

## The global city and the territory : history, theory, critique

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# the Global City and the Territory

history, theory, critique

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The global urbanisation seems to exhaust its spatial supports. It is urgent to produce new concepts of territory and landscape. What critical knowledge do their histories bring? What cultural values do they represent? How are they perceived, interpreted and represented? How is urban space conceived regarding its ground and its exterior?

The conference invites reflection on how the Brazilian experience of big cities in the wilderness or the pre-modern Chinese landscape culture might affect post-modern urban territory, and confront them with the Dutch landscape as an artefact.

This conference is the 2nd international event of the Eindhoven based architectural research programme 'the ABC of Density'. See: [www.bwk.tue.nl/architectuur/research/](http://www.bwk.tue.nl/architectuur/research/)

#### Related events

- Thursday, 15 februari, Workshop in Eindhoven;  
with Bert Dirrix, Carlos Leite, Luiz Recamán, Wim Nijenhuis
- Saturday, 18 februari, Workshop in Groningen;  
with Chris Moller, Alex van den Beld, Carlos Leite, Luiz Recamán, Wim Nijenhuis  
(in collaboration with Foundation 'Soon' and the Academy of Architecture, Groningen)

The organization is subsidised by **Stimuleringsfonds voor Architectuur**

- Gijs Wallis de Vries (Eindhoven University of Technology), A possible 'China connection' of the European city: the gardens of Piranesi and Chambers
- Augustin Berque (Miyagi University, Sendai; Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris), 'On the Chinese origins of Cyborg's hermitage in the absolute market'
- Ana Maria Moya (Eindhoven University of Technology), The mental territory-city of nomadic societies in Asia, Europe and America; questions and comparisons
- Wang Tao (University of London), The relation of landscape and town in pre-modern China
- Wim Nijenhuis (Eindhoven University of Technology), Eating Brazil, an introduction to São Paulo and the possible interest of Brazil for the European city
- Luiz Recamán (Paulista University), The concept of territory and landscape in Paulista architecture and planning
- Carlos Leite de Souza (Mackenzie University), São Paulo: urban speculations for a fragmented metropolis
- Discussion panel

# A WELCOME TO THE ARCHITECTURE CONFERENCE ON THE GLOBAL CITY AND THE TERRITORY

GERARD VAN ZEIJL

As one of the initiators of the research-program : the ABC of Density it is a great pleasure for me to welcome you on the architecture conference on 'the global city and the territory' here in Eindhoven. As you know Eindhoven is originally a booming town because of the worldfamous Philips factories and the related Technical University.

It is a striking idea that we are not only assembled in the representative part of the factory but also because this is re-designed by one of the leading professors of Architecture of our University Bert Dirrix, being at the same time one of the representatives of the famous Eindhoven School. So the old industrial and fresh architectural culture meet each other in what we have called 'the White Lady', an updated old lady with a brand new and vital cultural heart : the Architectural Center of Eindhoven, which kindly offers hospitality.

So looking in the manner of Rossi it is a 'vital monument', being a 'permanency' of the historical town. Knowing however that Eindhoven is a knot in the networkcity of Holland as a whole, we may - if we look through the eyes of Koolhaas - consider the 'White Lady' as a kind of 'still' or 'automonument' generated by the urban sprawl.

Architectural knowledge questions the identity of buildings either as 'monument' or as a 'machine'. Both architectural definitions are parts of a worldwide process of transformation due to the facts of density in which urban space will contain both place and non-place :

a hybrid space. In fact this is related to the controversial debate between order by maintaining the rules of the planning or to play and surf in the waves of the urban sprawl.

Still arguing on the 'White Lady' we know that - because of its modern outlook and content - it was at the time part of a social-utopianism, which caused the so called 'intentional or moral city'. After Tafuri's critique on the overestimation of morality in modern architecture and even more after Koolhaas retroactive acceptance of the pragmatic character of the metropolis as the 'generic city', we have to consider however the so called 'White Body of Knowledge' as a particular part of the architectural debate. This knowledge is applied, interpreted, refuted, neglected, re-established in many ways and in many changing urban conditions. One of the most pressing conditions is generated by the growing city and its territory and their problem of density. Especially the White Architecture, originally embedded in a green and open urban field, has lost its legitimation.

