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International Committee
documentation and conservation
of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the
modern movement

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MIRROR OF MODERNITY
The Post-war Revolution in Urban Conservation

Joint Conference
***Docomomo International* and**
The Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland

Friday and Saturday, 1 and 2 May 2009
Edinburgh College of Art, Scotland

Proceedings under the scientific direction of Miles Glendinning

Front cover: Present-day view of the Market Place and the monumental, timber-built Knochenhauer-Amtshaus in Hildesheim - in fact, a 1980s facsimile reconstruction of a building completely destroyed in 1945 by bombing, and replaced for over two decades by a modernist hotel on the site.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FRIDAY 1 MAY • THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

Welcome from AHSS Director by Audrey Dakin

Introduction to conference (morning chair) by Miles Glendinning (ECA/Docomomo) > p.2 to 7

Urban conservation and the international conservation charters: a theoretical overview by Ruxandra Stoica (ECA) > p.8 to 12

SESSION 1: POST-WAR RESTORATIONS AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

(A)political buildings: ideology, memory and Warsaw's 'Old' Town by Michał Murawski (King's College, Cambridge) > p.13 to 20

The Cultural Logic of Reconstruction: critical history lessons in/of the post-socialist city by Ella Chmielewska (University of Edinburgh) > p.21 to 22

Twentieth-century architecture in Quebec City: the dilemma of integration in a 'colonial jewel' by Emilie d'Orgeix (Secretary General, Docomomo International) > p.23 to 28

Pursuits of Deeper Purpose: The Reconstruction of Fortress Louisbourg, Nova Scotia by Anne Raines (ECA) > p.29 to 36

SESSION 2: 1960s/70s URBAN CONSERVATION IN EUROPE

Welcome from afternoon chair by Diane Watters (RCAHMS/Docomomo)

A European overview: the 1960s and 1970s by Dennis Rodwell (architect-planner, consultant in cultural heritage)

The Loi Malraux and the urban-conservation revolution in 1960s France by Olivier Godet (Ecole de Chaillot, Paris) > p.34 to 41

The postwar rise of conservation in England: heroic struggle or technocratic evolution? by John Pendlebury (University of Newcastle) > p.42 to 43

Area conservation as socialist standard-bearer: a plan for the historical centre of Bologna in 1969 by Luisa Bravo (University of Bologna) > p.44 to 53

From Porta Pia to Porta del Popolo: modernity and antiquity face-to-face in postwar Rome by Maristella Casciato (Chair, Docomomo International) > p.54 to 56

CONCLUSION: PRESENT-DAY ECHOES

The contemporary challenge: urban conservation issues in present-day China by Zhu Rong (School of Design, Jiangnan University) > p.57 to 66

Introduction to conference by Miles Glendinning

(Docomomo International and Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art)

Welcome to this two-day conference, 'Mirror of Modernity' - organised jointly by AHSS and DOCOMOMO International and hosted by our Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies research centre here at ECA. As the conference name and the very names of the two organising bodies make clear, this is a conference with a twin focus – on postwar modern architecture *and* on conservation. These are two things that have often in the past been seen as intrinsically hostile or even mutually exclusive, as I'll explain in a minute. But recent years have increasingly thrown them together. The reason for that, of course, is the long established convention that one of the main avenues of expansion of the heritage movement is chronological – that it must expand its scope ever forward. This is something that has, since the 1980s and 90s, projected and embedded the scope of heritage ever more deeply into the three postwar decades of reconstruction, decades dominated generally by the Modern Movement. Modernist buildings have become the object of increasing enthusiasm, research and publication at a national level – for example, here in Scotland the AHSS National Conference in 2002 focused on postwar architecture - and increasing numbers have been protected by state agencies. But this task posed some really thorny new problems for traditional conservation values, contradictions, even, in reconciling conservation values to the specifics of modern architecture – for example, the fact that much modernist architecture celebrated values of Progress, newness and the future, as *against* the past.

And because of the international character of Modernist architecture and discourse, these problems could only really be investigated and resolved properly at an international level, which is where DOCOMOMO has come in, with its very clearly set out programme of first, documenting and researching, and then, conserving – as embodied in the very name DO-CO-MOMO. It coordinated national efforts in recording and research: that work began mainly at the level of individual key monuments, including interwar as well as postwar, which have been extensively inventorised in the DOCOMOMO International Register; but more recently, DOCOMOMO has begun tackling more challenging aspects of the MoMo – what we call *'other'* modernisms – modernisms that may not *look* particularly stylistically modern, but which may be just as modern in social, cultural or technological terms. Today, though, the inexorable forward march of the heritage movement has continued beyond the early postwar decades, with the scope of listed buildings now potentially embracing the 1970s and even later.

That brings us unavoidably to a new and more subtle challenge for DOCOMOMO and national heritage bodies like AHSS: how to come to terms with built environments of even more 'modern' periods, even though they may not 'look' modernist *at all* – in other words, really stretching the concept of 'other' modernism even further still. Now here, it will no doubt be easy enough to research and 'list' the key examples of the post-modernism that dominated *new* architecture from the 70s and 90s. *But*, there's a potential 'heritage' even more important to take notice of from these years: that is, the urban environments of *conservation*. Because new architecture was arguably proportionately less important in the built environments created in those decades than existing buildings that were conserved, by whatever method.

Of course, there had been lots of conservation prior to that, including pioneering work across Europe at an urban rather than individual-monument scale as early as the turn of century – a movement that had, for example, embraced the entirety of the cultural and natural landscape, in the German concept of *Heimat*. But only with what we in this conference have simplistically labelled the postwar revolution in urban conservation, did it gain so much critical mass as to become dominant. This was a position that had been building up over decades, but suddenly achieved dominance, in the West, in the 70s.
So – for the first time, the conservation movement is obliged to study its own prehistory as an object of heritage on a major scale – a tricky task!

Introduction to conference by Miles Glendinning

(Docomomo International and Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art)

But it's here that DOCOMOMO, because of its track record in confronting the awkward issues of definitions of modernity and 'otherness' in modern architecture, can arguably make another potentially useful contribution. And so the aim of DOCOMOMO and the AHSS in this conference is to try to begin looking for a more nuanced picture of the way in which urban conservation in the postwar years fitted into the broader currents of modernity, both cultural, social, technical and visual. As I'll explain in a minute when I do a quick overview of the programme, we're going to be looking both in detail at the moment of conservation victory in the late 60s and early 70s in one country, Scotland, in Day 2, as well as setting the scene for that today with some more chronologically wide-ranging papers on the wider international context.

But first, a few words on the relationship between conservation and the Modern Movement. Well, for the last 40 years or so, that relationship has widely been assumed to be one of deadly enemies: that enmity is, indeed, one of the foundation values of post-1960s conservationism. At first, during the Postmodernist years, that relationship was seen as one between victor (heritage) and vanquished (modernism): in the minds of fundamentalist critics like Prince Charles, new (Postmodern) architecture was of course seen as an ally of heritage, as against the nasty, slain monster of modernism. Equally, modernist complexes became seen as prime candidates for mass demolition. Even today, many standard conservation texts still routinely refer to the alleged failures of postwar modernist urbanism – its supposedly alienating scale, flouting of traditional urban grain, and so forth – as bogeymen against which they can highlight their own concepts. More recently, though, the tables have been turned, with the sudden rise of a new kind of aggressive, revived modernism, the so called iconic or signature modernism, looking in some ways like the old modernism but dominated by completely different values, of competitive capitalism. This neo-modernism has itself found it convenient to target conservation as a bogeyman, and, for example, in countless world heritage sites, there have been well-publicised clashes between conservationists and the developers and architects of iconic buildings – for example in St Petersburg over the Gazprom tower project, and here in Edinburgh over the signature iconic tower being planned for Haymarket by Richard Murphy. And now, of course, in a fresh phase of this sterile battle of artificial extremes, unbelievably, the monster of Prince Charles is once again struggling from its grave and, in the Chelsea Barracks row, beginning to spout fresh anti-modernist diatribes.

Our view, in both DOCOMOMO and the AHSS, is that the time has come to cut through all this, and try to embed the triumphal years of urban

Kaiser Wilhelm Gedaechtniskirche, Berlin (rebuilt by Egon Eiermann, from1958).

Introduction to conference by Miles Glendinning
(Docomomo International and Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art)

Albrecht Durer Strasse, Nuremberg: reconstructed in early 1950s.

The war devastated centre of Ypres, Belgium, in 1918.

conservation within the wider historiography of the postwar *modern* city. In doing this, the ideological difficulties of the task are offset by some shortcuts that we can take, compared to the usual heritage formula of documentation followed by conservation. Firstly, conservation of this heritage of the conservation movement isn't so much an issue here, as most of the built-environments concerned are already, by definition, conserved! For the same reason, we don't need to spend so much effort in recording or researching these environments themselves, as they are often already recorded. What is far more urgent, as many of the key figures involved are still around, is to document recollections of people and values.

But this is something that can only be done on a country by country basis, which is why we've chosen to focus on the case study of Scotland in the 60s and 70s, which will be addressed in the session *tomorrow* and in a follow-up roundtable discussion of some speakers on *Sunday*. At this point I think I should say a bit more in explanation of the conference programme. The speakers in our Scottish day tomorrow, mostly key participants from the time supplemented by a few present-day speakers, have been divided up into two very broad groups, a morning group focusing on issues of 'civic amenity' conservation, including the internationally renowned drive to rescue the Edinburgh New Town, and an afternoon group focusing on community and housing rehab in Glasgow and elsewhere. Obviously, the division between these two categories is rather artificial, and they overlap in practice. And, in a further complication, in Glasgow, the rehab movement significantly fed into more recent urban design and new architecture.

Today's session is intended to set the stage for that concrete case study at an international level, by sketching out some of the complex and ambiguous links between postwar urban conservation and the wider modern built environment. Those connections and ambiguities go right back to the two parallel Athens Charters of the early 30s: one for modern architecture and the other for conservation. Now you *could* see that dualism as a

Introduction to conference by Miles Glendinning
(Docomomo International and Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art)

Orleans Cathedral - on early example of 'postwar facsimile reconstruction', over the two and a half centuries following its destructionby Huguenots in the 16th century.

Reims Cathedral, France, World War I French cartoon.

symptom of the irreconcilable difference between the two. Or, especially in the surprisingly sympathetic words on urban conservation drafted by Le Corbusier in the modern architecture charter, or in the growing focus on the pedestrian heart of the city by CIAM, the foremost modernist organisation, in the late 40s and 50s, you could see them instead as two halves of the *same* phenomenon. What both undoubtedly shared was an absolute conviction that old and new must be clearly distinguished. That was how many in both the modernist and conservation establishments saw things right through the 40s, 50s and 60s, even if they differed over individual causes celebres. Someone like Raymond Lemaire of Leuven, conservationist co-author of the Charter of Venice as well as planner of the new town of Louvain-la-Neuve – in his delightful small late 50s chapel conversion of St Lambertus at Heverlee, would likely have seen substantially eye-to-eye with a modern architect such as Scotland's Robert Matthew, saviour of the Edinburgh New Town as well as chief redeveloper of Edinburgh's George Square and early bogeyman of the AHSS. In some places, the strong polarisation between old and new was foregrounded through rhetorical architectural devices, such as in the 1950s old-new juxtapositions of Basil Spence's Coventry Cathedral or Egon Eiermann's Kaiser Wilhelm Gedaechtniskirche in Berlin.

In some other places there was a more subtle interaction of the two, for example in many Italian cities, in work like that of Franco Albini in Genoa (or at the Rinascente in Rome) or BBPR in Milan; or in some of the reconstructed German cities, such as the *Altstadt* of Nuernberg, an exquisite and unmistakably 1950s amalgam of prestige monumental restorations and background urban fabric 'in character'; or the similarly reconstructed, brick-built *Altstadt* of Luebeck.
But these diverse architectural relationships between old and new formed only one part of a wider *Weltanschauung* of modernity in the C20 built-environment, a collective world-outlook that combined impassioned utopian idealism with a respect for rationalistic, even bureaucratic organisational methods. As far as utopian zeal was

Introduction to conference by Miles Glendinning
(Docomomo International and Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art)

The 'original' Knochenhauer-Amtshaus, Hildesheim, in 1900.

The 'new' Knochenhauer-Amtshaus and rebuilt market square seen today.

concerned, there was little to separate the 1970s social community passions of, say, the communist conservationists of the *centro storico* of Bologna, or the local community rehab activists of Govan in Glasgow, from the community concepts of slightly earlier *modernist* architectural groups like Team 10. And as far as Taylorist efficiency goes, conservation had no qualms about simply taking over the state bureaucracies previously developed to support modernist planning: in some cases, as with the work of Frank Tindall here in Central Scotland, the Modernist planners themselves were already following a conservation-sensitive path. Of course, we should recall that the original apparatus of conservationist inventorisation had in any case been an early administrative offshoot of the French Revolution, and thus at the leading edge of cultural 'modernity'.

Those are some of the considerations we could keep in mind, in listening to the papers this afternoon (Friday), with their range of perspectives and accounts of postwar urban conservation – as well as the specialist Scottish papers tomorrow.
But we need also to recognise that there were, at the same time, more intractable areas of *intrinsic difference* between heritage and the Modern Movement. One of the most important of these is tackled in the four papers this morning – namely, the very significant movement for reconstruction of destroyed buildings and environments in *facsimile*. This was something that directly flouted the idea of clearly separating old and new, and so was looked on with suspicion both by modern architects, who condemned design of new buildings in 'pastiche' styles, and by orthodox conservationists, who saw it as a throwback to the 'bad old' days of Viollet-le-Duc. Yet this movement was unmistakeably an integral part of 'modern life', as its early European setpieces were provoked by the blanket destruction of modern warfare – in Ypres in World War 1, or Warsaw in World War 2 (where the city's 6 year rebuilding plan showed the Old Town as just one in a constellation of planned neighbourhood units).

And in North America it formed a precocious part of the tourism-driven process of building

Introduction to conference by Miles Glendinning

(Docomomo International and Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art)

German propaganda poster about Danzig/Gdansk in 1939: the city was devastated in 1945 and the Old Town was rebuilt in facsimile under its new Polish administration.

replica 'old environments' (beginning in the 20s with Colonial Williamsburg, and after World War 2 linking to the parallel movement of 'Disneyland'-building): we'll be hearing two papers on Polish postwar reconstructions, in their broader ideological contexts, and two papers on North America.

More recently, in the 1990s, those European and American strands of facsimile building have been to converge, especially in the post-reunification copy-reconstruction projects in Dresden and many other German cities, and slightly earlier in the 1980s reconstruction of the war-destroyed Knochenhauer-Amtshaus in Hildesheim (see p.6 and front cover). Such projects were driven as much as anything by strategies of economic revival and tourist growth. Now this conference does not cover in any detail the present-day issues of conservation in today's age of neo-capitalism; but we have included at the end of Day 1 a lecture by our visiting research fellow at SCCS, Prof Zhu Rong of Jiangnan University, on the conservation challenges of contemporary China – a place where many MoMo programmes, rather than being a matter of heritage, are still in full cry today.

Finally, I should mention that, as part of the process of researching and disseminating the subject matter of both days of the conference, we hope to publish the proceedings in some form or another: the Scottish papers and round-table discussion may well be published in a forthcoming thematic issue of the AHSS Journal, and the international material hopefully in a special electronic issue of the *Docomomo International Journal*.

• **Miles Glendinning** is Director of the Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies and Reader in Architecture at Edinburgh College of Art. An active member and committee chair within DOCOMOMO International, he has published extensively on the history of 20th century architecture and housing: publications include the award winning Tower Block (with Stefan Muthesius; shortly to be re-issued in the form of a website and database) and A History of Scottish Architecture (with Aonghus MacKechnie); a major monograph, Modern Architect, on the life and times of Sir Robert Matthew, a key UK architect of the post-1945 era, has just been published. Current book projects include an international history of architectural conservation, a polemical book on contemporary 'iconic architecture', and a monograph on the work of Sir Basil Spence. Miles is also beginning a long-term research project which aims to trace the dramatic story of post-1945 mass housing in an international perspective, beginning in 2009 with research on the colossal public housing achievement in Hong Kong and Singapore.

Urban conservation and the international conservation charters: a theoretical overview

by Ruxandra-Iulia Stoica (Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art)

Warsaw, Rynek Stare Miasto (Old Town Square) in 1913, 1945 and now.

While heritage conservation and urbanism emerged as disciplines from streams having little connection with each other, they indeed met over the centuries and, most importantly, they came to be very closely related in the contemporary city, as contributors to the urban conservation realm. The concept of 'urban heritage' expanded from isolated monuments to urban fabric around the turn of the nineteenth century with the writings of Camillo Boito, Alois Riegl, Georg Gottfried Dehio and, most importantly, Gustavo Giovannoni, adding new layers towards a more integrated understanding of conservation. But conservation practice developed from mere preservation towards integrated conservation only a century later, in spite of these anticipatory ideas leading to a conceptual development in urbanism and heritage conservation.

As the crisis between the radically changing needs of society and the relatively slow adaptability of the urban environment deepened, urbanists seem to have turned their hopes entirely towards planned models, such as those produced by the hygienist and zoning ideologies. However, at the same time when CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*) was summing up its controversial urbanist ideology in the *Athens Charter* of 1933, the proceedings of another conference, which took place two years before in the same place, were published: the other *Athens Charter*. It is important to note that while the 1931 *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* is merely concerned with the technical aspects of restoration, and does not mention anything related to urban conservation, the preceding debate showed a raising interest in the historic urban fabric itself. Moreover, underpinning the different sources and parallel evolutions of urbanism and conservation, the isolated monument was still prevalent over urban space in interventions of that period within historic texture.

Between the two schools, modern urbanism has been indeed favoured by the moment, and its principles have been easily adopted and served

well the European governments of the period, who found its economically aware rhetoric rather tempting. And this was the case until the failures of modern urbanism became clear. By the end of 1950s, the majority of historical centres and quarters were heavily degraded. Europe in general had to face a dramatic urban housing demand as war had ruined its cities and many city quarters were dilapidated and insalubrious. As the existing cities failed to satisfy contemporary requirements of health, space and circulation, the hygienist ideology became a threat for them.
It would have been, and indeed was in many cases, easy to apply to already damaged old centres radical solutions of demolition and reconstruction following the zoning principle, already tested on peripheral quarters. But the destructions of World War II also triggered a crisis of national identities, leading to a reconsideration of heritage values from a point of view philosophically indebted to John Ruskin and William Morris' ideas from a century before. This, corroborated with *tabula rasa* interventions, had contributed to the gradual awakening of the heritage field to urban concerns.

In consequence, new postwar legislation was introduced in European countries with the aim of facilitating urban conservation, as a response both to the post-war reality of European towns and to the reconstruction trend. France was the first country to attempt reconciliation of the two schools of thought, urbanism and conservation, in the pioneering 1962 *Loi Malraux*, which offered legislative support for conservation areas, not only in designation and protection, but also in financial provisions. This was both a heritage protection law and also an urbanism law, defending a certain understanding of towns initiated by Camillo Sitte, who insists that urban theory should be based on the actual extant town. Therefore, it opposed the *tabula rasa* concept of demolition and renovation of old quarters with administrative and financial tools, allowing instead their conservation.

International recommendations and charters followed shortly after and UNESCO and the Council of Europe began to seek means to impose upon its member governments urgent measures for heritage safeguard through several Recommendations and Orders. Corroborating these initiatives and with the scope of amending the theoretical frame set up more than three decades before by the Athens Charter, the 1964 *Venice International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, drafted by Roberto Pane and Pietro Gazzola, finally extended the concepts of restoration and rehabilitation of monuments to protected areas such as historical city centres, recommending extended legal protection worldwide. The Venice Charter is generally considered to embody the basis of modern conservation and of the reform, according to contemporary standards, of national legislations concerning cultural heritage. Like most of these international recommendations, its guidelines are rather vague, showing awareness of urban heritage problems, but having limited applicability; this was because of lack of the proper research at urban level that needed to form the basis for the proposed interventions.

The result was that, until 1975, both international documents and national legislations promoted a preservationist approach much indebted to the nostalgic hankering of Morris and Ruskin, which situated conservation at the opposite end from urbanist trends. As an official reconciliation of modern urbanism and conservation, the Council of Europe *Amsterdam Declaration of the Congress on the European Architectural Heritage*, concluding European Architectural Heritage Year, regulated heritage conservation's relationship to urban and regional planning, and asked for legislative and administrative measures. It also introduced the term 'integrated conservation' to international specialist discussion. Straight after, in 1976, the *Nairobi UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* reaffirmed that the protection and restoration of historic towns and areas should enhance their development and adaptation to contemporary life. Consequently, in conservation, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a growing awareness of the role of processes for urban heritage, finally understood in its originally intended meaning. This was a particularly

productive period in many European countries for urban analysis methodologies – and their practical application – dealing with material urban fabric and its morphology, in both fields of conservation and urbanism.

However the practical approach remained a static one through the 1990s, chiefly analysing the city by isolating and examining successive periods of urban development. Hence, the operational value of this type of analysis was still limited. Despite the fact that theoretical issues formed the basis of standard urban analysis methodologies, they often were ignored in the actual analyses. Nevertheless, as a result of this theoretical and methodological development, the integrated conservation approach towards urban heritage, much sought after in the last century, finally became possible. In 1996, the UN HABITAT Agenda or Istanbul Declaration acknowledges that cultural heritage is indeed an important element for sustainable human settlements development. Although was been advocated by the *Amsterdam Declaration* as far back as 1975, this was the first time that a charter of Sustainable Urban Development recognised it too. Its chapter on conservation proposes, in fact, more comprehensive recommendations for urban conservation policies than all conservation charters and declarations.

The search for integrated urban conservation, however, had just begun and its main difficulty was – and still is – to identify and determine the nature and importance of the relation between material and immaterial – tangible and intangible – in the ever changing urban form, and furthermore to correctly evaluate the necessity and opportunity to intervene. Last year's *ICOMOS Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* acknowledges this and makes an important contribution to transferring these ideas from the theoretical realm into practice.

As we have seen, only by the end of the twentieth century, had conservation policy extended internationally to entire urban areas and historic towns, leading to the integration of heritage values into the planning process. Like any planning activity, conservation is highly political, as it cannot succeed without political support, hence proper legislation. Modern urbanism was the choice of European governments in the first half of the twentieth century; urban conservation came into being as an equally political choice, only this time imposed/recommended by organisations such as UN and EC.

But this burst of international charters and national legislations from the 1960s onwards has emerged against a background of a theoretical shift in the way architecture and urbanism and all other connected disciplines address the urban environment. Since, after the destructions of World War II, attention focused once again, and more acutely, on historic city centres, the temptation of the *tabula rasa* made itself visible in various radical plans for urban reorganization even for those not affected during the war; at the other extreme, theories of identical reconstruction of affected towns were put into practice in a few isolated cases. The challenges posed to urban conservation by the post-war situation have also been corroborated with those raised by other man-made destruction, such as the prevalent approach in urban archaeology in the 1950s (where rather large parts of urban areas were 'cleared' of their mediaeval and later buildings in order to expose antique ruins), or natural disasters such as the great floods in Florence and Venice in 1966.

