were discovered in 2007 (Fernández Rodríguez *et. al.* 2014: 101-121). Remains, dated from about 2500 BCE in the late Neolithic (Copper) Age, suggest the activities of an agrarian society. The unearthed segments of the enclave consist of predominantly

⁵ This dolmen site, *El Romeral*, should not be confused with the more prominent site, carrying the same name, at Antequera.

circular plan structures. The model of the more prominent settlement from this age, *Los Millares*, is shown in Figure 5.6. This archaeological site also operates as a model village and presents reconstructed wall and dwelling structures made of stone and mud with plant fibre roofs (Figure 5.7).



Figure 5.6: Modell of *Los Millares* settlement



Figure 5.7: Model villages at *Los Millares* (left) and *Algaba de Ronda* (right)

Another example of such model villages is at the Experimental Research Centre of the *Algaba de Ronda*, just outside the town of Ronda and about ten kilometres from Júzcar. The recreation of the Neolithic settlement, *El Poblado*, was based on the findings at the

nearby archaeological sites, for instance, in Ronda and the ancient town of Acinipo.⁶ As such, it not only displays a model village in architectural terms, but also aims to bring into life a ‘prehistoric sedentary society’ in the way in which the village is set within a natural environment of primeval forest (Algaba de Ronda) The dwelling huts are equipped with apposite household goods, utensils and tools. The centre is open for exhibitions and archaeo-experimental activities by means of demonstrating the use of tools and general everyday life of our Neolithic ancestor. A fragment of *El Poblado* is pictured in Figure 5.7. As suggested by the research centre, it offers a glimpse of the way of life in prehistoric times. Interestingly, such vernacular structures made of stone and vegetable fibres – the so-called *chozos* – are, not to a large extent, but still present across the southern regions of Spain. They generally are used for summer livestock grazing (see in Figure 5.8). However, there are also the newly-built instances that are purposely made hotel rooms for tourists (see in Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.8: Chozos



Figure 5.9: Modern chozos as hotels

⁶ Acinipo is known as a Roman ruin town, but in the course of excavation works, Neolithic architectural remains and artefacts were discovered.

This review of the prehistoric heritage in the area highlights the fact that the spatial context of the Smurf Village has great historical importance in architectural, as well as cultural aspects. Cave paintings, which were presumably used as the method of communication, for religious purposes and/or as the earliest decorating elements, are very prominent in this region. In addition to the remains of such rock arts, the ruins of dolmen burial sites and stone hut structures have also been left behind all over the surrounded mountainous landscape. This not only signifies the prehistoric importance of the area, but also the cultural prominence that developed into the indigenous civilisations of Iberians and Tartessians, which then made the bed for the succeeding ancient cultures to come.

5.1.3 Historical sites in the Mountains of Ronda

The succeeding ancient cultures in Andalusia mainly originate from foreign colonising civilisations and invader realms, as was highlighted above. The lands gave place for, firstly, the Phoenicians and Greeks, then the Romans, the Moorish, and finally the Christians. They have all brought their domestic culture and left behind their traces through the spatial environment in the close vicinity of Júzcar. In addition to the establishment of several ports and towns, the Phoenician and Greek colonies are responsible for forming the mountainous landscape with agricultural activities. The introduction of the several kinds of crops, most importantly olives and vines, and their wide dissemination has involved clearing the lands and therefore transforming the geographic attribute of the terrain. Olive, for instance, is still one of the harvested crops that underpin the region's current economy (Gill 2009: xiii). It is not surprising then that the concentration of olive trees here have grown to be the largest olive groves in the world (*ibid.*).

These colonising cultures of Phoenicians and Greeks established and built several ports, trading posts, villages and entire towns. However, in the spatial context closer to Júzcar, the Romans were the ones who left their imprint to a much wider extent first, that has survived. The other noteworthy cultural legacy present in the current spatial environment is left behind by the Arabic culture, more particularly, by the Moorish Kingdom practicing the religion of Islam. Evidently, the aftermath of the Christian reconquest once again significantly transformed the contextual environment in architectural terms. The hiking trails around Júzcar reveal the remains of these cultures, such as the Roman road and wall pieces by the *El Romeral*, the watermills and bridges

from the Arab period, the ruins of the Moorish village of Moclón, as well as The Royal Mill Factory (*Los Molinos*) and The Royal Tinplate Factory from the 19th century (Provincial Council of Malaga, Nature: 273). It is worth mentioning, too, that more prominent remains from the ancient period found at the nearby ruin settlement of Acinipo and the greater town of Ronda. Therefore, this section will highlight these historical sites that are left behind by the aforementioned cultures, first the Romans, then the Moors and lastly, the Christians.

▪ **Roman culture**

The first Roman invaders arrived to the Iberian Peninsula in 210 BCE from the north-eastern coastline by present day Barcelona. By the year 206 BCE the Empire reached modern Andalusia and swiftly Romanised the entire landscape; not only spatially or architecturally, but culturally too. In fact, they adapted the existing cultural substances to their own, such as settlements, infrastructure, and industry, but amplified them to a much greater scale. For instance, while the previous foreign cultures imported agricultural traditions, cultivation skills and transformed the landscape, the Romans went further and developed the region's economy into a 'multinational industry' (Gill 2009: 49). Areas, which were already inhabited by indigenous people or the predecessor colonists, were transformed into Roman settlements. Few of the earliest examples of such towns are Malaga and Ronda. However, there are other settlements that are more commonly recognised as Roman historic towns, such as Acinipo (near Ronda), Baelo Claudia (on the coastline next to Tarifa) and Itálica (north of today's Seville). The latter is considered to be the most impressive of all (see, for instance, *ibid.*). Nevertheless, the historical site of Acinipo is located the closest to Júzcar, and therefore it is more relevant in this study.

Originating from the Neolithic era, Acinipo was then occupied by the Turdetanos. The Phoenicians established there a trading post. However, it only reached its zenith after it was taken under the Roman Empire in the 1st century BCE (Hunter-Watts 2018: 19, and Gill 2009: 49). This was the era when it began to take its character. Acinipo developed and gained significance in the area. It was a more important and even a larger town than Ronda during this time. However, only its remains are present today at the site. What can still be recognised is the grandiose amphitheatre with hemisphere seating area, the orchestra and the stage wall, as shown in Figure 5.10. The stage has been reinforced recently, as occasionally, it is still in use for productions of drama and festivals. By

exploring other parts of the site, archaeologist discovered remains of what could be the structures of a grid-like town plan, including a forum, temples, a necropolis, a Roman bath, and public buildings (*ibid.*). After the fall of the Roman Empire in Andalusia, the population of Acinipo decreased and the successive people of the imminent Barbarians, Visigoths, and especially, the Moors destroyed or inadequately adapted the then existing buildings. While Acinipo was on its way to become completely deserted, the neighbouring town of Ronda started to flourish and reached its pinnacle during the Moorish Kingdom.



Figure 5.10: Ruined Roman village of Acinipo

▪ Moorish culture

The several Moorish architectural fragments across Ronda designate the town as a reminder of the Al-Andalusian glory days. The Muslim forces crossed the sea at Gibraltar and conquered the region by 711. The old town of Ronda was occupied by the Moorish inhabitants by the year of 713 and became the capital of the then formed region of *Tacoronna* (Takaruna) (Hunter-Watts 2018: 21). The former settlement was *cleared* from the previous cultural influences and Moorish architectural developments were carried out throughout their reign. In due course, the town started to become the Ronda that is known today. To begin with, the old town quarter, *La Ciudad*, was established as

one of the whitewashed frontier settlements, similarly to the many other *pueblos blancos* across the mountains. Since Júcar is one of these former frontier settlements, they will be discussed in the next section, Analysis of Smurf Village (Chapter 5.2.). Yet, as a historical site, the village of Moclón is worth to be mentioned here. It was a more prominent Moorish village than its neighbouring Júcar during that time. However, it became deserted and its ruins remained only as an attraction for hikers. A part of the remaining whitewashed structures is shown in Figure 5.11.



Figure 5.11: Ruins of Moclón

While many of these whitewashed frontier villages went into despair, some have survived, but others have even developed further into prominent cultural centres, such as Ronda. The several Moorish structures in the town have endured over time. These historic structures include, for instance, the stone bridges over the Guadalquivir River, more particularly; the *Puente Árabe* (trans. the Arab Bridge), which led to the defence wall that surrounded the old town. In the Moorish era, the old town was only accessible through the entrance gates of the double-walled fortification, which was originally built from adobe, and later reinforced with a stone structure. The main point of entry was the *Puerta de Almorábar*, which is shown in Figure 5.12. Outside the old town the Arab baths took place so to have easier access to the nearby stream from which water was moved up into the furnace. Figure 5.12 pictures the remaining archetypical structures, arches and vaults, and the domed roof with star-shaped lightning shafts.



Figure 5.12: Puerta de Almocábar (left) and Arab baths (right) in Ronda

There are many other sites and pieces of architectural relics that feature the decorative elements of Moorish architecture, such as the colourful mosaics, the so-called *sebka* pattern, the *alfiz*, the horse-shoe and *mocárabe* arches and openings, as well as planning and landscaping principles in accordance with symmetry and proportion. Probably, the best preserved and most stunning examples in Ronda are the palaces, namely the *Palacio de Mondragón*, which functions today as the city museum (El Museo de Ronda), and the *Palacio del Rey Moro y La Mina* (trans. Palace of the Moor King and the [Water] Mine). These sites are pictured in Figure 5.13 and Figure 5.14. The latter plays an important role in the history of Ronda, and in fact, of the fall of the Moorish Kingdom in Andalusia. The water mine was built as a secret tunnel, which led to the river, in order to ensure water supply during siege. However, this was also the then not-so-secret tunnel which the Christian forces broke through and invaded the town in 1485. Gradually and systematically once again Ronda was transformed in accordance to the ruling cultural influence. The Islamic buildings were either destroyed or made fit for Christian use. The still standing examples are the Church of Santa María la Mayor, and the only minaret that survived in the town, now known as the Minaret of San Sebastian. It was converted into a bell tower of a Catholic church. These will be discussed below in the following section.



Figure 5.13: Courtyard and garden of *Palacio de Mondragón*

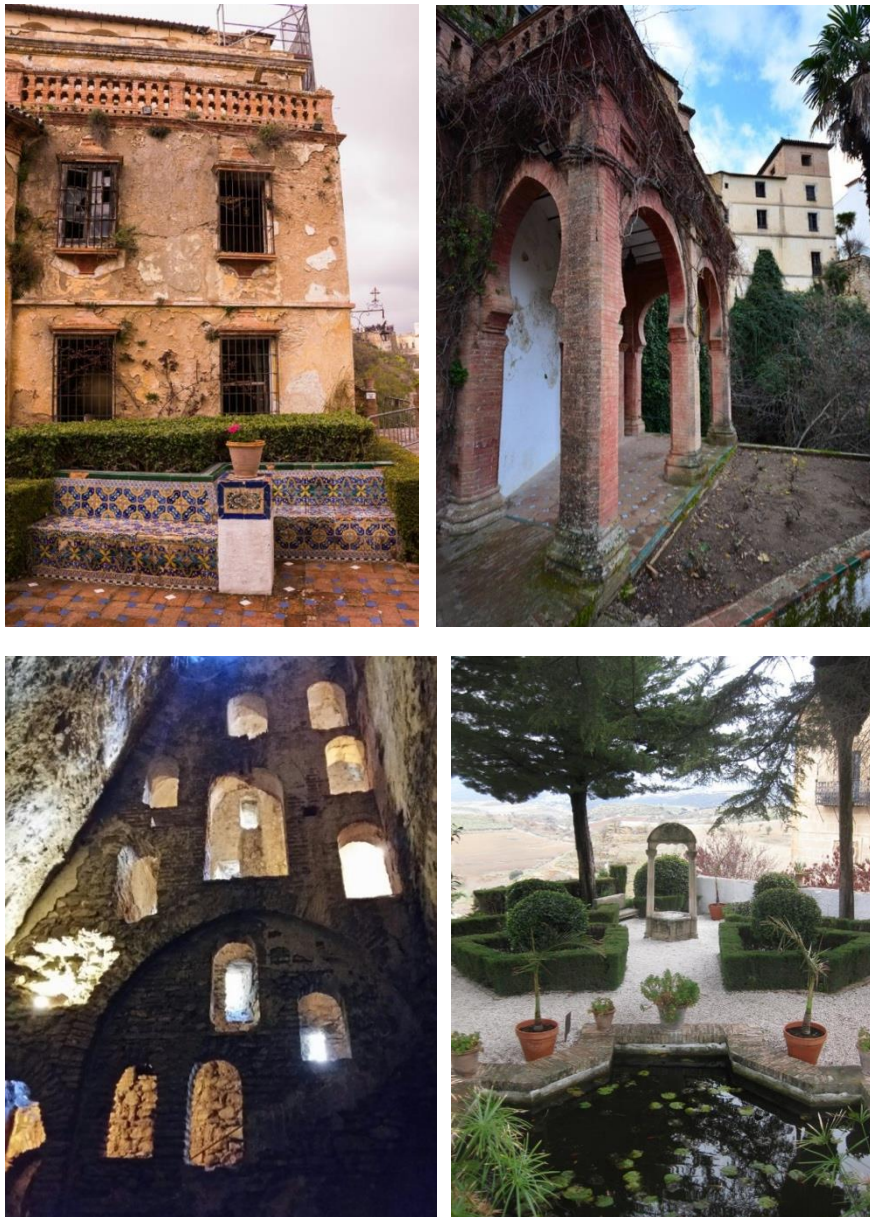


Figure 5.14: Palace of the Moor King and the Water Mine

From top left to bottom right: the palace under refurbishment, tiles and mosaic benches; the palace in the distance and Arab archway; stairway to the water mine; and the garden area.

- **Christian culture**

Christianity was first introduced to the Iberian Peninsula during the 1st century under the Roman rule. Soon, it became the official religion of the Empire. Roman Catholicism was accepted and practised across the country. Later, the Visigoth ruler, King Reccared, converted himself from Arian Christianity to Catholicism shortly after he was acclaimed to the throne in 586, which was essentially accepted by his realm (see, for instance, Lacomba and Ferrer Palma 1996: 139; Gill 2009: 63; and Peña Díaz 2012: 87). Then again, after the *Reconquista*, Christianity, more particularly Roman Catholicism, became the official state religion. Even though this was abolished by law in 1978, according to the results of the surveys carried out by the *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Centre for Sociological Research), Roman Catholicism is still the dominating religion in the country (CIS 2018: 19). The most prominent architectural legacy from the Christian culture are the Catholic churches. The earliest churches that are still in function today are the rupestrian chapels and churches that were built by Mozarab Christians around the 9th or 10th centuries (Hunter-Watts 2018: 76). It is believed, that many of them were built in the caves and mountainsides across the region, but only a few have remained. It was also common that these places of worship included hermitages for monks. Located near Ronda, the *Nuestra Señora de la Virgen de la Cabeza* (trans. Our Lady of the Virgin of the Head) is one of the classic examples for such cave churches that still operate (pictured in Figure 5.15). Most notably, it gives home to an annual pilgrimage celebration of Virgin Mary.



Figure 5.15: Church of the Our Lady of the Virgin of the Head

From the 15th century, starting with the result of the successful *Reconquista*, Catholic Churches once again began to mark the cultural territories and spread across the peninsula, and even beyond, to the colonised lands overseas. Not only the more prominent towns, but also each smaller settlement, like Júzcar, flaunt a place of worship that was assured for practicing the enforced Catholic faith. These newly built or converted buildings and structures correspond to the local traditions and/or the period-correct trending architectural styles. For instance, many of these first structures were typically including elements built in Mudéjar style, like bell towers, coffered ceilings, arches and pilasters prevalent in churches that can be found in several towns across the region. Building elements of such style are characterised by decorations and building techniques in accordance with Moorish craftsmanship practised by Mudéjar inhabitants. Therefore, these remaining structures refer to a symbiosis of Moorish and European cultural traditions from that era. On the contrary, departing from the Moorish roots, there are instances in which architectural design and building methods were based on Christian and European principles. Figure 5.16 shows two of these examples; the Church of the *Nuestro Padre Jesus* (trans. Our Father Jesus) and the aforementioned Minaret of San Sebastian.



Figure 5.16: Church entrance of Our Father Jesus (left) and Minaret of San Sebastian (right)

The Church of the *Nuestro Padre Jesus* (trans. Our Father Jesus) in Ronda, still portrays the original structure of the entrance tower that was built during the gothic period. The rest of the building was reconstructed later, following renaissance principles. In other cases, existent buildings were converted into the use of the Catholic Church, such as in

the case of the Minaret of San Sebastian. The original adjacent mosque was destroyed, but the minaret was restored as a bell tower to be part of the since demolished Church of San Sebastian. Therefore, the two lower floors still feature its Moorish roots of horseshoe arches and brick decorations, while the third floor was added to house the bell and the cross on its rooftop.

The largest church in Ronda, namely the Church of *Santa María la Mayor*, similarly cannot deny its Moorish backgrounds with its minaret-like tower and horse-shoe arches. These features can be seen in Figure 5.17. In fact, during its construction, excavations revealed a foundation from the ancient era (Colegiata Santa María la Mayor). It is believed to be a place for a Roman altar, possibly the temple to Diana, and then was transformed into a Christian church by the Visigoths, before it served the base for the former Moorish mosque.