In our research-program, the ABC of Density, the aim is to understand its notions in a historical, theoretical and critical manner and to find out the architectural consequences of this reality. So beyond playing off the meanwhile alienated purity of architecture against the uncanny world we have to broaden the territory of architecture towards its extreme dimensions inside the actual impact of its global and even specific reality.

The White Lady is today the meeting-place

not only of industry and architecture, but far from that, it offers the platform to discuss the way how the modern paradigms - beside ruling the process of globalisation - are confronted with and even more mirrored in the explosive and exotic urban developments, especially outside Europe.

Thinking over 'the global city and the territory' it is not a terminological question whether we call it a generic, fragmented, or probably an enigmatic city. Even it is not the choice between the New Urbanism and the Generic Approach. The most important question today is how we think on and how we act in nowadays problems to elucidate and to conceptualize a daring architectural future.

I wish you good luck with the conference, which is a chance to change the world by architecture not only from the city as an ideal point of view, but from the city as a dense, complex reality full of contradictions. Beside the question that the world is changing our chance to find architectural answers, we are asked to react on its sweeping and astonishing reality.

# INTRODUCTION CONFERENCE

GIJS WALLIS DE VRIES

*The global city and the territory* is a lofty title. To avoid vagueness, I would like to provide some context to the conference and formulate some perspectives.

The conference is the second international research event organised by the architecture group of the Faculty of building and planning of the University of Technology Eindhoven. To seek interdisciplinary experts in the field of architecture, we started collaboration with the University of Leiden, Faculty of Literature, Department of the history of art and architecture, where research on world architecture is directed by prof. Aart Mekking. In 2003 the Leiden-Eindhoven cluster (called DIAS: density and identity in architecture and space) plans a meeting on 'Territory, Time and Cosmos'. Then, we will present our own studies and invite specialists to discuss relations of town and country, representations of landscape and cosmological meanings of architecture in diverse cultures and periods. The conference today is a step towards it.

Related to the conference are two workshops organised with the foundation 'SOON'. Benefiting from a subsidy by the Stimuleringsfonds voor Architectuur, the conference is graciously hosted by the Architectuur Centrum Eindhoven.

## **Territory and landscape**

One of the two key words of the conference is 'territory'. It is proposed to rethink landscape. Landscape is mostly conceived within an opposition of town and country. This is not adequate anymore, and it is historically false. In the Greek

polis and in the European city, urban territory reached out far beyond the citywalls. Athens included Attica, Rome the campagna, Amsterdam the Vecht and other regions now seen as rural or nature.

Since a decade or two, architects and urbanists in the Netherlands are embracing landscape because of its alleged capacity to order the open and fragmented city and to plan the whole territory. This instrumental conception of landscape is inadequate. As an empty form it provides a thoughtless remedy to the failure of town planning.

Reflecting on the beauty and the dream of 'landscape', we must account for another opposition, this time more real than the one of town and country, and that is the one of suburban versus rural space. Dwelling outside the city is opposed to farming in the countryside as looking at the landscape differs from working on the land. How are other cultures dealing with these oppositions, do they make the same distinctions, and what role does and did landscape play?

In western culture, the origin of the idea of landscape coincided with the renaissance apex of urban culture and the invention of mathematical perspective in painting and architecture. Thus, the rise of landscape was inseparable of scientific objectivity, technological progress and rational production - first in harmony, later in opposition.

What are the secrets of Chinese landscape culture, the tradition of which is non urban, ignores perspective and is pre-modern?

Within our programme 'the ABC of Density' Today's conference originates in the project 'Regiopolis', the beginning of which is presented this morning by Ana Maria Moya, architect from Barcelona. Her project continues and broadens the PhD thesis 'Amsterdam Arcadia', defended last year by Dr. Marc Glaudemans. His study applied Corboz' theory of the ville territoire to the classical landscape around Amsterdam.

Kristofer Schipper, a Tao priest and a professor at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris, presents a picture of the 'inner landscape' of the human body in 17th century China<sup>1</sup>. He denotes it with expressions such as the land, the environment (milieu) and the inhabitants. This makes us curious about the role landscape plays in Taoism, or how Taoism affects the concept of landscape. For the philosopher Peter Sloterdijk Taoism is important to western culture because it would inject a language of Place, or of Demobilisation, into modern culture which is more than ever devoted to mobility. Sloterdijk thinks that speaking the demobilising language of the Tao would distance us from dominant discourse, produce an infra-subjective tension and bring us in a situation where we can observe the process of modernisation passing through us<sup>2</sup>.