However, on a more theoretical level, there was an attempt by architectural theory to make sense of the urban texture. But instead of concentrating on the research of the traditional city and the reasons and mechanisms of what were perceived as its failures at the time, the focus was taken by prescriptive models of what the urban society, and therefore urban fabric, should look and work like - models based on a hygienist school of thought and henceforth influenced by contemporary research in biology and other sciences that seemed to offer an answer.

Unfortunately the answer was far too simple to be able to deal with the complexity of human nature as mirrored in its urban habitation. The 'mystery'

of culture, as George Steiner put it, which is reflected in the wide diversity of cultures and languages of just one biological species, even where exposed to the same natural (geographical and climatical) conditions, is ignored by this approach. As a result, while a concern with contextualisation and understanding of the functioning of the urban environment, is persistent in architectural theory, the most important problem remains the difficulty of understanding the 'organic' processes at the level of urban environment, processes resulting simply from the qualities of the 'human nature,' as distinct from its biological qualities.
Kevin Lynch has coined the concept of 'place legibility' in order to measure the human perception of the urban environment. While his research highlighted a number of physical elements, the network of which contributes to the forming of a mental image, it does not address the question of the quality of the urban environment, in so far as the clarity of a structure is not necessarily a virtue in itself. His research sought to identify those elements that determine the ease of reading the urban environment for a specific cultural group. While his results are indeed valuable for defining the identity of place in the cultural context he had researched, subsequent practice and policy has unsupportedly extended the validity of his observations to city planning operations globally, i.e. outside the said cultural group.

The more complex, anthropological understanding of space, pioneered by Georg Simmel's sociology of space and Otto Bollnow's anthropology of space, goes already far beyond a geometrical/physical one, but it is the concept of proxemics coined by Edward Hall that gives it its real dimension. Although the perception of space is facilitated by the same sensorial apparatus in all humans, it is the cultural framework that models it at an unconscious level. This is why Hall, while developing his theory of proxemics, refers to the cultural dimension as 'the hidden dimension' of space, the one that gives the measure of the identification between people and their urban environment. He extrapolates his observations about people's attitudes and expectations about space at a personal level to the macro-level of the urban texture.

Space is, arguably, the central concept in architecture and urbanism; their history could be regarded as a succession of different spatial concepts. This makes the historic city the result of the continuous superimposition of these concepts, historical layers overlapping and interacting in almost an 'organic' way. From an urban conservation point of view, the differences of architectural approach or style are of no substance; all buildings of all ages, belonging to all architectural paradigms or styles are equal.
While society might pass subjective value judgements that favour one architectural style over another in different periods, heritage experts have to be able to recognize as objectively as possible those buildings or urban interventions that best embody the spirit of each of these architectural styles and periods for the purpose of listing and protection, in order to ensure their passing on to the next generations (who might, and usually will, change their preferences). Moreover, they should be able to define the composite nature of heritage values, where architectural historical values represent only one layer within a much more complicated construction of interdependent values that make up the heritage significance of a building, urban intervention, or indeed the urban environment as a whole.

Yet another viewpoint is that of urban conservation, for which what counts most is not only the cultural significance of the urban texture, but also its continual ability to fulfil its community's needs. The nature of the urban environment means that urban conservation is considerably distinct from the other branches of heritage conservation. This difference means that it is possible for a particular building or urban intervention to have values that are ultimately at odds with their other layers of relevance for the society, such as a valuable architectural and/or historical significance that fails to perform its function or to adapt reasonably to the changes in the society, or, on the contrary, a building or urban intervention that has no special architectural historical merit, yet it successfully continues to fulfil its role in the urban texture.

Of course, the modernist period was not the first time when a conscientious architectural and

Urban conservation and the international conservation charters: a theoretical overview
by Ruxandra-Iulia Stoica (Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh aCollege of Art)

urbanistic production denies or challenges the inherited, historic one; almost every period has developed its architectural styles in opposition with the precedent ones. But what differentiates the situation in the twentieth century post-war period from the previous centuries, is a combination of circumstances that gave way to urban interventions on a scale and extent that was never seen before: the destructions of historic centres during the war on one hand and the models of governance of the European countries, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, that allowed virtually unlimited power to the state over the development of the built environment.

As a *post scriptum*, it is worth noting that current practice is rather ambivalent:
- on one hand modernist blocks are being demolished and replaced with an urban form similar to the one that pre-existed on the site, albeit in today's ubiquitous dress of wood and brick or stone facing;
- on the other hand they are simply replaced with new ones.
Moreover, reconstruction and pastiche seem to still have their place in the palette of urban conservation interventions…

• **Ruxandra-Iulia Stoica** is co-ordinator of the Edinburgh Cast Collection project and teaches heritage conservation and architectural history at the Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art and the University of Edinburgh, where she is also a PhD candidate. After qualifying as an architect and urbanist specialising in history and conservation at the Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism, Bucharest, she worked as inspector of historical monuments at the Romanian Ministry of Culture. Ruxandra was also a consultant to the Heritage Settlements Unit, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property – ICCROM, Rome. She was editor of the Edinburgh Architecture Research journal and published her research in international peer-reviewed journals such as Histoire Urbaine and The International Journal of Humanities.

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(A)political Buildings: Ideology, Memory and Warsaw's 'Old Town' by G. Michał Murawski

(King's College/Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge)

The field of relations between ideology and Warsaw's Old Town was dense and complex during its reconstruction after the Second World War, and during the later years of the Polish People's Republic (PRL – Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa in Polish). Yet, despite the discursive prevalence of apolitical attitudes towards culture in post-communist, late capitalist Poland, ideology did not disappear with the fall of the PRL in 1989. I will open this text by examining the relationship between the ideologisation of Warsaw's Old Town during its reconstruction in the 1940s and early 1950s and the establishment of the so-called Polish School of Conservation in architecture. Building on the work of contemporary commentators who have examined the manner in which the Polish School's approach to conservation explicitly lent itself to co-optation by the ideological programme of the Polish United Workers' Party (Martyn 2001, Crowley 2003, Lesniakowska 2004, Majewski 2009), I will examine why this attempt to channel memory in a very particular direction had unexpected political consequences.

In the anthropologist Caroline Humphrey's metaphor, buildings function as prisms, 'gathering meanings and scattering them again, yet not randomly. As a prism has a given number of faces, the light it scatters has direction.' (Humphrey 2005: 55) The effect the built environment has on its users is related to, but does not directly follow the aims of its designers – the relationship is also impacted on by many other agencies. Humphrey's Soviet prisms functioned in a 'formally ideologized' situation, where there was 'a definite pronounced intention of the state to make use of the materiality of dwelling to produce new social forms and moral values.' (Humphrey 2005: 2) In this text, I will go on to argue that it is also necessary to take into account the (often equally unpredictable) place of Warsaw's rebuilt historical monuments in the intricate ideological constellation of the contemporary, post-socialist city. I argue that architecture continues to fulfil a role in the everyday production of social forms and moral values in the paradoxical setting of post-1989 Warsaw, where ideological 'intentions' are generated in part by consciously defining themselves against 'ideology', and against the 'totalitarian' idea that any part of society can be 'produced' at all.

I have often been struck by the extent to which buildings feature prominently in Warsaw's past, present and future, and by the manner in which architecture, as well as other actors that circulate around it are represented as exercising agency of their own, rather than just functioning as vessels for the inputs of human actors or blank slates which are merely imbued with or reflect discourses and ideologies. A diverse set of scholars have recently been engaged in efforts to 'flatten' (to greater or lesser extents) the purview of anthropology and other social sciences to recognise the relevance and impact of a more heterogeneous set of social actors than that which was encompassed in the terms of the old dichotomy between human subjects and overarching, determinant structures (See for example Callon 1986; Law 1991; Gell 1998; Latour 1993, 1996, 1998; 2004; 2005; Bennett 2004, 2007; Henare, Holbraad and Wastells 2007). Following in particular Alfred Gell's (1998) account of the agency of objects in the 'art nexus' and Bruno Latour's call to accept non-human objects as 'full-blown' actors (Latour 2005: 70) or non-derivative 'mediators' which 'transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry' (Ibid: 39), I aim to consider buildings and other entities which constitute Warsaw's built environment as capable of exercising an agency on a level comparable with that of human beings, and with the overarching political, economic, historical or cultural context which tends to be held to 'explain' the composition of Warsaw's built environment. To this end, I will consider how an understanding of the unpredictable agency of architecture can be illustrated by the work of several contemporary scholars of ideology and memory. (Zizek 1997, Forty 1999, Crowley 2003)

(A)political Buildings: Ideology, Memory and Warsaw's 'Old Town'

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Political buildings and their limits: The 'formally ideologised' Old Town

When discussing the Second World War, images of the ruined city and statistics detailing Warsaw's material casualties comprise the most recognisable index of the city's wartime experience. 90 percent of the total urban fabric, including 85 percent of the buildings, were bombed, burned, dynamited or demolished. (Jankowski 1990: 75) Those buildings still standing after the siege of 1939, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943 and the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, were systematically ravaged with explosives and flamethrowers, in accordance with Hitler's order that 'Warsaw has to be pacified, that is, razed to the ground.' (Jankowski 1990: 79) Of the 957 buildings which had been classified as historical monuments before the war, 782 were totally destroyed and 141 partly destroyed. (Ibid)

After the war, the decision was made to locate the capital city in Warsaw once more, and an audacious reconstruction programme was embarked upon by the communist government. The decision was made to rebuild Warsaw's most notable historical structures as near 'facsimiles' of how they had looked before 1939. Nevertheless, it has been widely commented upon that the ideology of the communist party had a formative impact on the choice of buildings to be rebuilt, as well as the manner in which the reconstruction work was carried out. The 'historic' city which was built in the decades after the war might, according to the architectural historian Peter Martyn, more accurately be said to have been re-*modelled* than reconstructed. Contrary to the frequently cited claim of the city architect in the early 1960s that 'the Old Town now looks as it used to long ago' (Ciborowski 1964: 248), it is clear that 'the Old Town in its rebuilt form never existed in the past.' (Martyn 2001: 216)

The pre-war form of Warsaw's Old Town itself was recorded in extensive drawings and photographic documentation produced throughout the 1930s and in secret during the German occupation. Despite this, the existence of a set of over twenty vedutas by Bernardo Bellotto, court-painter of Poland's last king, Stanisław August Poniatowski, was invoked as a justification to rebuild sections of old Warsaw as they had appeared to the Venetian painter in the 1760s and 1770s. It was well-known that Bellotto permitted himself a considerable degree of artistic licence, and as the contemporary architectural critic Peter Martyn (2001: 211-212) documents, examples can be cited of individual buildings – such as John's House adjacent to the Castle Square *(fig. 1)*, the Miodowa Street façade of the Branicki Palace and the Kraków Bishops' Palace on Senatorska Street – where details derived from Bellotto's imagination were transformed into reality nearly two centuries after their invention by the painter.

The importance attached to Bellotto's work was a result of the attention to detail which characterized many of his paintings, and his presence in Warsaw during the final decades of the eighteenth century, when the city was undergoing a considerable cultural revival, geographic expansion and political upheaval, just before the 1795 partition divided the Polish-Lithuanian state between Russia, Prussia and Austria. Bellotto's paintings were thought to capture the spirit of an epoch instantiated by the artistic patronage of the king, a figurehead of the so-called Polish Enlightenment, an era with which the nascent PRL seemed to identify. Bellotto's paintings, with their depictions of magnificent palaces rising from the midst of shabby wooden huts, were thought encapsulate the optimistic spirit of a young and virile Warsaw, as yet unravaged by the excesses of untrammeled capitalism.

In a 1972 guide to Warsaw, the travel writer and Warsaw historian Olgierd Budrewicz affords Bellotto full credit in having 'taken part' in the reconstruction programme by 'assisting' engineers, architects and conservators in their work. Budrewicz is quite content to recognize the extent to which today's 'old' Warsaw is a simulation of Bellotto's canvases. Jean Baudrillard or Alfred Gell could hardly have made the point about the agentic power of images better than Budrewicz, when he writes, 'The panorama of Warsaw seen by Bellotto from the East bank of the Vistula *looks more like the present view of the city than did the*

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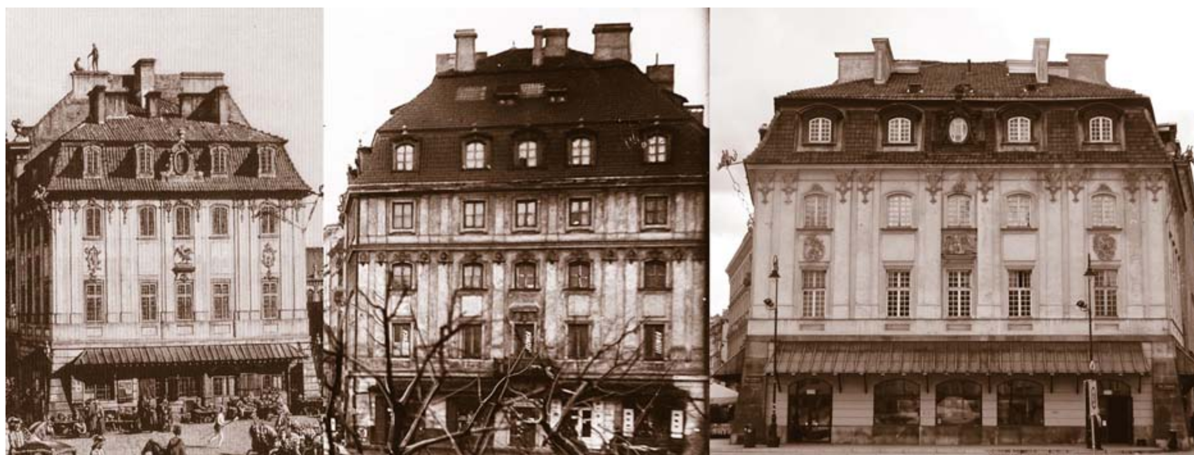

Fig. 1 - From left: John's House on Castle Square, mid-18th century, as depicted in Bernardo Bellotto's painting *Krakowskie Przedmiescie from the side of the Kraków gate*, oil on canvas, 1767-8 (Photograph courtesy of the Royal Castle in Warsaw); John's House during the second decade of 20th century (author unknown?, photograph courtesy of the Institute of Arts of the Polish Academy of Sciences); John's House in 2009, reconstruction (1949) led by Kazimierz Thor and Włodzimierz Wapinski.

prewar skyline… The impression one gets today is that fragments of the paintings of the 18th century artist have been pasted into the living organism of the city. There can be no doubt that the present skyline of the Old Town, the most beautiful calling card of the Polish capital, would not exist without Bellotto.' (Budrewicz 1972: 69, emphasis added)

The reconstruction of Bellotto's Warsaw was perhaps the most prominent of several strategies pursued in defining the materiality and meaning of the post-WWII old city. Many of these strategies were linked to the various ambitions, both modernising and historicising, that Warsaw's architects, conservators and town-planners had cultivated for the city during the inter-war period and clandestinely under German occupation. As Stalinist socialist realism took over as the dominant creative doctrine after 1949, however, the tactic of picking out styles and artefacts from the city's history deemed 'progressive', and attempting to undermine or even extinguish the impact of material remainders from historical episodes considered 'reactionary', became very clearly articulated as a front in the struggle to create a built environment which was to be 'socialist in form' and 'national in content.'

Thus the reconstruction of Warsaw's St. John's Cathedral, carried out between 1947 and 1955, removed the substantial neo-gothic alterations which had been made to the Church between 1837 and 1843. The reconstruction, led by Jan Zachwatowicz, aimed to create a façade and interior which alluded to the so-called 'Vistula Gothic' of the 14th and 15th centuries. In the imagination of Stalinist patriotism, such a domesticated, vernacular style was preferable to the Gothic revival of the 19th century building, redolent of 'Englishness' and 'cosmopolitanism'.

Nowy Swiat, a principal shopping and leisure thoroughfare leading towards the Old Town, which had once contained numerous tenement blocks housing bourgeois residences, upmarket shops and cafes, had the height of its buildings regularized after 1945 to better suit its new purpose as a prestigious housing estate *(fig. 2)*. On the suggestion of the lead architect of the street's reconstruction, Zygmunt Sepinski, tall surviving buildings were reduced to a height of three storeys (or knocked down altogether), and smaller ones heightened to conform with the overall visual scheme and to introduce a vaguely egalitarian air preferable to the rather precarious laissez-faire ambience the street had supposedly once exuded. Restrained neo-classical features adorned the façades of the post-war houses, recreating the dominant style during the 1815-30 semi-independent Polish Congress Kingdom,

(A)political Buildings: Ideology, Memory and Warsaw's 'Old Town'

by G. Michał Murawski (King's College/Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge)

Fig. 2 - From left: Nowy Swiat between 1915 and 1918 (author unknown?, Institute of Arts of the Polish Academy of Sciences); Nowy Swiat in 2009, reconstruction led by Zygmunt Stepinski (c. 1946-1954).

in preference to the multi-storeyed eclecticism which made its presence felt on the street after the establishment in Tsarist Poland of great industrial and financial capital from the eighties of the 19th century. (cf. Lesniakowska 2004)

The process of planning and carrying out the rebuilding of Warsaw's Old Town, the first stage of which began in 1945 and lasted until 1953, is credited with leading to the development of what became known as the 'Polish school of conservation', centred around the historic monuments section of Warsaw's Capital Reconstruction Office (BOS - Biuro Odbudowy Stolicy). In the popular imagination, the so-called 'Polish school' is often associated with the meticulousness and attention to authentic historical detail said to characterise its work, the clearest manifestation of which is the iconic rebuilding of Warsaw's Old Town. On the other hand, it is crucial to point out that the 'Polish school' consciously postulated a doctrine which *negated* established notions of authenticity in architectural conservation. The broad emphasis in Poland's post-war reconstructions was on recreating the *purity* of architectural style, to embody in the walls of the rebuilt monuments a vision of the past suitable to the utilitarian and ideological demands of the present. Jan Zachwatowicz, the most prominent figurehead of the 'Polish school', defined the task of post-war conservators as striving towards 'reconstructing the monuments of culture from their foundations, in order to hand down to the generations their precise, if not their authentic form.' (Zachwatowicz 1974: 446) Simultaneously, however, Zachwatowicz admitted he was aware of the 'conservatorial falsehood' this necessarily involved, but considered this a necessary, if, in his words, 'tragic', sacrifice to the greater good of rebuilding Poland's historical consciousness. (Ibid: 279)

Chronologically, the reconstruction of Warsaw was carried out in the context of socialist realism, established as the 'mandatory' creative doctrine in Poland between, roughly, 1949 and 1956. Today, historians such as Piotr Majewski (2009) and Marta Lesniakowska (2004) argue that architects working under the banner of socialist realism as well as avant-garde modernism were enthused by the blank slate which the war-time destruction of Warsaw's traditional urban fabric had laid out, and fascinated by the possibilities the devastated city provided for constructing a radically new built environment. The conservators of the 'Polish School' worked within the institutional framework of the Capital Reconstruction Office, which was simultaneously engaged in creating monumental town-planning schemes

unapologetically criss-crossing the layout of the pre-war city. Materially also, as its 'conservators'' conscious self-identification with Viollet-le-Duc suggested, the new Old Town they envisioned was to be purposeful as well as picturesque and romantic, integrally embedded into the post-war task of bringing about a revolutionary transformation of the urban fabric. This at first sight curious sedimentation of historical reconstruction with modernism as well as socialist realism is lent clear expression in the figure of an architect like Zygmunt Stepinski, who was known for strong leanings towards modernism both before 1939 and after the decline of Stalinism. During the first decade after the war, however, Stepinski also led a number of Polish School historical reconstruction projects, among them John's House and Nowy Swiat (mentioned above), as well as being involved in the design of several flagship socialist realist infrastructural and housing developments.

I would like now to expand on the theme of the unpredictability of architecture, introduced by Caroline Humphrey's metaphor of the prism. In his 2003 text on Warsaw, David Crowley points out that there were limits to the Party's ability to bolster its legitimacy by harnessing the operation of the 'unruly' forces of history and memory. Crowley observes that the Old Town was more effective as a site for oppositionist vigils, events and demonstrations, than as a conduit for the political interests of the party. (Crowley 2003: 68-83) The Old Town was immersed in a myriad of complex and painful historical associations, and its incomplete resemblance to its pre-war predecessor was uncanny. Referring to the aspirations to photographic verisimilitude publicly articulated by the architects of the post-war Old Town, Crowley invokes Roland Barthes' theory of the photograph to illustrate his presentation of the complex, non-unidirectional agency of the reconstructed buildings. Barthes (1981) introduces the category of the *studium* to refer to the "official", consciously articulated reactions which a photograph elicits from its viewers, opposing this to the *punctum*, the piercing, affective discomfort which certain photographs have the capacity to provoke. According to Crowley, a subversive 'force of history', like a materialised *punctum*, exerted its enormous unsettling capacity from the 'cracks' between the chocolate-box 'official' beauty of the houses.

As oppositionist efforts against the PRL regime gathered momentum in the 1970s, the market place, Castle Square and parts of the Royal Route were frequently chosen as venues for demonstrations. Vigils were frequently held on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, an event which until oppositionist pressure forced it irreversibly on the public agenda in the 1980s, had been 'forgotten,' or 'repressed' in official historical discourse. The demonstrations were intended to 'remind' the authorities that the Red Army had stood by on the Praga side of the Vistula, having liberated the city's right-bank weeks before the 63-day uprising's end, and watched the city burn, refusing to cross the river or even provide substantial air assistance. The state's own choice of Bellotto's Enlightenment Warsaw as its model to emulate (or simulate) began to seem especially injudicious when it was pointed out that the city's 18th century resurgence was short-lived, a delectable last supper before an earlier Russian occupation subjugated Warsaw for another 123 years.

The PRL's attempts to harness the force of memory can be understood in terms of two distinct, but overlapping narratives. According to the classical, Aristotelian tradition which posits a direct continuity between memory and the material objects which represent it, the act of rebuilding can be seen as an effort to ensure the continuity of the postwar Polish state with the traditions and history of its predecessor. This was understood by some commentators at the time as vital to the ensuring of social cohesion.

It is possible to supplement this understanding with an interpretation which regards the reconstruction as an act of what Adrian Forty calls 'counter-iconoclasm… remaking something in order to forget what its absence signified.' (Forty 1999: 10) This category questions the simple relationship between memory and its material analogues, and emphasises that a certain degree of forgetting is also necessary to guarantee social stability. If as Forty puts it, Freud argued that the purpose of psychoanalysis was 'to provide the patient with

the means to truly forget the repressed material of which they were otherwise the victim' (Forty 1999: 5), then the PRL might be seen to have benefited from the 'transference' which characterised the relationship of a city of analysands to their healer – the communist party. The big flaw which impeded this transference in the eyes of the patients, however, was that the analyst was in the payroll of the very people who'd stood by as their city was destroyed.