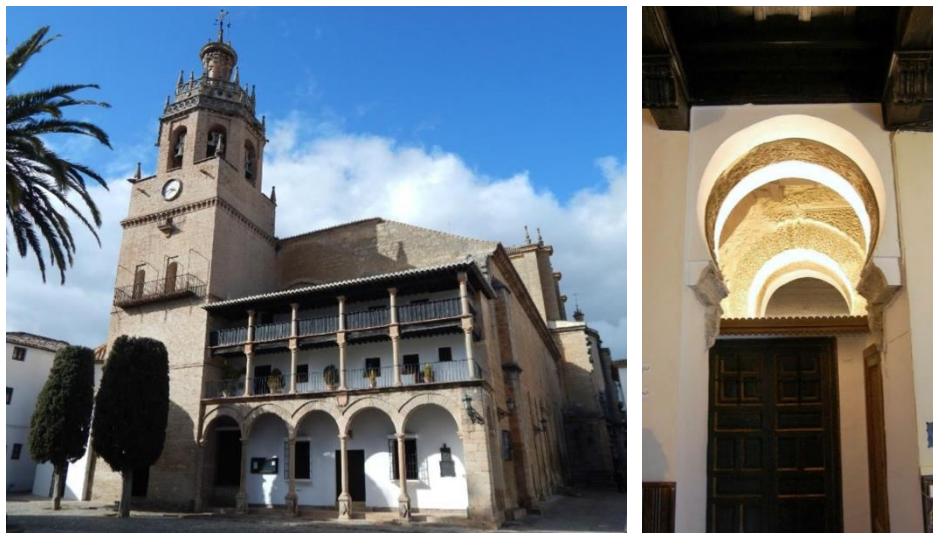


Figure 5.17: Church of *Santa María la Mayor* and the remains of Arab arches

This brief study on the aforementioned sites and buildings shows evidence in support that the surrounding area of Júzcar is a historically prominent region. The many hiking trails, not only feature the natural beauty of the mountainous scenery with river streams and the *Los Riscos*, but also comprise a historical landscape of architectural heritage sites from the very early ages through the succeeding cultural periods. In this section above, only a few of the most prominent, historically and culturally significant cases were mentioned that endured over time from the ancient and medieval eras. Retracing the layers of such cultural influences highlights the different ruling powers that tinted the spatial scenery with their most distinctive architectural traditions and cultures.

5.1.4 Contemporary architectural developments in the Mountains of Ronda

While in the previous section I looked at the historical sites predominantly in and around the larger town of Ronda, in this section I will focus on the towns around Júzcar. More particularly, I will study the three neighbouring municipalities closest to Júzcar that are Faraján, Cartajima, and Pujerra. By doing so, I hope to shed light on to the current conditions of similar municipalities of Júzcar in its close vicinity and get an understanding of the driving forces for contemporary schemes and urban developments in the area.

Since the Moorish rule fell, these frontier settlements have lost their strategic role. Neither have they served as an industrial base since the surrounding factories closed in the 19th century. Although, it has to be mentioned, that all of these towns gained the recognition for their services during the guerrilla fights against the French occupation. Therefore, the king awarded each with the title of a noble village (see, for instance, Provincial Council of Malaga, Traditions: 192; 209; and 240).

Today, these places are still habited, although, there is a general issue with depopulation across the Alto Genal Valley (Melgar 2018). Local councils have taken great measures to reverse this tendency and towns are fighting for attention in order for people to invest in living there or, at least, to pay a visit as tourists (see official sources of the Town Councils). Undoubtedly, more recent urban developments have been carried out, including residential buildings, industry and retail units, schools, and even guesthouses, hotels, bars and restaurants. Besides, nearly every town boast modern sporting facilities, such as football grounds, tennis courts, swimming pools, and play grounds for children. This section will investigate these three towns with a focus on the more current developments, by which the council aims to keep the area functioning and alive. It has to be mentioned that the majority of such initiatives are supported by the provincial, national and other subsidies (as referred in the case of each project).

▪ Faraján

The origin of the town belongs to the Arab period. After the *Reconquista*, Faraján was transformed from a typical Moorish settlement into a Christian parish. However, when the Moriscos were expelled, the settlement was practically abandoned and only later became occupied again by Christian families (Provincial Council of Malaga, Traditions: 209). According to the Spanish *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (National Institute of Statistics), 248 people are the current total population of the town, as of the 2017 census

(INE 2018). Overall, looking at the past years, the number of residents has been in a downtrend (see also Melgar 2018). The council works on systematic urban projects with the intention of upgrading and developing the town. As stated on the official website of Faraján, such projects also involve a so-called *Planes de Empleo* (trans. Plans of Employment), which aim is to provide workplaces in order to decrease the depopulation of the younger residents (Town Council of Faraján).

Faraján, shown in Figure 5.18, is located in the secluded mountainous area. The foremost plans were to improve the roadworks and therefore the access to the town centre. In addition, the modernisation and renewal of the overall townscape has been in progress for the past years, including repaving the streets, adding street lights and hiding the external electronic cables (*ibid.*).



Figure 5.18: Faraján

Recent construction projects, on the one hand, aim to build a stronger community, and on the other hand, intend to attract potential visitors. For instance, in 2014, a communal edifice was newly built comprising a multipurpose room and a roof terrace that can be used as a place for general public events and festivals (Town Council of Faraján 2014a). Guesthouses were constructed in the same year, which were intended to offer tourists the “rural experience” (Town Council of Faraján 2014b). The first exemplary guesthouse is shown in Figure 5.19.



Figure 5.19: The first guesthouse

Other recent projects include, for instance, the *Valle del Genal*, which is the only home for the elderly in the area, and the town hall at the main square. These are pictured in Figure 5.20. The latter two developments slightly deviate from the traditional building design; the nursery was built on five floors and the town hall features a more contemporary façade with a partially covered brick-like cladding. Overall, however, the formal appearance of the recent structures melts into the traditional scenery of the Moorish legacy; the whitewashed stone buildings with slight-pitched roofs lining up along the narrow and winding streets.



Figure 5.20: *Valle del Genal* nursery home (left) and the town hall of Faraján (right)

- **Cartajima**

There are various suppositions about the origin of the town of Cartajima (pictured in Figure 5.21). It is suggested that remains have been found in the area and that they point to Hellenic roots, but, it is argued that there is no apt evidence in its support (see, for instance the Provincial Council of Malaga, Traditions: 192). Nevertheless, what is more apparent is the great influence of the Moorish presence, and, similarly to the other settlements in the area, its transformation into a Christian village in the early 16th century as a result of the *Reconquista*. In 2017, the population of Cartajima totalled 244 residents (INE 2018). This number is certainly more than the 241 inhabitants counted in the previous year of 2016, yet considering the past years, generally, the actual fear of depopulation is topical. In the same way, as in the case of Faraján, in order to save the town from deterioration and the loss of population, great measures have been initiated by means of urban developments as well as improving public facilities and social welfare. With the intention to attract families to settle in, the overall restoration of the town was at forefront, including roadworks in and around Cartajima as well as creating public areas and communal places (Town Council of Cartajima).



Figure 5.21: Cartajima

What is more interesting in the case of Cartajima is that the council set up a program in 2016, which offered families with small children of school-age affordable accommodation as well as workplaces (Town Council of Cartajima 2016a). But this does not stop there; the overall plan also included financial aid after each child

registered in the local school, so to keep the educational facilities up and running (Town Council of Cartajima 2016b). The council received nearly 4000 applications and by 2017 there were three families featured in a local article who were accepted and took advantage of this program (Melgar 2017c). In addition to the initiatives targeting potential residents, the council, just as of Faraján, invested in constructing several tourist accommodations around the town in 2009, then later in 2016 and 2017, grounding the need on the popular hiking trails and promoting active- as well as rural tourism (see, for instance, Town Council of Cartajima 2016c). Furthermore, shown in Figure 5.22, a newly-built Tourist Information Centre opened recently with an Interpretation Centre of the *Los Riscos*, as the vista of the karst formations is one of the key attractions in the area.



Figure 5.22: The new tourist centre

In addition to the investments into the development of the town by the state parties, private hotels and guesthouses also opened their doors for tourists. The most prominent perhaps is the Hotel Los Castaños, built in 2004. The concept was to perfectly melt into the historical and rural scenery of the town. Therefore, the hotel features a traditional whitewashed façade, but the interior design has a modern finish, yet, with hints of Arabic vibes (Hotel Los Castaños) (see also in Figure 5.23). Overall, all the contemporary structures follow the traditional architectural legacies that Cartajima aims to preserve.



Figure 5.23: Hotel Los Castaños and Arabic design details

- **Pujerra**

There is little known about the origin of the town of Pujerra, pictured in Figure 5.24. Some sources suggest that the place was founded by the Romans around the 2nd century, but it is considered to be based on dubious evidence (Provincial Council of Malaga, Traditions: 240). According to local legends, this was the place where the humble King Wamba of the Visigoths was born and raised, and where the nobles found him to be anointed as king (see, for instance, Hunter-Watts 2018: 98). Today, in a small square of the town, there is a bust of Wamba keeping his memory alive.



Figure 5.24: Pujerra

What is more certain about the town's past is the great influence of the Arabic tribes, which was overtaken by the Christians, just like the other villages around the region. Considering the past ten years, the number of residents projects a decline, however, this

is the only town out of the four (including Júzcar) that has a population increasing from 2014 and totalling in 307 people by 2017 (INE 2018). Similar development projects and social initiatives have been in action, as were aforementioned in the case of Faraján and Cartajima (see the Town Council of Pujerra). Likewise, Pujerra has also benefited from the renewal of its streetscape and public facilities, as well as the roadworks that have been carried out in the area so to have better infrastructure and access to the town (as stated by the articles listed at the Town Council of Pujerra, in the section *Noticias*). In accordance, major recent projects include the construction of guesthouses in 2004 and in 2007, the new town hall and the terraced houses next to it in 2009, as well as the viewpoints in 2018. The humble structure of the new town hall is pictured in Figure 5.25.



Figure 5.25: New town hall of Pujerra

In addition to new developments, refurbishment of traditional buildings also took place around the town. The Chestnut Museum (2012) and the Cultural Centre (2017-2018) are examples for such activities. The renovations of the main square were finalised in 2018, including residences and the old town hall. Figure 5.26 shows the refurbished façade of the old town hall and one of the new guesthouses.



Figure 5.26: Old town hall at the main square (left) and one of the guesthouses (right)

It is worth noticing that most of the newly built structures as well as the refurbishment schemes follow the wonted characteristics of the *pueblos blancos*. However, there is a striking exemption. The guesthouse of the Fray Leopoldo Inn, pictured in Figure 5.27, was built in 2007.⁷ It not only displays a more immense space in relation to the traditional townhouses in the centre of Pujerra, but also disregards the typically whitewashed façades by featuring a dark maroon finish. Yet, the local habitual is intended to be maintained through interior decorations (Fray Leopoldo Inn) (see also in Figure 5.27).

Taking into consideration this strikingly colourful building, within the overall homogeneous white setting of *pueblos blancos*, shows that the white houses of these towns form part of a wider architectural and cultural context. To depart from this, by colouring the façades to maroon, or in the case of Júzcar, the entire town to *smurf blue*, can be considered as radical approach that contradict not only the spatial, but also the cultural environment.

⁷ Another guesthouse built by the council in 2004 also features colourful façades, however, it is an individual building located by the municipal swimming pool outside the centre of Pujerra, in the forest. Therefore, there is no obvious contrast to the excessively *white* townscape.



Figure 5.27: Fray Leopoldo Inn and interior decorations

In addition to these developments in the town of Pujerra, here can be mentioned the renovated buildings of the former tinplate factory, that is shown in Figure 5.28. It is located on the way between Pujerra and Júzcar in a secluded area. Parts of the abandoned factory became privately owned in 2001 and were brought back to life and to its architectural integrity as an organic vineyard and rural guesthouse (Fabrica de Hojalata). The property administratively belongs to the municipality of Júzcar, but is located outside its urban centre. Therefore, it is not part of the Smurf scenery.

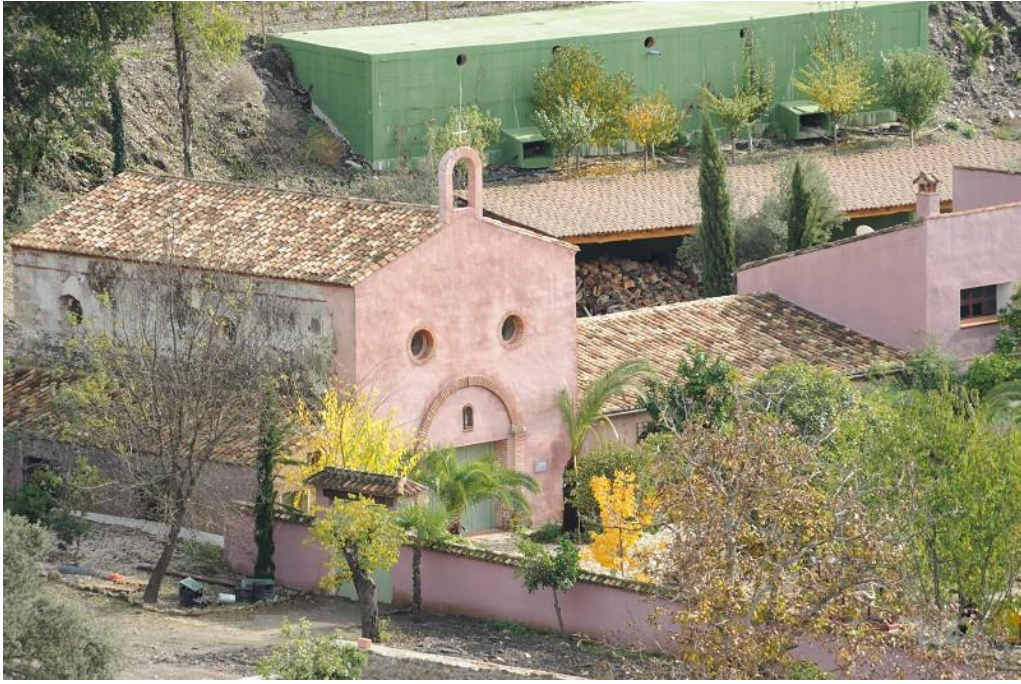


Figure 5.28: The former tinplate factory restored into a winery and guesthouse

By looking at the current initiatives, architectural and urban developments in the close vicinity of Júcar, it can be concluded that great effort is taken in order to sustain the towns and overall the region. Indeed, it is recognised as a substantially important natural and historical heritage. Beside the apparent agricultural activities, the leisure industry is highly promoted, more precisely the active- and rural tourism, utilising the sources of the natural environment of the mountainous region. Overall, the architectural legacies from the previous eras are generally respected by the newly built and restored structures. Moreover, this cultural heritage of the historical *pueblos blancos* is used as an attractive element in promoting the region's uniqueness.

5.2 Analysis of Smurf Village

5.2.1 Architecture

▪ Origin of town

The previous study revealed that the area around the town of Júzcar has been inhabited since the ancient era and probably even before; since the prehistoric times. As a settlement, Júzcar was founded later by the North African Muslim group of Moors after their invasion in 711. There were thousands of such settlements established by the Moors across the mountainous region of today's Andalusia, as was discussed previously. At this time, it is believed that Júzcar was neither a large nor a prominent community on its own (Wawn and Gill). However, as a collective whole, these small sized rural communities had strategic roles, especially in the long series of secular wars and battles against the Christian *Reconquista*. The foremost reason for their existence was to act as frontier villages along the bordering mountain range. A form of communication between these settlements was typically via Moorish watchtowers.⁸ Most importantly, these were used as an early warning system against intruders. According to excavations and archaeological resources, it is estimated that there were over 5000 of such stone constructions towering over the rocky ridges, which have almost completely disappeared apart from the few ruins of similar structures found along the seashore near the city of Estepona (see, for instance, *ibid.*). In addition to the surviving structures of mosques, palaces, fortresses, baths and bridges, of which a few examples were highlighted in the previous section (5.1.3.), what is left for today as a reminder of that era across the mountainous regions are the remaining whitewashed settlements of the former frontier villages, such as Ronda, Faraján, Cartajima, and Pujerra amongst the other hundreds.

When the Moorish control failed after the *Reconquista* in 1492, Roman Catholic churches were systematically built in larger towns, such as Ronda, as well as in prominent settlements, like the former village of Moclón (see, for instance, Provincial Council of Malaga, Traditions: 223; and Town Council of Júzcar, History). At first, Júzcar was a settlement for slaves, and subsequently, owing to its inhabitants increased by several smaller population groups from the area, a small and modest church was built in 1505. The village started to gain more prominence and attention. Its centre developed further around the church building and the current layout started to be defined.

⁸ This kind of watchtower should not be confused with the towering structure of a minaret, such as the previously mentioned former minaret of San Sebastian in Ronda. While the watchtowers were used for defence as a lookout against attack, the minaret is part of a mosque, and from which the muezzin calls Muslims to prayer.

Interestingly, the slave village of Júzcar turned into an important reference point in the region over the years. Pascual Madoz suggests in his work that Júzcar acted as an urban centre because there were other significant settlements under its jurisdiction in the 1800s, including Moclón, *Los Molinos*, *La Fábrica* as well as Faraján (*ibid.*).⁹ The town of Faraján has grown to be an independent municipality over the years. However, the since deserted settlements of Moclón and *Los Molinos* as well as the former tinplate factory are still under the town's authority today and add to the town's value in a form of tourist, more precisely, hiker attractions.

▪ Townscape

Before Júzcar went through the process of *Smurfification*, it was one of the typical *pueblos blancos*. With the exception of the traditional whitewashed façades, principally, it still constitutes one of the locales of the Moorish historical and architectural heritage in Andalusia. Such small towns and villages melt into the natural landscape like white patches settling on the mountainside, down in the valleys or bridging over gorges. When passing through the *Serranía*, they paint an endless and mesmerising spatial imagery as they hide and appear from behind hills, lush cliffs or woodlands of pine, oak and chestnut trees. Surely, since the whitewashed buildings of Júzcar were painted blue, it has become an isolated example in the scenery.