### Landscape and the Global City

There is another reason for this conference besides the territory question, and that is the question of *the Global City*. The abandonment of rational space planning by both neo-liberal democracy and liberalising socialism, the shock of world-wide capitalism and its erratic investments and disruptive consumerism, but also the seductive charm of high density and its fascinating contrasts, the appeal of hybrid cultures, the incredible resilience of cities: those are the topics of the research and teachings of my colleague Wim Nijenhuis. While writing a dissertation on '*Time and Heaviness; essays in the writing of the history and critique of urbanism in the era of the media*', he organised, together with Prof. Bert Dirrix, the design and research-

studio 'Charm and Density' focussing on São Paulo. He will tell you more about it in his introduction to our Brazilian afternoon.

The Global City is the worldcity that distinguishes itself from the modern metropolis, because its economy and culture are depending on communication technology. Los Angeles, Tokyo and Randstad are Global Cities, but São Paulo and Hong Kong too. Although this technology is placeless by its very nature and detaches the city more and more from the national economies and cultures, it is characterised, says Saskia Sassen, by a 'Centrality of Place' caused by the need of clustering the head-offices of multinational companies in close vicinity to each other<sup>3</sup>. This means that the Global City is liable to spatial politics, contrary to what many believe.

The agglomeration of São Paulo will soon number 23 million inhabitants. What about its landscape? One of the leaders of the Paulista school in philosophy, Vilém Flusser, says that there is no landscape in Brazilian culture<sup>4</sup>. As his enigmatic statement is not elaborated, we wonder whether it refers to wilderness, a world of magic, metamorphosis, and analogy<sup>5</sup>. Could it be, that the *Paulistanos* cannot perceive their city as a landscape because they have no aesthetic relation with it? That they live in the thick of it and can barely distinguish themselves from it? Or is it that they do distinguish themselves from the city, but experience it as epi-, or neo-nature? May be then, for those immersed in it, the urban environment is a universe of temptations, and where it appears as

neo-nature it entangles its inhabitants in an absurd adventure.

### Multiple perspectives

Today, many perspectives are combined - distinguished, yet inseparable: different cultures of territory, landscape, history, geography, are meeting the global world of mobility, media, and consumerism. Focussed on speed, novelty and change, globalisation produces completely new phenomena in the urban realm such as massive immigration of the poor, emigration of the middle class and political problems with citizenship and spatial planning. On the other hand, ambiguous and misunderstood, the earth is guarding its secrets. The confrontation of these perspectives today refuses the opposition of modernity and tradition, or of western and non western culture. Instead it affirms the interest of science, the intercultural exchange of knowledge, of science and art, of research and design.

Some words now about the speakers, especially our guests, invited here to help us in developing these multiple perspectives. We are most grateful to have Prof. Augustin Berque as our key note speaker. He is a distinguished geographer and orientalist, and a keen writer who develops interesting concepts such as *mediance* and *ecumene*. In an ongoing dialogue with philosophers, both European and Asian, he attacks questions of modernity and sustainability, combining studies in geography and history. He responded with enthusiasm to our new ambitions in the multidisciplinary field of architecture. In that respect Mr. Berque perfectly heralds our

second guest today, Dr Wang Tao, for, as an archeologist specialised on China, with a great interest in the origin of towns and their relation to territory, he will probe the depths under the fragile surface of the wide range of our topic. The multidisciplinary and intercultural interest of Mr. Berque favours comparative studies, which is precisely what Mrs. Moya, architect from Barcelona and a PhD student here, intends for her study of three metropolitan regions and their *different* interpretations and creations of landscape and *similar* pressures on the territory. In the afternoon session, chaired by Wim Nijenhuis, we welcome our guests from São Paulo who will satisfy our curiosity about their hometown, and fill in the gaps of our superficial knowledge of Brazilian architecture, urban planning and landscape. We welcome Luiz Recamán, architect and philosopher, who teaches at the Paulista University and studies the role of urbanism and architecture in the post-modern world city. We were especially impressed by his outstanding lecture on the end of urbanism in São Paulo delivered in 1999 at the AA school in London<sup>6</sup>. After him Prof. Carlos Leite de Souza will speak. He is a well-known architect and teaches at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the Mackenzie University, and at the School of Fine Arts of São Paulo. He won many prizes in competitions. He published about the mental image and mapping of the city. He will enlighten us on design problems in the centre of São Paulo. We will conclude the lectures with a discussion panel and end our day with drinks. The whole event is recorded and the papers will be published.