Such a reading of the agentic role of architecture in blocking processes of forgetting can be complemented by another interpretation suggested by the work of the philosopher Slavoj Žižek (1997). Following Lacan, Žižek argues that in order for a hegemonic ideology to operate successfully, it must develop a set of 'quilting points', empty 'signifiers without signifieds' which allow a hegemonic position to be articulated by temporarily freezing the endlessly shifting process of signification under the banner of these voluminous and boundary-imposing, universalising, empty signifiers. However, it seems that the choice of the reconstruction of Warsaw's historic monuments as a 'quilting point' was ill-judged. Warsaw's wartime history and the role within in it of forces allied to the PRL's leadership, was too invested with memories, had too many signifieds already attached to it, to either link the PRL with its desired historical predecessors, or to allow for the forgetting of traumatic, destabilising memories. The oppositionist technique was effectively to, as Žižek puts it, 'question the concrete existing universal order on behalf of its symptom, of the part which, although inherent to the existing universal order, has no 'proper place' within it.' (Žižek 1997: 49) It was easy for the opposition to bring the dialectical underside of the socialist-patriotic reconstruction of Warsaw to prominence, the memories which constituted it having been too powerful to be forgotten.

(A)Political Buildings: The Old Town after 1989

Since the fall of the PRL, there has been a strong tendency to argue for the normative 'separation' of architecture from ideology in Poland. The discourse which pervades in the work of the contemporary commentators on Warsaw's architecture cited above, as well as in newspapers and everyday discussions in today's Poland, tends to adopt an attitude which '*condemns*' the 'ideologisation' of the Old Town, as in the architectural historian Marta Lesniakowska's description of it as a 'pseudo-historical… urban nature reserve' (2004), an ideological obfuscation in the form of an open-air museum. The same commentators frequently advocate the 'de-ideologisation' or the 'de-mystification' of the Old Town and the wider built environment of the post-communist, late capitalist city. Following Louis Althusser's claim that 'one of the effects of ideology is the practical denegation of the ideological character of ideology by ideology' (Althusser 1971: 118), it might be suggested that an apolitical attitude has become the most visible ideological manifestation in the architecture of liberal, capitalist societies. For David Harvey (1990) and Fredric Jameson (1991), such a 'postmodern' depoliticisation of culture is primarily a cultural, *ideological* symptom of the contemporary mode of capitalist economic organisation, 'flexible accumulation' in Harvey's term, and 'late capitalism' in Jameson's.

However, post-socialist, late capitalist Warsaw's reconstructed historic centre continues to occupy a fraught, uncertain position in Poland's political imagination. In fact, in a country reacting against the politicization of everyday life during the communist era, such an 'anti-ideological' attitude tends to be marked by an explicit anti-communist impulse, bringing its political content closer to the surface. Discussion of the rebuilding of Warsaw's historic buildings is often tense, and indeed tends to revolve around the question of whether or not the rebuilding process was anything more than a cynical communist propaganda exercise – this controversy is one of the many which divides the opinions of politicians, journalists, contributors to internet forums, residents, architects and urban planners.

In the course of a debate documented in the pages of one of Poland's daily newspapers, Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz, a former centre-right Prime Minister of Poland and Mayor of Warsaw, supported a declaration by a member of his staff,

(A)political Buildings: Ideology, Memory and Warsaw's 'Old Town'

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Fig. 3 - A Bellotto block on Krakowskie Przedmiescie, 2009.

which described the rebuilding of the city as a 'dread-inducing, controversial affair', carried out 'according to the dictates of the Soviet Union.' In reply, the left-wing politician Marek Borowski rejected the comments from Marcinkiewicz's camp as "idiotic", and called for a campaign to remind Poland's inhabitants of the period of 'spontaneous, nationwide enthusiasm and unity' which characterized the rebuilding of the capital city. (*Trybuna* 24 October 2006)

Since the early 1990s, the main left-wing grouping in Poland, the social democratic Left Alliance, many of whose members previously belonged to the communist party, has been discredited by its association with the PRL. However, after the left last lost its control over the government in 2005, it has struggled to gain more than 10% support in either elections or opinion polls. The only significant political choice in the last two general and presidential elections has been between a between the Catholic-nationalist Law and Justice Party and the free-market liberal Civic Platform. Many on the left feel that a reconsideration of the legacy of the period of the PRL, starting with the restoration of Warsaw as one of its first major achievements, may contribute to a re-organisation in the field of political possibilities (or ideological quilting points) in contemporary Poland. Several people I have spoken to have expressed quite explicitly their feeling that the walls and stones of the Old Town still have the potential to exert a powerful, subversive political agency, as they are said to have done during the dying years of the PRL.

Warsaw's attitude towards its rebuilt centre, then, is anything but straightforward. The pale granite laid earlier this year on the surface of Krakowskie Przedmiescie, one of the historic streets rebuilt after its depiction by Bellotto, was intended to make the street 'resonate closer', even more so than it already does, with its depictions on Bellotto's canvasses. To make this explicit, several glass blocks featuring images of Bellotto's paintings were installed along the street at places corresponding to the spot from which they would have been painted *(fig. 3)*. The architect responsible for the street's 'revitalization', Krzysztof Domaradzki – by no means a figure identified with the political left – told me that he didn't *consciously* rely on any 'ideological motives' in his designs. However, he admitted that he '*unconsciously* attempted to refer to the process of the post-war rebuilding of Warsaw.' Mirroring almost exactly the language of Zachwatowicz and other representatives of the Polish school of conservation, Domaradzki expressed support for many of the aesthetic interventions of the post-war period, which attempted to restore 'purity of form' to buildings like John's House, or to St John's Cathedral by freeing them of what he dismissed as 'nineteenth century imperfections'. Domaradzki referred to his use of Bellotto's paintings as a technique to conjure the 'atmosphere' of late-eighteenth century Warsaw, and added, 'unfortunately, I agree with Bolesław Bierut [the president of Poland during the Stalinist years] that the period of [Warsaw's eighteenth-century Enlightenment] was a period of greatness which it is correct to refer.' Further, Domaradzki went so far as to repeatedly declare, after

Zachwatowicz, that he sees himself as a 'set designer', 'setting the stage' for everyday life by manipulating the urban landscape. (Domaradzki 2009) While Domaradzki's Krakowskie Przedmiescie has gained approval from residents and tourists, it has of course been condemned by Lesniakowska and other commentators as a regressive, 'neo-socialist realist' fantasy.

What I hope the above, brief observations suggest is that the web of relations between ideology and Warsaw's Old Town today has not yet been dismantled. In fact, it continues to be swarmed upon by the agencies of a set of actors which are diffuse, oblique, contradictory and inconsistent, as well as overlapping and intertwined – whether dead painters, economic transformations, politicians, the 'unruly force of memory', the buildings themselves – or any other entities whose contours can be discerned. While the economic, political and ideological landscapes have undergone a number of dramatic transformations, the past, present and future of Warsaw's 'new' Old Town – as well as its analysis – is still a discursive and material work in progress.

• **Michał Murawski** grew up in Warsaw and Norwich. He studied Social Anthropology and Politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies and University College London, and completed an MPhil in Social Anthropological Research at the University of Cambridge. He is currently on fieldwork in Poland, gathering materials for a PhD dissertation on the relationship between architecture and ideology in Warsaw.

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The Cultural Logic of Reconstruction: Critical history lessons in/of the post-socialist city

by Ella Chmielewska (The University of Edinburgh)

At a conference "Beyond the Wall" held in Bucharest in 1995, Fredric Jameson pronounced the reconstruction of Warsaw's Old Town as one of "Disney-related operations." The comment published later in the conclusion of the essay "History Lessons" has become an assertion, both a judgement on the iconic reconstruction project from the 1950s, and a call for "a careful dissociation between the categories of historicity and authenticity" in examining post-socialist urban condition.[1]

This paper positions Jameson's cursory remark against a critical reading of discourses (both historical and contemporary) surrounding reconstruction and heritage preservation in Warsaw. It will contextualise questions of 'authenticity', apparently so central to Jameson, through two case studies that exemplify specific local attitudes toward urban history and memory. Both sites discussed here, were not considered worthy of conservation: the 1833 bathhouse "Diana" demolished in 1996, and the 1956-1960 cinema "Skarpa" razed in 2008. Both buildings were torn down to make room for luxury developments that claimed to "revitalize" adjacent neighbourhoods while referencing the history of the sites. The first is emblematic of the heritage status of the ordinary nineteenth century industrial sites, the latter of the fortunes of the local icons of the socialist modernity. Both were public buildings important for the local community, embedded in the traditional housing morphology of Warsaw. While attesting to specific urban developments and local cultural histories, these sites failed to attract support of the heritage preservation authorities both in the socialist and in the post-socialist economic and political circumstance.

Debates surrounding the demolition and subsequent redevelopment of these sites, highlight local attitudes towards historical value and authenticity of ordinary buildings and cityscape and challenge the ideologically charged approaches to heritage and complex histories in/of post-socialist cities. The paper argues that the problems of history and heritage preservation in Warsaw are best revealed in the fate of such ordinary buildings and sites, not iconic or monumental projects. These sites question both the local attitudes and the judgements of Western critics unreflective of their own political positions. These sites also point to the need for developing methodological and theoretical apparatus attentive to the complex local histories and to the politics of memory in post-socialist, post-totalitarian places. While Disneyland and Las Vegas could continue to generate useful arguments for cultural critique, they are of limited value as topes for discussing, or assessing, history and authenticity in places whose physical fabric has been shaped by Yalta and Berlin.

1 Neil Leach (Ed) Architecture and Revolution: contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe (Routledge, 1999).

The front of Cinema Skarpa in 2008 shortly before its demolition. Photo: Ella Chmielewska

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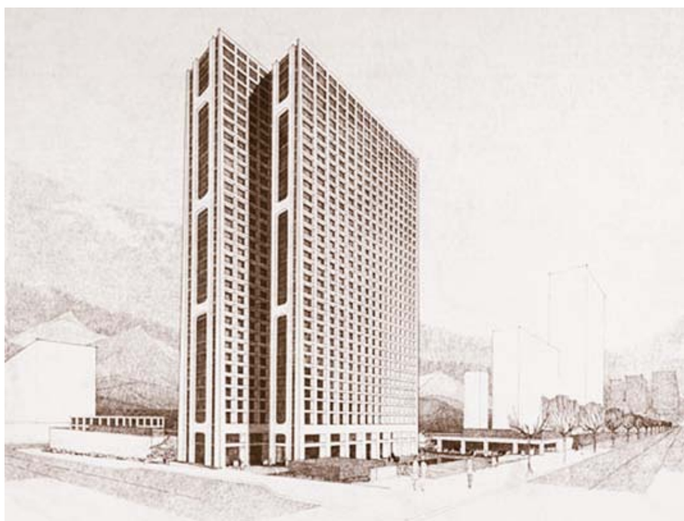
by Ella Chmielewska (the University of Edinburgh)

Built between 1956-1960, the building was designed by one of the main architects of MDM and the 'reconstruction' of Nowy Swiat. The building was one of the manifestations of the changed direction for architecture in Warsaw that resulted from the political Thaw after the death of Stalin. One of the most popular cinema theatres in the city throughout the communist times (and a place where Wajda's *The Man of Marble* was premiered) the building fell into disrepair and neglect after 1989. The luxury apartment complex that replaced it will feature a small cinema/bar. The architecture of the new development is said to 'reference' the city from the 1920s, and the developer was proud to donate one of the neon signs from the cinema to new Warsaw's Museum of Modern Art. The neon featured at the front (photograph above) was not considered 'authentic' so it did not make it to the museum collection. The second neon sign (below), taken from the side of the building, has now been restored and is displayed as part of the collection of the Muzeum.

• **Ella Chmielewska** teaches Cultural Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Her research centres on the city and material manifestations of language (writing, marking, inscriptions, graffiti) and the relationship between place, memory and representation. Her work includes essays on visual culture and the city, exhibitions and curated events, as well as photographic and design projects. Her most recent publications include: "Framing Temporality: Montréal Graffiti in Photography" in Public Art in Canada: Critical Perspectives. Annie Gérin and James S. McLean (Eds) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2009; "Sites of Display: the Iconosphere of Warsaw, 1955 to the Present Day" in City in Art, Peter Martyn (Ed), Warsaw: Art Institute 2008; "Fiat Lux! Cold War Neons, Modernity and the Metropolis" in Igor Dukhan (Ed) Avant-Garde and Cultures: Art, Design and Cultural Environment. Minsk, Bielarus: UNESCO/ Kulturmomente, The Center for Visual Arts and Media, Belorussian State University, 2007; "Framing [con]text: graffiti and place" Space and Culture vol. 10, no. 2 (2007); and "Signs of Place: A Close Reading of the Visual Landscape of Warsaw." in Arnold Bartetzky, Marina Dmitrieva and Stefan Troebst (Eds) Neue Staaten - neue Bilder? Visualle Kulture im Dienst staatlicher Selbstdarstellung in Zentral - und Osteuropa seit 1918. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau 2005. Forthcoming work includes: "Semiosis Takes Place or the Radical Uses of Quaint Theories" in Adam Jaworski and Crispin Thurlow (Eds) Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space. London: Continuum, 2009; "Writing on the Ruins or Graffiti as a Design Gesture." in Andrea Mubi Brighenti (Ed) The Wall and the City/Il muro e la cittá/ Le mur et la ville. Milano: Mimesis/ Il Brennero-Der Brenner, 2009; "Warszawa: Tracking the City" special issue of Journal of Architecture, co-edited with Mark Dorrian, 2009; and the exhibition, 'Cold War Neons and Socialist Modernity' for The Lighthouse Scotland's Centre for Architecture, Design and the City, August 2009.

Twentieth-century architecture in Quebec City: the dilemma of integration in a 'colonial jewel'

by Emilie d'Orgeix (Docomomo International)



Arthur Erikson, MacMillan Bloedel Office Tower, 1969.
© www.vancouverism.ca

Front Cover of the publication by Michael McClelland; Graeme Stewart, *Concrete Toronto. A Guide to Concrete Architecture from the Fifties to the Seventies*, Toronto: Coach House Book, 2007.

Canadian Modernism and post-war urban ensembles have aroused a lot of interest during the last decade. This started with the large exhibition organized by the Canadian Center for Architecture in 1990 entitled "*The 60s: Montréal thinks big*" in which the city was coined as being the only one in America to have succeeded in an attempt to (I quote) "*transform fundamentally the architectural and urban landscape without permanently compromising the viability of the city center*" (front flap)[1]. On the Pacific shore, Docomomo British Columbia published in 1999 a thorough register of post-war buildings. More recently, another itinerant exhibition curated by Trevor Boddy in collaboration with Dennis Sharp, entitled "Vancouverism: West-Coast Architecture and City-Building", presented the work of the architect and urban planner Arthur Erickson in the 60s and 70s[2]. In the catalogue, the curator states that "*Our city, Vancouver, has become first a verb, and now, an ideology promoting an urbanism of density and public amenity which can be seen as the maximum power setting for shaping the humane mixed-use city (…) for a new era of scarce energy and diminished natural resources*". Other provinces also participated in this flurry of publications and research. In the Atlantic Provinces, the exhibition and catalogue "Atlantic Modern" explored the urban discourses of the 60s in cities like Halifax in Nova Scotia and St. John in Newfoundland[3]. In Ontario, the national conference entitled "Conserving the Modern in Canada", organized in 2005, focused especially "on buildings, structures, districts, and landscapes constructed after 1945". Simultaneously, Docomomo Ontario published a book entitled "*Concrete Toronto, Concrete Design, Culture and Technology of the 1950's, 60's and 70's*"[4]. The overview can be completed by mentioning the two most recent publications, the *Guide to the Modern Architecture of Montreal* published in 2007 in Brussels by the CIVA and the special issue of the *Docomomo Journal* published last year on "Canada Modern" which almost covered all ten provinces (with the exception of Nunavik)[5].

This introduction on the state of research at a country scale sheds light, rather strikingly, on the almost total absence of studies about Quebec City and its relationship with modern architecture and urbanism - as if the city had been totally expunged from the grand efforts led in the 1960s to modernize, modify and give a new face to other Canadian cities. Quebec City, the "bastion of French culture" seems to have remained totally out of the scene, as if it had been playing on another ground.

Which one? this is the question I attempt to answer, in this paper, by proposing an interpretation of the cultural 'mentality' of the municipality of Quebec City's concerning both the setting of its policy of conservation of its "historic" (into brackets) heritage - mainly inside the walls of the city - and the expression of its modernity, that we will see, will take place outside of the walls with a vast program of governmental and public buildings. I will try to demonstrate how Quebec City succeeded in playing a double politic: developing, one the one hand, a popular and conservative voice deeply rooted in the French-Canadian history of the province and setting, on the other hand, an highly elitist discourse of planning of a modern urban scheme outside its historic precincts.

Quebec City and its French Memory

Post-war ensembles and buildings in Quebec City must be viewed within the very specific context of the Canadian 1960s and more specifically of the province of Québec where the political context of the period is very particular. At the scale of the entire country, the 1960s were years of major growth, setting the stage for significant development in the urban landscape. In the Province of Québec, this urban *boom* also coincided with the major political turn known as the "*Quiet Revolution*". The winning of the provincial election in 1960 by the liberal opposition party reversed the traditional predominance of the Catholic Church which had been dominant. The new government led by Jean Lesage, took power over education, health and social affairs and opened the door to the new value of modernism and progress which had before been carefully ruled by the church. In Montreal, the Quiet Revolution coincided with the re-election of mayor Jean Drapeau, a major author of a massive urban renewal involving the razing of entire working-class districts which was rather passively accepted by the inhabitants. Drapeau was also pivotal in orchestrating the Expo 67 World's Fair in 1967 which celebrated the centenary of the Canadian Confederation.

In Quebec City, though, the situation unfolded very differently. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Capital of the Province had lost its commercial predominance compared to Montreal. Therefore, the city had taken another path and had been carefully reoriented by the government as the shrine of the French historical roots of the province. Already in the mid-nineteenth century, Eugène-Etienne Taché, of the ministry of *travaux publics* and an architect who had been in charge of most projects of public buildings, had carefully chosen to only use the First French Renaissance vocabulary, in a subtle, and rather subliminal attempt to date back the foundation of the City to the first trip of Jacques Cartier in 1545 and not to the actual one by Samuel de Champlain in 1604. This is particularly obvious in his choice of a neo-French Renaissance style for the construction of the Parliament in the 1880s, contemporary to the erection of the Ottawa parliament whose neo-gothic style was, by opposition, strongly associated as a British style.

This nationalist or rather "French architectural inflection" was pursued in the first part of the twentieth century with the creation of the *Samuel de Champlain National Society* in 1949 whose aim was (I quote) to "praise and glorify the memory of Samuel de Champlain as Canadian national hero and benefactor of the humanity for having opened North America to civilization and Christianity". The organization of several annual celebrations participated in this work of memory and renewed search for a French identity. This is how, while the nearby city of Montreal was about to whip out of the map large portions of the city, in Quebec City all eyes were focused on the ambitious program of archaeological excavations which was launched to locate the tomb of Samuel de Champlain[6].

Old Québec City. © Anne Raines

The work of the Commission des monuments historiques

It was in this rather localist context, that the government of the Prime Minister Maurice Duplessis amended on January 1952, the thirty-year old Heritage law (passed in 1922) of protection of historical monuments and sites. This amendment first allowed *the Commission des Monuments Historiques* to list any building, property or material object, regardless of the agreement of its owner. The government also allocated large funds to purchase, even by means of expropriation and without the consent of their owners, the buildings selected by the commission. This amendment allowed Paul Gouin, the president of the Commission and Gérard Morisset, its secretary, to inscribe on their lists between 1952 and 1966, 192 buildings among which 40 private houses and 10 churches were located in the old Quebec City. What is also retrospectively striking in their selection is that almost all these properties dated from the French-Regime. They responded to the visions of the Commission's president and secretary, who were both strong advocates of French-Canadian culture and pro-engaged in the "French-ization" of the city. None of the two were architects and their vision was one of vernacularly-oriented French-Canadian historians.

Nevertheless, even if not totally historically fair in their selection and clearly favouring the period prior to 1760, Gouin and Morisset were able to give a first, enthusiastic impulse to heritage protection in the province.

Their recording and listing work, processed and archived in an office housed in the Musée de Québec, could have lasted during a long time if in the middle of the 1950s the shadow of change had not cast a veil upon the city, giving a frank acceleration to the creation of new protection laws.

The culprit was a rather conventional project which nevertheless proved to be to totally unacceptable for the citizens of the city. Conceived by the architect Marcel Jetté, it was an extension of the seventeenth century hospital of the Hôtel-Dieu[7]. The project stirred up an immense campaign of protest from the Commission of Historic Monuments

Project for the Hotel Dieu by Marcel Jetté, 1956.

View of the Place Royale, Québec City, 2007.

Dimitri Dimakopoulos, Hôtel Concorde, Québec City, 1974.
© Marc Grignon

who alerted local societies, both professional and private, journalists, tourists, and citizens. Between 1952 and 1956, which marked the end of the construction works, the Commission battled to see the project stopped. There was some hope, since an earlier project for a 10-storey hotel proposed in the early 1950s had already been abandoned.

The construction of the Hotel Dieu was historically important. It prompted the Commission to extend its perimeter of actions, including not only individual properties but also urban centres. It established in earnest the premisses of the debate for the creation of an historic district (or *arrondissement historique*) in the old city.

The 1960s : the creation of the *arrondissement historique*

The real shift occurred four years later, in 1960, with the election of Jean Lesage to the government. In 1961, the Canadian Ministry of Cultural affairs was created. Progressively, the activities of the old Commission were passed on to the new Service of Historic Monuments. Two years later, in 1963, the ministry of Cultural Affairs, Georges Emile Lapalme, created the notion of "historic district", following the French creation by Malraux a few years earlier[8]. On the same year, the limits of the historic district were fixed in Quebec City, followed by the ones of the old Montreal (much smaller), of the old Three-Rivers and downtowns of smaller cities such as Charlesbourg, Sillery, Beauport and Chambly-Carignan.

Concurrently, the major project of rehabilitation of the royal square of Quebec city, la place Royale, in the lower part of the old city, was launched. This program, which lasted more than 25 years, was the most important restoration laboratory and field of exercise for several generations of architects and urban planners. Still rooted in the idea of urban "French-ization" of the lower part of the city by recreating a classical French model of royal square, it was an important element in the shaping of the conceptions of rehabilitation in the "New-France" vocabulary of the city. André Robitaille was a very "New-France" Restorer[9].