Júzcar sits in the middle of the forest at 623 metres above sea level on a mountainous terrain. The development of streets and houses followed the uneven and slanted natural topography creating a multileveled, maze-like town structure. Typically to the physiognomy of the *pueblos blancos*, Júzcar too features a homogeneous townscape: ubiquitous low-rise cubic buildings along the sloping, narrow and winding cobbled streets and pathways, with no extraordinary edifices, but only structures true to formal- and cultural context. The only difference between Júzcar and the other towns is that the buildings of this town pomp the striking and evocative colour of *smurf blue* instead of the archetypal whitewashed façades. While original structures are made of stone or adobe, recent ones are built of bricks and concrete. Nonetheless, terracotta roofs are still dominant, and all buildings have slight-pitched rooftop with red or brown tiles. The

⁹ Pascual Madoz (1806-1870) was a Spanish politician and statistician. He compiled an excessive work of data, entitled *Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico y Histórico de España, y sus Posesiones de Ultramar* (trans. Geographic, Statistical and Historical Dictionary of Spain, and its Overseas Possessions) published in Madrid, 1848-1850.

traditional chimneys featuring tiled pitched caps are conspicuous in addition to the small window and door openings with either wrought iron rails, balconies or terraces.

Similarly to the neighbouring towns mentioned in the previous sections, Júzcar too went through works of urban developments in the past few years (see articles in Town Council of Júzcar, News). The infrastructure was improved by ways of roadworks, repaving the streets and implementing street lights. In addition, several actions were taken in order to develop the town's facilities, such as defining scenic viewpoints and establishing recreational areas. Now, Júzcar owns several viewpoints, a new playground for children, a public park and sport facilities, including playing fields and a communal swimming pool. Yet, I would like to argue, that the town's most prominent building, which stands out, not necessarily physically, but with regard to its cultural significance, is the parish church of Santa Catalina. Its construction in 1505 marks the event of Júzcar becoming from a negligible settlement to an imperative locality in the region. Its presence was a sign of being an acknowledged Christian community. As such, Santa Catalina can be considered as an architectural manifestation of a shift from a slave settlement to a recognised municipal, as well as a shift between the cultural traditions from the Moorish rule to the Christian dominance. What is interesting about this shift is that the church recently took on a different symbolic meaning and adapted to new roles as a result of the *Smurfification* of Júzcar. As the centre of the town, Santa Catalina became the centre of an imaginary village of the Smurfs, which is more palpable during festivals and social events related to the fictional characters that are organised at the market square in front of the church. Figure 5.29 shows the Santa Catalina before and after the *Smurfification*.



Figure 5.29: Church of Santa Catalina – before and after *Smurfification*

The original structure of a simple, single nave church was built in a Mudéjar style. However, most of the characteristics reminiscent of this style have been objects of loss or alterations due to damages as well as several restorations over the years. The only elements remained from this period are the bell tower and a supporting arch that is hidden behind a lower ceiling (Wawn and Gill). The side aisle was used as a Cinema Club, which then turned into an Information Centre and Mycological Museum. Part of the church is the adjacent cemetery, which is an enclosed walled place of remembrance in the town centre. It is worth noticing, that inside this place are the only wall façades that preserved the original white colour. Looking into this segment of Júzcar suggests an image of the town before it turned blue and somehow brings the visitor back to *reality*. Figure 5.30 shows the interior of the church and the whitewashed cemetery. Other than that, the entire town is still toggled up in the distinctive colour of *smurf blue*. Moreover, various Smurfs-related references and spatial additions, like props as cultural shortcuts, are scattered across the town. There are, for instance, the mushroom shaped kiosks, signs and boards, as well as the well-known characters that appear either in form of sculptures or as painted wall decorations on random buildings. In addition, one can follow the narrative booster, blue and four-toed footprints along some streets.



Figure 5.30: Church interior (left) and the cemetery (right)

It becomes clear from my study, that the transformation of Júzcar into the Smurf Village, with the seemingly simple makeover of using another colour of wall paint, not only has changed the townscape, but also suggests its deviation from the wider cultural context in the surroundings. Below, I aim to illustrate the above-mentioned characteristics of the townscape, wall decorations and the narrative booster props through a selection of images that I took during my fieldwork (see Figure 5.31, Figure 5.32 and Figure 5.33).



Figure 5.31: Information Centre and Mycological Museum housing a Smurf-themed exhibition



Figure 5.32: Townscape and wall decorations

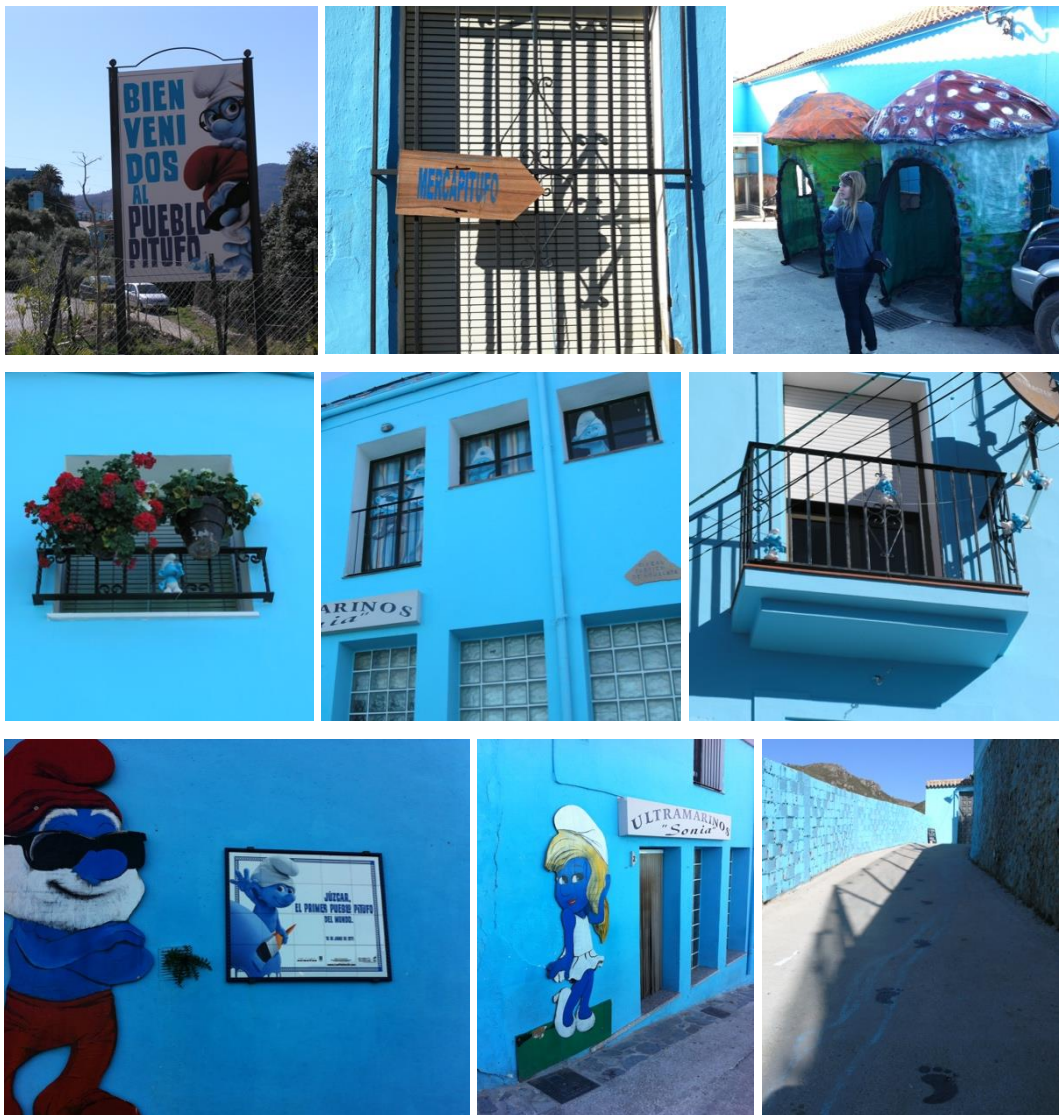


Figure 5.33: Narrative booster props

5.2.2 Narratives

▪ Pseudo reality

The fictional humanoid figures of the Smurfs, originally called *Les Schtroumpfs* in French, first appeared as additional characters to *Johan and Pewit* in Peyo's comic strip, entitled *The Smurfs and the Magic Flute*, in 1958 in Belgium. In the next year, they had their own stories and short movies. Soon, their mythical adventures became well-known across several countries, starting with a TV series by Hanna-Barbera Productions in the United States (IMPS). Since then the little blue skinned creatures have grown into one of the most widely recognised cartoon characters in the world. In 2008, the 50th anniversary of the Smurfs was celebrated internationally. At the same time, Sony Pictures Entertainment announced a deal for a Hollywood movie production with Lafig, the company that manages the Smurfs brand in North America (Gorman 2008). The 3D

live-action/computer-animated feature film, entitled *The Smurfs*, was released on 29 July 2011. This was the Smurfs' first adventure that is related to the non-fictional, real world. From their enchanted village, hidden away in a magic forest depicting a medieval scenery, some of the Smurfs magically got into the real-world scene of today's New York City. It is worth mentioning, that there are many clear references in the movie, which make sure that the viewer has a strong sense of understanding of what may seem fictional on the screen is actually perceived as reality.¹⁰

The fact that the movie was made in 3D only added to the storyline's augmented pseudo-reality. Measures were taken along similar lines for the publicity of the movie. Koeck discusses in his book the 'point of intersection between film and cities,' and more importantly, the 'amalgamation of virtual and real spaces' by means of advertising campaigns (Koeck 2013: 145-152). In the case of *The Smurfs*, the first official movie trailer features easily recognisable spatial landmarks, such as the standing moai statues, the Eiffel Tower, the Great Sphinx and Mount Rushmore, mysteriously turning blue, which suggests 'something big and something magical' is happening in our world (Sony Pictures Entertainment, 2010) (see also in Figure 5.34). The second trailer, which came out closer to the movie's release date, starts with a breaking news report elaborating on the mysterious and seemingly threatening event that occurred in New York City's Central Park the previous night, about which there is 'still no explanation' – the only thing they know that 'it is real and it is happening' (Sony Pictures Entertainment 2011).



Figure 5.34: Screenshots from movie trailer

¹⁰ As the movie starts, the narrator introduces the Smurfs as they are thought to be 'only found in books or in children's imaginations,' which they [the creators] 'beg to differ' (*The Smurfs* 2011). In addition, reality is enhanced by the use of contemporary references, like 'Googling' and actually finding (Wikipedia) information about the Smurfs as mythical characters who were created by Peyo.

In addition, Koeck brings his argument further through two case studies, *Cloverfield* (2008) and *District 9* (2009), in which non-conventional marketing strategies were exploited that reached out into our ‘real space’ (Koeck 2013: 146-152). For instance, the advertising campaign for the movie, *District 9* (2009) comprised various forms of warning signs, which were scattered around prominent cities calling the attention for the dangers of *non-humans*. The marketing strategy for *The Smurfs* in 2011, aptly exploited a similar approach (see the warning signs in Figure 5.35).¹¹



Figure 5.35: Similar advertising campaigns

As shown in Figure 5.36, warning signs, posters and billboards were scattered around cities and bus panels to watch for ‘Smurfs on the loose’ in the way in which the border between fiction and reality was aimed to be broken down. What I refer to is that these tools used for promoting the fictional movies build on an invented narrative in form of a fake-reality that melts into our everyday life through the various urban spaces.

In view of the above, it is suggested that the ever-known imaginary characters of Smurfs now crossed the border of their fictional world and stepped into reality. The publicising collaboration, made between the Spanish division of Sony Pictures and the marketing agency, Bungalow25, went a step further with the idea to create a spatial environment that suggests the existence of a real-life Smurf Village. The intention for this proposed marketing stunt was not to create something new or a theme park-like space from scratch. Rather, the idea was to transform an actual inhabited town into an essentially story-based, imaginary place, once again, by blurring the borders between the fictional and the real. The small town of Júzcar was found to be the best location for this project (Bungalow25 2011). With its not too many houses and maze-like townscape

¹¹ It needs to be highlighted that both movies, *District 9* and *The Smurfs*, were produced by Sony Pictures.

set in the middle of the forest, the spatial scenery of Júzcar was believed to show a strong resemblance to the image of the Smurfs' village.



Figure 5.36: Warning signs melting into the urban fabric and our everyday life

▪ New economic model

Before Júzcar became the world's first official Smurf Village in 2011, the town was one of the hundreds of *pueblos blancos* and shared the visitors' attention with the other similar locales. Although, it has to be mentioned here, that Júzcar is regarded as the centre of mycology in the region and an annual Mycological Conference has been organised in the town since 2006. Yet, it is worth highlighting, that there are many other white towns that are more prominent and generally attract larger number of visitors all year round due to their better accessible locations, better facilities for tourists, and perhaps their more distinctive spatial features and scenic landscapes. To mention only a few examples, there are Ronda in the close vicinity, Salobreña by the seaside and the town of Setenil de las Bodegas that grew out of a network of cave dwellings between and under overhanging ledge of gorges. Júzcar was rather one of the small towns that were on the bottom of the general sightseeing tourist's list to visit.

With the neighbouring similar towns, Júzcar has played a role as a pit stop on various hiking trails in the Mountains of Ronda. For many years, the town was marketed for its

surrounding natural features in addition to the ruined sites scattered around the nearby landscape (Town Council of Júcar, Tourism). There are various cultural remainders left behind from the Romans to the modern era, such as the previously mentioned archaeological sites of the Roman road and wall pieces, Arab bridges, the Moorish village of Moclón, the mills and the tinplate factory. In addition, the scenic hiking trails embrace tracks through the chestnut forest, down to the Genal River, waterfalls and ravines, like the *Sima del Diablo* and the *Majales* for the rock climbers' highlight.

Out of all the spectacle sights, however, according to the town's information board, 'the best of Júcar' is the jagged ridges of the karst limestone formations, *Los Riscos* (see also, Provincial Council of Malaga, Publications). Visitors are suggested that when walking around the cliffs and 'employing [their] imagination,' different rock formations can be described, like *the Eagle* or *the Camel*. However, the proclaimed best tourist sight is only indirectly related to the town, as it is located further away, outside Júcar's municipality limits. Moreover, it is worth noticing that the geological formation is bordering the neighbouring town of Cartajima, which allows even less visitor attention to be paid towards Júcar.

The town centre, itself, offered the experience of the Moorish heritage as a *pueblo blanco* and featured only the humble church building of Santa Catalina, and perhaps, a scenic view from its viewpoints. Nevertheless, since Júcar's transformation into the Smurf Village, all this has changed. As the townscape went through a makeover by painting over the iconic white coloured façades with blue paint, the town adapted a novel narrative, which essentially added to the place's touristic value. However, the act of the transformation was not simply an architectonic change to the townscape, but it was also a promotional project, in the way in which Júcar followed through a rebranding from a quiet *pueblo blanco* to a magical village of the Smurfs. Yet, when looking closer, the townscape recalls by no means the image of the story-based Smurf Village. It needs to be highlighted that the fictional characters legendarily live in mushroom-shaped houses in various colours. Even though the Mycological Museum with its small exhibition and the toadstool-like information kiosk aim to suggest some relation, the foremost reference to the Smurfs is the *smurf blue* painted houses. This simple representation of the fictional world of Peyo's characters was developed by the marketing team.

Koeck argues that branding a place is only 'effective' together with the appropriate marketing (Koeck 2013: 128). In the case of Júcar, this was more than apparent. The

invented reference to the Smurfs with the use of the blue colour paint could have been ambiguous without the additional random figures on walls and around the town, and more importantly, without the global publicity. According to the marketing representatives, it was critical to take special actions for the promotional event of the worldwide premier that ‘reached the hearts of the people’ and ‘generated millions of conversations’ and which would gain ‘the highest media coverage and awareness’ (Bungalow25 2011). The plan was essentially ‘to create a relevant story around the village and its relationship with the Smurfs’ (*ibid.*). Eventually, the launch campaign received ‘one of the greatest media coverage of the year’ for its originality and Júzcar was one of the most visited places in the region (*ibid.*). What this has shown is that marketing and branding the town was used to create a new, seemingly successful, economic model for Júzcar.

However, after the town lost the authorisation to promote itself as the Smurf Village in 2017, only the blue façades have remained without the fabricated Smurf sentiment. Yet, Júzcar still aims to benefit from the simple correlation between the distinctive blue colour and the Smurfs. Since this fabricated reference is still legit, it is, indeed, exploited in various ways, such as the bar named *Santuario Azul* (trans. Blue Sanctuary) and the regular event of the *Mercado Azul* (trans. Blue Market), which is actually the former *Merca Pitufo* (trans. Smurf Market). By this means Júzcar has been slowly rebranding itself from one of the quaint *pueblos blancos* through the fabricated Smurf Village to its remains, the *pueblo azul* (trans. blue village).

5.2.3 People

▪ *Júzcareños*

Júzcar’s population counts 226 people, 128 male and 98 female, as of the statistics in 2017 (INE 2018). Like the other towns in the Genal Valley, Júzcar has witnessed a trend in the decline of population over the past years. This suggests the town’s struggling economic position, as was discussed in the case of the three neighbouring towns too. Interestingly, when becoming the Smurf Village in 2011, the population showed a sudden growth from 221 in 2010 to 242 in 2011. In the process of becoming the Smurf Village, and more precisely, later to remain to be the Smurf Village after the promotional event, these inhabitants played an important and strategic role. When the marketing representatives reached out with the idea of transforming Júzcar into the world’s first Smurf Village to the town’s then mayor, David Fernández Tirado saw the

proposition as an opportunity. He had to make sure that all the houses could be painted blue, therefore, along with Bungalow25, he invited all the inhabitants to attend a meeting in which the Smurf project was introduced with its potential benefits for the town and its people. According to Fernández Tirado, the plan was well received and was ‘happily accepted’ by the *júzcareños* (Fernández Tirado 2012a). At that point, there was not much to lose in the eyes of the town’s residents, as the project included a restoration by repainting the buildings to their original white states after the dedicated promotional period (from June to December 2011). As soon as the special permissions were obtained from the regional government, as well as from the local bishop, to allow the church building to be painted blue, the work started. It was carried out by a local firm, which hired the fifteen unemployed local resident (Bungalow25 2011). This counts as one of the project’s benefits for the *júzcareños*. When talking to the inhabitants, another positive outcome of the transformation was mentioned; that is ‘finally Júzcar was put on the “map” and was no longer a small town no one ever heard about’. In addition, the general main factor for which the project was considered successful was the local economic growth (see, also, Fernández Tirado 2012b).