1. K. Schipper, Tao, the living religion of China, Le corps taoïste, Paris, 1982

2. P. Sloterdijk, Eurotaoismus. Zur Kritik der politischen Kinetik, Frankfurt, 1989, pp. 54, 81, 94.

3. S. Sassen, Cities in a world economy, Thousand Oakes Cal. 1994. Id., The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo, New York, 1991, 'Mobility and Centralisation', pp. 22-34; 'A New Centralisation', pp.323-338.

4. Vilém Flusser, Brasilien, oder die Suche nach dem neuen Menschen, Für eine Phänomenologie der Unterentwicklung, Mannheim, 1994

5. Guimaraes Rosa, The Devil to Pay in the Backlands, 1963

6. Published in the AA files, (41) 2000 under the title: 'The Stalemate of recent Paulista Architecture'

# THE CHINESE CONNECTION: PIRANESI AND CHAMBERS

GIJS WALLIS DE VRIES

*There are landscapes on earth,  
Landscape on paintings,  
Landscape in dreams  
And there are landscapes in the mind.  
The beauty of landscapes on earth  
Lies in the depth and irregularity of contour.  
The beauty of painted landscapes  
Lies in the freedom and richness of the brush and  
the ink.  
The beauty of dreamed landscapes  
Lies in their strangely changing views.  
And the beauty of landscapes in the mind  
Lies in that everything is in its place.*

**Chang Ch'ao**

The historical relevance of Piranesi and Chambers for understanding the territorial and global crisis of architecture is related to the influence of Chinese gardening on the European Age of Reason. I investigate this influence by examining the following questions.

What kind of connection did William Chambers establish with China? Is his definition of Chinese gardening as an art of staging contrasting scenes of 'irregular' nature relevant for the city?

What urban model did Piranesi propose in the Campo Marzio? Could its bold fragmentation be the missing link in the genesis of modern urbanism? Does the infinity of Piranesi's model prefigure the city of today which absorbs its territory and has no more exterior?

What was the role of the garden in both cases? Does it represent the landscape that is absorbed by the city and in which the city in its turn dissolves? Does it resist the loss of form and place by saving an escape, maintaining an exterior?

## **Philosophy**

To question the city and the territory I use some concepts from the 'geophilosophy' of Deleuze and Guattari. They have developed a concept of territory as an act of ordering chaos, taking into account its affectations by movement, by technology, and by art<sup>1</sup>.

This dynamic concept is related to their concept of architecture as an art of framing, best formulated in *'What is philosophy'* and taken further by Bernard Cache<sup>2</sup>. They call it the *first* art of framing. Painting, photography, and film are other steps in the art of framing space. Framing is a dynamic concept too. Modern architecture became an art of de-framing, creating transparency and openness. The future to which architecture must now aspire is an art of re-framing, meeting chaos, grasping complexity. Rejecting fixation the deleuzian concept of territory adequately grasps the implication of architecture in chaos.

## **Design**

Another critique of the modern urban landscape is the concept of *palimpsest* formulated by the urban historian Corboz<sup>3</sup>. His theory of territory as a ground layered by partly sub-

1. G. Deleuze, F. Guattari, *Mille Plateaux, Capitalisme et schizophrénie*, Paris, 1980. (Eng. Translation, *A thousand Plateaux*) The concept of territory is developed in chapter 11, 'De la Ritournelle'. It is linked to a study of Romanticism, and the critique of classical order, in music. Ordering the forces of chaos is the work of rhythm. Rhythm is the response of a milieu to chaos. A territory consists of a periodical repetition and the creation of difference. 'It is the difference that is rhythmical, and not the repetition, although it produces it.' A milieu is not a territory. Territory acts on milieus and rhythms, 'territorialising' them. A territory grasps several milieus. It has an interior, an exterior, limits, membranes, reserves, intermediate, neutral zones, and appendices. The authors develop the concepts of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation.