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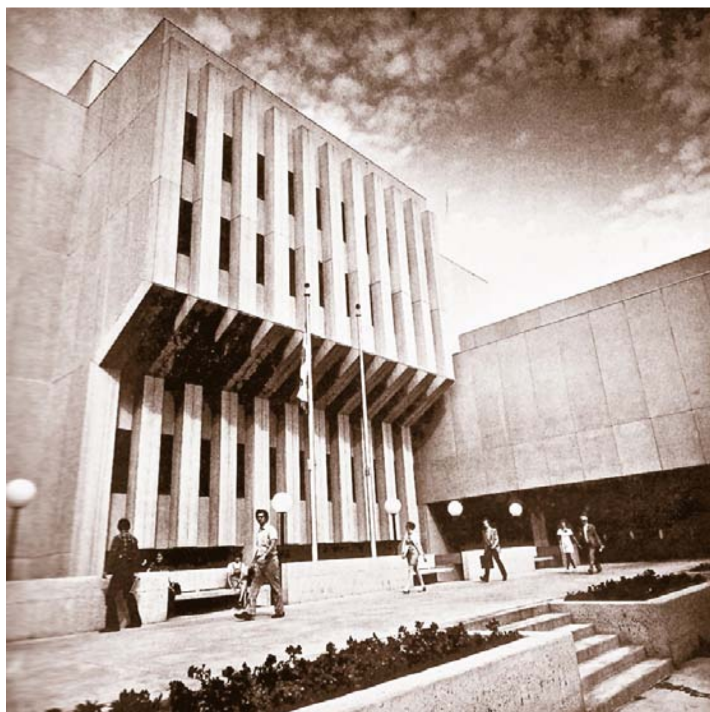

Dimitri Dimakopoulos, Building H and J1, Parliament Hill, Québec City, 1976.
© Marc Grignon

Expanding the city: Parliament Hill

The problem of freezing the city in its historic location provoked Prime Minister Jean Lesage to find alternative solutions to modernize the city. Between 1960 and 1966, he launched the grand urban and architectural project of the "parliament hill", on the portion of land located between the walls and the park of Abraham, where the parliament house had been built in the nineteenth century. This is where modernity expressed itself most openly in Quebec city. In 1960, the architect Edouard Fiset was commissioned as technical consultant to plan an ambitious project of administrative quarters for the government, including an hotel of 24 storeys, a commercial centre and all the office buildings needed for the government, thus creating a real "administrative city". The project was unveiled in 1965. The question of the height of buildings which unbalanced de skyline of the city was widely discussed; finally adopted was a principle of a development "concave toward the summit of the hill" allowing buildings to be built higher and higher as long as they were more distant from the parliament. The plan was finally adopted in 1969 after the construction of the first buildings. It shaped the modern face of Quebec outside the walls. Although, never studied, there are a few interesting buildings in the area as developed.

To conclude, the case of Quebec City is interesting, in the way, differently from Montreal, the ancient and the modern in the 1960s seem to have confronted each other without mingling but, rather, in a defiant way. Two cities, the old historic one and the new administrative one, were consolidated without interacting. The creation of the high-speed Dufferin-Montmorency highway which sectioned the old city and the new administrative one, accentuated the general feeling of urban estrangement. Both driven by a 'perfectionist' approach developed by urban planners and visionary politicians, they did not take into account the social discourse necessary to fully embed them. Even if excellence has been reached in both parts of the city; the sense of missing grace is palpable. The urban politics of Quebec City have been both dynamic and modern, but like Janus faces, the two halves of the city never look at each other.

• **Emilie d'Orgeix** is an architectural historian specializing in architectural history and preservation issues. She was appointed secretary general of Docomomo International and co-editor of the *Docomomo Journal* in 2002. She has lectured widely in Europe and America, has co-authored several books among which *Cities of the New World* (Paris, Somogy, 1999), *Portefeuilles de Plans* (Bourges: CEHD, 2001) and *Atlas Militaires Royaux Européens* (Paris: Ministère de la Culture, 2003), and was invited as curator for several exhibitions in France, Canada and the USA. She is an associate researcher at the University of Paris I- La Sorbonne (Centre André Chastel) and a member of the scientific committee of the Italian Ministry of University and Research and a senior fellow at INHA. She has been awarded several research fellowships such as from the Ministry of External Affairs of Canada (Montreal), the Casa de Velásquez (Madrid), the Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon), the French School in Rome, the Coleman Foundation and the Whitney Foundation (New York).

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4 Michael McClelland; Graeme Stewart, *Concrete Toronto. A Guide to Concrete Architecture from the Fifties to the Seventies*, Toronto: Coach House Book, 2007.
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6 Paul-Louis Martin, « La conservation du patrimoine culturel : origines et évolution », Les chemins de la mémoire. Monuments et sites historiques du Québec, Québec, Les publications du Québec. Tome 1, 1990. pp. 1-17.
7 Jean-Marie Lebel et Alain Roy, Québec 1900-2000. Québec: Commission de la capitale nationale, 2000, p. 71-72.
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Pursuits of Deeper Purpose: The Reconstruction of Fortress Louisbourg

by Anne Brownley Raines (architect)

The reconstructed Kingís Bastion at Fortress Louisbourg; the original structure was once the largest building in the New World. © Anne Raines

In 1962 the Canadian government undertook a massive construction project on Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia in the Canadian Maritimes, a project which would last twenty years and cost over $25 million dollars, employing hundreds of skilled and non-skilled workers.[1] The project contributed to developing a generation of professionals and technicians, to fostering a national identity, and to stimulating the local economy. Surprisingly, the project was not a bridge, a university, or a power plant, although with Canada gearing up for the centennial of its Confederation, those were all being built in abundance. Instead, this massive building program resulted in the detailed reconstruction of the long-disappeared Fortress of Louisbourg, one of the mighty bastions of France in the New World. This paper will consider how this project fits -- and does not fit -- with notions both of "conservation" and of "modernity".

Louisbourg existed as a fortress and French settlement for less than fifty years, its creation and development playing out against the European struggle for supremacy in North America in the early 1700s. The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht resulted in France ceding Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Acadia (present-day New Brunswick and Maine) to Britain and retaining only Cape Breton and Prince Edward Islands.[2] In 1720 construction commenced on a new fortress at Louisbourg, the easternmost in a string of French fortresses stretching down the St Lawrence River past Quebec and Montreal and into the Great Lakes and the Ohio River corridor.[3] The fortress was a key point in the defense of the St Lawrence River and an important supply and trading base for French ships. The fortress and town were constructed on a harbor with a narrow mouth; a star-shaped bastion enclosed the town and protected its harbor. In the 1730s and 40s Louisbourg was a bustling harbor for trade, defense, and fishing. Its fortunes were short-lived, however, and it was taken by the British in 1745. A treaty led to its being given back to France, but it was taken by the British again in 1758.[4] In 1760 the British blew up the fortress under orders from the King, in hopes of discouraging the French from returning to reclaim it.[5] The British turned instead to their new citadel in Halifax, further south.[6]

In subsequent centuries nothing substantial was constructed over the ruins; travelers reported nothing more than some fishermen's huts and grazing animals.[7] The first commemoration at the site was in 1895, when an American group erected a column to mark the 150th anniversary of the first siege. In the 1920s Louisbourg was designated a National Historic Site, and the government began purchasing the land. In the 1930s, as part of a government jobs creation effort during the depression, limited excavations were carried out and a small museum was constructed.[8]

At the landward gate, visitors are greeted by reenactors dressed as armed guards. © Anne Raines

Streets and buildings of the town are reconstructed to their 1740s appearance. © Anne Raines.

Several decades later, the plan to reconstruct the fortress at Louisbourg was born out of modern social and political ideas and goals. By the 1950s the Canadian government already had a history of intervention in economic and cultural matters, and the foundations had been laid for the welfare state, foundations which would be built upon within the next decade by passing essential social services legislation.[9] In the 50s and 60s, the government built cultural institutions such as museums and universities at a rapid pace, partly with an eye to the upcoming 1967 centennial.[10]

The Canadian government clearly did not shy away from big issues. It was during this time that the government also decided to tackle the economic woes affecting Cape Breton, where the coal industry, a key employer, was experiencing labor unrest and decreasing productivity.[11] (Ironically, coal mining on Cape Breton had begun around 1720 to supply the construction of the fortress.) A one-man commission was appointed in 1960 to put forth recommendations. The commission consisted of the Honorable Ivan C Rand, a Harvard-educated lawyer who had just retired after 16 years on the Supreme Court of Canada.[12] Rand's report saw beyond predictable measures such as direct government subsidies for existing mines.[13] He suggested reinvigorating Cape Breton and reorienting its economy towards tourism by, among other initiatives, reconstructing a portion of the great fortress at Louisbourg. The recommendation extended to complementary measures such as building a modern road to Louisbourg, promoting the existing Cape Breton Highlands National Park, and retraining unemployed miners in traditional building techniques.[14] Rand's recommendations saw the project not just as a generator of short-term local jobs, but also as a vehicle for long-term national educational values and aspirations. To quote Rand: "what is proposed will be not only of economic benefit to the island; it will introduce elements to regenerate its life and outlook, dissolve the climate of drabness and let into human hearts and intelligence the light of new interests, hopes and ambitions. Mechanical industry remains uncertain, but there are pursuits of deeper purpose lying within the will and action of people and governments."[15]

Louisbourg was first and foremost a significant archaeological site, in a time when the debate over archaeological sites was definitely on the preservation agenda. Especially in the US, where many archaeological sites were being lost "due to natural and human activity", there was significant debate about whether to stabilize, rebury, or build on top of the remains.[16] In Europe, the debate stretched back centuries, with increasing emphasis on leaving ruins well enough alone. In 1845 J.J.Bourasse argued that ruins represent "dead" rather than "living" monuments; as such, they should be considered a "closed chapter" in

history and left unrestored.[17] Ruskin later echoed these sentiments, stating that "more has been gleaned out of a desolated Nineveh than ever will be out of rebuilt Milan".[18] The codification of these ideas into conservation charters took place in slow stages; the Athens Charter of 1931 outlines "scrupulous conservation" and permits original elements of ruins to be reinstated. The 1956 UNESCO Delhi Charter, specifically applicable to archaeological sites, recommended that a certain proportion of sites should remain untouched for future research.[19] At the same time, Cesare Brandi, an influential Italian conservation theorist, wrote: "there is no possibility to pretend that a reconstruction could have the same meaning as the original; instead, it would become historically and aesthetically false".[20] Reflecting this hard-line stance, the 1965 Venice Charter, developed after work at Louisbourg was already well underway, went further than the earlier charters, stating that "[a]ll reconstruction work should... be ruled out 'a priori'".[21] By these definitions, Canada's massive federally-funded reconstruction project, resulting in literal facsimiles of long-lost buildings, and located directly on top of 250-year-old ruins, might have made conservationists at the time more than a little uncomfortable.

In its favor, though, Louisbourg had more or less ideal conditions for an accurate reconstruction. First, extensive written records and drawings, including the original engineers' drawings, were held in archives in France and Britain. On the two occasions when the fortress had been surrendered, it had been evacuated in an orderly fashion; key records were removed from Louisbourg and deposited at the French national archives, where two centuries later they were accessed by Canadian researchers.[22] Contemporary sources such as Diderot's encyclopedia provided further factual basis. Also favorably for the reconstruction, the evolution of the site had come to an abrupt end in 1760 when it was laid waste by the British, and subsequently, practically nothing was built over the site. In the early 20th century, when archaeological digs began, the site was so vast that most of it was left alone. In fact, even in the course of the reconstruction only about five percent of the site's archaeological remains were lost, and much of the site, including its underwater shipwreck sites, remains untouched to this day.[23] Furthermore, soil and climate conditions were ideal for the preservation of quite fragile items, including leather and wood, which offered unique information about this site and its buildings.

Taken together, these circumstances created a compelling argument that an accurate reconstruction could technically be achieved. However, it was not until fairly recently that conservation theory has begun to admit for the possibility that physical reconstruction may actually be acceptable in some situations. The 1999 Burra Charter suggests that "Reconstruction is appropriate only where a place is incomplete through damage or alteration, and only where there is sufficient evidence to reproduce an earlier state of the fabric".[24] It would be difficult to imagine a subject that, through various coincidences of history and nature, provided more "sufficient evidence" than Louisbourg.

How has Louisbourg fulfilled the goals set forth for it in the Rand report? What of all the lofty speech about "economic benefit", "regenerating life and outlook", and "letting in the light of new interests, hopes and ambitions"?

First, Louisbourg as an educational tool: Rand's report wished for the site to "animate the lessons of history". For vacationers, to visit Louisbourg today is to immerse oneself in the 18th century. Costumed interpreters inhabit the site; meals are served in traditional taverns at communal tables, and specific historical personages are portrayed. This approach (which has its detractors, needless to say) makes for an enjoyable and educational day for most visitors, especially children. The visitor is not supposed to be confused about what is new and what is old. The fortress and town buildings are all new – unlike at Colonial Williamsburg, for example, there are no actual old things to catch you off guard. The exhibits both on the site and at the visitor center are quite clear about the facts of the reconstruction, which are successfully played up as part of the educational mission. Furthermore, since Louisbourg isn't a museum as such, and all the items are replicas,

there is far more freedom to explore, to touch, to pick up and read the documents on the desk, or to sit on the chairs. For the stouthearted there are fascinating exhibits on traditional building methods which emphasize the facts and methods of the reconstruction. These exhibits incorporate mockups of various techniques, the blueprints for the reconstructed buildings, and the actual archaeological finds. Also in line with its educational mission, the interpretation of the site involves the portrayal of perspectives of both rich and poor, the well-known and the ordinary. The interpretation is today not even limited to French colonial traditions, but also incorporates multiple other historical perspectives such as indigenous Mi'kmaq and African slaves.[25] In time, the conservation charters began to recognize that education and the presentation of national historical perspectives are also important goals of conservation. In 1975 the Declaration of Amsterdam stated: "The architectural heritage will survive only if it is appreciated by the public and in particular by the younger generation. Educational programmes for all ages should, therefore, give increased attention to this subject".[26] In 1982, perhaps inspired partly by the project at Louisbourg, the French Canadian faction in Quebec had begun "to try to identify our cultural personality, and thereby define the special nature of our heritage" with the Deschambault Declaration.[27] The Burra Charter of 1999 refreshes conservation dialogue, stating that "[c]onservation of a place should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others".[28]

In the case of Louisbourg, it wasn't just the public getting an education. The whole process of research and rebuilding was an education for an entire generation (or even two generations) of Canada's career preservationists.[29] The project employed hundreds of people and gave them hands-on, multidisciplinary, practical training. Research methods and interdisciplinary dialogues were established here which were utilized throughout Parks Canada and other organizations. Preservation professionals who trained at the site doubtless went on to key positions on other projects nationally and internationally, and likely had a hand in developing Canada's own conservation manifestos: the Deschambault Declaration and the Appleton Charter of the early 1980s. Similarly, many workers (mostly unemployed miners) were retrained in traditional building techniques for the reconstruction and could offer that knowledge on other projects.[30] Future generations will continue to benefit: much of the site remains undisturbed for future archaeology, a preservation certificate program is offered jointly at Louisbourg and University College Cape Breton, and a vast archive of documents and artifacts can be studied at the site or online.[31] In the years since Louisbourg was undertaken, international conservation dialogue has also begun to recognize professional development as a necessary goal of preservation. This is best seen in the 1975 Declaration of Amsterdam, which states, "There is a fundamental need for better training programmes to produce qualified personnel. These programmes should be flexible, multi-disciplinary and should include courses where on-site practical experience can be gained". The declaration also recognizes that "[c]onservation calls for artists and highly-qualified craftsmen whose talents and know-how have to be kept alive and passed on".[32] The 1967 Norms of Quito presage these suggestions, calling not only for a "collaboration of experts" from various fields, but also for full implementation of any available fellowship or training programs.[33] Canada's own Appleton Charter acknowledges that the "process of protection and enhancement must... have recourse to all fields of expertise".[34] Furthermore, the Burra Charter addresses the significance of keeping records of new evidence and new decisions during the reconstruction process, and suggests the creation of an on-site historical and archaeological archive, all recommendations already followed at Louisbourg.[35]

Economic growth and reinforcement of communities were the other driving forces behind Rand's vision of a reconstructed Louisbourg. As anticipated by the Rand Report, the project has had some effect in offsetting the loss of the steel and coal industries from Cape Breton and in reducing the attendant population loss. Over the twenty year reconstruction 225 former coal workers

The Porte Dauphine, entrance to Louisbourg from the harbor. © Anne Raines

were retrained in period construction techniques as required for the scope of the project, although today few of those still work at the site.[36] The fortress now employs over 80 full-time year-round staff and nearly 150 part-year staff, with part-year staff supplementing their income either through other part-year work, such as fishing, or by taking government unemployment pay.[37] Louisbourg attracts around 130,000 visitors per year, who can now enjoy lodgings, restaurants, a railway museum, a mining museum, a small theater, golf courses, wreck diving charter boats, and fishing expeditions, all of which have associated private-sector jobs.[38] Again, conservation charters have caught on: the Declaration of Amsterdam recognizes preservation as part of a unified planning effort which fosters economic growth: "Regional planning policy must take account of the conservation of the architectural heritage and contribute to it. In particular it can induce new activities to establish themselves in economically declining areas in order to check depopulation". Although writing specifically about housing, the Declaration also mentions that preservation "helps to... obviate, or appreciably diminish, movements of population".[39] The Norms of Quito unabashedly proclaim the economic miracles to be wrought through heritage tourism: governments and private enterprises can depend upon the "rapid recovery of capital invested" and the "profound economic transformation of the region".[40]

What are we to make of Louisbourg? It seems to have a foot in two camps. While it has espoused the socially progressive goals of education and economic transformation, architectural modernists revile it as pastiche. While conservation dialogue now embraces these same social goals, conservationists are still not at peace with Louisbourg's "Disneyland" aspects; in fact, many question whether Louisbourg falls into the realm of conservation at all, or whether it is a museum or a theme park.

Then what should we do with it?

As with history and architecture, conservation is judged by a constantly changing set of criteria, by successive generations with changing priorities. Today, nearly fifty years on, we may question whether Louisbourg's practical applications are played out. Research processes may have improved; the interests of today's preservation professionals may lay elsewhere. In terms of its educational mission, Louisbourg attracts relatively low numbers of visitors because is so remote and its climate only allows it to be open in the summer.[41] Furthermore, the interpretive program attracts criticism as reducing the restoration to the level of stage set or make believe. The project has, not surprisingly, also failed to solve Cape Breton's long-term economic problems. Canadian government policies require that sixty percent of site staff are bilingual; this means that many employees must actually be recruited from distant parts of Cape Breton or from outside the island. Furthermore, while the project has stimulated some private development, the nature of that development, particularly in the form of a golf resort with exclusive homes, threatens to destroy the very natural beauty and sense of remoteness that make the island so special. Now, with parts of the recon-

struction itself nearing forty years old, it is time to assess whether Louisbourg's successes exist only in the past, or are sustainable into the future. As conservation professionals, we will have to consider what the reconstructed Louisbourg means as part of our heritage. Is it conservation-worthy? Would Louisbourg be worth reconstructing… again?

• **Anne Raines** is an architect and a 2009 graduate of the MSc: Architectural Conservation programme at Edinburgh College of Art. She has worked as an architect in the US and Great Britain since obtaining her Bachelor of Architecture at North Carolina State University in 2001. As an Associate at ArchPlan Inc./Philipsen Architects in Baltimore, Maryland, she participated in a range of projects from urban design and neighborhood revitalization to multi-million dollar preservation and adaptive reuse projects. She has also worked at the State Historic Preservation Office and in the Historic Sites Section of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources and assisted with research and field survey for the award-winning A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina by Catherine Bishir and Michael Southern. While at NC State, she received both the Dean's "Wings on Wings" Award and the Alpha Rho Chi Medal for scholarship and service, as well as the Peter and Barbara Batchelor Prize for Urban Analysis

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Notes

1 Cross 2004.
2 Durnford 1978.
3 Lambert & Stewart 1992.
4 Johnston 1991.
5 McLennan 1969.
6 Ritchie 1967; Wilson 2007.
7 Foster 1965.
8 Foster 1965; Cross 2004; MacLean 1995.
9 Moscovitch 2008.
10 MacLean 1995.
11 Johnson 1998; Lamey 1996.
12 MacLean 1995.
13 Krause 1987.
14 Krause 1987; MacLean 1995.
15 qtd. in Krause 1987.
16 Fry 2004, p. 206.
17 qtd. in Jokilehto 1999, pp.149-50.
18 qtd. in Jokilehto 1999, p. 175.
19 First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments 1931; UNESCO 1956.
20 qtd. in Jokilehto 1999, p. 230.
21 Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments 1964.
22 Fitzgerald Digital Ltd. 2000.
23 Stovel 1995; O'Shea 1998.
24 Australia ICOMOS 1999.
25 MacLeod 2006.
26 Congress on the European Architectural Heritage 1975.
27 ICOMOS Canada French-Speaking Committee 1982.
28 Australia ICOMOS 1999.
29 MacLean 1995.
30 Cross 2004.
31 O'Shea 1998; Fry 2004.
32 Congress on the European Architectural Heritage 1975.
33 Norms of Quito 1967.
34 ICOMOS Canada 1983.
35 Australia ICOMOS 1999.
36 Biagi & Munroe 1997.
37 Kell 1991.
38 Cross 2004; Kell 1991.
39 Congress on the European Architectural Heritage 1975.
40 Norms of Quito 1967.
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The Loi Malraux and the urban-conservation revolution in 1960s France

by Olivier Godet (directorate for Cultural Affairs, Ile-de-France, Paris, France)

In this paper, I give an overview of the Loi Malraux, an epoch-making law adopted in 1962 with the aim of preserving urban heritage in France. To understand it, it is necessary to present the evolution of sensitivity about this issue from the nineteenth century onwards. Then, we will see that, after the second world war, this law had an effect on the protection of old towns; it contributed to the development of new kinds of heritage when public opinion became sensitive to new subjects, like the modern movement .

I - Origins in the nineteenth century

The protection of architectural heritage in France originated as a consequence of the French Revolution of 1789. With the violence which followed this event, buildings were demolished and mutilated in order to eradicate traces of the old regime. Historical monuments - which were not yet so designated of course - were then in danger. As early as 1793 the "Museum of French Monuments" was created to shelter buildings and sculptures.

At the beginning of the XIXth century, some members of Parliament launched initiatives to protect endangered buildings. The first law was adopted in 1840; it included a list of buildings to be protected. The romantic writer Prosper Mérimée, interested in history and discovery of countries, was one of the first inspectors of historic monuments. He toured monuments throughout France with the famous architect Viollet-le-Duc.