The marketing agency suggests that, according to the territorial councillor of the government, ‘the GDP of the region grew up by 7%’ (Bungalow25 2011). As a result of the positive outcome of the Smurf project and a prospect for an even more fruitful future, on 18 December 2011, the town called for a referendum before the contract with the agency ended. In short, the ballot was about to remain the blue coloured reenactment of Smurf Village or return to be one of the traditional white towns. The residents overwhelmingly voted for staying blue, more precisely, 141 voted in favour and 33 against (Fotheringham 2011). Therefore, the restoration was cancelled and Júzcar, in a blink of an eye, remained the Smurf Village by popular demand. A short documentary directed by Diego Caicedo-Galindo, entitled *Los Júccareños* (2016), reveals how the people of Júzcar adopted to the sudden changes due to the large influx of visitors. One of the residents stated, that first ‘it was something very shocking, but taken very very well’ (Caicedo-Galindo 2016). At the beginning, there was a bit of a chaos from traffic jams and lack of parking spaces, through the not-knowing of how to welcome the interested mass of tourists, to finding ways to entertain them. These issues needed prompt solutions which ended up in creating a business society that holds together all the activities in relation to tourism. A regular market is organised, in which vendors sell local specialities as well as Smurf-related goodies, new businesses were established, souvenir shops, bars and restaurants were opened. In addition to the

previously only hotel in the town, *El Bandolero*, now there are several other guesthouses, considerably more than in each of the neighbouring towns of Faraján, Cartajima or Pujerra (see Town Council of Júzcar, Tourism). With no surprise, these new businesses built their concept around the Smurf theme, such as the *Casa Rural – El Descanso Azul* (trans. Rural House – The Blue Rest). Existing ones simply rebranded themselves, for instance the bar that became the *Cueva de Gargamel* (trans. Cave of Gargamel). The wall paint decorations and exhibited figures only enhance the fabricated sentiment, like the caged soft toy Smurfs by the entrance of *Gargamel’s cave* (see Figure 5.37). But not only that, when looking into this bar, the owner recalled the fictional character of Gargamel. At a first glance, he looked like wearing a poor robe, but in fact, he deliberately dressed up (or down) in a Gargamel outfit.



Figure 5.37: Adapting to the Smurf-theme

I would like to point out that this was not a sole case. The bar owner was only one of the *júzcareños* dressing up in costumes of various Smurfs characters to welcome and entertain the visiting tourists. Impersonating the Smurfs may seem to be peculiar. However, it has to be highlighted, that not only the spatial setting of Júzcar is seen as a resemblance to the Smurfs’ village, but also the people of Júzcar and the Smurfs are

believed to show similarities. According to Fernández Tirado, both are ‘ecologists and enthusiastic mycologists’ (quoted in Fotheringham 2011). This brings the discussion to the next section of this chapter, the Smurfs and tourists.

▪ **The Smurfs and tourists**

The characters of Smurfs, stepping out of the comic strip and the screen, have first appeared in palpable forms of children’s toys since their earliest debut. For promotional purposes, the company’s representatives, and later IMPS and Lafig, have gotten into collaboration many times with other major brands. Therefore, the various characters became merchandised items of collectibles, for instance, for BP (The British Petroleum Company), or as the surprises in Kinder chocolate eggs, or as the toys that came with McDonald’s Happy Meal. In other cases, characters turned into images printed on T-shirts, mugs, mustard and Nutella glasses, or could be even consumed in form of Haribo gummy candies. In 2008, when the brand celebrated their 50th anniversary, one of the Smurf figures took part as a giant inflatable balloon at the Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York City (IMPS). In 2011, the first Global Smurfs Day event was organised by Sony Pictures to celebrate, or rather promote, the upcoming movie. It was held on the 25th of July in honour of Peyo’s birthday. On that special day, there were thousands of people dressing up in Smurf costumes, with their faces and hands painted blue, at several locations across the globe. The event set a Guinness World Record for the largest gathering of people dressed as Smurfs (Guinness World Records 2011). The Global Smurf Day have been organised since then every year.

To get into a close encounter with the Smurf kind could be, however, a regular occurrence in Júcar. The kind of *júzcarenño Smurfs* often appeared during the weekend when the influx of visitors was more apparent. In addition to the bar owner Gargamel, visitors could meet other characters too in several different occasions. For instance, as Figure 5.38 shows, a large group of dressed up people overtaking the market square at the annual event in relation to the Catholic festival in honour of San José. There were also Smurfettes, as market vendors, selling various products from anything with images of Smurfs on, to smurf outfits, Phrygian caps and even bottled smurf blue *potions*. Figure 5.39 shows a collection of images that were taken at the local market during my visit.



Figure 5.38: Smurfs at the market square

According to the information centre, there were theatrical acts for children that were performed by the various Smurfs. Even themed wedding ceremonies could be assisted by the favoured characters. In addition, visitors could participate in painting competitions, the Blue Moon Fun Run, as well as they could turn into one of the Smurfs using the designated face painting services. It is no wonder that the anticipation to meet *real-life Smurfs* or even *becoming one* was high. The first promotional event in 2011 over-exceeded the expectations in terms of popularity. Not only the movie became the number one in Spain on the first weekend by hitting the box office with just over three million euros, but the number of tourists paying a visit to the newly invented Smurf Village reached a high number that the town had never seen before. In an average summer, there were about 300 people who had made Júzcar as a stopover before the promotional event on the 16th of June, after which, only in July and August, the number of tourists grew to 70.000 and they came from all over the world (Bungalow25 2011). The town flaunts a graffiti wall section, namely the *Pitupared* (fantasy name that can be translated as Smurf wall), that is dedicated only for visitors to write or draw on (see Figure 5.40). In March 2012, less than a year after the launch event, according to my observation, the wall was already fully covered with various notes left behind, which can be considered as a proof for the magnitude of visitors. In addition, when looking

closer, the different names and languages of various nations attest to the tourists' international diversity. What seems to be interesting about this is that visitors find it important to leave their mark in a fictional narrative, and by doing so, they validate and even reconcile the fictional with the real.



Figure 5.39: “Merchandising Júzcar” at the *Merca Pitufo*

Talking to some of the *local Smurfs* also revealed that not all of them are locals either. Many of the vendors and participants come from the surrounding areas, for the advantages from the large influx of visitors. This shows what a catalyst, regarding the tourist industry, was created by the reenactment of the Smurfs' village. According to Fernández Tirado, the people of Júzcar, including him, are proud of what they have

achieved as a community (Fernández Tirado 2012b). The proudness and appreciation was indeed showed by the people, from the youngest to the eldest. When an elderly lady stepped closer and realised that the camera I used on my visit to the town was made by Sony, she showed accolade and expressed her gratitude towards the brand. She explained that it [Sony Pictures] established a ground on which Júzcar had become what it was that day – a quirky little point of interest giving space for the *real* Smurfs in the middle of the Mountains of Ronda. However, according to the lack of agreement with IMPS, Júzcar cannot promote itself as the Smurf Village anymore and all related activities had to be terminated, which left the place without the iconic characters and the enchanting narrative. Therefore, the hype has subsided. It can be argued that this might have led to the apparent decrees of population in the recent years.

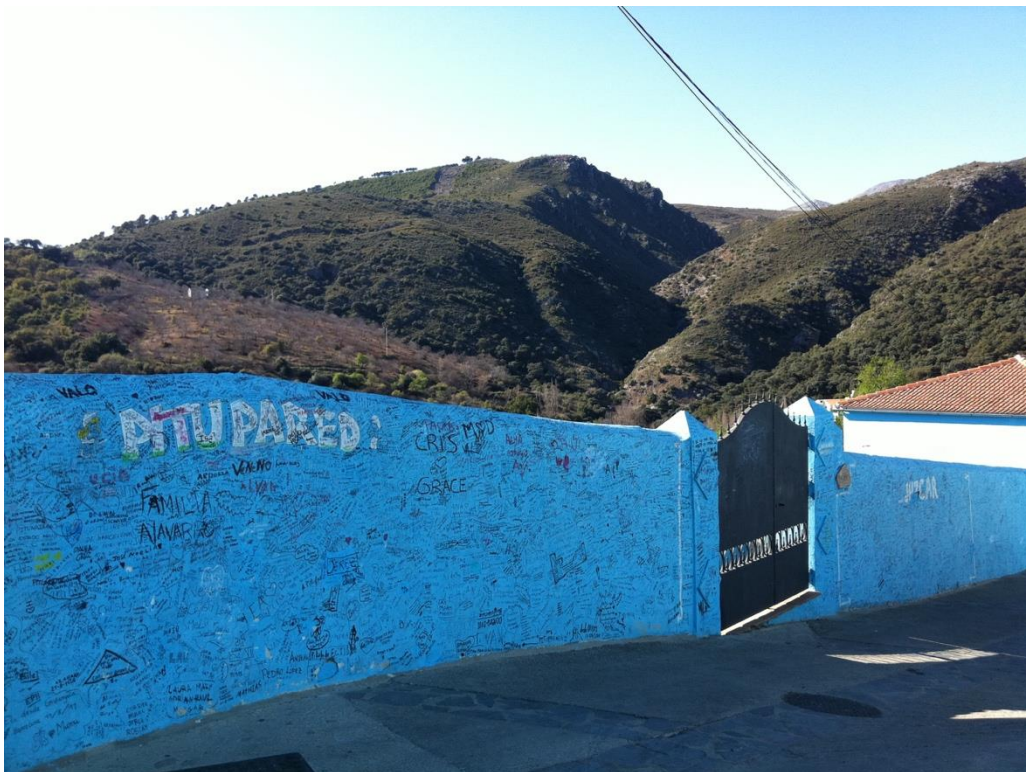


Figure 5.40: *Pitupared*

CONCLUSION

My research into the here investigated spatial phenomenon, which I called *narrative contradictions*, was carried out by applying a methodological approach that put a particular emphasis on historical and contextual studies. As this is a global phenomenon that has never been before examined in such depth, my aim was primarily to offer an understanding of its genealogy and to identify its key characteristics and underlying principles. My analysis also entailed a selection of case studies. In order to attain a comprehensive insight into these places of *narrative contradictions*, I explored their historical and spatial context and I employed an integrative framework that focused on the three key aspects of inhabited places; architecture, narrative and people. By doing so, I aimed at providing a taxonomy as a framework for other researchers as well, allowing them to expand my research and include continuously new emerging places. In order to summarise my research findings, I will revisit all seven clearly distinct aspects that in my mind define *narrative contradictions* and which have founded the basis for my research questions (RQs) set out in the *Introduction*.

RQ1 – precedents

RQ2 – cultural practices

RQ3 – spatial contexts

RQ4 – architecture

RQ5 – narratives

RQ6 – people

RQ7 – taxonomy

RQ1: What precedents for the phenomenon of narrative contradictions can be found in the history of architectural design, spatial- and urban planning in the Western context? What was the role of architectural ornamentations, iconic images and symbols used in these historical examples?

In order to find a possible lineage of the spatial phenomenon, I carried out a study by tracing the genealogy of *narrative contradictions*. I revisited relevant theories and modes of thoughts in architecture and urban planning throughout the consecutive historical periods from which three key factors arose to the surface. Firstly, this revision has shown that the advent of novel and the never-seen-before architectural forms and building features contradicting their contextual conventional environment reoccurred in several cases. What I mean by this is the earliest principles of the Greek's well-ordered architecture, the otherworldly towering structures that were built as extensions of the Church's teachings, in addition to the radical design concepts of the Futurist architects.

Secondly, this study has revealed a sequential emergence of renewed Classical and Gothic architectural ideologies. Design practices in accordance with such principles evoked certain experience of locality, culture and identity. What I refer to here is Vitruvius's borrowed design principles from ancient Greek architecture, as well as the revivals of the classical or the gothic modes of thoughts, like the Renaissance or the Gothic Revival. What is perhaps even more interesting, in view of the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*, are the imitative *pseudo-styles* as a consequent effect of these (neo-)movements. Buildings of these models passed through without a conceptual stage and followed only a universal belief of the certain *stylistic requirements* spreading facsimilia across many countries. In this manner, not original, but alienated and foreign pieces of architectural fragments emerged contradicting the contextual conventional environment.

Thirdly, my investigation has drawn my attention to the excessive use of symbols and ornamental details in different eras and various stages. As my study revealed, reasons for such motivation could be either the driving forces for novel structures (like in the case of Gothic cathedrals), or the embellishment and decorative elements of building design (as seen, for instance, in Las Vegas and other places in the United States from the 1960s). Moreover, during the 18th century in Europe, architecture and spatial design had strong symbolic qualities. Fragments of buildings and follies were exploited as pieces of mere land decoration in an English garden, or as the symbols of wealth, good taste and even political stance.

RQ2: What sort of other cultural practices, which are found in the history of architectural design, spatial- and urban planning in the Western context, can be related to the phenomenon of narrative contradictions? What underlying principles can be identified that potentially relate to the selected case studies?

In addition to the architectural manifestations of the different modes of thoughts in various time periods and spaces, I have also looked into cultural practices and occurrences that have taken place in the modern history and which manifested themselves in the built environment. These are the moving image attractions, urban utopias and world fairs. I have identified their underlying principles that potentially relate to my examined phenomenon in order to find a possible lineage from an additional perspective. As such, the collected factors of the identified narrative and spatial experiences from the consecutive art forms of moving images, visionary urban planning schemes and the world fairs are presented below including the case studies that are applicable to each point.

My work shows that either one or two, but in most cases, all the three case studies correspond to the principles that drive their historical and cultural evolution. This indicates that these cultural practices could be regarded to some extent as precursors to my current case studies of *narrative contradictions*. In more details, the investigation into, for instance, the moving image attractions revealed an evolution in storytelling through the consecutive novel art forms, from the panoramic paintings, through the dioramas, to the moving images of the cinema, showing that the verisimilitude of the visual as well as the physical experience of being in another space or at another time became more advanced in each stage. The phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* has followed in this line of argument. Whereas the spatial design of each case study promotes the idea of consuming the world through iconic images and symbols – which particularly portray a certain locality, time period or a fictional culture – the physical borders that enclosed these attractions from the real world have faded. More precisely, the walls of the rotunda and the movie theatres, in which the fabricated narrative takes place, have not necessarily vanished, but transformed into spatial boundaries, like the canals surrounding Thames Town and Zaanse Schans and the municipality limits of Júzcar. The narratives, that each case study carry or aim to project, have blurred into the built environment, allowing the people to actually immerse within the storyline and experience through it.

The British-themed spatial formation of Thames Town, the living-museum village of the Zaanse Schans or the reenactment of the Smurfs' village invites people to participate and contribute to these narratives. With their controlled and structured spectacles, these *artificial elsewheres* provide platforms on which people are able to construct their own stories. As a result, the visitors' experience shifts even further from what was discussed in the case of the moving image attractions. That is to say, while the panoramas transformed the spectator into a visitor, and the dioramas allowed the visitor to be part of the scene, which was enhanced by the projected moving images in the cinemas, the spatial settings of *narrative contradictions* engage people and let them become the protagonists and/or the directors of these (personal) stories.

My study of urban utopias, with particular focus on the two prominent urban planning theories that I examined, highlighted a series of underlying principles which, once again, formed a conceptual relationship to my case studies. For instance, one of the key principles driving these modern urban theories was the concern with the growing population in the emergent cities. Either a growing or decreasing population was a strategic element in the conception of two of my selected case studies. More precisely, Thames Town was initiated to offer a solution to the problems of an overpopulated city centre, and Júzcar became the Smurf Village to increase economy and to entice potential inhabitants in order to lessen the apparent depopulation in the area. What has also emerged in my study is the relevance between the modern theories and the case studies in terms of the creation of well-ordered and controlled communities for inhabitants with particular social status. While Howard's Garden City was designed for the working class to offer them housing and employment at the same place and Le Corbusier's Contemporary City was intended only for the social elite, a similar argument can be made in my examples. For instance, Thames Town was constructed with the academic professionals in mind and Zaanse Schans was planned to be transformed into a neighbourhood for craftsmen. In each of these cases, such invented urban forms inherently suggest a desired place for inhabitation and a vision for an ideal future. At their own times, these plans projected radical and novel urban systems, that disregarded, as well as contradicted the contextual spatial and cultural environment. I would, however, like to highlight, that both, the modern and the here studied spatial phenomena, aimed to utilise a clearly defined overarching narrative to define such new socio-spatial strategies. Although, I would argue that the design approaches for the later cases, Thames Town, Zaanse Schans and Smurf Village, went further in terms of exploiting their own narratives in the way in which iconic images and symbols are

exploited to a high degree and employed to brand (or rebrand) these inhabited spatial settings.

Lastly, revising the history of world fairs has also shown potential relations to the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* from several aspects. Essentially, a world fair is a global event to showcase technical and cultural achievements. This idea is not far from the underlying principles behind the case studies. Thames Town is a showcase for cultural achievements, a certain level of sophistication, wealth, good taste and style as well as social status; Zaanse Schans showcases the industrial achievements from the Dutch Golden Age; and Júzcar is a showcase and celebration of a fictional world coming alive. Furthermore, exploring the various stages in the evolution of world fairs, namely the eras of cultural exchange (London, 1851), visionary and fantastic environments (New York, 1939-1940) and national branding (Seville, 1992), revealed that the global event is underpinned with cultural, architectural and urban planning principles. For instance, the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851 housed the very first international cultural event in the world that encouraged cultural openness and cultural exchange. As such, this idea is more than relevant in the case studies of *narrative contradictions*. Thames Town in China features an urban scene copied from a foreign culture in England. Zaanse Schans is home for local cultural traditions, but which only highlights a certain time period from the past. The people of Júzcar did not simply adapt to another culture, but a fictional one that only existed in people's imagination as fairy tales.