2. G. Deleuze, F. Guattari, *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie*, Paris, 1991. B. Cache, *Earth moves; the furnishing of territories*. Transl. A. Boyman, ed. M. Speaks, Cambridge, London, 1995.

3. A. Corboz, *Le territoire comme palimpseste*, Diogenes, 121, 1983 (and Casabella, 516, pp. 22-27, 1985). Dutch transl. and intro. M. Glaudemans, *Tuinkunst*, 3, pp. 8 - 35, 1997.



sisting, partly erased interventions, is design oriented. He provides a theoretical basis to architecture in the conditions of dissolving urban form. Architecture gives measure and meaning to the inhabitable space of the earth, a space universally identified as either urban or rural. This distinction is called into question since the city is liberating itself from its ground to identify itself with transport and media networks. Against the dualism of town and country, Corboz' idea of territory comprehends densely built up spaces, extensive sprawl, rural spaces, recreational zones and nature<sup>4</sup>.

### Art

An indispensable source of landscape theory and critique is art. Alain Roger's treatise on landscape is an elegant defence of 'artialisat-ion', arguing that landscape before we can even see it, has to be discovered by painting, and before we can actually 'live' it, it must be described in novels and poems<sup>5</sup>.

He believes in the importance of the subjective experience of beauty. Rejecting exclusive claims of ecology, Roger accounts for the environment we live in today as it is affected, for instance, by tourism, praising the innovative sensibility of landscape as a work of art, and even its erotic power.

### Science

A science oriented critique of the contemporary landscape can be found in the writings

of Augustin Berque. In the interdisciplinary field of geography and history he defines five conditions of landscape culture. In the first place, there must be words for landscape, many cultures lack such a word, while others have a whole vocabulary. The other four conditions are a systematic treatise on landscape; poetry expressing feelings about the environment; painting expressing the perception of the environment; and gardening as the esthetical representation of the environment<sup>6</sup>. If landscape is not universal, environment is. All civilizations share the fact of an existential relation to the Earth. It is this mediation, expressed in material culture, habitat and body, which Berque calls 'mediance', a French neologism (adopted in English), which he coined to translate 'fuudosei', a Japanese words for 'existence' in the sense that Heidegger defined as 'Ausser-sich-sein'<sup>7</sup>. Including both animal, technical and spiritual relations in his mediated concept of territory, Berque adequately analyzes the modern city as a form of escapism.

### Classical Proportion and Anti-classical Scale

In the Age of Reason the European tradition examined its origins and opened up to other civilisations. The architectural theory and imagery of Gianbattista Piranesi (1720-1778) differs from contemporary neoclassicism by a vigorous anti-classicist discourse. Against the

idea of the column and its 'axiomatic' system of proportions, Piranesi designs and argues a 'problematic' order, installing a composition plan that arises from the earth. He seduces the column to 'dance' (Rykwert) to the rhythm of the earth, deframing the classical order and reframing the challenged chaos. For example, Piranesi uses the view under the arch or bridge as reframing device.

The complex, emotional, bizarre, diverse, multiple and polemical character of his designs and theories produces a topological architecture that inspires 'regional' design against the universal uniformity of the architecture of Reason. In doing so, it announces a *different* modernism, actual under the conditions of the territory city. The exceptional figure of Piranesi gives Neo-classicism a vital, even revolutionary (Kaufmann) strength. Undoubtedly, he is one of the *first moderns* (Rykwert) and an inspiring innovator of design (Wilton-Ely). His idea of Rome is an open and layered city, in time growing on itself (Rossi) and eating nature, as it is eaten by it. The impending loss of form (Tafari) is fought in a creative confrontation with chaos.

Against objective proportions, Piranesi always experimented with scale, subjective, overwhelming, yet full of details and palpably near, infinite, yet divided by intriguing boundaries. His views of urban and architectural space are landscapes, a pictorial genre in which the human figure is small, or even absent. These landscapes are surely 'super-human' (in the sense of Nietzsche) but not inhuman, as they are so sensitive to our eye. Characterised by contrasts and fragments,

the open horizon and informal ground of Piranesi's vedute constitute a sublime harmony of earth and sky in dissonant chords that challenge gravity.