Two categories of buildings were created: "inscrits" and "classés"

They correspond approximately to your listed buildings graded A or B (Scotland) and 1 or 2 (England). These buildings cannot be altered without the agreement of the ministry of culture. Today, 28.000 buildings are "inscrits" and 14.000 are "classés". The numbers are small, in comparison with the five hundred thousand in Great-Britain. Two hundred years after the introduction of the measure, it shows how far such protection is reserved for exceptional edifices.

An inevitable consequence of that selectivity was a debate about how other, lesser structures could be protected. People grasped that the classification policy primarily concerned only buildings which were treated as individual objects, independent of their environment.

But is it worth protecting a building, however outstanding, in a deteriorated environment?

To fill this gap, a new policy was necessary. It was launched initially in 1943, to protect the surroundings of historic monuments.

It gave the administration the right to control any transformation of a building within 500 metres around a historic monument.
Thus, the area around was treated as a setting for a jewel.
It was an efficient measure that could be applied rapidly and could quickly produce results. But implementing rules were not laid down - the owners were not informed of their rights and did not receive advice on how to maintain or restore their property. Overall, though, this new concept of heritage as an entirety, including urban landscape, was very important, and effective in improving the monuments themselves.

To confirm this remarque, we can remember André Malraux, first minister of culture in 1958 (i.e., fifty years ago), used to say that if one destroyed Notre Dame, one would still recognize Paris, while if one destroyed the embankments of the Seine, the whole character of the city would be lost. It is interesting to note that they are now included in UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites.

The Loi Malraux and the urban-conservation revolution in 1960s France
by Olivier Godet (directorate for Cultural Affairs, Ile-de-France, Paris, France)

The first secteur sauvegardé declared under the loi Malraux was the 30-hectare Vieux-Lyon area, designated in May 1964. It set the tone for the programme in general, with its slow but architecturally meticulous projects and its social pattern of gentrification: over 80% of the existing 15,000 population moved elsewhere, mainly to HLM (social) housing on the city outskirts. The rehabilitation work included selective 'conservative surgery' of the infilled cores of street blocks: this view shows an opened up façade on the north side of the rue de la Bombarde, in the area's first 'operational sector'.
(M. Glendinning, 2008)

Place Neuve St Jean: an opened-up group in the north section of the first 'operational sector', in Vieux-Lyon.
(M. Glendinning, 2008)

II - Post-war impetus – Urban heritage

So, this was a first period in protection which marked the origin of the policy of heritage protection. But it was not sufficient during the period of reconstruction after the second world war. Destruction had been on an enormous scale.

460.000 dwellings had been destroyed and 1,6 million damaged (18% of the total).

Also this period of reconstruction was one of great economic activity; which attracted a new population coming from abroad to find work. The need for housing was immense. It was necessary to solve many problems of habitat. And reconstruction therefore had to be economical and rapid. Architects, engineers and politicians thus constantly aimed at applying the criteria defined by the CIAM Athens Charter. It gave an opportunity to create dwellings that were lighter, better ventilated, more comfortable and so on. New technical building systems and spatial compositions were invented. This contributes to the 'historical' interest of these buildings nowadays

Two contradictions then appeared concerning their implementation:

The first dilemma: building on cheap sites on the periphery of the towns, for reasons of economy, meant forgetting the complexity of the city.

The second dilemma: replacing parts of the old cities by new buildings often meant destroying a valuable heritage while only conserving the major edifices (le Corbusier's plan Voisin for Paris is a telling example).

Consequently, it was necessary to develop an approach that treated the protection of the urban heritage as an end in itself and contributed to its recognition. Active associations and the media at that time worked hard to avoid these demolitions. Their actions influenced mainly political decisions…

The Loi Malraux and the urban-conservation revolution in 1960s France

by Olivier Godet (directorate for Cultural Affairs, Ile-de-France, Paris, France)

The Marais area of Paris was the most complex and ambitious secteur sauvegardé (declared July 1965). A 126 hectare area densely studded with 17th and 18th century mansions and ordinary tenement housing, it was tackled on roughly the s ame lines as Vieux-Lyon. The first development (Ilot operationnel no. 1), around the Place de Thorigny (a 3.5 hectare area proposed for rehabilitation since 1961) is seen in this view. It was commenced in 1965 by a special organisation, SOREMA: 482 slum dwellings were modernised, thinned out (reduced to 332) and interspersed with 70 new flats. (M. Glendinning, 2009)

In Ilot operationnel 9/33 of the Marais, at the north-west side of the area, a complex plan of 1969 for radical surgery to internal courtyards was scrapped in 1976, leaving internal courtyards such as this one, north of the rue des Gravilliers, more or less intact. (M. Glendinning, 2009)

The Jardins-St Paul area, at the southern extremity of the Marais, was another pioneering ilot operationnel of the late 1960s. Here an entire street block was hollowed out, forming a single, picturesquely interconnected internal space, and 730 dwellings were reduced to 400. (M. Glendinning, 2009)

III - Conservation areas: The "Loi Malraux"

These preoccupations gave rise to the "loi Malraux", in 1962 about conservation areas : which we name in French "secteurs sauvegardés".
Reconstruction had necessitated the creation of special economic and financial development mechanisms. They were conceived for new buildings and the danger was they would be misused to push through tabula rasa clearances in the centres of towns after demolitions to produce quickly cheap building land.

The question for André Malraux was to find a way of creating modern dwellings without destroying the quality of what already existed.

The law on conservation areas was adopted to make use of the same measures, while including the respect of oldbuildings. It was possible for a public body to buy many buildings in a small, usually insanitary area, and restore them all together. They were called "operational areas" – ilots opérationnels.

The Loi Malraux introduced measures for modernizing old towns and defined the characteristics which should be maintained. Unfortunately, too few towns benefited from them. Only a hundred or so conservation areas were approved, although there are 36.000 local authorities in France. In the beginning, plans for protection and restoration included the definition of operational sectors, which encouraged comprehensive operations in particularly deteriorated areas. This method of "operating areas" was effective but burdensome and expensive. So it was progressively abandoned.

Since 1970, the approach evolved towards more simplicity: it remained necessary to restore these areas as a whole. Moreover, the implementing rules have been revised, which has made it possible to treat every case on its own merits, with a rule for each building.

Of course, it maintains the same purpose which is to establish a method of gaining knowledge of the monuments and of their surroundings and to set rules for their restoration or transformation. .

Under the loi Malraux framework, the approach in each conservation area is only decided after a detailed study of main characteristics and needs for development. Three main tools are specified:
- *an inventory,*
- *a regulation*
- *local committee.*

First, *an inventory* gives precise information on buildings and thus facilitates decisions on their future. The idea is to define the heritage qualities of each edifice and how far it is representative of the area as a whole.

Within this inventory, buildings are classified in three categories :

Those of *major interest,* to be conserved at all cost;
Those *representative of an area*, which contribute to the general quality of a city. These should be conserved, but if they are to be modified or demolished, the town regulation must be followed in order to recreate the general local character, such as alignment, height, rhythm of facades and so on.
Those that actively *harm* the appearance of the city. These should be demolished and then either replaced or the empty space left for a passage or a courtyard or something of the kind.

An example was the removal of workshops from the courtyards of XVIIIth century mansions in the Marais quarter of Paris. So, the inventory also covers open spaces, paving and gardens that are of interest.

The second main tool is a *regulation* setting out in great detail the conditions that restoration and reconstruction must respect. A very important point here is that interiors are also covered and their conservation can be required.

The third tool is a *local committee* bringing together stakeholders in urban development,

including associations for the defence of architectural heritage ; it holds a *public enquiry* by which local people are informed of the conclusions of its work. This consultation is essential for the full and continuing implementation of the policy.

IV - The operators

We have just seen the administrative rules in use to protect heritage. Of course, these tools cannot be efficient without operators. It is necessary to train professionals to apply the new rules. In each "department" the architects of the monuments of France (architectes des bâtiments de France) have the task of ensuring the architectural quality of the transformations. They were created in 1946. The legislation gives them responsibility for implementing the regulation on the ground and for checking that full account is taken of the conclusions of studies. The role of these architects is to ensure the conservation of historic monuments and to carry out studies of conservation areas and of protection zones, as we will see further (ZPPAUP).

These architects are trained by a specialised school (the Chaillot school) which awards an advanced degree in the conservation of the architectural heritage; the course lasts two years after the award of a degree in architecture.

V - The legacy of the loi Malraux

Now, almost fifty years after the loi Malraux, it seems worthwhile to review its consequences, taking into account changes in the political context.

The methods pushed forward by the loi Malraux were very efficient for creating new modes of regulation.

The secteurs sauvegardés are mainly handled by the central government. Following decentralisation in favour of local authorities in 1979, the decision was taken to associate them more closely with policymaking about their urban heritage. Thus was launched the new system of zones for protection of architectural, urban and landscape heritage (ZPPAUP).

This approach is comparable to that for conservation areas, but with less demanding requirements and without control over the transformation of interiors. It also involves an inventory, rules and advice on what to do, and consultation with the inhabitants.

Created twenty years after the conservation areas, the "protection zones" express the changes in attitude and can address heritage in a wider sense. They have given the opportunity of widening the range of subjects that can be protected". 585 of these have been established. An example is the protection zone (ZPPAUP) of Firminy, where a Cité radieuse was built by Le Corbusier, similar to the one in Marseille.

We also need to mention another measure, which was introduced in 2000 along with a law on urbanism. It is now possible to take care of heritage in the development of urban plans. Inclusion of buildings of special interest in the local planning document (Plan Local d'urbanisme" or "PLU") is now possible. This document is obligatory for each town, whereas the protection zone – ZPPAUP - is facultative. Such indicated buildings cannot be modified without the agreement of the mayor and the advice of the architect of the Monuments of France.

So, these different tools can be used to protect different kinds of heritage.

In this context, we must take care that conservation of modern architecture is different from that of the older heritage in several ways:
It is different both socially and technically.
Citizens are not yet concerned to the same extent by this form of conservation.
Modern architecture sometimes has a negative image, linked with the errors of the past or suffers from a lack of maintenance, and it is essential to integrate it better into the city.
Better consideration and knowledge is often necessary; so a new policy named "label vingtième siècle" that is, "twentieth century

heritage label" was adopted in 2001, following a European recommendation dating from 1991. It makes it possible, following the advice of a commission of specialists, to identify certain representative buildings which are of special interest in the history of architecture.
Its undeniable interest is to highlight neglected architecture and to demonstrate its qualities. 2200 buildings in France have been given this label.

Action by association is most valuable too, as you well know. For instance, thanks to such action, the reconstruction-planned city of le Havre, by Auguste Perret, has been protected since 2004 by the legislation on historical monuments and their surroundings; then as a whole in creating a zone for protection of architectural, urban and landscape heritage (ZPPAUP). Moreover, it is now on UNESCO's list of world heritage sites.

Thus, we have seen that it is possible to protect different kinds of heritage with the same tools.

This idea of protecting architectural heritage originated at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Over the last sixty years, it evolved to include the conservation of the surrounding of monuments, and then to that of urban heritage.
Today it must be adapted to different types of heritage; it can be developed so as to respond to societal public sensitivity

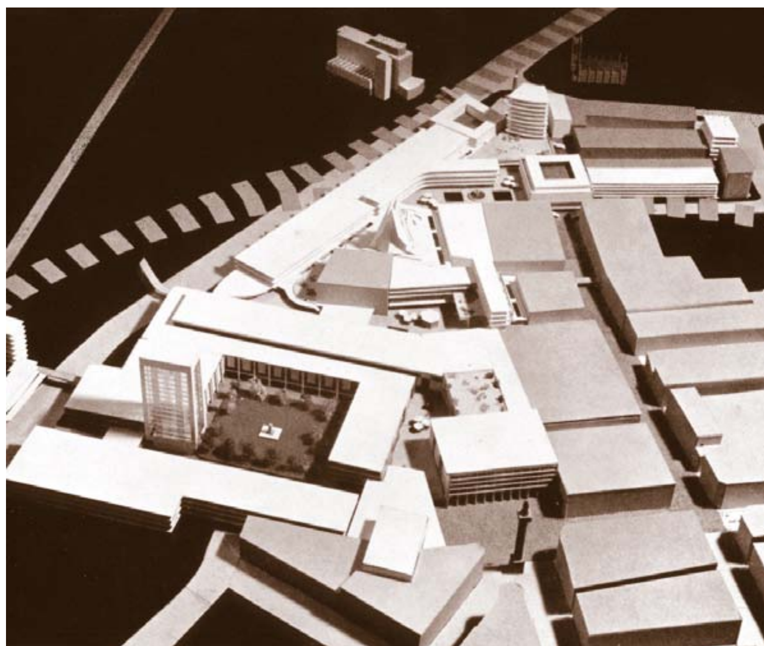
To achieve the best results, it is necessary to make use of all the means available, to bring together all the relevant professionals, including architects and historians, and to see that they are better and better trained for the task.

Heritage, in all ages, is a state of mind and a matter of skill.

• **Olivier Godet** has worked as an architect for the state Monuments Service of France ("Architecte des bâtiments de France") for the départements of Lot (1982 to 1989) and Hérault (1989 to 1995). He first dealt with the restoration of old areas and then advised the local council of the département of Haute-Garonne on town-planning decisions. Later, he contributed to policy on the architectural heritage of the Ministry of Defence. From 2001 to 2008, he was head of the service dealing with architecture and heritage in the département of Val-de-Marne and was the curator of the Vincennes castle. He is at present head of the architecture department of the directorate of cultural affairs of the region of Ile-de-France. For many years, he was chief editor of the magazine "La Pierre d'Angle", publication of the national association of the architects for the monuments of France. He has published "Patrimoine reconverti, du militaire au civil" (New use of a heritage, from the military to the civilian) – Scala Editions, and "Le logement social, un atout pour le Val-de-Marne" (Social housing, an asset for the Val-de-Marne). Hartmann Editions. He is a member of the French section of ICOMOS.

The post-war rise of conservation in England: heroic struggle or technocratic evolution?

by John Pendlebury (University of Newcastle)



Model of Eldon Square redevelopment, Newcastle.

Synopsis of paper

The story of post-war conservation is often told as the heroic struggle, with successes, failures but ultimate victory for the conservationists vs. various enemies such as developers and the local state. It is the people vs. the planners, David vs. Goliath. This paper did not deny the reality of this mythology; whether it be the demolition of the Euston Arch and Coal Exchange in London in the early 1960s or the wider campaigns across in England a decade later, including, for example Bath and Covent Garden. Such struggles were enormously important in shifting attitudes, promoting legislative change and so on.

However, what the paper sought to do was add a parallel narrative of technocratic evolution. Alongside the development struggles that occurred, planners were gradually evolving more sensitive ways of responding to the historic qualities of place. The paper discussed this technocratic evolution principally by looking at a series of plans between the 1940s and 1970s. The mid-1940s produced a wave of remarkable advisory plans, usually focused on central areas and often prepared for historic towns. Sometimes the plans were brutal and selective in the extreme in their consideration of the historic environment, sometimes more sensitive. The paper compared the plans for York, Bath and Durham.

The next focus in the paper was the 'high modern' period of the 1960s. After briefly considering the Buchanan Report the paper turned to planning in Newcastle upon Tyne - at the time considered a beacon of progressive modern planning. It demonstrated that alongside the drastic schemes of redevelopment and urban roads there was an acute conservation sensibility, albeit selective by current standards, which has often been overlooked. The 1960s also saw the burgeoning of a new generation of plans, more inclusive in their understanding of the historic environment and less committed to accommodating functional modernisation. These included plans for small towns,

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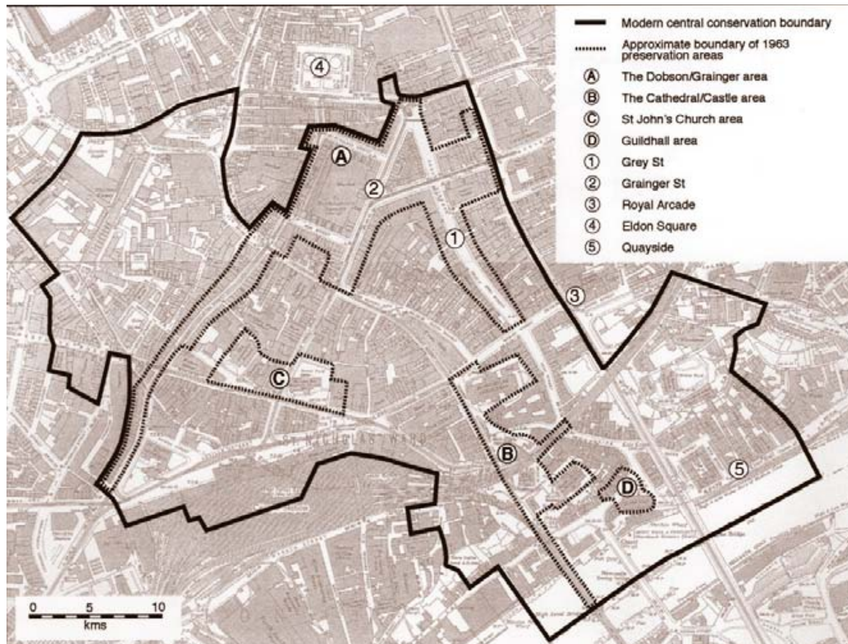


Map of conservation areas in the centre of Newcastle.

such as Lavenham, Thaxted and Colchester but such was thinking was also evident in some of the four well-known studies for historic cities that were jointly commissioned between central government and the relevant local authority; perhaps most notably in Lord Esher's plan for York.

In conclusion, for *some* planners conservation was always significant *part* of planning, but technocratic evolution ran slower than radical opposition and was highly variable over space, being dependent on local culture and skill base amongst other factors. But a comprehensive approach to conservation was ultimately enabled by a comprehensive planning system - for the opposition, the problem was planning and the solution was planning. The bulldozers were stopped by struggle, 1970s economic austerity and reform.

Finally, the paper asked (but did not answer) some questions how about the ways that the *purpose* of conservation might have changed in this process, for example, how did our relationship with the future change?

• **John Pendlebury**'s research mostly falls within two broad themes. First, he undertakes historically focused work, principally on how historic cities have been planned in the past, particularly in the mid-C20, considering how the historic qualities of such cities were conceived and balanced with modernising forces. Second, he undertakes empirical and conceptual work on the interface between contemporary cultural heritage policy and other policy processes. His recent book, Conservation in the Age of Consensus (2009, Routledge) draws some of these themes together. He is currently Head of School, School of Architecture, Planning & Landscape, Newcastle University.

Area conservation as socialist standard-bearer: a plan for the historical centre of Bologna in 1969

by Luisa Bravo (Alma Mater Studiorum, University of Bologna)

Introduction

In 2009 the Plan for the Historical Centre of Bologna celebrates its 40th anniversary. This occasion offers an opportunity to start a critical reflection about the Plan's content and methodology and about the outcome of its applications in the urban setting.

The conservation of the entire historical centre, envisaged as a "unique monument", due to the homogeneity of its physical and socio-cultural values, was based on a careful philological reading, regarding the existing buildings, and was intended to coordinate the public intervention with the private one. It consisted of the production within the historical centre of new/rehabilitated housing and, at the same time, in the enhancement of management facilities, consistent with the historical-environmental structure, including University, craftsmanship, recreational and representative functions, together with their location within historical 'containers' (large, redundant institutional buildings). According to this significance, the intervention played a 'social' role, as an expression of political power, being in a position to preserve, together with buildings, a cross-section of society including residents with low incomes, following a highly innovative procedure during those years in Italy, and maybe in Europe too, which tried to combine consistently urbs and civitas.

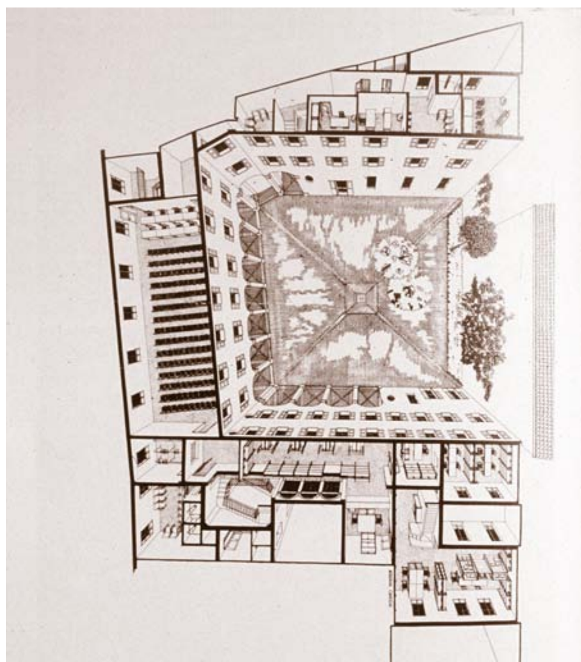
History of the plan for the historical center of Bologna

On May 24th, 1969, the Municipality of Bologna officially presented the Plan for the historical centre: originating as a variation of the 1955 General Town Plan[1], it represented the final result of a long theoretical and methodological pathway, during those years in Italy and mainly felt in Emilia-Romagna Region, consisting in almost ten years of research.

At the beginning of the 60s, in the Emilian capital, a new generation of reforming party leader emerged, stemming from a communist policy which considered Bologna as the main core of the left urban administrative experimentation, and aiming to enforce an economic and democratic planning, aimed to neatly rule the huge economic transformation processes under way.[2] Among them the young architect Giuseppe Campos Venuti, a leading figure during those years, was author of a crucial turning-point in the urban policy as municipal councillor from 1960 to 1966. That was a particularly innovative moment in the civil service, which was able to join in with both existing conservation and new town planning. On the one hand in 1960 the Municipality entrusted a team, formed by scientists and professionals[3] led by Leonardo Benevolo and referring to the Architectural History Institute of Florence University, to draft a sector-based survey on the town's historical centre; on the other hand in 1968 entrusted urban planning of directional areas to Kenzo Tange in the northern part of Bologna.[4]

The main purpose was to decentralize unsuitable functions irrelevant to context, and create a pre-eminent role for the city centre, to focus on environmental units in the urban tissue just as in buildings' order, bringing the maximal estimation of one million citizens of the 1955 General Town Plan[5] back to five hundred thousand people. The Town Plan pointed towards nearby municipalities' accession, in order to create a regional attraction and traffic crossroad with enormous land resources in the suburbs.[6]

So in Bologna, there was put into practice the most advanced Italian urban experimentation techniques elaborated during the second half of the 50s, applying in operational terms the debate about inter-municipality urban planning, historical centres and landscape preservation, urban code reform, all discussed in Italy during INU, ANCSA and Triennale di Milano exhibitions, and in Europe during symposiums about urban renovation and relevant sites' protection organized by The European Council, up until the strong battles



1969 perspective of conversion scheme of a 'large container' (an ex-convent in the via Pieralata) into a community centre for the quartiere Saragozza, Bologna. (Bologna City Council)

Exterior of the former S. Mattia Convent, Bologna, a 'large container' converted into a range of community uses including a Museum of the Resistance. (M. Glendinning, 2008)

against real estate speculation in Rome, promoted by radical magazines such as 'Il Mondo' and 'L'Espresso'.