The Great Exhibition also marked the beginning of a series of urban practices that accommodated for *all the nations* to present themselves at one designated space. One may instantly recall theme parks, such as the World Showcase at EPCOT, and its later counterparts, the Global Village in Dubai and the Window of the World in China, in which various national cultures are showcased one next to another. It is worth noting, that branding each nation with the use of iconic images and symbols was only apparent later from the Expo '92. Since then, however, it became an essential practice of showcasing achievements as a tool for national branding. Unquestionably, the use of symbols is also an important element in theme park design as well as in the case studies of *narrative contradictions*. Interestingly, if we look closer at the wider aspect of the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan*, it can be argued that such urban projects embracing the amalgamation of various national cultures within one city, or at least their architectural manifestation and projected images, has left behind the realm of

theme parks and broken into our inhabited urban spaces. The congregation of several different nations is also enhanced with the idea of tourist experience in the way in which visitors may be able to *travel the world* in a matter of a day or two. While at a world fair, there is a possibility to obtain and collect stamps in an official passport, similar tourist experiences to these actual urban settings are only noted in people's mind or blog posts and social media (see, for instance, Pedersen 2011). In fact, this highlights the difference between the world fairs, as social and cultural themed events, and the spatial settings of *narrative contradictions*, as inherently inhabitable places – cities, towns, villages or neighbourhoods.

World fairs have also played an important role in urban design practices as the event grew out from a singular architectural space. From the New York World Fair of 1939-1940, novel urban forms were excessively showcased, which were never seen before. Yet, the visionary and fantastic models were to be not only looked at as spectators, but experienced as visitors by walking through the theoretical future cities. Considering the case studies as visionary and fantastic environments, in which people live or are intended to live, the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* points towards a transition from the imaginary world of fairs to the world of actuality. My findings show that there is a definite shift in the potential use of space by the people from being a spectator and a visitor, or even a passport holder as a citizen of a fictional society at the world fairs, to an inhabitant of the real world place of a *narrative contradiction*.

Table C.1: Summary of identified narrative and spatial experiences – Case Studies

Abbreviations: CP: Cultural Practices; CS: Case Studies;

TT: Thames Town; ZS: Zaanse Schans; SV: Smurf Village

CP	Underlying principles	CS
Moving Image Attractions	- Imaginary situation that reality prevent one from living	All
	- True to life, confused with reality	All
	- All embracing view	All
	- Experience of being on the very spot	All
	- Pursuit of maximum optical illusion	All
	- Aim for visual and physical verisimilitude	All
	- Lure in verisimilitude or artificiality	All
	- Artificial elsewhere	All
	- Virtual travel and virtual mobility	All
	- Bringing places/cultures to the people	All
	- Losing judgement of time and space	All
	- Use of iconic images	All
	- Knowledge and understanding from books and magazines	All
	- Mediated images	All
	- Controlled and structured spectacles	All
	- Emotional connection	All
	- Virtual sightseeing	All
	- Visual narrative	All
	- Visual consumption	All
	- Consuming the world through images	All
	- Placing the <i>world</i> of a locality, time and culture within one's reach	All
	- Artificially arranged scenes	All
	- Imitation of reality	All
- Virtual form of time and space	All	
- Controlled and constructed narrative	All	
- Structured and fabricated sceneries	All	
- Staged	All	
- Tools of sightseeing /site-seeing	All	
- Spatiovisual pleasure	All	
Urban Utopias	- Architectural manifestation of society	All
	- Structuring society, social order	All
	- No place, nowhere	All
	- Ideal and well-structured commonwealth	TT, ZS
	- Narrative tool	All
	- Socio-spatial difference, contradiction	All
	- Concerned with urban population	TT, SV
	- Decentralisation	TT
	- Ideal place to live and work in	All
	- New hope, new life, new civilization	All
	- Providing a vision for the future	All
	- Novel forms of spatial settlement	TT

	- Well-ordered, balanced and controlled community	TT, ZS
	- Specifically organised spatial environment	TT, ZS
	- Better quality of life	All
	- Staged	All
	- Structured and controlled arrangement of pieces of townscapes	All
	- Create narratives	All
	- Fabricated spatial sequences	All
	- Desired stage for inhabitation	All
	- Plans implemented by a great authority	All
	- Break with the past	TT, SV
	- Tabula rasa	TT, ZS
	- Disregarding the past	TT, SV
	- Contradicting the historical spatial context, the cultural and social substance	TT, SV
	- Rebuilding of society	TT
	- Class-segregated city	TT, ZS
	- Classification of society	TT
World Fairs	- Showcasing	All
	- Ways of showcasing domination (industrial)	TT
	- Industrial hegemony	TT, ZS
	- Set a competitive mind, international competition	TT
	- Cultural openness	All
	- Cultural exchange	All
	- Different cultures in one place	All
	- Architectural extravagance	All
	- Visionary urbanism	All
	- Hope for the future	All
	- Fantastic environments	All
	- Improve national image	All
	- Display of nations	All
	- National branding	All
	- Advertising campaign	All
	- Symbolism	All
	- Mediated spaces	All
	- Tourist experience	All
- Citizenship of a fictional realm	All	
- Fictional society	All	
- Constructed, well-defined and enclosed milieu	All	

RQ3: Which specific spatial contexts are the selected case studies situated in? What relevant architectural and cultural characteristics can be distilled from them?

With regard to this research question, I aimed to shed light on the architectural and cultural background of each respective case study by unfolding the historical layers of the contextual environments. I do realise that I have taken this investigation to a great length and, on occasions, even by going back to the prehistoric times. One may argue that this is perhaps not necessary. However, this methodology has allowed me to regard these places as not simply being part of a superficial phenomenon that one can hastily and briefly judge, but to clearly understand their essence from a wider context. In my view, only this approach has given justice to these places. It helped to take the case studies out from the cursory categorisations of being only mock-ups, simulacrascapes or tourist attractions. This phenomenon is more complex and the case studies deserve to be seen as part of a profounder taxonomy, which I aimed to establish and will discuss later.

In terms of my study of the contextual environments, the historical overview disclosed not only each region's historical significance, but also events, eras and chronological developments in relation to the cases in matter. For instance, it highlighted Songjiang's encounter with foreign concessions, Zaanstreek's industrial achievements during the Dutch Golden Age, and the various cultural accumulations building up in the Mountains of Ronda. In general, all these traits were reflected in the contextual built environment in one way or another.

Revisiting the vernacular architecture from the prehistoric period has uncovered different aspects for each area. More particularly, in Songjiang, it revealed original architectural methods and the earliest urban forms. In Zaanstreek, it called the attention to the man-made lands that have been typically transformed to one's need. Lastly, it highlighted pictorial manifestations and structures at the several archaeological sites across the Mountains of Ronda. All these features are actually visible and part of the current spatial surroundings. Additionally, museums, which were built on archaeological sites (like the Guangfulin in Songjiang), or exhibition centres, which were constructed according to historical cultural traditions (like the Algaba de Ronda), commonly show that there is a great interest in protecting the architectural and cultural heritages.

These geneses have been also important in setting a foundation for subsequent ancient cultures, leaving behind prominent historical sites for today. As such, these landscapes reflect the traditional architectural principles and building methods corresponding to the

cultural background both in space and time. In retrospect, Songjiang features many elements that relate to typical Chinese structures and landscapes, as well as architectural landmarks from foreign religions and concessions. In the case of Zaanse Schans, there is an apparent effort to preserve the architectural landmarks from the industrial heritage in the close vicinity of the site. Likewise, the several historic sites built upon by the various succeeding cultures are scattered across the Mountains of Ronda. These historic landscapes in each location, similarly to the prehistoric sites, are well-protected. Moreover, they are used as tourist attractions.

Interestingly, many of the contemporary examples were established with similar purposes of allure; either to attract holidaymakers (like recreational parks and centres, museums, hotels and guesthouses in all cases) or to attract potential inhabitants (for instance, the universities and schools in Songjiang, industrial units in Zaanstreek, and residential developments and urban infrastructures across the Mountains of Ronda). In these cases, design features and architectural practices comply with various trends and planning principles. More particularly, there are three different approaches that can be identified. Firstly, there are projects presenting universal and topical design trends, namely the developments of the Zaans Museum and the St Michaël College on the Kalverpolder, the high-rise apartments and the Shimaohotel complex in Songjiang. Secondly, others follow more particularly a range of actual functional requirements, like the factory units across Zaanstreek. Thirdly, there are the latest developments that conform to local traditions and melt into the spatial context, to be precise, into the landscape of the Andalusian towns. What I refer to here are the majority of the newly built municipal buildings and guest houses in the neighbouring towns of Júzcar. Lastly, urban development plans posed various strategies and concepts with the use of symbolic images. While projects, like some of the university buildings and housing estates in Songjiang, were based on the principle to use image-like references from foreign cultures, others, as in the regeneration scheme for the city centre in Zaandam, were constructed as a manifestation of images taken from local historic architectural forms.

Some features, with regards to town planning and architectural design, are worth noticing here. For instance, the well-defined and surrounded spatial form of Thames Town with the canals and the very limited number of accesses recalls the ancient city of Liangzhu and the old town of Shanghai with similar features (see in Figure C.1). In addition, the development process and the design of Thames Town highly resembles the concept of classical Chinese garden design in the way in which the town is a spatial

manifestations of an assortment of images and symbols that are taken from British urban landscapes. These carefully selected fragments of various British townscapes are systematically arranged and constructed creating a unified whole. I would also like to highlight, that typical foreign architectural images can be found in the area in various forms originating from the concession era as well as in contemporary urban projects, such as the university buildings and residential housings. Similarly, Zaanse Schans does not seem to be the only place featuring the characteristics of the local architectural heritage. In the close vicinity of the site, there is *Haaldersbroek*, the waterfront of *Gortershoek* as well as the windmills on both sides of the *Julianabrug*. However, both case studies are unique on their own terms. Both are enclosed spatial environments that build their existence on the strong narrative of either an acclaimed foreign land or the glorious past.

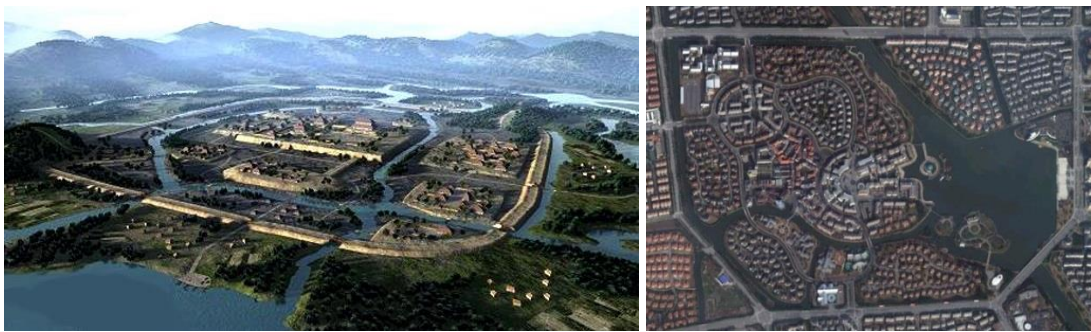


Figure C.1: Ancient city of Liangzhu (left) and Thames Town (right)

Case Studies (RQs 4, 5 and 6)

The investigation into the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions* was carried out by the use of the selected case studies. Each case was analysed with high attention to the spatial and cultural circumstances through the integrative framework of the three central aspects that constitute these urban settings. These are:

- Architecture – its formal physiognomies
- Narratives – its nature and driving forces
- People – the use of space and cultural practices

These three focus points were taken into different angles in the way in which suited the best for each case in matter. In the following sections, I conclude the three aspects in more details by answering the related research questions.

RQ4: What sorts of predominant architecture, architectural design and functions have place in each selected case study? What architectural features characterise the spatial environment; town structure, townscape as well as individual buildings and structures?

The spatial setting of all three case studies suggests a sense of an enclosed town structure, like theme parks, shopping villages or other entertainment/commercial entities. Interestingly, however, the fundamental purpose of each project is to be inhabitable places. Thames Town and Zaanse Schans were deliberately designed for permanent habitation, and Júzcar had been already an occupied small town when it transformed into the Smurf Village. Yet, even though the locations are accessible without any forms of restrictions, the borders of these spatial milieus are clear in all cases. What I refer to is, for instance, Thames Town is enclosed by the canal system, which runs around the edge of the town, and the only four entrance points that create a well-defined border. The historical scenery of the Zaanse Schans is defined by the natural environment of the Zaan River and the neighbouring contemporary buildings. In the case of the Smurf Village, the unique blueness of its buildings, even from a distance, makes a strong demarcation from the neighbouring landscape of the traditional whitewashed towns.

Architectural design plays a key role in the formation of these places. Thames Town takes images from foreign places, Zaanse Schans portray local historical heritage, and Smurf Village was created by the simple use of blue wall paint. Iconic images, symbols and replicas of buildings and townscapes, in addition to the various props as cultural shortcuts, are essential parts of the architectural scenery. In fact, in each case, these elements are deliberately implemented to enhance the narratives of these places, which brings me to the next question.

RQ5: What led to the creation of the narratives in each selected case study? How were these particular narratives implemented in each place?

Narratives are fundamental elements in both creating and using/inhabiting these places. However, in each case study the notion and the role of narratives differ in certain aspects. In the case of Thames Town, the theme of the imported British townscape was chosen to create something special and attractive. The narrative of an organically developed new town was a deliberate planning method, as it was discussed before. The designers aimed to achieve such storyline by the arrangement of the architectural and spatial images from the various historical eras in the way in which these spatial narratives are essentially presented in a typical British small town. Having said that, these images were not simply copied, but formed into an idealised scenery that pleases the Chinese expectation of the Britishness.

Zaanse Schans was planned as a neighbourhood to preserve the local architectural heritage from the Dutch Golden Age, in an authentic, functional and therefore, usable/liveable form. Yet, the site as a conservational project of the traditional neighbourhood developed into a (free-entry) living-museum village. The several replica buildings and structures as well as the cultural spectacles showcase the way of life from the industrial era. Its narrative of being a traditional pre-industrial neighbourhood is also enhanced by the various props of architectural and cultural shortcuts, such as the various clogs, cheese stands and the traditional clothes drying on the rope outside, only to highlight a few.

Júzcar was transformed into the reenactment of the fictional Smurfs' village for the sole reason of promoting of *The Smurfs* movie. The intention was to create a pseudo reality that blurs the boundaries between the fictional and our real world. Through this transformation, the town rebranded itself from being one of the Andalusian *pueblos blancos* to the world's first Smurf Village. As such, this narrative created an economic model from which the town, even after losing the rights to promote itself as the Smurf Village, still aims to benefit from.

RQ6: Who are the people that inhabit each selected case study? What sort of spatial and/or cultural practices can be observed in each place?

According to my definition of *narrative contradictions*, all three case studies are inhabitable and/or inhabited places, where people are intended to live their everyday life. Based on my observations, there are different groups of inhabitants, workers as well as visitors that can be identified. Since the spatial environments and the narratives of each case study are intrinsically distinct from one another, there is a great variety of spatial practices that can be recognised in these places. Thames Town, with its portrayal of the idealised British rural town sceneries, offers a platform for a lifestyle that potentially attracts open-minded residents with good taste, style and a prestigious social status. At the same time, its *unique* townscape has become an appealing milieu for day trippers and, most predominantly, a charming backdrop for glamorous wedding pictures.

In Zaanse Schans, I have identified different groups of people and inhabitants who are responsible for the various spatial practices. There are inhabitants, who only live on site and who I called passive residents, whereas, there are active residents, who live and work on site. They practice and keep traditional craftsmanship alive and by doing so, they also contribute to and enhance the place's narrative qualities. Along with other workers living offsite, they are the ones bringing back into life the sceneries and activities from the 1850s Zaanstreek that the neighbourhood aims to depict. The new facilities, which were deliberately designed and implemented with tourists in mind, seem to attract an ever growing mass of visitors. Such facilities also allow these visitors to take part in the role-play of the industrial village.

Smurf Village is inhabited by the *júzcareños*, the people of Júzcar, who deliberately chose, more precisely, voted for Júzcar to remain the Smurf Village. By this act, they instinctively adapted to a new lifestyle and established new cultural traditions within their community. They became the real life Smurfs, a practice of certain activities, which was induced by the sudden influx of tourists after the *Smurfification*.

RQ7: What sort of taxonomy can be applied to these cases of narrative contradictions? How can we make sense of and/or bring order to this phenomenon?

The analysis of the selected case studies have contributed to our knowledge with a new value of research findings and enabled an approach that potentially unravelled the complexity of the here studied phenomenon. After I studied the selected case studies and tested the hypothesis of the categorisation of *narrative contradictions* that was set out in the *Introduction*, the three major orders (spatial, temporal and story-based) can be affirmed. Moreover, the three case studies, Thames Town, Zaanse Schans and Smurf Village, embody the three distinctive orders, which I denominate respectively:

- Spatial simulacra
- Temporal displacements
- Story-based reenactments

Before I am going to define each of the three orders one by one and explain how my case studies relate to these categories, I would like to point out the broader argument that my study has revealed. I have come to the realisation, that in order to understand the inner nature of these places, one needs to consider an integrative approach to architecture. This means that I investigated my case studies through the three aspects – architecture, narratives and people – in conjunction to each other, rather than in isolation. As a result, if one aims of having such integrated approach, I believe, it only makes sense to pursue a research by drawing the conclusions from a mixed methodology, which, on the one hand, certainly relies on literature as I have, but on the other hand, it actually builds on information and materials from an on-site investigation. Visiting these places allowed me a first-hand experience of these spaces. In doing so, I was able to see and talk to people, study their behaviour and even take part in some of the social practices, which fundamentally informed my research, and as a matter of fact, the three orders of contradictions. Having said that, I should mention that I accept the fact that a selection of other case studies and perhaps methodology might have yielded in a different outcome of this study. Ultimately though, through the creation of these distinct categories, the aim of my research was not only to make sense and bring order to such peculiar settings, but also to provide a framework for other researchers, which will be discussed later.