### The Campo Marzio, a model of the territory city

In the history of urbanism Piranesi is a missing link. His model of the city occupies a marginal place in history<sup>8</sup>. The 'Campo Marzio' (1764) challenges Laugier's 'Essai sur l'architecture' (1755). Piranesi not only affirms his famous principle '*tumulte dans l'ensemble, ordre dans le détail*' but also creates escapes from the tumultuous city. He intensifies the order in individual buildings causing them to fragment into multiplicities with interior horizons. Simultaneously, he intensifies the city inviting nature to invade it. In the Campo Marzio, a dense urban setting, lacking an overall structure, gardens and parks are an important feature, creating a rich pattern of public and private space to 'discover'. Piranesi called it the hanging city ('città pensile, e navigabile al di sotto') an echo to the 'hanging gardens' of Babylon. Although Tafari aligns him with Laugier as a founder of architectural thought on the modern city, the differences are enormous. First, Laugier demands straight streets with uniform facades and a filled *poché* (where Piranesi sets the blocks free). Secondly, Laugier wishes to mark the boundaries of Paris by triumphal arches (no boundaries in the Campo Marzio, and arches anywhere). Thirdly, when comparing the city to a forest [park], Laugier refers to Versailles and its hierarchical variations (whereas Piranesi

8. In my dissertation: Piranesie en de idee van de prachtige stad, Amsterdam, 1990, I interpreted The Campo Marzio - an archeological reconstruction of imperial Rome - as a treatise on urban design, to be 'emulated' by contemporary architects, such as Adam, to whom it was dedicated.

4. A. Corboz, L'urbanisme du XXe siècle: esquisse d'un profil, Genève 1992. Dutch transl. G. Wallis de Vries, Archis 5 1992

5. A. Roger, Court traité du paysage, Paris, 1997.

6. A. Berque, Les raisons du paysage. De la Chine antique aux environnements de synthèse, Paris, 1995, p. 34. Andld., 'Landscape and the overcoming of modernity', IGU Study Group, The Cultural Approach in Geography, Kangnung, Korea, August 10-13, 2000. 'Landscape is not the environment, but a certain relation with it. (...) to determine whether such a relation exists or not (...) supposes the fulfillment of the following five criteria (...): 1. The existence of treatises on landscape. 2. The existence of one or more words for saying 'landscape'. 3. The existence of pictorial representations of landscape. 4. The existence of pleasure gardens. 5. The existence of literary (oral or written) appreciations of the environment.'

7. Id., Le Sauvage et l'artifice. Les Japonais devant la nature, Paris, 1986

(transl. Japan: Nature, Artifice and Culture Northamptonshire, 1997) Id., 'The ontological structure of mediance as a ground of meaning in architecture' Conference on Structure and meaning in human settlements, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Architecture, Philadelphia, Oct. 19-21, 2000, p. 7. '(...) what Watsuji defined as "the structural moment of human existence" (...) and named 'fuudosei', which I have translated as mediance. His conception of mediance [was] inspired by Heidegger's notion of Ausser-sich-sein.'

refers to the Villa Adriana and its juxtaposed variety). If Tafuri recognises the Campo as a lucid moment of crisis, of the end of classical morphology and functional typology, he calls it a desperate experiment, a 'negative utopia', declaring the loss of form, of place, of meaning, the defeat of architecture in the face of metropolis. But there is a positive challenge in this. Therefore, the Campo Marzio inspired architects who accept spontaneity, reject homogeneity, and welcome contrast - in Holland such dissimilar architects as Ashok Bhalotra and Rem Koolhaas have referred to it.

### The fragment and the whole

In this dispersed city gardens abound. In terms of use, the garden has a parallel with a design of Piranesi, called the Caffè degli Inglesi, which was executed but later demolished. Both the Martian gardens and the English coffeehouse are public domain - private property but open to the public. It was designed in Egyptian style. Again criticising classical order, Piranesi manifests his adherence to Lodoli's theory about the mechanics of stone (and not the biomorphology of wood) dictating the laws of architecture. In his treatise on chimneypieces (also containing his designs of the Caffè) he defended Egyptian abstraction, both formally and symbolically. Its abstraction would open the way to the sublime - 'amidst the fear, delight arises.'