On June 21st, 1969, the Municipality administration passed the variation to the General Town Plan: the principle of conservative restoration, intended as a way of exploiting knowledge of the past to plan the future, became law. The Plan was administered by the Planning and Urban Directorate of the local authority, with the architect Pier Luigi Cervellati as executive councillor.[7] The main criteria that led the methodological choices of the Plan resided in the belief that the whole historical centre is an urban organism, not a group of different buildings, which for the homogeneity of its physical and socio-cultural values, was assumed to be as a unique monument, to preserve and restore in its whole through conservative restoration interventions.[8] The historical identity of the city - claimed Cervellati - does not reside merely in sixteenth century buildings, identified by the Department of Monumental Heritage. Rather, it was also inherent in the anonymous houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth century too, because "without that minor urban tissue, monuments could have been lost their architectural and urban meaning, becoming unintelligible fragments, since altered by new building's presence".[9]

The Plan for the Historical Centre was applied to the boundary where the historical ancient tissue was preserved sufficiently well, that is, the whole territory enclosed within the ring road boulevards, round the surrounding wall outline of the XIV century, equal to 450 hectares and 80.000 people. It proposed the recovery, inside the collective city life, of the whole ancient city as an entity full of historical, cultural, symbolical and ideal values, characterized by clear functions, so that it had a specific role in the global aspect of the modern city and its metropolitan area, and it defined a hierarchy of restoring interventions, beginning from the absolute constraint to demolition with conditional reconstruction.[10] It didn't want to freeze a fixed situation, but on the contrary, wanted "to create an ancient city for a new modern society", as Cervellati quoted.[11] In this way the Plan took advantage of purpose made sociological survey results, aiming to identify significant patterns inside the urban context and buildings able to communicate their function to people, that is, the expression of the historical centre related to symbolic perceptions vis-a-vis the citizen. The survey result, on the basis of samples representative of the whole

Interior view of the quartiere Saragozza community centre, Bologna (former convent, 60 via Pieralata). (M. Glendinning, 2008)

Street view of restored and new-infilled housing facades from the 1970s in via Denisella, Area 7 (Fondazzi), Bologna. (M. Glendinning, 2008)

city population, considered by quarter and age, showed that the historical centre was experienced as a multifunctional space, full of expressive and cultural values, but where primary functions were at the moment associated with inappropriate built forms and patterns.

The Plan suggested, from the technical point of view:
- to preserve the historical centre from ruin
- to exalt the historical, cultural and artistic heritage in the social and economic territorial context, giving it an active and consistent role
- to decentralize directional generators through the definition of new tertiary development areas outside the historical centre
- to provide the historical centre with all standards and fundamental services
- to rationalize chaotic city centre road network, linking it to wide territorial road network and preparing it to a substitution process of mechanized traffic with pedestrian routes.[12]

Already, in 1968, the pedestrian use of Piazza Maggiore had implied a different way of living the historical centre, defining the first step towards a policy of recuperation of the city on the part of citizens, feasible through urban instruments.

Together with an accurate research of the historical values, the conservation programme defined the concept of "typology", an architectural concept intended to denote a constancy of ways and types of living and doing, concentrated in similar and repeated buildings, constancy and then rigidity compared to the variable function, that is, utilization in continuous conditions of change, with few exceptions. The programme defined four typological categories in order to classify historical buildings:
- A category: big containers (a term used to denote large-volume public buildings – many being redundant religious buildings) with a specific function;[13]
- B category: small "containers", referring to a typological scheme with one or two courtyards, the main one and the secondary one, which all the buildings overlook;[14]
- C category: private buildings with particular ypological and organizational urban features, with a small façade front and a remarkable extension in depth;[15]
- D category: private buildings with traditional typological features, derived from a variation scale of previous categories or without particular features, as part of a typical repeated scheme of urban tissue.[16]

On the one hand, the typological census allowed the definition of the historical centre's urban containers, and built on it a possible functional theory, adjustable to the ancient part of the town. On the other hand, a morphological reading of urban structure identified physically and

Commemorative plaque of the 1988 conversion of the former Church of Santa Lucia into the Aula Magna of Bologna University. (M .Glendinning, 2008)

spatially homogeneous patterns, considering as homogeneous those typologies similar to each other by structure, in order to underline the relationship between residential district and huge urban and architectural containers and basing on it the fundamental criteria for active conservation. In this way, the buildings' classification had a qualitative meaning rather than a quantitative one.

The reading, together with the morphological and typological analysis of the historical centre, was supported by a photographic census made by Paolo Monti, on behalf of the Municipality, documenting not only grand monuments but minor urban tissue too. That confirmed the theoretical assumption of the Conservation Operative Plan: namely, that the historical centre has to be seen as a single, unique monument, its components varying from large historical 'containers' to minor buildings, from facades to typology, from structures to historical plaster.[17] The photographic survey was realized in the best possible conditions, without parked cars, road signs or urban furniture in foreground, that might detract from the townscape. The result was a huge image repertoire, showing a monochromatic city petrified in time, in an almost metaphysical expression of architectural spaces and complex urban frameworks, whose function was documentary, not celebratory, prefiguring possible solutions to conservative restoration interventions.

The Plan divided the historical town into thirteen urban divisions, meant to represent sufficiently homogeneous zones from the morphological, functional and socio-economic point of view, and defined by a high physical and hygienic building degeneration. The Conservation Plan allowed restoring intervention both according to architectural and urban divisions. In architectural divisions, huge 'container' restorations, defined by buildings suitable for conversion to social services or cultural and recreational facilities, public spaces servicing town and smart districts, were scheduled. For urban divisions, the only new buildings admitted were the necessary public facilities aimed to complete district services for the historical centre's functions.

The Plan pointed to the steps needed to preserve the physical environment and, at the same time, the social aspects embedded into the historical centre, including also low income residents and handcrafted activities, by means of a shrewd patrimonial attainment policy, areas and real estates. This aspect was an essential premise for public intervention, binding part of the funds destined to primary urbanization and public housing in the historical centre,[18] in order to translate the Plan indications into a housing programme and its necessary services provision.[19]

This was an absolutely innovative method during those years in Italy, and maybe in the whole of Europe, because it tried to consistently match *urbs* and *civitas* (the physical and social city) Such a "defence policy for existing social fabric, together with building heritage restoration" – according to House Programme and Urban Planning councillor, engineer Roberto Matulli – "could not be questioned, except at the risk of cultural and city concept impoverishment".[20] Even the urban

Bologna,1955. General Town Plan.

Bologna, 1969. Historical centre and urban growth of suburbs.

container restoration programme was aimed to act as a need and social demand condenser, as a way to express the will of renewal. That was, indeed, the outcome in the pioneering scheme to regenerate the San Leonardo monumental complex, a redundant conventual site destined to become an experimental theatre, university houses, libraries, schools, medical group practices and day hospital, and laboratories for music performances. The Galvani district civic centre in the former Baraccano complex, the new auditorium site in Arena del Sole, and the University of Bologna's great hall formed in the shell of the former Santa Lucia Church, were similar in pattern.

At the same time, the restoration programme of minor historical buildings set out to be in opposition to the tertiary transformation of the historical centre - under which banks, offices, professional practices and luxury apartment conversions would drive out traditional working-class housing – in favour of an increase in value of socializing and collective living. And this was the goal of the Economical Popular Housing Plan (PEEP), adopted in 1973, intended as a revised scheme of the general city plan, for the historical centre. It represented a relevant measure in terms of cultural meaning, able to promote a conservative restoration programme of the urban tissue existing in popular but deteriorating housing districts of the ancient city. Only 5 urban divisions out of 13 programmed by the Plan for the historical centre[21] were incorporated in the PEEP, chosen among those which had precarious housing conditions, both hygienic and structural, able to allow organic and joint interventions (fig. 7). These first five areas had a population of 6.000 inhabitants, against 32.000 residents inside 13 urban divisions. The PEEP affected district councils, as co-designers, in operational assistance choices, and included district planning committees as partners.
In this way, urban planning became ongoing and democratic: it was continuously changing, updated to respond to social mutations taking place in the city and among its citizens, because it involved the people concerned, so that the local community became a protagonist of the city development, a creator of the city's destiny. Meetings

Bologna, 1969. Urban conservation Plan.

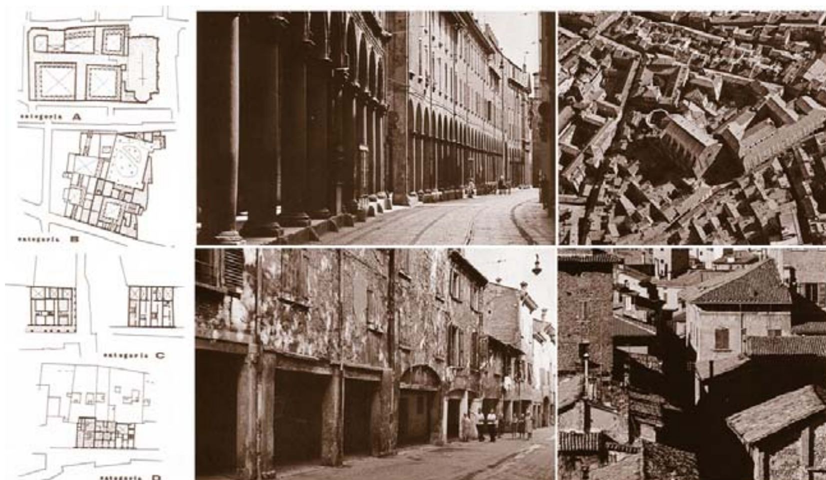
Bologna, 1969. Urban conservation Plan. Building typologies.

and debates, with active speakers, allowed a real comparison with interests of owners, tenants, craftsmen and a constructive dialog for urban implementation. It has to be pointed out that, to complement public funding, private contributions were widely supported and requested, due to the financial shakiness of the Municipality. The estimate for the intervention budget needed for 5 urban districts was equal to 31 billion Italian lire, almost 15 million euro, but the Municipality had immediately available only 10 billion lire, almost 5 million euro, to finance urban interventions up until 1975. Public financial input came from the Municipality's general funds, from the National Housing Law, from Gescal (the National Institute for Workers' Houses), from the Region of Emilia-Romagna, and from The European Council.[22]

Evaluations and modifications

So we arrive at the present day, at the 40th anniversary of the Plan's approval. 'The Plan for the historical centre of Bologna', recalled architect and planner Pier Luigi Cervellati, 'after some years of practical accomplishment, proved its technical and operational validity, showing how theory can be pragmatically translated into reality, when political will is directed towards appropriate theoretical goals. The Plan proved how a correspondence between cogency of analytical method and codes can guarantee the physical conservation of the historical centre, allowing for its social fruition. The city's districts needed conservative restoration, and this showed that "architectural conservation can't exist outside *social* conservation", that preservation has no significance at all, even from a cultural point of view, if the urban development process does not also change'.[23] This has been made possible only joining conservation to a general plan for urban, economic and social growth: *economic*, because the historical centre is a valuable resource, *social* for the entire urban structure, including suburbs and consolidated downtown, according to a pliant and functional work hypothesis. The historical centre revitalization has been possible also due to a smart programming policy together with an urban planning framework aimed at territorial balance, that is, limitation of periphery expansion and improvement of the existing urban area with stabilization of the historical centre as its core element.[24]

The Plan soon became nationally and internationally famous: indeed in 1973 'Il Mondo' entitled an article, 'Bologna means business'[25] while an article in 'La Stampa', 'Eyes on Bologna',[26] suggested the Plan was a model to follow. During those years, on one hand it excited interest from municipal representatives, thinkers and students who came to Bologna from every



Bologna, 1969. Urban conservation Plan. Architectural categories of historical containers.

quarter, asking for confrontation; on the other hand it provoked criticism, oppositions and attacks. Criticisms included the arguments that restoration interventions are a lie, that rehabilitation creates "faithful copies", or that conservation is synonymous with reaction. There were also attacks on the operational instrument, with claims that the acquisition of properties for repair was 'forced', due to expropriation. The right-wing and extreme left opposition spread, since the beginning of the Plan accomplishment, a critical strand based on expropriation, refusing to discuss the contents of the Plan. Other critics argued that conservation deprived the city of contemporary development, of the natural evolution of the language of architecture, in continuity with history.[27] There were also objections, again and again, to greater restoration costs against new buildings, even if in terms of direct comparison – one square metre of new construction compared to one restored square metre – the cost was not so different, while in terms of total urban cost – that is, the cost of a new apartment in terms of primary and secondary urbanization – restoration was by far more advantageous. Finally, critics stigmatized the social approach, arguing that retention of inhabitants inside the historical centre would relegate them into a "ghetto" or at least leave them as an annoying presence with few economic resources, almost embarrassed by being close to most leisure groups. We can, however, note that the opposition against restoration was, on the whole, neither cultural and disciplinary, nor concerned with the social component; it was instead a reaction against the fact that the Plan for Bologna changed the fundamental urban planning method, throwing into crisis the traditional model of development and expansion of the city.

The real strength of the Plan, the thing that keeps it relevant even today, is its social approach. When we talk about the city, the contemporary city, we have to consider that beyond the administrative

Bologna, 1969. Images from photographical census by Paolo Monti. Source: Bologna centro storico, Catalog of the exhibition at Palazzo d'Accursio, Alfa, Bologna 1970

Bologna, 1975-85. Economical Popular Housing Plan (PEEP). Restoration of San Leonardo urban block.
Source: Pier Luigi Cervellati, Roberto Scannavini, Carlo De Angelis, La nuova cultura delle città. La salvaguardia dei centri storici, la riappropriazione sociale degli organismi urbani e l'analisi dello sviluppo territoriale nell'esperienza di Bologna, Edizioni scientifiche e tecniche, Mondadori, Milano 1977

areas, territorial expansions, urban structures, technology and global markets, the city is also a place for human relations, for representation of relationships between individuals and urban spaces, a place where these connections thrive. The city is both a physical concentration of people and buildings, but also a variety of uses and groups, it's a place of dense social relations where cohesion processes or social exclusion occur, a place of cultural codes that govern behaviour and identity, expressed physically and symbolically through the public spaces of city life.

The experience of the Bologna Plan stretched over almost twenty years, including preparatory researches, planning, purchases and finally the built accomplishments. These include a vast range of community building assets: apartments, houses for students, district civic centres, collective structures, cultural places and also shops and handcraft activities – in sum, a historical area of two hundred thousand square meters, combining public and private use, has been restored. Anything but a modest total, even if not completely satisfying the total latent restoration demand of the inner city and the whole town in general.[28]
After these 'popular' restoring interventions, the historical centre has once again become a pole of attraction for its citizens, whether bourgeois or popular, and an expression of a stylish society too: everyone wanted, and still want, to live back in the historical centre, even in economy class buildings like the typical restored blocks, or even if they are very expensive. Living in the centre of the city now seems to have become a general aspiration for the entire community of Bologna. And in the wake of that, commercial activities also enhance their value, with luxury shop windows increasingly studding the downtown buildings. As Cervellati himself summed up the Bologna experience 'In this way, the historical heritage, even if it is not always artistic, but, rather, a broad testimony to cultural expression, can be saved. In this way, it's possible to really get to grips with the true meaning of the expression, *historical centre*'.[29]

Architect Pier Luigi Cervellati. Courtesy of Studio Cervellati, Bologna, 2009.

All images have a formal permission by architect Pier Luigi Cervellati.

• **Luisa Bravo** has an MSc in Architectural Engineering at the University of Bologna and a PhD in Building and Territorial Engineering at the University of Bologna, with a thesis on Urbanism entitled "From city to house, from house to city, the fickle search of a plan for urban well-being". She developed international research programmes in France for CEPIA - Centre d'Etudes sur le patrimonie et l'Italianitè en Architecture, supported by Academie d'Architecture du Garenne Lemot and by Conseil General de la Loire Atlantique - Direction du Development educatif, culturel et des transports, and in Lebanon for the Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture, within the Urban Design Task Force, coordinated by the Projects' Office. Presently she is carrying out research activities at the Department of Architecture and Territorial Planning of the University of Bologna and she collaborates on academic activities concerning Urbanism courses. Her research interests include urban design for the planning and restoration of towns, analysis and studies on contemporary architecture within historical urban contests, and representation of territorial patterns and architectural heritage through digital database models. She has been a member of DOCOMOMO Italia since 2006.

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Notes

1 The General Town Plan was definitively adopted in 1958.
2 During those years in Italy the Christian Democratic party was in power nationally, but Bologna was ruled for more than two decades by the Communist Party.
3 The working team consisted of Paolo Andina, Francesca Bassi, Leonardo Benevolo, Silvano Casini, Antonio Cederna, Pier Luigi Cervellati, Pier Giorgio Felcaro, Vittorio Franchetti, Sandro Gandolfi, Eros Parmeggiani, Paola Tamanti.
4 It is worth remembering, in the history of the city, the figure of Giacomo Lercaro, cardinal in Bologna until 1969, who launched between 1960 and 1970, the creation of a "new churches office" after the National Congress of Sacred Architecture held in Bologna in 1955 - a plan for new churches in the suburbs. This initiative attracted the attention of the most skilled architects, demonstrating the spirit of great ferment taking place during that period in Bologna. The awareness of international cultural efforts provoked proposals for churches by Alvar Aalto in Riola and by Le Corbusier, never built owing to the death of the architect in 1965, and set the scene for the future experience of Kenzo Tange in the city. For further information see G. Bernabei, G. Gresleri, S. Zagnoni, *Bologna moderna*. 1860-1980, Patron, Bologna 1984.
5 The General Town Plan contained insufficient provision for service areas and proposed drastic demolition within the historical centre to make room for new routes and for tertiary use destinations, against a certain upgrading infrastructure, with the anticipation of a large north ring and a system of subsidiary road penetration between the outer city and the suburb. The next 1967 InterPlan, developed by the Municipality of Bologna and by other 14 municipalities from the hinterland, foreshadowed a population within the territory of Bologna amounting to 700.000 inhabitants.

6 The population residing in the city of Bologna in 1961 amounted to approximately 450.000 inhabitants, whom only 90.000 were in the centre, just half of the one million target in the 1955 "Great Bologna" General Town Plan. Ten years earlier, in 1951, residents in the centre totalled 113.000, so there was in a decade a decrease of 18% of the population. The causes of this reduction can be found in the presumed better amenities of the new peripheral residential areas and in the increasing of directional functions in the old town, at the expense of residential ones. For further information see: Unione italiana delle Camere di Commercio Industria e Agricoltura, *Emilia-Romagna*, Giuffrè, Varese 1966.
7 With the collaboration of Nullo Bellodi, Carlo De Angelis, Paolo Nannelli, Claudio Priori, Roberto Scannavini.
8 The main purposes of the Emilia-Romagna Region policy regarding conservation of city centres are clearly set out, in 1974, under the title of the Regional Code n° 2: "Protection, preservation, enhancement". These three different operations are closely related one to each other, so that the lack or the incomplete accomplishment of one of them produces effects of shakiness and in some way compromises the results of the others, which are related and consequential.
9 Pier Luigi Cervellati, *Il censimento fotografico dei centri storici dell'Emilia e della Romagna*, in *Paolo Monti fotografo e l'età dei piani regolatori. 1960-1980*, Catalogo della mostra, Bologna, Alfa, 1983.
10 Category 1a - restoration (absolute constraint), category 1b - restoration (limited constraint), category 2a – renewal (conservative restoration), category 2b – redecoration (limited constraint), category 3a – demolition with reconstruction, category 3b – demolition (with conditional reconstruction).
11 *Bologna centro storico*, Catalogo della mostra presso Palazzo d'Accursio, Alfa, Bologna 1970.
12 Bologna centro storico, op. cit.
13 This category includes *unique specialised nodal buildings*, for the particular complexity of spaces, forms and functions (for example Palazzo D'Accursio and Palazzo del Podestà); *complex specialised nodal buildings*, derived by different composition of *simple specialised nodal buildings* with cloisters, courtyards, gardens and parks (such as monastic complex); *simple specialised nodal buildings*, such as churches, baptisteries, bell and medieval towers; *serial specialised buildings*, such as buildings characterized by the serial repetition of structural modular partitions (such as Palazzo dei Banchi, Saragozza and Archiginnasio arcades, etc).
14 In relation to front size dimension, two different groups of courtyard buildings were identified in the urban city centre tissue: small buildings with a courtyard facing 10 to 20 metres in length, formed by serial association of combined half courts; or larger buildings with a courtyard facing from 21 to 50 metres, formed by organic association, characterized by a full court, surrounded by four main buildings. The organizational characteristics of spaces and volumes do not allow uses too different from the originals, particularly on the ground and first floor, both public and private.
15 Category C buildings directly descend from the historical, social-economic order of the craftsman and working population of the 16th-18th centuries. They have wide and modular plots with 4 linear metre façades, provided with extensive vegetable gardens in their open spaces. In order to preserve such buildings, a restoration with serial grouping of adjacent units has been hypothesized, keeping the environmental and original architectural characters of each and every unit. This typology, compatible with a residential destination, is recognized as suitable for low cost dwellings, in other words suitable to be chosen by local authorities for social housing.
16 This typology is mainly adaptable and flexible to the process of functionalization; even the most compatible use has to be residential, with every kind of shape and type or every kind of function that can be assimilated to them.
17 The systematic photographical census began on the morning of August 8th, 1969, with pictures taken in via Galliera. For further information see: Paolo Monti, *La scoperta della città vuota*, in *Bologna centro storico*, catalogo della mostra, Alfa, Bologna 1970.
18 The Plan, indeed, bound 60% of the historical centre area to public interventions: about 40% of this 60% area was destined to public housing, supported by municipal plans.
19 This attainment policy revealed itself as a highly successful choice for whole restoration strategy: public intervention, which from 1974 to 1980 commissioned restorations totalling more than 20 billions of Italian old lire, has been the main driver for private interventions.
20 Comune di Bologna, *Centro civico San Leonardo quartiere Irnerio*. Recupero di un contenitore storico, Graficoop, Bologna 1981.
21 Five urban zones were covered by the first intervention phase, each including in turn one or more sub-zones. These are: urban zone 2 – Santa Caterina; urban zone 5 – Solferino; urban zone 7 – Fondazza; urban zone 9 – San Leonardo; urban zone 12 – San Carlo.
22 The extract from 1973-1975 PEEP program plan, focused on first intervention phase realization, envisaged a budget computable in about 4,5 billions of Italian lire.
23 Pier Luigi Cervellati, *Centri storici*, in '*Ingegneri Architetti Costruttori*, n. 366, June 1976.
24 Marco Romano, *Centri storici e riequilibrio territoriale*, in *Edilizia popolare, L'intervento pubblico nei centri storici. Problemi sociali, giuridici, economici, architettonici e tecnici*, n. 111, March/April 1973.
25 *Corriere della Sera* weekly newspaper, March 15th, 1973
26 Article by Mario Fazio, May 31st, 1973
27 Nicola Marzot, *L'esperienza della riqualificazione urbana nel Piano per il centro storico di Bologna*, in 'L'Architettura cronache e storia', *Inchiesta sull'architettura della città e del paesaggio in Italia: Bologna*, no. 576, October 2003, pp. 742-745.
28 Pier Luigi Cervellati, *Bologna: bilancio di un'utopia*, in VIA. *Progettare per l'ambiente*, n. 3/1987, pp. 73-77
29 Pier Luigi Cervellati, '*Per l'identità del centro storico*', in Renzo Renzi (a cura di), *Il sogno della casa. Modi dell'abitare a Bologna dal Medioevo ad oggi*, Cappelli, Bologna 1990, pp.196-199.