Spatial simulacra

I consider those places as *spatial simulacra*, which are designed to evoke a sense of a foreign place. In these cases, iconic images and symbols manifested in architectural and urban design elements are imported from the desired foreign place and assembled in order to construct a spatial narrative through the built environment, which in turn seemingly contradicts the local (spatial and cultural) context. The case study of the British-themed Thames Town, amongst many, is a good example to this category. Several other newly-built foreign-themed spatial environments also belong to this form of contradiction, for instance the Dutch-themed Huis ten Bosch in Japan, Paris-like Sky City and the Venice Water Town in Hangzhou in China, as well as towns, like the Canadian, Dutch, German, Italian, and Spanish, included in the *One City Nine Towns Development Plan*. In addition, the numerous already existing and inhabited towns and neighbourhoods, that, at some point, transformed their spatial (and, perhaps, cultural) image in accordance with a foreign-themed concept can be also regarded in this category. Examples for such *spatial simulacra* are, for instance, the Danish town of Solvang, CA and the Bavarian-themed Leavenworth, WA in the United States, only to mention a few.

Having said that, these places are not necessarily meant to be accurate to scale or even authentic copies, rather, the images are translated and transformed in the way in which they can be legible for the potential local people. For instance, as was discussed in the case of Thames Town, the British spatial imageries were rendered to meet with the Chinese appreciation of British sceneries. I would like to highlight again, that since many local people cannot afford to travel to see the original places for various reasons (see in Chapter 3.2.2), for them the knowledge of these foreign landscapes come from a mediated reality that are illustrated by the various media – films, magazines, postcards, brochures and other things alike. Bosker makes the point by quoting one of the visitors to the town, saying that ‘she was impressed with the authenticity of the English town, because it looked “just like what I’ve [she has] seen on TV”’ (Bosker 2013: 50). A comment like this underlines, and maybe even justifies, the concept of creating idealised sceneries over an accurate copy. To explain what I mean by that, I would like to recall the work of AlSayyad. In his book, he discusses the cinematic interpretation of places and unfolds ‘the in-between of real and reel space’ (AlSayyad 2006: xii). He recalls personal examples in which he highlights the disappointment ‘when reality failed to match the image presented in virtual space’ (*ibid.*). In the case of Thames Town, its spatial setting can be regarded as a physical three-dimensional manifestation of the

mediated reality that can be found in various media illustrating Great Britain in China. In this sense, I came to the conclusion that, once more, what we can find, for instance, in Thames Town, is not a simple *replica* or *copy* of the original place. It is far from it; it is, instead, an attempt to respond to a particular set of challenges (e.g. which is posed by a new planning/development and its socio-economic drivers) and to the mediated copies that appeared elsewhere in the media. Its ambition is not to be authentic, but to correspond with such mediated realities instead of the original. So in this sense, and coming back to Alsayyad's argument once again, places like Thames Town indeed fulfil the expectations of the people, rather than disappoint.

What I observed is that Thames Town is used as backdrop for taking wedding photographs for hundreds of visitors a day. This brings to mind what Koeck argued in relation to the concept of *mise-en-scène* and the fact that some cities show signs of being seen as a theatrical stage (Koeck 2013: 157-162). Thames Town, in many respects, could not be a better example of this. The created, and perhaps sincere, spatial sceneries interact and engage with people as it offers a stage in which live actions and interactions can take place. People became part of the plot. In fact, this reflects what I have mentioned before, that these visitors co-create the narrative and become the protagonists and/or the stage directors of these (personal) stories. The irony is, of course, that this practice reduces the copy of a British town once more into a mediated reality; a two-dimensional photograph in this sense that is going to be handed down by generations.

Temporal displacements

The second category of *narrative contradictions* is *temporal displacements*, which is epitomised by the neighbourhood of Zaanse Schans. Other inhabited open-air living-museums also belong to this order, like Colonial Williamsburg, VA, in the United States, which, in fact, inspired the Zaan neighbourhood. In these cases, the central idea for the designed spatial entity is to recreate local historical sceneries. Architectural characteristics are based on indigenous traditional principles, which, most importantly, are manifested in the formal appearances of the buildings. Construction works may follow the use of traditional materials, structures, plans and building techniques, but in many cases, such practice is only secondary intent and instead of keeping with local customs, contemporary materials and techniques are applied for convenience. Nonetheless, in any cases, the outcome of such created traditional spatial sceneries

contradicts the contemporary landscapes. Meurs *et. al.* highlight that the visitor car park and the main entrance to the Zaanse Schans by the Zaan Museum emphasise this contrast (Meurs *et. al.* 2010: 59). Even though there are other historical landscapes in the close vicinity of the site, which were mentioned in the analysis (namely, the wooden mills and building units, as well as Haaldersbroek and Gortershoek), visitors arriving to the Zaanse Schans from this route face a very sharp contrast between the contemporary buildings of the Zaan Museum and the traditional Zaan scenery of the neighbourhood. Here, the storyline of the architectural heritage site is enhanced by the additional replicas, the practices of traditional arts and crafts, pre-industrial activities, traditional costumes and the narrative booster props.

The category of temporal displacements, however, should not be only limited to open air living-museums. Not far from Zaanse Schans, in the Netherlands, there are small towns that are not essentially considered as *living-museums*, yet, people can have very similar spatial and cultural experiences when visiting, for instance, the former fishing village of Marken. The spatial and architectural physiognomy of this small town also features the typical green wooden houses with gabled roofs and white cornices, and residents often wear traditional clothes and clogs to enhance the historic spectacles for the visiting tourists (Municipality of Marken).

If we focus solely on the architectural elements and overlook the social activities that aim to portray and enhance the historical narrative of the place, that is to say, for instance, showcasing traditional craftsmanship and wearing traditional clothes, there are many other districts of which newly-built buildings project traditional local architecture. The previously discussed Songjiang Old Town near Thames Town, which was restored to look like a traditional Chinese water town, is such an example. Poundbury, the urban extension to the town of Dorchester in Dorset, United Kingdom, can be listed in this category too. Poundbury is a traditionalist model urban quarter that was founded and built according to the architectural and urban design principles as advocated by Charles, Prince of Wales. The faux-adobe structures prevailing in many places around the world can be also considered as prominent cases for *temporal displacements*. Only to name a few, there are, for instance, the imitations of the made-up *pueblo style* architecture in Santa Fe, NM in the United States, the mixed-used quarter Old Town Island in Dubai, United Arab Emirates and the *old-styled* district of Souk Waqif in Doha, Qatar.

I would like to recall Huxtable's debate about the issues of 'such historical playacting' in the context of Colonial Williamsburg (Huxtable 1970: 211). She argues that places

alike take the risk in potentially devaluating authenticity. This can be even more apparent in the case of the Qatari Souk Waqif, the central market in Doha.¹ The site is located at the original marketplace, which was refurbished in 2008. The newly-built structures were designed to portray the traditional adobe-style. However, while the previously mentioned developments look fresh and new, Souk Waqif was deliberately constructed to appear *authentically rundown* as if it was built in the 19th century. When I visited the site, this intention was clearly perceptible. While the construction cordons still bordered some areas of the building site, the outworn wooden beams and rusticated façades, from which the paint work was purposely peeled half way down, were conspicuous.

Story-based reenactments

The case study of the *Smurficated* town of Júzcar, Smurf Village, represents the third category of *narrative contradiction*, the *story-based reenactments*. In the previous two cases, the themes for the spatial environments were inspired by real life events in a foreign place or from the past. This form of contradiction takes the concept from something imaginary and/or a fictional world. Smurf Village is an example in which the spatial environment was transformed to fit the narrative of the fictional theme, namely the Smurfs. Yet, this transformation has not only changed the physical environment of Júzcar, but affected the life of the inhabitants and the culture of the town. Júzcar became the Smurf Village, which is known as a magical place ‘where even feeling blue is a happy place’ (Raja 2011). Albeit it is highlighted in the previously mentioned documentary, *Los Júzcareños*, that the inhabitants are foremost the people of Júzcar, they still have had to adapt to a new lifestyle as well as to learn how to be a resident in the reenactment of the fictional place of Smurf Village (Caicedo-Galindo, 2016). Indeed, the town transformed into a stage for new activities for people and inhabitants to take on new roles and to establish new cultural traditions. While the surrounding towns aim to keep their cultural and architectural heritages, Júzcar seemingly does the opposite. One may question whether the new fictional narrative erases the factual origins of the town. In fact, the telling blueness erased any sentiment that is organically rooted in Júzcar’s historical and cultural legacy. More precisely, the new storyline of being the Smurf Village implies that this place could not be a settlement inhabited by

¹ The marketplace does not generally offer place for permanent inhabitation, but long term residency is available in the *old-styled* district of Souk Waqif.

the Romans, founded by the Moors and conquered by the Christians, because the Smurfs, as are commonly known, are brought by storks and have nothing to do with these cultures. All that historical data about Júzcar would seem to question the existence of the *local Smurfs* and the Smurf Village itself. As a matter of fact, being the Smurf Village only remains as a cultural era in the town's history, since this *title* has been taken away. Still, it left an imprint and the *blueness* without the Smurfs is carried forward in the life of Júzcar. What this shows is that towns constantly evolve, and in the case of Júzcar, the story does not end with the Smurfs. Rather, it gave a new perspective on which the future of the town can develop further.

A similar case to Júzcar is the Scottish town of Tobermory. Its colourful Main Street on the waterfront was used as a set for the children's television series and became associated with the fictional small island community, called *Balamory*. As a result, it also became one of those locations that benefits from the 'film-induced tourism' (see, for instance, Urry [1990] 2002). Other cases that can be regarded as *story-based reenactments* are, for instance, the Christmas-themed towns called Santa Claus in Indiana and Georgia, and North Pole in Alaska in the United States. In addition, Val d'Europe in France, Las Vegas in Nevada, Celebration and Seaside in Florida in the United States can also be categorised here.

The spatial setting of these latter examples may suggest to be categorised as spatial simulacra and/or temporal displacements with their apparent early 20th century European and American sceneries, but if we look closer, the underlying principles for these built environments are more prominent. The formal physiognomy and architectural styles are the manifestations of the concept for the *perfect community*. Val d'Europe and Celebration, designed by the Walt Disney Company, are the extended projects to the utopian city of EPCOT. Similarly, Seaside was designed as an old-fashioned town in accordance with the concept of the *ideal place* to live in, or as their official website suggests, 'the dream of a simple, beautiful life' (Seaside, History).

Hereby, I would like to highlight those instances in which a single place may seem to relate to two or even all three forms of *narrative contradictions*. Indeed, while such overlaps and/or subcategories are inevitable, it can be argued that there is a primary incentive or concept for each project that can be clearly identified and which allows them to be linked to one or the other of the major orders of *spatial*, *temporal* or *story-based* contradictions. For instance, similarly to the latter *story-based* examples mentioned above, with its historic buildings, Thames Town also touches upon the

category of *temporal displacements*. However, the primary concept for the project was to create the narrative of a specific foreign spatial environment and the architectural features from previous centuries are intrinsic parts of the concept. Therefore, Thames Town is rather regarded as a *spatial simulacrum*.

Final thoughts

In view of the above, each form of *narrative contradictions* covers a high variety of spatial environment from around the world. This may indicate that the three orders offer a space to be further explored in a possible future research. In fact, one of the significance of establishing this taxonomy is that I, and hopefully other researchers in the future, will have a clear mechanism, firstly, to distinguish whether or not a particular place falls within the definition of what I call *narrative contradictions*, and secondly, to see whether or not it can be categorised as one of the above defined orders.

I would like to pass on to the reader of this thesis a final thought. There is a greater depth and meaning to these places that I called *narrative contradictions*. We should not simply disregard them as mere copies and, by doing so, pre-judge them in terms of their credibility in making a meaningful contribution to architectural form-finding and urban planning. In fact, I strongly believe, there are important lessons to be learnt from these places and we – architects and planners of our future – should take a good note of them. After all, there are good reasons as to why these places have emerged in the first place. Below, I will highlight the following aspects of my findings in this regard, which underline the importance of a renewed focus the fields of architecture and spatial design, more precisely, in education, research and practice:

- Contextual environment
- Design principles
- Architecture and space
- Narratives

Contextual environment: Once again, I would like to highlight the importance of the contextual environment in architectural research as well as in design disciplines. The approach of examining the contextual (spatial, historical and cultural) environment of each case study in accordance with the systematic framework (including the overview of local history and the analysis of spatial context), which I applied in my thesis, can be seen as an indispensable element of research method. Only in this manner can one

understand and appreciate the true nature of a place/development. Similarly, in design practices, in order to fulfil the needs and meet the demands of clients and users of the actual space/development, carrying out a complete study and understanding the contextual environment should be considered as an essential measure during the site analysis and design process. Therefore, a comprehensive contextual study needs to be integrated into the design framework, which involves not only the investigation of the spatial environment, but also the interpretation of the historical and cultural context of the particular site.

Design principles: In addition to obtaining contextual data, my approach to examine the particular case studies of *narrative contradictions* was through the three key aspects – *architecture, narratives* and *people* – which, I believe, pertain to every inhabitable places/spaces. Hereby, I would like to highlight the importance of such an integrated framework, once again, not only in research, but in every other aspect of architecture and spatial design. A meaningful architectural space should be comprehended not simply by its spatial qualities or attributes in isolation and designed with a focus on forms, aesthetics and space planning, but should rather be perceived as an integrated human centred system that involves all the three aspects in cohesion: architecture as well as narratives and people. In fact, the integration of these key aspects should be seen as a fundamental framework that constitutes architectural and spatial design principles, both in education and in practice.

Architecture and space: My study into the phenomenon, through the case studies and even beyond them, points out a tendency in which architecture, spatial developments and urban regenerations are deliberately used as narrative devices. While tracing the genealogy and underlying principles of the phenomenon, I came to the conclusion that this practice is not entirely new. Perhaps for different reasons and to various degrees, but commonly *narrative contradictions* as well as other related spatial phenomena (see, for instance, the examples in Chapter 1 and 2, as well as in Appendix 1) employ architectural design for its narrative qualities. I would like to argue that in many cases, such developments act as transformative narratives that have the power to renew, for instance, the economy of a place, enhance lived experiences and the articulation of architectural thoughts.

Narratives: Seeing the above-mentioned, I would like to emphasise that narratives have a great strength and importance in architecture and spatial design. My research into the phenomenon and the analysis of case studies highlight that their narratives play an essential role in the making of these places/spaces as well as in their acceptance by the people. Instead of their individual space design, their narratives, with other words, the stories around them need to be recognised as the key drivers for these places. Narratives help to generate or evoke particular experiences that people are drawn to. In fact, it should be understood and respected that people value the connection to other cultures and localities, historical eras or the auspicious future and even fictitious ideals, more specifically, to certain *spatial*, *temporal* and *story-based* experiences.

My thesis therefore aims to take those peculiar places outside of what the popular media would often regard simply as *fakes* or *replicas*, and rather treat them with sincerity. My intention was to highlight that this is a meaningful phenomenon for our understanding of current architectural tendencies, practices and desires for the future. In fact, judging by the rate in which city authorities and regional development agencies world-wide see *experiences* as the main driver to visitor economies, we will probably soon see more of them in the future.

Appendix 1

List of exclusions – *non-narrative contradictions*

There are other spaces and building structures in our built environment which correspond to the pastiche and thematic characteristics of phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*. Yet, they are not regarded as *narrative contradictions* in this research for the reason that, regardless to their narrative implication, their primarily purpose is to be looked at and/or moved through by its visitors. Generally, these exclude places for permanent inhabitation. As such the differences are needed to be highlighted to gain a clearer understanding of the thesis in subject. More precisely, the *non-narrative contradictions* rather form an environment for leisure and entertainment, than a place for everyday living conditions. Usually these cases not only (visually) contradict the contextual surroundings, but are also enclosed, therefore in most circumstances, can be accessed only within opening hours through entrance routes or gateways. Visitors may also be required to pay an entrance fee. Main features of such cases in comparison to the aforementioned case studies:

- No place for contemporary/long-term inhabitation
- Enclosed space
- Regulated access:
 - Entrance gates
 - Opening hours
 - Entrance fees

Either one or multiple aspects are relevant to the countless examples of such spatial entities that fall into this classification. Below is a list of well-known representative samples that were contested during my research, and characterise the best of such models of demonstrating a facsimile and a highly thematic concept, such as spatial ornaments, theme parks, museum villages, film studios, holiday villages, as well as shopping centres. Hereby, I would like to highlight those settlements or districts that seemingly feature alienated landscapes, but in fact, these are places that were the products by the invading nations from the colonisation era. What I mean by this is when the architectural landscape was not designed and built with a strong contradicting narrative underpinning, but according to the knowledge of the newly arrived cultures. Therefore, Spanish, Dutch, British colonial towns around the world, which are inhabited and parts of an active spatial and social environment, are regarded as *non-narrative contradictions*.

A.1.1 Spatial ornaments

Follies, as ornamental building structures with no practical purpose, that originate in the 1700s English garden architecture, are discussed in Chapter 1.4 (A Question of Style). However, some similar spatial ornaments need to be highlighted here, namely miniature parks, the village of Portmeirion in Wales and the Eiffel Tower facsimiles.

▪ Miniature parks

Miniature parks are specifically designed outdoor facilities in which selections of historical and/or cultural heritages of countries are displayed as miniature models. Similarly to the 18th century follies, the first miniaturized representation of everyday life, Bekonscot in Beaconsfield, United Kingdom, was modelled gradually in the private garden of an individual householder, Roland Calligham in 1927. It was later opened to the public in 1929, and became a tourist attraction in its own genre. By collecting typical features and copying iconic structures in 1:12 scale then piling up in a strategic, but picturesquely ordered setting, the miniature landscape portrays a rural English scenery in its time. It includes a castle, churches, farm houses, water- and windmills, rich meadows with grazing animals and a replica of the Royal Ascot Racecourse, as well as a motor garage, coal mines, bridges, railways and so forth (see below images 1, 2 and 3).



1. View of Bekonscot miniature park
2. Detail of the park – rural English scenery
3. Detail of the park – motor garage

Calligham's miniature village undoubtedly marks the beginning of a movement spread across the globe. Below is a list of only a few examples of miniature parks from around the world.



4. Ave Maria Grotto

The Ave Maria Grotto in Cullman, AL, United States is also an early example of miniature reproductions (1932-1961). Begun as a hobby, it was a lifetime work of Brother Joseph Zoettl. It is located in a garden setting on the grounds of St. Bernard Abbey displaying religious buildings and shrines of the world, including scenes from ancient Jerusalem, St. Peter's Basilica, South African shrines, as well as pagan temples, the Chinese Great Wall, Tower of Pisa and so forth.

5. Madorudam

Opened in 1952 in The Hague, the Netherlands, Madorudam is a miniature representation of the 'typical Dutch must-sees of Holland,' according to their official website (Madorudam). The models are exact replicas of landmarks, historical cities, special buildings and objects on a scale of 1:25, including Utrecht Dom Tower, the port of Rotterdam, windmills, canals, cheese factories, tulips and more.

6. Minimundus

Minimundus is located in Klagenfurt, Austria displaying iconic buildings and structures of countries of the world since it was opened in 1958. Models in the scale of 1:25 include the Eiffel Tower, Toronto CN tower, New York Statue of Liberty, Sydney Opera House, Taj Mahal and many more.

- **Portmeirion**

‘Fancy upon fancy [...] this little false village is a proper work of art and intellect [...] something between scoff, a gasp and an ecstasy [...] its charm is partly the serenity of a lost society with time, money, talent and hospitality to spare.’ (Williams-Ellis 1971: 211).

Portmeirion, “the last folly of the Western World,” is an Italianated [non-inhabited tourist] village in Gwynedd, North Wales (*The Times* 1973 in Morris *et. al.* 2006). It was designed and built by the British architect, Sir Clough Williams-Ellis, between 1925 and 1975. His lifelong concern was with architecture, landscape design, the protection of rural wales and conservation generally. When he inherited the wild land on a peninsula in the county then called Merioneth in Wales in 1908, he gave his ideas a physical and practical expression. Portmeirion, therefore, was constructed as a manifestation of his notion of naturally beautiful landscape and ‘architectural good manners’ (Morris *et. al.* 2006: 82). Sir Williams-Ellis was undeniably inspired by the Mediterranean scenery. Both the medieval Tuscan hill towns, shown in Figure A.2, and the village of Portofino, in Figure A.2, can be recognised in the design of Portmeirion (Perelman in Headly and Meulenkamp 1986: 156).

Craig Conley gives an interesting insight on how to “read” Portmeirion in his guidebook, titled *Puzzling Portmeirion: An Unconventional Guide to a Curious Destination* (2008). Conley puts the focus on the imaginary quality of the entire setting. He argues that Portmeirion, as a ‘surreal mindscape’ of Sir Williams-Ellis is a three-dimensional arrangement of ‘virtual reality,’ ‘temporal vortices,’ ‘spatial anomalies’ and tromp l’oeil effects (Conley 2008: 7-34).



Figure A.1: Portmeirion by Sir Clough Williams-Ellis (1925-1975)



Figure A.2: Tuscan city of Cortona and Portofino in Italy



1. The Town Hall – ‘Virtual Reality’

A town hall that serves no citizenry since Portmeirion is a village with no citizens, but guest only. Conley titles Portmeirion ‘the mother of all themed environment’ as it was opened nearly 30 years before Disneyland and was ‘experimenting with virtual reality decades before the term was coined’ (*ibid.*: 7). Others include, for instance, a permanently anchored boat, which is actually a building; a lighthouse with no lights; the Mermaid statue that in fact is painting on sheet metal; and the Campanile in which case “forced perspective” architectural technique is applied in order to create the illusion of the tower seem taller.

2. The Venetian Window – ‘Temporal Vortices’

Conley highlights that many of the building structures have been imported and recycled (*ibid.*: 20-23). The centrepiece of Bridge House is the diamond-paned Venetian window, which Clough obtained from Arnos Court with the Bristol Colonnade. Additionally, below are only a few examples of architectural periods that are represented by the different buildings in the village. They were collected by Portmeirion expert, Marsha McCurley (see in *ibid.*: 20):

Palladian/Georgian:	Cliff House, Unicorn
Rococo:	Triumphal Arch
Georgian:	Belvedere
Baroque:	Round House, Top of Campanile
Romanesque:	Base of Campanile
Jacobean:	Hercules Hall
Gothic:	Bristol Colonnade, Gothic Pavilion
Victorian Gothic:	Castell Deudraeth
Renaissance Gothic:	Front of Pantheon
Dutch:	Salutation

3. The Unicorn Cottage – ‘Spatial Anomalies’

The cottage appears to be a grand two-story building, but in fact has only one floor (*ibid.*: 29). *The Guardian* saw Portmeirion a “giant gnomes’ village” (see, for instance, Morris *et. al.* 2006). Indeed, Portmeirion is not considered to be a miniature park discussed earlier; however, Andrew Crompton and Frank Brown (2006) explain that the village is built to a scale that is smaller than normal. As a result this unusual ‘impression of being miniaturized’ contributes to the ‘otherworldly atmosphere’ of Portmeirion (Crompton and Brown 2006: 6).

4. The Cliff House entrance – Tromp l’oeil effect

The top right and two bottom right windows are painted on the façade. Conley highlights the presence of the tromp l’oeil effect around the entire village and gives an extensive list of the painted trickery on building façades (Conley 2008: 30-34). Other examples include, for example, all the painted windows on the entire side of the Cliff House; two painted windows on the side of the White Horses cottage.

Considering all the elements of the village of Portmeirion it is indeed a narrative contradiction on its own right. However, in view of that the village offers no place to habitually occupy for people, it is rather a place to be visited as a spatial ornament in a natural landscape.

▪ Eiffel Tower facsimiles

In most cases world fairs left their imprint in the built environment even after the end of the exhibition.¹ The un-dismantled remaining buildings and structures not only marked the event and signified the technological and cultural importance of the era, but also created a landmark, and in most cases, a trademark. For instance, the Crystal Palace, the venue of the 1851 Great Exhibition, was in function and gave home for notable events and expositions until it was destroyed by a fire in 1936.² Similarly, 1962 World Fair in Seattle, WA left behind the Space Needle observation tower, the Montreal Expo ‘67 left

¹ World fairs are discussed in Chapter 2.3 in connection with the narrative and spatial experiences that relate to the phenomenon of *narrative contradictions*.

² After the Great Exhibition, the Crystal Palace was relocated from the Hyde Park to Sydenham Hill in South London, where it functioned as an event and exhibition hall until 1936.

behind the Biosphere that serves as a museum today, furthermore the Brussels Expo '58 left behind the Atomium, and the list could go on. Nevertheless, the most well-known and probably the most iconic landmark is the tower of Gustav Eiffel that was designed for the 1889 Paris World Fair, Exposition Universelle (Figure A.3).



Figure A.3: Eiffel Tower in Paris, France (1887-1889)

Roland Barthes, in his book *La Tour Eiffel* (1964), offers a great account of the tower itself and argues how it contributed to our (social) realm. The official website, *The Eiffel Tower*, cites Barthes to summarise the importance of the iconic monument:

“A vision, an object, a symbol, the tower is anything that man wants it to be, and this is infinite. A sight that is looked at and which looks back, a structure that is useless and yet irreplaceable, a familiar world and a heroic symbol, the witness to a century passing by and a monument that is always new, an inimitable and yet incessantly imitated object.” (Barthes 1964 in *The Eiffel Tower*)

What this quote highlights is that the unique iron structure with no practical purpose has not only become a trademark for Paris, if not the entire country of France as a whole, but its narrative has been borrowed and been the inspiration of many mock-up constructions all over the world. In fact, below image only shows a few examples of such spatial ornaments:



1. **Paris, Texas, United States (1993 in 1:16 scale)**
2. **Paris, Tennessee, United States (1993 in 1:20 scale)**
3. **Parizh, Russia (2005 in 1:6 scale)**
4. **Filiatra, Greece (2007 in 1:18 scale)**
5. **Durango, Mexico (2007 in 1:6 scale)**
6. **Hangzhou, China (2007 in 1:3 scale)**

What maybe even more interestingly is that the tower is a *married* object, as it became the *husband* to Erika Eiffel (néé LaBrie) in 2007 (not like the tower had the ability to pose any objection at the wedding). Therefore, it is not even a symbol of a country anymore, rather, it is humanised as a spouse/partner of a human being.

A.1.2 Theme parks

A theme park is a large permanent area for public entertainment, an amusement park in which landscaping, building structures and attractions are based on one or more specific themes (see, for instance, Cambridge Dictionary and Collins Dictionary). The first park with the intention to promote a specific theme was Santa Claus Land, in Santa Claus, IN, United States, opened in 1946. Since then, a great number of theme parks are designed around the theme of fairy tales, fantasy world, cartoon characters and toys; others are built with a concept of displaying certain locality of a nation, a country or the entire world by means of employing architectural narratives of national heritages and traditions. Offering no accommodation for permanent residence, such parks can be visited within opening hours, usually for an entrance fee. As such, these spatial entities are functioned only for tourist entertainment and enclosed physically and mentally from everyday life activities in general.



1. Disneyland Park

One of the first and most popular theme parks in the world is the one envisioned and developed by Walter Disney. The first site of his visions of a ‘happy place,’ Disneyland Park opened in 1955 in Anaheim, CA, United States and was built around the theme of fairy tales and Disney characters (see Disneyland dedication plaque cited by Lambert [1998] 2000: 29).

2. Legoland

The first of the Lego-themed chain park was built in Billund, Denmark in 1968 close to the original Lego factory with the intention to promote the interlocking toy bricks. The park includes a Lego Miniland, displaying models of landmark around the world made of Legos, in addition to amusement rides and learning centres. There are other five parks under development in addition to the currently operating five locations worldwide.

3. Europa-park

The theme park opened in 1975 in Rust, Germany containing fourteen different sections. Each section includes amusement rides and entertainment venues set in themed scenery, which designed to represent a European country, such as Germany, Italy, Holland, England and the rest.

- **World Showcase**

There are other theme parks where the architectural display of regional and cultural heritages is the attraction itself and can be explored by strolling around, and not particularly by amusement rides. One of the utmost examples, however, is the more extensive theme park of Disney, the Walt Disney World Resort located in Lake Buena

Vista, Florida, opened in 1971. The site comprises twenty-seven themed resort hotels, four theme parks, two water parks and other entertainment venues as well as the Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow, otherwise known as Epcot. It was opened in 1988 with the intention to serve as a test ground for a planned community; Disney’s vision of a new city living, initially to house his own workers.

“Epcot will always be in a state of becoming. It will never cease to be a living blueprint of the future, where people will live a life they can’t find anywhere else in the world today.” (Disney cited in Sorokin 1992: 224-225)

However, his dream was never materialized due to his death. Instead of a developed community, Epcot was ‘reduced to a status of simply another theme park’ by his successors (*ibid.*: 225). It consists of two themes, Future World and World Showcase. The first one was designed with the aims to represent cutting edge technologies via its pavilions, and the latter was planned with the intention to display international cultures and customs (see Figure A.4).

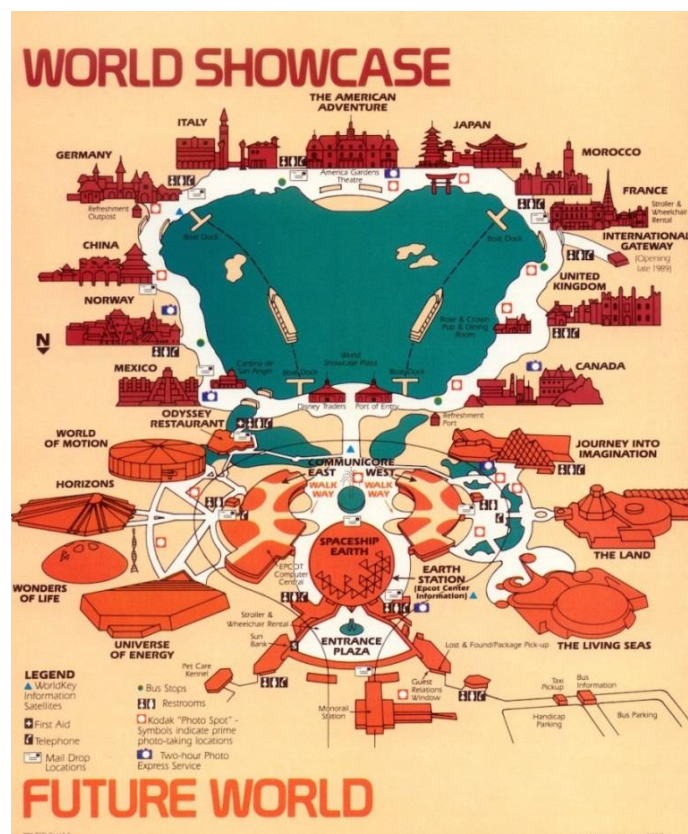


Figure A.4: Epcot featuring World Showcase and Future World

Michael Sorkin argues that its most direct ancestor is the world fair in the way in which pavilions arranged thematically and placed within one enclosed space, and where national identity is exposed and is most prevalent (*ibid.*: 108-110). Indeed, the World Showcase features a variety of structures with architectural characteristics and narratives representing a selection of world's nations, such as the Chinese Gate, Japanese Pagoda, Mexican Pyramid, as well as the "French" Eiffel Tower, only mentioning a few of the "exhibited" countries. Other similar cases of thematically showcasing the world are below:



1. Global Village

Global village opened in 1996 in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. Similarly to Epcot, it contains two zones, one features amusement rides and the other musters a large range of pavilions representing more than 75 counties of the world, which gives space for restaurants, retail shops and entertainment venues.

2. Window of the World

Opened in 1993 in Shenzhen, China, the theme park resembles to a miniature park, in a way in which replicas of architectural heritages from around the world are displayed in one area, however; the cultural theme park offers entertainment, interactive activities and performances with the intention to showcase the cultures and folk customs of the particular countries.

▪ Theme villages

Without including amusement rides in the park itself, there are also so-called villages that are based on a specific theme and are only accessible to the public in open hours, sometimes for an entrance fee. The followings are great examples of such theme villages:



1. Santa Claus Village

At the Arctic Circle near Rovaniemi in Finland, the village is known to be the home of the *real* Santa Claus. The site includes Santa Claus’s Office, Gift House and Main Post Office, as well as a Husky Park and Reindeer Farm, amongst many related attractions.

2. Popeye Village

The village of rustic and ramshackle wooden houses was built as a film set of the 1980 musical production of *Popeye* at Anchor Bay in the island of Malta. Today is accessible to the public since it was turned into an open-air museum and family entertainment complex.

3. Petite France

Built in the South Korean countryside in 2008, the village aims to encapsulate the concept of ‘flowers, stars, and the Little Prince’ from the French novel, *Le Petit Prince* by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry (1943).

4. Chocolate Village

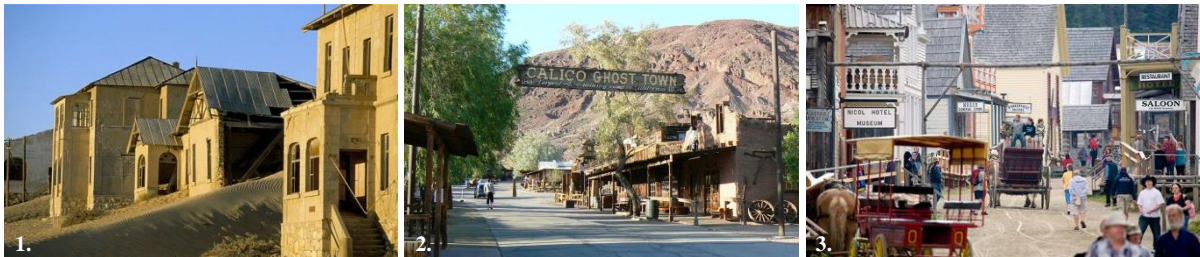
Located in Bangkok, Thailand, Chocolate Ville is a restaurant park set in a European village-themed milieu.

5. Colmar Tropicale

Modelled after the French town of Colmar, the hillside village is located in Malaysia. It is actually a hotel resort opened in 2000, however public can visit upon paying an entrance fee. In addition to the scenery, it offers entertainment and recreational activities.

▪ Ghost towns

Many of the abandoned small towns and villages, typically mining towns, have also exploited the benefits from a restoration into a site that can be visited by tourists. In some cases, however, the deserted town is left to its own natural arrested decay (see, for instance, Bodie State Historic Park, in California, USA). In other cases, the focus is on historic preservation, meanwhile there are also other sites, which owners make use of the concept of theming, and have been rebuilt as *living history* tourist attractions. The narrative of such unoccupied towns is based on the state of their being, *ghost towns* with their, mostly elaborated, histories. All over the world, but typically in the United States, the interest of exploring such sites became popular and developed into its own industry: ghost town tourism. Below are only a few examples of such popular sights:



1. Kolmanskop, Namibia

In the Namib Desert, Kolmanskop was once a rich diamond mining town, complete with amenities and institutions, including a hospital, school, power station, furniture factory, casino, theatre, and sports hall. The settlement was founded by German miners and as a consequence, it resembled to a German town. Abandoned in 1954 due to exhausted diamond fields, today Kolmanskop is a popular tourist attraction ghost town. The buildings have been demolished by the wind and reclaimed by the encroaching desert sand, apart from a number of restored buildings and an established museum. They can only be visited in opening hours by joining a guided tour after obtaining a permit, since the town is situated within the Sperrgebiet National Park (forbidden territory).