From Porta Pia to Porta del Popolo: modernity and antiquity face-to-face in post-war Rome

by Maristella Casciato (Docomomo International)

Porta Pia, Rome.

Porta del Popolo, Rome.

The goal of this essay is to engage the reader in a short (virtual) promenade along a stretch of the Aurelian Walls located in the north-eastern section of Rome: a city sector that has ostensibly changed the recognition of these outstanding remains from the end of WWII onwards. In the urban history of the contemporary capital, the Aurelian Walls between Porta Pia and Porta del Popolo (less than 2 miles apart, about 7 minutes by car, while walking is partially obstructed), have indeed marked the watershed between the significance of the presence of the past antiquities in the eternal city and the ubiquitous grow of the twentieth-century modern city.

The ambiguous status of being visible/invisible which the Aurelian Walls have gained through the last century offers the opportunity of a brief historical account, introducing the concept of *intra moenia* vs. *extra moenia* urban fabrics in Rome.[1] I have selected as case studies five buildings, erected between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s in close vicinity of the inner and outer edge of the walls. I shall discuss their urban role in the second part of this essay.

The Aurelian Walls were built between 271 and 275 a.d. under the Roman Emperors Aurelian and Probos. The full circuit ran 12,5 miles, surrounding an area of 5,3 square miles. The circuit possessed 18 (main) gates and 5 posterns.

The present-day Porta Pia is the replacement of the original Porta Nomentana, situated few hundred meters southwards, which originally opened toward via Nomentana, leading from Rome to *Nomentum* (modern Monentana?). The Porta Nomentana was closed at the time of Pope Pius IV's civic improvements with the commission of a new monumental 'Porta' commissioned to Michelangelo. Its construction started in 1561, ending in 1565 when the architect had already died. Architect Giacomo del Duca according to the original design and details finally carried out the work.

The new gate, named after the Pope, pierced the Aurelian Walls at the end of a newly planned street, then called Via Pia and nowadays renamed Via XX Settembre, connecting the papal residency at the Palazzo del Quirinale to the old *via consularis* towards the city northern outskirts.

The most interesting aspect of the overlapping traces of these urban transformations around the location of Porta Nomentana/Porta Pia is connected to the final act of unifying the Italian nation after 1861. On September 20, 1870 the Bersaglieri (Piedmontese light infantry corps) entered Rome through a breach to the west of Porta Pia.[2]

The collapse of the French Empire had left the Pope without allies. Rome, the seat of the Pope, was the

last missing territory to be conquered in order to unify the southern regions to the northern regions and to give origin to the Kingdom of Italy under the ruling power of the House of Savoy. The Kingdom of Italy was the first Italian state to include the Italian Peninsula since the fall of the Roman Empire. Therefore, a kind of synecdoche occured: the Porta Pia won the status of being became ? the banner of the cultural and political values of the new, unified Italy.

The other gate I wish to include in my promenade along the Aurelian Walls is the northern Porta del Popolo (originally named *Porta Flaminia* being the starting point of the Via Flaminia, the road to *Ariminum*, modern Rimini), whose architectonic history and urban role differ from the ones I have retraced above.
Though Michelangelo's name is associated to the design of the external façade, Buonarroti passed on the commission to Nanni di Baggio Bigio, who completed the work between 1562 and 1565.[3] The gate marks the division between the neoclassical (pedestrian) Piazza del Popolo that lies inside the walls, and the external Piazzale Flaminio, an overcrowded infrastructural joint with an underground station, railway terminus and several suburban bus services.
A new fast, partly underground road (the so called "sottovia" of Corso d'Italia) linked the two gates at the end of the '50s, marking the first step towards the modernization of the city's road system after the end of WWII. The "sottovia" was created under the *aegis* of the Committee for the XVII Olympic Games, held in Rome in 1960. The new road runs parallel to the Aurelian Walls from the vicinity of Porta Pia to Porta del Popolo; it represents the reification of the concept of the in-between. Yet, no efforts were made at the time (nor later) to engage any kind of dialogue between the robust and massive emergence of the brick Walls and the passerby or car-driver: neither signs to mark the gates, nor placards to recall the significance of the Walls and the many events they have witnessed. Velocity facilitates amnesia.[4]

This brief introduction to the urban history of an area that started to be transformed soon after the unification allows me to discuss five case studies that exemplify at the best the diverse strategies undertaken vis a vis their proximity to the Roman Walls between Porta Pia and Porta del Popolo.
Chronologically Albini and Helg's department store La Rinascente, built between 1957 and 1961, was the first modern building to be erected extra-moenia after WWII. After a successful career as industrial design, La Rinascente building is the one which gave Albini great resonance as an architect. The building was built in a prominent position, facing the Walls at the location of the old Porta Salaria, ultimately demolished in 1921 to open the area to road traffic. The area is now occupied by Piazza Fiume, a true hinge between the nineteenth-century neighborhoods and the modern expansion.
The use of the steel frame structure was implied by the characteristics of the site. The architects choose to expose a structure that would avoid a mimetic gesture. Steel was cleverly exploited to define an almost classical façade. The Rinascente with its virtually blind façades exudes tranquil monumentality. This modern cathedral of commerce makes use of one single rose window. It is the large opening breaking the repetitive rhythm of the main façade opposite to the Walls, proclaiming thus a still and subtle, yet transparent regard.

Curtain wall façades used as mirroring surface are the main feature of Passarelli's Office Building cum Flats at the crossing of Corso d'Italia and the Aurelian Walls (1962-1965), built intra-moenia. The glazed volume that contains office space is as high as the opposite Walls. The interplay between the reflecting, smooth façade and the rough texture of the Walls, made three dimensional through squared towers and recesses offer a fascinating contrast. The top part of the building steps back, the upper spaces containing simplex and duplex apartments. The regular concrete structure is articulated by a series of hanging gardens, *brise soleil* and horizontal lines. This elevated natural landscape echoes the green borders surrounding the Walls.
Passarelli's building as well as La Rinascente represented the most interesting and sophisticated contribution of Italian architectural culture to the search of the right scale of intervention in close proximity to ancient artifacts. These buildings

became instrumental to the construction of three edifices which followed the same urban strategies. I refer to Sir Basil Spence's UK Chancellery (1968-1971, by Porta Pia)[5], Amedeo Luccichenti's Jolly Hotel (1969-1971, by Porta Pinciana), and Luigi Moretti's Office Building (1970-1972, by Porta del Popolo).

As a concluding remark I wish to reconsider the play of the old and the new as a key concept in Italian restoration theory after WWII. Thanks to Cesare Brandi, the most influential figure in the formulation of the principles that have become the foundation for the critical process of modern conservation and restoration, activities in the field of preservation shifted from an artistic to a critical sphere.[6] The destruction caused by WWII came as a shock. The immediate reaction was the feeling that the destroyed historic buildings and towns should be restored and rebuilt. Brandi opposed any stylistic restoration. Under his intellectual leadership, the conservation in relation to works of art, including architecture, formed a special modern discipline belonging to liberal arts. These principles also guided some interventions, as the ones I have discussed, giving the capital the chance to add quality buildings to its modern silhouette.

• **Maristella Casciato** is Professor of History of Architecture at the University of Bologna, and Chair of DOCOMOMO International. She was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship (1992), and a Visiting Professorship at the Institut national d'histoire d'art in Paris (2004). She has been Visiting Lecturer at the Harvard University - Graduate School of Design, at the MIT Department of Architecture (from 1988 to 1995), and at Cornell University-Rome Program. Her scholarly studies on history of twentieth century European architecture with an emphasis on Dutch contribution, on Italian domestic culture from the nineteenth century onward, on the architectural culture of reconstruction in Italy, and on modern movement conservation have appeared in many languages and in the leading European journals. Her most recent publications in English include: "Chandigarh, Brasilia: Two Modern Capital Cities. Model, Landscape, Monument", in Twilight of the Plan: Chandigarh and Brasilia (2007); "Rome 1960: Olympic games and modernization", in The Body, Sport and Modern Architecture, (2006); "Heritage: the interval between building and recalling, The Journal of Architecture, 2004, 2; "The Italian Mosaic: The Architect as Historian", Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 2003, 1; "The 'Casa all'Italiana' and the idea of modern dwelling in Fascist Italy", The Journal of Architecture, 2000, 4; "Neorealism in Italian Architecture", in Anxious Modernisms (2000), and several contributions to DOCOMOMO publications. Forthcoming publication: Ernst Scheidegger: Chandigarh 1956, Maristella Casciato, Stanislaus Von Moos (eds.), Scheidegger & Spiess, Zurich, end 2009.

Notes

1 It is worth noticing that the presence of the Aurelian Walls gives de facto the status of a "walled" capital to the city, which is a very unique case compared to other European capitals. Both in Paris and Vienna, for instance, the demolition of the urban walls represented the first stage of a process of sanitation and modernization when their defence's role was definitively outdated.

2 On September 20th, 1895, the 25th anniversary of the annexation of Rome to the Italian Kingdom was celebrated with the erection of a marble and bronze monument at the exact point of the breach. It was also the occasion to institute the national festivity of the 20th of September. The day's events were memorialized throughout Italy, in virtually every town of any size through the opening or re-naming of city streets as Via XX Settembre (20th of September). This was the case of the Via Pia, the road departing from Porta Pia, which was rechristened Via XX Settembre too. Subsequently, in numerous Italian cities the name XX Settembre was given to the main road leading to the local Cathedral. Opposite Porta Pia, on the external side, at the centre of the Piazzale di Porta Pia, stands the Monumento al Bersagliere, erected in 1932 by Publio Morbiducci on a commission from Benito Mussolini.

3 The design of the internal and external façades of Porta del Popolo and Porta Pia offers a good tool to understand the urban role of the two gates. While I have above described the external and the internal facades respectively, few words need to be added to illustrate both other sides. The internal façade was Porta del Popolo was reconstructed after a design of Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Pope Alexander VII commissioned the work to welcome the royal cortège of Queen Christina of Sweden entering the city through the Porta on the 23rd of December 1655. A rich inscription and the coat of arms of the Pope marked the event: "FELICI FAVSTOQ(ue) INGRESSVI ANNO DOM MDCLV". In the case of Porta Pia, Virginio Vespignani completed the external façade in 1869 on neoclassical plans.

4 Christo engaged the most impressive confrontation with the Aurelian Walls when, in 1974, he wrapped Porta Pinciana, the gate that marks the end of Via Veneto towards the Villa Borghese garden.

5 An international symposium on Sir Basil Spence was held at the British School at Rome on 3-5 December 2008. The architecture of Embassies and the intervention of Sir Spence in Rome were widely discussed during the symposium.

6 Cesare Brandi, the founder of the modern theory of conservation-restoration, was born in Siena in 1906. He died in 1988. His seminal book *Teoria del Restauro* was published in 1963. Check the site www.cesarebrandi.org to know more about the Associazione Amici di Cesare Brandi.

The contemporary challenge: urban conservation issues in present-day China

by Zhu Rong (Associate Professor at School of Design, Jiangnan University, Wuxi, China)

1. Introduction

In Contemporary China, urban conservation has been an extremely hot theme, taking in both national and international interests. This not only reflects the increasing awareness and progress of conservation, but also manifests the great urgency and importance of urban conservation work in China.

Many cities in China have very rich cultural heritages, which forms an incomparable human resource for all. It is valuable in its own right, provides the context and setting for our lives and delivers many wider social, economic and environmental benefits. Nevertheless, since the late 1970s, most Chinese cities have witnessed a huge process of change caused by urbanization and internationalization. Unprecedented prosperity and opportunities were anticipated in the field of economic growth and urban development. These great changes on technology, economy and population have radically altered physical environment, life style, and social structure. With the ongoing trends of globalization and commercialization, urban renovation has not reached its limits, but will continue into the foreseeable future. At present, China's urbanization level has reached more than 35%, and in the next 20 years, it could reach even above 65%[1]. Accelerated speed of urbanization has becoming an unavoidable trend of economic and social development in most Chinese cities, hence causing the further exaltation of new urban constructions. Lacking systematic theories and practical control systems, the considerable risks and negative effects brought about during this process cannot be neglected. Traditional cities are widely experiencing the big conflicts caused by large-scale reconstruction of old city centres, and the need for protection of history and culture. Many historical buildings, sites and traditional communities have disappeared rapidly, which has posed critical challenges for urban conservation.

2. Challenges in Chinese urban conservation

2.1 Speed

There is no place like China where urbanization is underway at such a tremendous pace nowadays. Under the slogan of "one year one appearance, three years big changes", more and more miracles are created in contemporary cities in such a short period of time. However, in these cities, boasting of speed and quantity, context seems to be such an absurd term, because many people mistakenly believe it isn't necessary to link between built environment and historical settings. The high speed of new urban constructions and the prevalent influence of market-oriented developers in the city planning are erasing layers of history, disrupting the traditional urban continuity and unity.[2] Meanwhile, the ongoing fragmentation of the old city fabric seems unavoidable. Individual historical buildings are more and more separated and surrounded by forests of modern high-rise buildings. Moreover, some historical public spaces have lost their traditional functions, and have degenerated into uncharacteristic spaces or have been adapted as parking lots that serve only practical logistic functions.

2.2 Character

Loosing character must be one of the biggest problems that most Chinese cities have to face. Theories and practices of American modern architecture and urban planning prevail in Chinese urban construction, and the Chinese seem to be losing their own cultural confidences. To some extent, China is becoming the best experimental field for international architects and design companies to realize their fancies. Meanwhile, due to Chinese traditional urban culture, in which iconic buildings and landmarks are always attached important symbolic meanings and occupy the dominant status for a city, buildings with "high, great, new, modern" qualities are especially favored and widely established in many cities. However, the misuse of modern high-rise buildings and symbolic fragments with-

out any consideration of urban context directly leads to a rupture with history and culture, destruction of unique urban character and spirit, resulting in urban homogeneity and an identity crisis. No wonder there is a popular saying that in contemporary China, "northern and southern cities look like the same, big and small cities look like the same, outside and inside of city also look like the same".

2.3 Social aspects

More profound problems which intensively come occur are social issues. Architecture and urban traditions are tangible manifestations of an intangible "timeless" cultural DNA for communities. They not only provide residents' physical life spaces and settings, but their meanings and information give people direct daily experience and community belongingness. But today's changeable architecture and its environment destroy the familiar narrative context for residents, threaten and distort urban memory for next generations. Cities are unable to be the familiar home in people's memory any more, causing "social amnesia" eventually. Meanwhile, due to unaffordable expensive prices after renovation, most residents living in traditional residence areas located in city centers are obliged to move to suburbs far away from their old living environments, which destroyed traditional social lifestyle and meanings of a place. In this circumstance, not only physical form, but also the feelings of the old occupants and the community life and spirit of these traditional residential areas should not be ignored.

2.4 Laws

It is also noticeable that the Chinese law system is still not very complete compared with other developed countries. "The Law of the P. R. China on Protection of Cultural Relics" issued on 1982[3] was the 1st specialized national law in historical and cultural protection and played a significant role in Chinese urban conservation. The other laws and regulations mainly include "Implementation statutes on Law of Cultural Relics", "Standard for Conservation Plan of Historical Cities", "Law of Urban Planning", and "Bylaws on Urban Planning Organization". The local regulations and legislation documents are "Provincial/Municipal Heritage Management Regulations", "Urban Development Plan", "Control Plan for Natural Sights and Scenic Spots".
However, with today's speedy economic development, many new issues emerged and can not be regulated by current laws.[4] Big gaps still exist between holistic heritage laws and practical urban conservation. Out of the three main protection levels - cultural relics, historical & cultural areas and historical& cultural cities - only cultural relics have their own specific law, while in other two levels; the conservation work is only guided by regulations, designations or notifications issued by Chinese State Departments, Ministry of Construction, or local government. These documents have limited effects on urban conservation and practice. This reflects the phenomena that Chinese contemporary urban conservation still relies much on administrative management rather than law and policy.

3. New trends in Chinese urban conservation

Despite all these challenges mentioned above, there are still some new trends and evolution in Chinese conservation work and practice to be paid attention to.

The first stream is the scope for expansion of conservation objects. The process of Chinese urban conservation has critically transformed from the period of preservation of "monument" to "cultural heritage". The scope of conservation has gradually broadened into all cultural heritages from different periods and history; especially 20th century contemporary heritages are included. Meanwhile, more categories of heritage such as vernacular buildings, industrial heritage, traditional residence and intangible heritage are involved. There is also a tendency to broaden preservation fields from isolated monuments to their surroundings and urban areas. Take industrial heritage, which is of equal importance as other urban legacies as example, although the process of the worldwide recognition of values of industrial heritage has spanned 30 years[5], in China only from the beginning of 21st century, some cities gradually started to realize

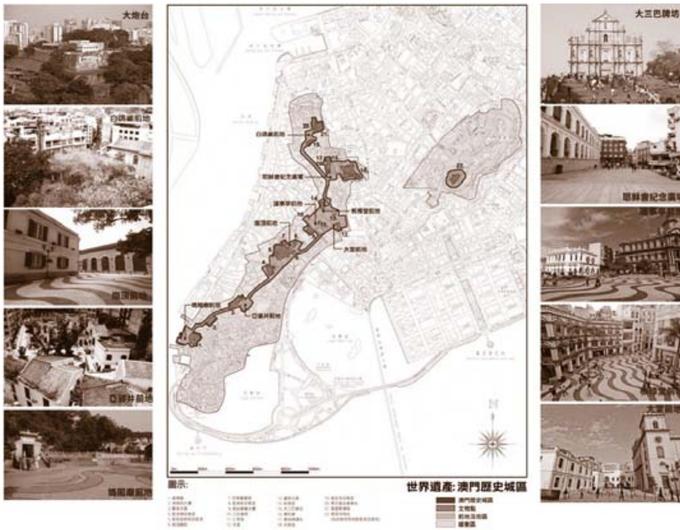

Fig.1. The World Heritage Corridor (South) linking Ama temple to Saint Paul Ruins (North) a long path constitutes the backbone of the Historical Centre of Macao.

the significance of the preservation of industrial heritage and some industrial heritages were successfully conserved and reused. Only in 2006, the State Administration of Culture Heritage issued the "Wuxi proposals: Notice on strengthening the preservation of industrial heritage", pointing out that "China's preservation of industrial heritage is a new topic in the cause of the protection of cultural heritage and is of importance and urgency" (State Administration of Culture Heritage)[6]. The expansion in scope of conservation objects identified more buildings with historical and cultural value as cultural relics[7] and thus protected them by laws effectively.

Another evolution deals with enrichment of the content of "conservation" with the expansion of conservation objects. From conservation of Ping Yao old city[8] to the success of Xin Tian Di project[9] and 798 Art District[10], different approaches are put into practice in contemporary Chinese urban conservation. Urban conservation is intensified from the protection of physical form to concerns with significant cultural meaning, from the conception of a stable museum and archive to more dynamic and integrated conversation methods which closely relate to the sustainability of history, ecology, economy and society.

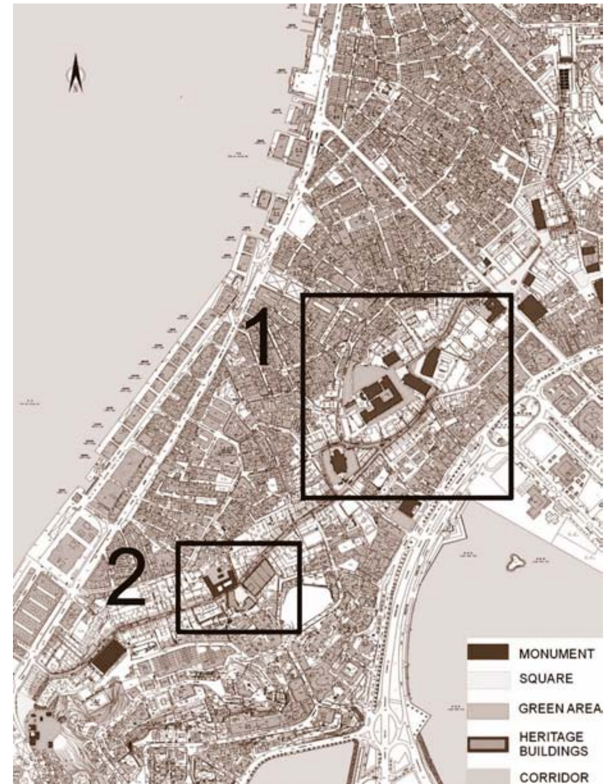

Fig. 2. Case studies are Site 1; centred in St Augustine Square and Site 2; Centred in Lilau Square.

4. Integrating urban conservation in the change: research on revitalization of public spaces in Macao's Historical Corridor

4.1 Urban context of Macao

As a melting pot of Chinese and Western cultures, Macao city has a special historical background and culture character. Its particularity and distinction are especially represented in the Historical Center of Macao (HCM), which was listed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as a World Heritage Site on July 15, 2005 *(fig.1)*. But, as a consequence of the rapid growth in estate development, population and tourism economy, it is inevitably confronted with tremendous pressures. For the HCM's survival, scholars have established the concept of defining a thin and long Historical

Corridor, starting in the riverside Chinese temple of A-Ma to the Hills of the Portuguese Monte Fort, linking many Portuguese and Chinese monuments and historical spaces of the city.

Aiming to make improvement and revitalization for dilapidated and uncharacterized public spaces located in the historical center and to retrieve its unity and continuity, in the last two years selected squares and streets in two sites of the HCM *(fig.2)* were investigated and researched by the Department of Architecture and Environmental Design, School of Design, Jiangnan University in collaboration with the Civic and Municipal affaires Bureau (IACM), the Institute For Tourism Studies (IFT), University of Macao (UMAC), and Inter University Institute of Macao (IIUM).