2. Calico Ghost Town, California, United States

Calico is an Old West mining town founded in 1881 as one of the most important silver mining sites, and became deserted in the mid-1890s when silver lost its value. In the 1950s, Walter Knott purchased the town in order to restore all but the five original buildings to look as they did in the 1880s. There is no entrance fee, however the site offers a few attractions for a small amount of fee, for instance the Maggie Mine Tour, Gold Panning Adventure and the Calico Odessa Railroad, which can be visited within opening hours.

3. Barkerville, British Columbia, Canada

The town of Barkerville was founded in 1862, in the gold rush era, however in the 1930s it started to decline. Remaining residents were bought out or relocated to the nearby newly established New Barkerville, so the entire mining town became under the ownership of the Government of British Columbia. In 1997 the buildings of the site were restored in order to be operated as a living-history museum offering “an authentic, unique world-class heritage experience” (Barkerville). As such, with its “authentic displays,” attractions, shops, restaurants, hotels and all, today it offers interactive activities and tours that can be visited within opening hours upon paying entrance fees.

A.1.3 Holiday resorts

Hotels, resorts and holiday villages are also prime examples for themed landscapes founded with tourists in mind. They offer leisure facilities, entertainment, interactive activities, restaurants and accommodation in an enclosed compound constrained from the contextual environment. As such, albeit short and long term temporary occupancy is offered in large resorts for performers, animators, and staff, generally there is no permanently inhabitable neighbourhood on the site.

▪ Themed hotels

Even individual hotels worldwide are designed or refurbished with thematic concepts so to become more attractive tourist destinations. As such, they claim that their guests can (temporary) live the experience of being a gnome, for instance, or feel “spiritually recharged,” and the like. The following are only a few examples of the countless vastly themed single hotels:



1. La Balade des Gnomes

The Tour of the Gnomes (trans. from French) guesthouse is located near Durbuy in Belgium. The themes of each room – such as In the Moon Neighbourhood, the Macquarie Island, the Desert Stars, as well as the Legend of the Troll, and so on – evoke concepts from around the universe, re-interpreted as fairy tales. In fact a suite is located inside a wooden structure resembling the Trojan horse.

2. Tianzi Hotel

The ten-storey hotel, Tianzi (trans. Son of Heaven), was built in 2000 in Lanfang, near Beijing in China depicting Fu, Lu and Shou, the Chinese deities of good fortune, prosperity and longevity. The peach, which is held by one of the Gods, accommodates one of the presidential suites. Guinness World Records named the hotel as the world’s “biggest image building” in 2001, according to China Arch-Image Phenomena (CAIP).

3. Inntel Hotel

Located in Zaandam the Netherlands, the hotel was originally built in 1986 and completely renovated in 2010 when the façade received a makeover featuring images of local architectural heritage. It gives the impression of traditional “Zaanse” houses piled up on twelve floors. In addition, it evokes the visual experience of a dollhouse. This building is discussed in more details in Chapter 4.1.4, as an example for contemporary architecture in the Zaanstreek. It is located in the close vicinity of the case study of Zaanse Schans.

- **Holiday villages**

More expansive holiday resorts include a surrounded spatial setting of which size and amenities compete with a village or even a small town. The followings are great examples of the many holiday villages worldwide:



- 1. Paris Las Vegas**

Paris Las Vegas belongs to the lavish scene of the world's greatest themed casino hotels strutting along the Las Vegas Strip, built in 1999 featuring the mock-up of the Eiffel Tower and the Arc de Triumphs alongside the Hot Air Balloon advertisement pilaster. The resort hotel contains shopping amenities, restaurants, cafés, bars, casinos and entertainment halls, in addition to further hotel facilities set in an indoor French village-themed milieu with painted blue sky and decorated lampposts alongside the cobbled walkways. Other casino resorts neighbouring Paris Las Vegas, of which theme is simply in their name too, include the Caesars Palace (1966), Excalibur (1990), Treasure Island (1993), New York New York (1997), The Venetian (1999), and The Palazzo (2007) amongst the many on the incessantly expanding Strip.

- 2. Polynesian Village Resort**

The beach resort is located at the Seven Seas Lagoon within the Walt Disney World Resort in Florida, which gives home for the most extensive collection of themed family resort hotel complexes in the world. The Polynesian Village Resort, opened in 1971 as one of the first two, today contains a central building, pool areas, and more than ten longhouses and twenty over the water bungalows for accommodations, designed with the intention to create the ambience of the tropical islands. Other resorts include the Victorian-themed Grand Floridian Resort and Spa (1988), Caribbean Beach Resort (1988) and the African safari-

themed Animal Kingdom Lodge (2001), only mentioning a few of the twenty-eight owned and operated by Walt Disney Parks and Resorts.

3. Villa Maroc Resort

The Moroccan-themed resort in Pranburi, Thailand was opened in 2009 as a luxury beach resort offering seaside accommodations, pools and spas, restaurants and even a shisha bar. It is one of the great examples of such themed holiday resorts that are also prevailing in other parts of the world outside the United States, such as Pirate Village in Santa Ponsa, Mallorca (1995), Caribbean World Monastir in Tunis (2001), and the Sino-Portuguese-themed Centara Grand Beach Resort in Phuket, Thailand (2010).

A.1.4 Shopping centres

Certain shopping centres are other great examples for highly themed environments contradicting the contextual surrounding, which generally offer no places for inhabitation, but retail and services for guests only in an enclosed indoor or open-air milieu. Their presence is not necessary dedicated for tourism per se; however it requires calling attention so to be visited by people with the purpose to consume: purchase goods, dine at food court and pay for other facilities. The following illustrates three distinctive forms of shopping centres: indoor, open-air and village-like developments.



1. Villaggio Mall

Opened in 2008 in Doha, Qatar, Villaggio is one of the great examples for indoor themed shopping centres. The Venetian-themed mall, according to their official website, offers the ‘Best Shopping Experience in Qatar’ (Villaggio Qatar). It includes retail, restaurants and cafés, movie theatres, an ice arena, as well as an indoor theme park, Gondolania. The mall features an Italianated small townscape indoor with artificial blue sky and Gondola rides on a canal.

2. Wafi Mall

The open-air mixed used development, opened in 2001 in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, was designed with the intention to resemble Egyptian pyramids and townscapes. The site comprises not only the Wafi Mall and Souk, but also the Cleopatra's Spa and the Pharaoh's Fitness Club, several restaurants, cafés and hotels.³

3. Cheshire Oaks

The open-air shopping village in Ellesmere Port, United Kingdom, opened in 1995, was the first site of the McArthurGlen Designer Outlet Villages. Cheshire Oaks along with the other sites worldwide of the McArthurGlen Group and of La Vallée Villages as well as The Grove for instance, aim to create an alluring romanticised, village life-like (shopping) experience by picturing European small town-like scenes that also recall the perception of “smaller than normal,” as was mentioned above in the case of ‘Spatial Anomalies’ in Portmeirion.

³ A residential tower building, Wafi Residence, belongs to the WAFI Group, which however does not follow the Egyptian-theme and is located outside the themed shopping and recreational site (WAFI Group).

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A.1.1 Spatial ornaments

Miniature parks

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Portmerion

Figure A.5: Portmeirion by Sir Clough Williams-Ellis (1925-1975). Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/gardening/article-1077166/The-gold-rush-Forget-crash--just-invest-autumns-riches-explore-wondrous-woods.html> (Accessed on: 30 August 2016)

Figure A.2: Tuscan city of Cortona and Portofino in Italy. Source: Patrick Denker (left). Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cortona>; and Sébastien Bertrand (right). Available at: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portofino01.jpg> (Accessed on: 30 August 2016)

- 1 - 4. Source: Craig Conley in *Puzzling Portmeirion: An Unconventional Guide to a Curious Destination* (2008)

Eiffel Tower facsimiles

Figure A.6: Eiffel Tower in Paris, France (1887-1889). Source: Sete – 4 Vents. Available at: http://www.tou Eiffel.paris/images/galerie/photos/11_SETE-Photographe-4-vents.jpg (Accessed on: 30 August 2016)

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World Showcase

Figure A.7: Epcot featuring World Showcase and Future World. Source: Jason, Deep Water Studios. Available at:

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A.1.3 Holiday resorts

Themed hotels

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Appendix 2.1



Spatial – location:

**Doctoral Research in Architecture
School of Architecture
University of Liverpool**

Questionnaire

1. **Female** **Male** **Age:** **Residence:**

2. **Occupation:**

3. **Relation to place**

Live here: **a.** born here **b.** moved here, how long ago:

Work here: **a.** 0-1 years **b.** 2-5 years **c.** 6-10 years **d.** > 10 years

Visitor: **a.** first time visitor **b.** returning visitor, how many times:

How long are you staying here?

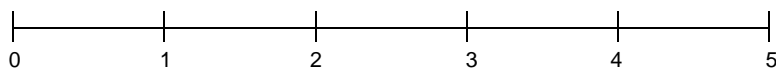
a. daytrip **b.** 2-3 days **c.** 4-7 days **d.** > 7 days

What is the reason for your visit?

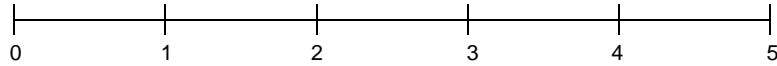
4. **Have you visited the country/region the theme of this place was inspired by?**

a. yes **b.** no **c.** plan to visit **d.** never thought about that

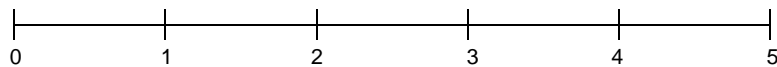
5. **How do you think the local people identify themselves with the people of the portrayed country/region on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the lowest and 5 being the highest)?**



6. How do you think the architecture of this place reflects the architecture of the portrayed country/region on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the least and 5 being the most accurately)?



7. How do you think the cultural atmosphere of this place reflects the cultural atmosphere of the portrayed country/region on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the least and 5 being the most accurately)?



8. What do you find the most attractive feature of this place?

9. What do you find the most disturbing feature of this place?

10. If you could, is there anything that you would change to this place?

11. Do you have any other comments?

Thank you for your help and contribution.

Anna Gogh
PhD Candidate

Appendix 2.2



Temporal – location:

**Doctoral Research in Architecture
School of Architecture
University of Liverpool**

Questionnaire

1. **Female** **Male** **Age:** **Residence:**

2. **Occupation:**

3. **Relation to place**

Live here: **a.** born here **b.** moved here, how long ago:

Work here: **a.** 0-1 years **b.** 2-5 years **c.** 6-10 years **d.** > 10 years

Visitor: **a.** first time visitor **b.** returning visitor, how many times:

How long are you staying here?

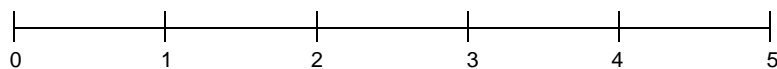
a. daytrip **b.** 2-3 days **c.** 4-7 days **d.** > 7 days

What is the reason for your visit?

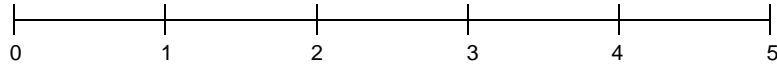
4. **Have you ever visited other places that were similarly inspired by previous cultural/architectural eras?**

a. yes **b.** no **c.** plan to visit **d.** never thought about that

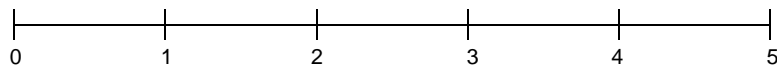
5. **How do you think the local people identify themselves with the people of the portrayed era on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the lowest and 5 being the highest)?**



6. How do you think the architecture of this place reflects the architecture of the portrayed era on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the least and 5 being the most accurately)?



7. How do you think the cultural atmosphere of this place reflects the cultural atmosphere of the portrayed era on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the least and 5 being the most accurately)?



8. What do you find the most attractive feature of this place?

9. What do you find the most disturbing feature of this place?

10. If you could, is there anything that you would change to this place?

11. Do you have any other comments?

Thank you for your help and contribution.

Anna Gogh
PhD Candidate

Appendix 2.3



Story-based – location:

**Doctoral Research in Architecture
School of Architecture
University of Liverpool**

Questionnaire

1. **Female** **Male** **Age:** **Residence:**

2. **Occupation:**

3. **Relation to place**

Live here: **a.** born here **b.** moved here, how long ago:

Work here: **a.** 0-1 years **b.** 2-5 years **c.** 6-10 years **d.** > 10 years

Visitor: **a.** first time visitor **b.** returning visitor, how many times:

How long are you staying here?

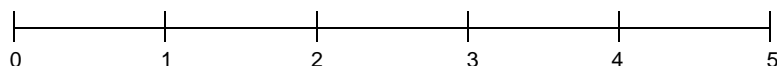
a. daytrip **b.** 2-3 days **c.** 4-7 days **d.** > 7 days

What is the reason for your visit?

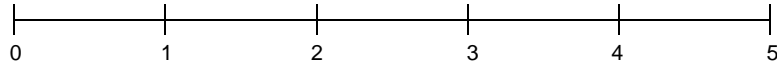
4. **Have you visited other places that were similarly inspired by a particular theme/storyline?**

a. yes **b.** no **c.** plan to visit **d.** never thought about that

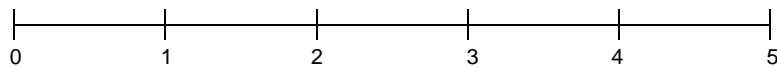
5. **How do you think the local people identify themselves with the people of the portrayed theme/storyline on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the lowest and 5 being the highest)?**



6. How do you think the architecture of this place reflects the architecture of the portrayed theme/storyline on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the least and 5 being the most accurately)?



7. How do you think the cultural atmosphere of this place reflects the cultural atmosphere of the portrayed theme/storyline on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 being the least and 5 being the most accurately)?



8. What do you find the most attractive feature of this place?

9. What do you find the most disturbing feature of this place?

10. If you could, is there anything that you would change to this place?

11. Do you have any other comments?

Thank you for your help and contribution.

Anna Gogh
PhD Candidate

Appendix 3

Chinese dynasties and forms of government

Xia dynasty	2070-1600 BCE
Shang dynasty	1600-1046 BCE
Western Zhou dynasty	1046-771 BCE
Spring and Autumn Period	770-476 BCE
Warring State Period	475-221 BCE
Qin dynasty	221-206 BCE
Western Han dynasty	206 BCE – 25 CE
Eastern Han dynasty	25-220
Three Kingdoms	220-280
Western Jin dynasty	265-317
Eastern Jin dynasty	317-420
Northern and Southern dynasties	420-589
Sui dynasty	581-618
Tang dynasty	618-907
Five dynasty	907-960
Northern Song dynasty	960-1127
Southern Song dynasty	1127-1276
Yuan dynasty	1276-1368
Ming dynasty	1368-1644
Qing dynasty	1644-1911
Republic of China	1912-1949
People's Republic of China	Founded in 1949

Source: Yanxin 2011: 179

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Thames Town (photograph by author)

Zaanse Schans (photograph by author)

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- Figure 5.23: Hotel Los Castaños and Arabic design details (atjs2016 (left); moglow71603 (middle); https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Hotel_Review-g1462719-d534998-Reviews-Hotel_Los_Castanos-Cartajima_Costa_del_Sol_Province_of_Malaga_Andalucia.html#photos:aggregationId=101&albumid=101&filter=7. Accessed on: 10 May 2018; and Hotel Los Castaños (right))
- Figure 5.24: Pujerra (Trotones de Arcos; <http://pavostrotones.blogspot.com/2013/11/castanar-de-pujerra.html>. Accessed on: 10 May 2018)
- Figure 5.25: New town hall of Pujerra (Town Council of Pujerra; <http://www.pujerra.es/7049/sede>. Accessed on: 10 May 2018)
- Figure 5.26: Old town hall at the main square (left) and one of the guesthouses (right) (Town Council of Pujerra (left); http://www.pujerra.es/5883/com1_md3_cd-38530/pujerra-finaliza-mejoras-edificio-antiguo-ayuntamiento; and Casa El Cuartel (right); <https://www.booking.com/hotel/es/casa-el-cuartel.en-gb.html>. Accessed on: 10 May 2018)
- Figure 5.27: Fray Leopoldo Inn and interior decorations (Town Council of Pujerra (top); http://www.pujerra.es/5883/com1_md3_cd-38571/posada-fray-leopoldo-alojamiento-rural-idilico-pujerra; and Fray Leopoldo Inn (bottom); <http://www.laposadadefrayleopoldo.com/theinn.htm>. Accessed on: 10 May 2018)

- Figure 5.28: The former tinplate factory restored into a vinery and guesthouse (Provincial Council of Malaga; http://www.malaga.es/en/turismo/patrimonio/lis_cd-5389/real-fabrica-hojalata-altos-hornos-miguel. Accessed on: 10 May 2018)
- Figure 5.29: Church of Santa Catalina – before and after Smurfification (Israel Olivera (left); <http://elcolorazuldelcielo.blogspot.com/2009/11/>. Accessed on: 26 July 2018; and photograph by author (right))
- Figure 5.30: Church interior (left) and the cemetery (right) (Photographs by author)
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