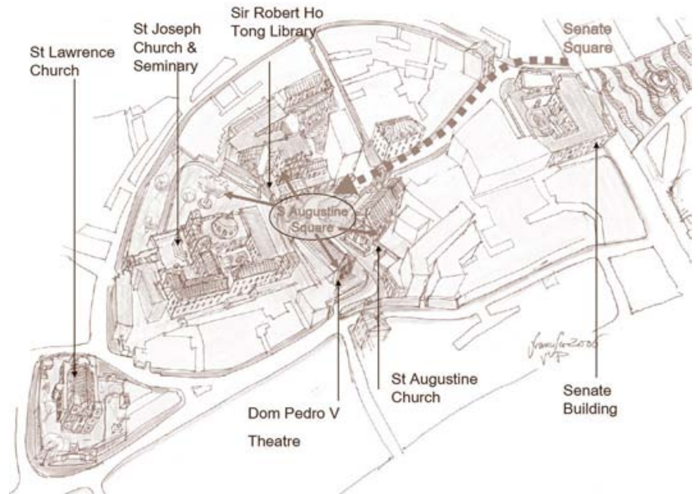

Fig. 3. Site 1 details. Linking Senate with St Augustine Square and surrounding 4 World Heritage spaces.

4.2. Case studies from two MHC's sites analysis

Strongly contrasting with the commercial aspect of the northern part of the corridor, linking the Senate Square to S. Paul Ruins (approximately one kilometer long), is the ambience in the second half (Senate to Ama temple Square) where most of buildings in the circuit are contemporary ones of rather low design quality. A few bright spots like St Augustine, Lilau and Ama Squares are the exception. The stretch linking Senate Square by way of Calcada do Tronco is very steep, polluted, and narrow, surrounded by un-descriptive ugly modern buildings. Two sites in the MHC were chosen for analysis.

2. 1. Site 1 - Area linking Senate and St. Augustine Squares

The approach to the revitalization of the 2 kilometer long stretch of MHC's was made step-by-step, in this case stretch-by-stretch. Two areas were chosen; the first is the one linking the Senate to St. Augustine Squares. In this short zone exist several green spaces and historical buildings such as Senate Square, Sir Robert Ho Tong Library, Dom Pedro V Theatre, St. Joseph Church & Seminary, and St. Augustine Church *(fig.3)*. The access to this site is problematic because of the steep and polluted road without place for shelter or refreshment.

1- Lilau Square
2- Old yellow mansion (empty)
3- Residential building
4- Residential building (empty)
5- Old residential buildings (empty)
6- Real fountain
7- 19th century buildings
8- New buildings
9- Mandarin House
10- Bottleneck area, cars/pedestrians
11- Empty and dilapidated old building

Fig. 4. Lilau Square and surroundings. IFT team

4.2.2. Site 2 - Lilau Square

The second site corresponds to the area near the Lilau Square. It is one of the more traditional Portuguese spaces, very near a large Chinese mansion and a popular site knows as the old Lady fountain in Chinese (*fig. 4).*

Other major problem of this place is the large number of empty buildings that received the nickname of "Ghost houses", a title not very conducive to World Heritage status. These empty houses form more than 80% of the square facades. Until now renovation actions were painting the walls, changing the pavement in the square and building square flower bases for the old trees. Only the large mandarin house, property of the government, is being fully remodeled. The historical Chinese and Western buildings and the real Lilau fountain site live divorced from each other. The mandarin mansion building is being restored and will open to the public before 2010. At the western end of this mansion, there is a road bottleneck without space for sidewalks but only dimension for one car passing, constituting a dangerous situation for tourists.

The Name of the place comes from the old Lilau fountain. However, the memory of this fountain is nearly lost when in 1995 was built a new one with a minimalist approach design. Geometry and minimalist are often in the opposite spectrum of a design based on memory, local culture and tradition. The "minimalist fountain" that looks like a wall and often wets the square ground, is disliked by local population and visitors, which often uses its back site as a toilet. The real fountain, the one that generated the legend of "The one who drinks from Lilau will return to Macau" is abandoned and forgotten in a nearby place.

4. 2. 3. Main problems of the sites in the southern corridor

Through SWOT analysis, the main issues of this southern corridor were found to be as follows: *(1) Heavy traffic and noise pollution*. This route is occupied by heavy traffic of motors and cars, which cause terrible noise and pollution; *(2) Poor accessibility and safety for pedestrians*. The narrowness and the ups and downs of the streets are very hard for pedestrians to traverse. In areas like the one near Chang Mandarin, the corridor is so narrow that either cars or persons can pass at one time; *(3) Uncharacteristic public spaces and streetscapes*. Abundance of uncharacteristic contemporary constructions, mostly residence or commercial buildings are very poor and lack character, hiding in a forest of cement destroying the heritage value, ambience and spirit of this historical street; *(4) Lack of shelters* for protection of the often-inclement local wheatear in raining seasons; *(5) Lack of support services* necessary in the long corridor, like places for resting, tourism information sites, coffeehouse, toilets, etc. Considering that this stretch is 1 Km long, this is a serious hindrance, a bad experience for tourists; *(6) Confusion and difficulty to navigate in the historical corridor*. Due to the lack of historical and visual contact references, tourists are often lost in this area; *(7) Non-placeness*. Due to the limited information of site history and social stories, some famous historical buildings such as Dak Seng Pawnshop, or lanes such as the Happiness Street are less known. Contrasted with the site from Senate Square to S. Paul Ruins, social, commercial and tourism activities for the neighborhood are not so prosperous; *(8) Lack of proper urban furniture and lighting*. Urban furniture is lacking or designed to be the inappropriate one in historical places, like large trashcan containers in historical squares or near historical buildings. Parts of this corridor are not well light. For example, the Ama Temple Square is dark by night.

4.3 Proposed rehabilitation strategies

In meeting the challenges of improvement and revitalization of these research areas, the initial focus is on improvement and revitalization centred on urban memory and culture identity for residents and tourists. There could be no question of trying to solve these problems by applying contemporary geometric compositions and materials that are not linked with the history, vernacular, and classic tradition of the place. Instead,, the solutions present a modest, practical approach to solving issues of historic preservation, urban transportation, commercial viability, and cultural tourism. Based on the analysis of physical and social issues, four strategies were suggested by

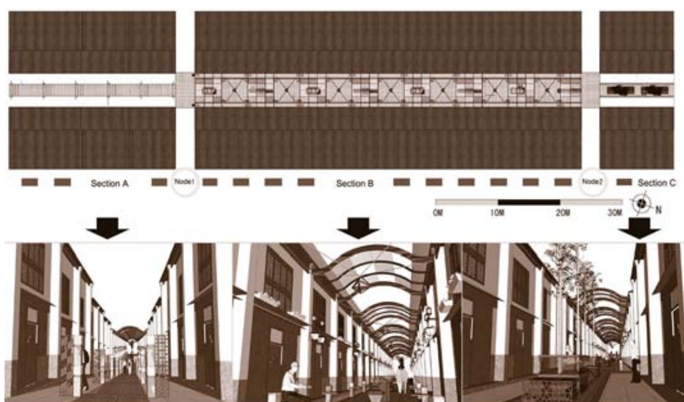

Fig. 5. Revitalization of Happiness Street by emphasizing spatial nodes and adding awning roof. Design by JNU research team

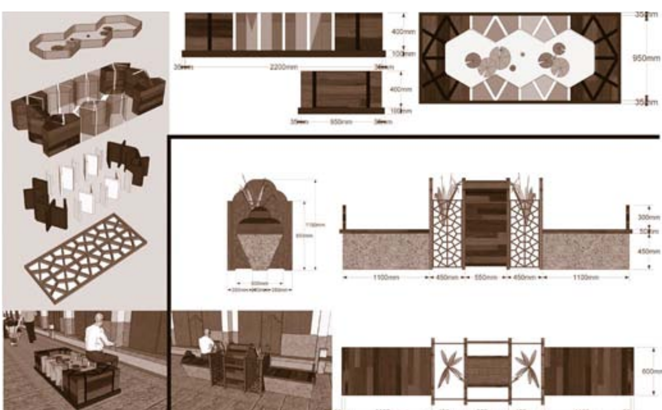

Fig. 6. Using form element in facade to design public facilities. Design by JNU team

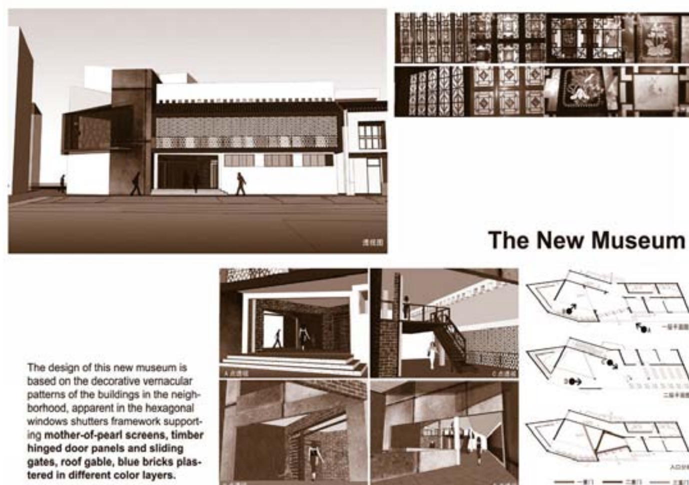

Fig. 7. Proposed regional museum. Design by JNU team

way of a sustainable, phased re-development. The proposed strategies are as follows.

First, *Pedestrianization of the district*. The existing main road should be adapted for pedestrian use after routing major traffic around the whole district instead of going through its narrow roads. Public and private transportation should be restricted to a minimum, helping to create a less polluted environment. Electric buses could be used for shuttle services in the historic corridor. The car-free environment helps to conserve and enhance the more traditional and distinctive streets that link up existing monuments forming a heritage trail. The pedestrian circuit should not be limited to one linear experience but enriched by several options providing a more compressive understanding of the urban fabric and local architecture. Through interviews of various groups, the other alternative route is put forward from Senate Square to St. Augustine Church;

The second strategy is the *Promotion of urban memory by a balanced urban development*. Construction guidelines are necessary for creating a balanced urban development so as to maintain urban memory and culture identity as a major place for citizens and tourists. This approach includes revitalizing Happiness Street[11] by emphasizing spatial nodes, public facilities, protection roof, facade element *(fig.5) (fig.6)*; reconnecting the corridor with more cultural attractions such as the Tak Seng On Pawnshop[12]; attracting tourists from the north part of the Corridor (Senate Square-S. Paul Ruins) to the south part (Senate Square-Ama Temple). At the same time, commercial vitality and cultural tourism could be enhanced with the reintroduction of traditional crafts and hand-making snacks and foods;

The third strategy is for *Adaptive reuse of dilapidated buildings*. Selectively rebuilding some buildings for cultural and historic use will highlight the "memory venue" in circulation. In site 1, several buildings are dilapidated and empty; others are even collapsed in this part of the historical city. To bring back life to this area, some of the 'uncharacteristic' modern buildings could be adapted so as to support cultural and heritage

Fig. 8. Existing Yellow houses.

activities, thus improving the streetscape of this "unclassified" area that is nevertheless an important link between the Chinatown and the western St. Augustine Square. A new museum *(fig.7)* will help to create a local landmark in this district, contributing to memory preservation and cultural identity reinforcement in this area. The design of this new museum is based on the decorative vernacular patterns of the buildings in the neighbourhood, apparent in the hexagonal window shutter framework supporting mother-of-pearl screens, timber hinged door panels and sliding gates, roof gable, blue bricks plastered in different colour layers, etc;

The fourth strategy is of *Revitalization of residual void open spaces.* To collect and fill in residual voids of this district, revitalize them into temporary and changeable open spaces which could be used by local residences and tourists. These open spaces are expected to be multifunctional and involve exhibition, entertainment, relaxation. They would not only serve as supporting facilities and services, but also play an important role of flexible and motivating elements in promoting diversity of everyday activities, and fostering local community sense of place

4.2. Strategies for site 2 - Lilau Square and surroundings

Historical research and a survey to the local community precede the rehabilitation project of this area. Previous surveys in this area by the workshop and IFT research teams focus on the past memories, present use (of the dilapidated areas) and expectations for the future in terms of quality and preservation of the cultural identity. Other Heritage stakeholders like site owner and government managers of public spaces were included in the survey. There are many possible layout solutions for the reuse design of this site. However, the chosen ones should be elaborated in a way respectful of the memory and spirit of the place that is linked with vernacular practices in architecture, urbanism and social and cultural traditions.

The strategies proposed to apply on the second site are: *(1)* Re-adaptation for reuse of the dilapidated buildings in Lilau Square. The dilapidated yellow mansion *(Fig.8)* could be reused as a boutique hotel. With the cooperation of building owner, a study of hotel adaptation was elaborated by IFT[13] students after a survey to local residents. An automatic parking system could be built behind the house. The boutique hotel can meet a

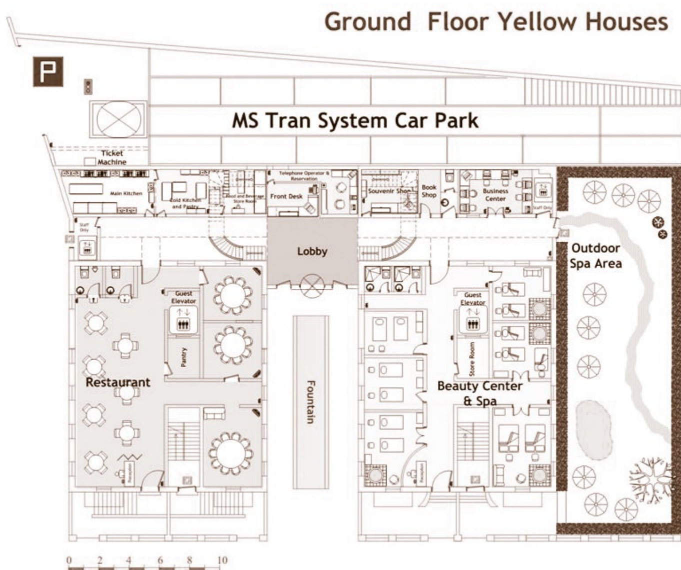

Fig. 9. Draft study of a boutique hotel layout. IFT team

Fig.10. Cluster of small houses, proposed to be adapted as library-shop and café, supporting activities in the square. Rendering by JNU research team

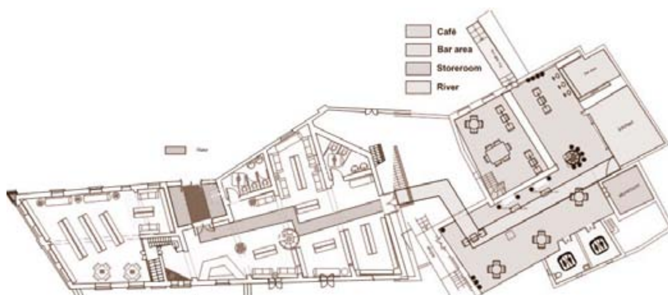

Fig.11. Draft layout of the white houses, with inside water stream linking the Real Lilau source with the square. IFT team

local need for quality spaces or for youth travelers who like to stay near heritage sites *(Fig.9)*; *(2)* New interior layout for dilapidated houses to bridge different external spaces. The white small houses *(Fig.10)* in the square are supposed to be adapted as a hotel. Respecting the existing layout and considering the memory of the place, one practical solution is suggested to link the houses and adapt them to be a restaurant/café serving Macao's typical foods (and complementing the boutique hotel functions) and as a library/bookshop with souvenir/museum where memories related with the Chinese and Portuguese history of this place are easily accessible. In the pavement of these houses, a water path is expected to be created *(Fig.11)*, providing the link between the real Lilau water source and the fountain in the square; *(3)* Remove the minimalist wall fountain *(number 3 in Fig.10)* for a new one, in a better located and less dominant position; *(4)* Create more shelters and the green areas by planting trees, for example in the corner area near the fountain wall; *(5)* Dismantle the illegal metal structures in the open space near the real Lilau water source and landscape this area; *(6)* Improve the connections between all present isolated historical buildings like the Mandarin house, landscape areas and squares, making them an important nucleus of the southern part of MHC's.

5. Conclusion

Undoubtedly, China is experiencing the most rapid change in the world, but at the same time, China may also be the most ideal place to realize any strategies for change. Just as the Chinese word "危机(crisis)" indicated, this dual-structure term formed by "危(challenge)" + "机(opportunity)" integrates the dialectic relationship between the two opposites. Facing with challenges in the globalization changes, the key point is how we can respond and manage change more intelligently and objectively in ways that will best sustain heritage values in urban context. More particularly, this and other examples seem to suggest that urban conservation should be put into a value system closely related with man, society, historical culture, and new systematic approaches

method to provide holistic solutions in urban planning should be expanded not only for the conservation of old historical districts, but also to the sustainable development of new areas of the city.

• **Zhu Rong** is an associate professor in Department of Architecture and Environmental Art Design at School of Design, Jiangnan University, China. She completed her architectural studies at the Department of Architecture, Southeast University, Nanjing, China where she obtained a PhD in 2005. She has published several articles in journals, magazines, books, participated in courses, conferences, seminars, and workshops related to urban rehabilitation, architectural conservation, architectural and interior design, with a focus on preservation of the heritage legacy. Her research interests include urban memory and urban form, improvement and revitalization of public spaces in urban historical centres, and preservation and renewal of historical buildings. She was involved in two funding research programs by Jiangsu Planning Office of Philosophy and Social Science and Jiangsu Department of Education. She was also in charge of many international cooperation programs with institutes in Switzerland, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and Macao. These cross-cultural projects allowed the integration of different disciplines and methodologies, and focused on the sustainable development linking human society, urban environment, history, and culture.

Notes

1 Liao Pengfei, Blue book of cities' competition capabilities: a report on Chinese cities' competition capabilities vol.6, Chinese Social Science and Literature Press, 2008. pp. 4
2 According to the record, there used to be more than 7,000 Hutongs in Beijing, but only 3,900 were left until 1980s. In 21st century, 600 are disappearing every year. In 1949, there existed 240 traditional courtyards in Nan Chizi at the east of Forbidden City, while only 31 still remain at present. Wang Yongchen. Preserving Architectural Heritage, Sustaining Urban Memory. http://www.cas.cn/html/Dir/2004/07/06/3921.htm
3 The Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics was amended and adopted at the 30th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Ninth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on October 28, 2002.
4 "Regulations of Shanghai Municipality on the Protection of the Areas with Historical Cultural Features and the Excellent Historical Buildings" issued in 2003 was the 1st regulation protecting historical areas and buildings in China.
5 The large-scale practice of industrial heritage's protection happened in British Iron Gorge in the late 1980s and Ruhr industrial area in Germany in the end of the 1990s. The Nizhny Tagil Charter was issued and formally approved by the UNESCO as a programmatic document of industrial heritage protection and use in 2003.
6 This Forum on Industrial Heritage Conservation jointly sponsored by ICOMOS China, the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage and Jiangsu Provincial Administration of Cultural Heritage was held on April 18, 2006, Wuxi. It is the first time to put forwards the definition of industrial heritage, the present threats industrial heritage faces and the approaches of its protection.
7 For example, after the 3rd investigation and assessment of cultural relic, listed Siheyuan (四合院) were not subdivided as protected courtyards and valuable architecture, but defined as cultural relics.
8 Founded in the 14th century, Ping Yao is an exceptionally well-preserved example of a traditional Han Chinese city. Its urban fabric shows the evolution of architectural styles and town planning in Imperial China over five centuries. It was designate as National Famous Historical and Cultural City in1986 and listed as World Heritage in 1997.
9 Xin Tian Di project was finished in 2001. Its adaptive reuse concept was to retain the antique walls, tiles and exterior of the historical Shikumen housing in Shanghai. On the other hand, its interior embodies new function such as international gallery, bars and cafes, boutiques or theme restaurants. And its success also exists in good commercial management and tourism development after the revitalization. However, it is still debatable that changing Linong residence into commercial or tourism function distorts the original meaning of a place. In any case, after that, more Xin Tiandi projects appear in Nanjing, Suzhou, Hangzho, Chongqin…, it has become a fashionable mode to be widely used in most of Chinese cities nowadays.
10 798 Art District (also know as Dashanzi Art District) was once the place for Beijing North China wireless joint equipment factory (namely, 718 Joint Factory), which was designed and built by experts of the former G.D.R in the 1950s. The Joint Factory was designed to be built in 1952, constructed from 1954, put into production in October 1957. To co-operate the reforming plan of Dashanzi Area, the Seven Group rented out these plants for short term. Form 2002, attracted by ordered designing, convenient traffic, unique style of Bauhaus architecture, many art organizations and artists came to rent the vacant plants and transformed them, gradually formed a district gathered galleries, art studios, cultural companies, fashion shops etc. At present, 798 Art District has become China's premier hub of contemporary art.
11 Happiness Street is part of the large Chinese quarters of Macau facing the inner Harbour. It is one of the best-preserved lanes that have survived intact until our times. This street represents the old gambling centre; the entertainment area and the red district that were built by the end of the 19th century. This street is paved with granite slabs revealing the wealth of these quarters. The architecture follows the traditional Qing dynasty practices in the South China region; using brick structural walls for support of the roof and the upper wooden floors. The ground floors were used for commercial purposes and the above level for residence. In this area most of the houses follow the same style, making it difficult to distinguish a shop from a residence. The differences were in the character signs at the gates and in the detailed elaboration of painted frescos over plastered walls. A decorative frieze on the gable walls or written characters on non-structural parts like the crafted timber doors added meaning and intended to attract "luck" and prosperity to the space. Mother-of-pearl is used in windows panels. Gilded crafted screen partitions protected the houses from sunrays and rain.
12 Established in 1917, the Tak Seng On Pawnshop consists of a pawnshop and a storehouse. Its architectural design and

layout, interior decor and equipment would have been very similar to pawnshops in Mainland China at the time. Listed in the Macao Heritage, it is at present the best-preserved pawnshop building in Macau. After its adaptive reuse, the Heritage Exhibition of a Traditional Pawnshop Business was opened in the building, with the Cultural Club next to it.
13 The study of the yellow and white houses adaptation was done by IFT (Macao's Institute For Tourism studies)3rd year hotel students under the surveillance of Dr. Penny Wan and Architect Francisco Vizeu Pinheiro.

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EDITORS
Maristella Casciato
Emilie d'Orgeix

SCIENTIFIC EDITOR
Miles Glendinning

COORDINATION
AND PRODUCTION
Emilie d'Orgeix
Anne-Laure Guillet

GRAPHIC DESIGN
Frédérique Mussat

ORIGINAL DESIGN
Agathe Desombre, Paris

For information concerning membership, contact:

Docomomo International Secretariat
Fundació Mies van der Rohe1
calle Provença 318 pral 2
ESP-08037 Barcelona
t 34 932151011
f 34 934883685
e. docomomo@miesbcn.com
w docomomo.com

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