To me, the fundamental proposition of the Campo Marzio is to frame space in chaos, setting a place apart for contemplation, art, study, amusement, sport, in one word *otium*

(leisure). The Campo Marzio ignores an exterior, as 'ville territoire' it includes its outside, its surroundings, the environment. The relative exterior of the garden is the place of the absolute escape from the city, a transcendent space immanent in the urban 'tumult'. The gardens of the Campo Marzio are formal and they have clear boundaries. They are territories framed amidst chaos. The frames are metrical, but their setting is rhythmical. The rhythm comes from the informal space between these frames. There the ground is unpaved, rough, sometimes savage, steep. This discontinuity of space is inseparable from the end of linear time.

In the twilight of the here and now architecture jumps into Being, each time and abruptly. Heidegger says: 'The spring is the abrupt entry into the realm from which man and Being have already reached each other in their active nature, since both are mutually appropriated, extended as a gift, one to the other.' This may sound mystical, but it is archaeological, just as it was for Piranesi. 'Being ever and always speaks as destiny and thus permeated by tradition<sup>9</sup>.'

Whether in the past or in the future, creation is origin. Again and again the framing of territory meets the forces of chaos. In each fragment the whole is met. The urban theorist Paul Virilio says 'I am nostalgic about inscription in a depth of space and time, a depth of relation to the other, and a depth of meaning. Gilles Deleuze worked a lot on this, which must explain my interest in his work. I think that architecture is the first real measure of the Earth. (...) The dimensions that we assume in a house are the beginning of a

relation to the world, and the quality of landscape is related to the architectural quality of our habitat. I talk about grey ecology, because we will have to consider this question of dimensions on a world scale<sup>10</sup>, although we have already considered it on a city scale.' Virilio's nostalgia is opposed to conservation, which only masks the desertion of landscape (he does think 'recovery' and 'correction' are necessary). 'The appeal of landscape is nostalgia for the extraordinary garden of the *sweet France* of the peasants. Landscape is what lies beyond environment (...) There are three terms that are closely related: milieu, soil and territory.

Soil is the most fundamental inscription in a rural or an urban space. Territory is already a liberation of the soil by modes of transportation or communication. Milieu is physical and yet abstract. Today, the interest in landscape will have to go through the discovery of the event landscape. (...)

It is essential that the question of the event landscape is addressed - and not the question of *land art* underlying today's museographic debates. How can we account for what happens in something that moves very little or not at all? How can we conceive of space as a stage for men and not merely a somewhat nostalgic object of contemplation? (...) A scenography of landscape has to be restored with actors and not merely spectators.' Virilio links this new concept to the opposition between landscape and suburb. A suburb is not a landscape because there is no investment in it. If it is a state of mind it must be a monstrous one. More likely suburbs have all the comfort but no state of mind

at all. For a place to be livable there has to be a mental landscape. 'Everybody has a mental landscape that organises their relation to the world. Everybody has their own inner painting. My inner paintings are the coast and the desert. (...) I like landscapes where you can feel the planet, where the territorial body of planet Earth is tangible on a smaller scale. I love the local when it enables you to see the global, and I love the global when you can see it from the local.' Similarly, in Piranesi's compositions a fragment is sublime when it welcomes the whole, while the whole is great when it invites fragments.

### Minor and major

Piranesi exercised little influence on European architects, even though he enjoyed a reputation as an archaeologist and an engraver. His *Carceri* lived on in poetry. Instead of a durable influence on the city he had a (short-lived) effect on the minor arts of decoration and landscape painting (Hubert Robert). In Holland his influence seems almost non-existent, but for a chimneypiece commanded by the owner of Welgelegen, a sumptuous villa in Haarlem overlooking the Haarlemmerhout. Even more indirect are four stucco's copying Piranesi's 'vedute di Roma' placed in the great hall in Biljoen, a castle near Arnhem on the edge of the Veluwe. But this minor effect is linked to a major transformation of the Dutch *landgoederen landschap*. This landscape had originated in the agricultural and horticultural innovation, water management, polder engineering, land reclamation, and sand and peat quarries of

9. M. Heidegger, *Identity and difference*, transl. and Intro. J. Stambaugh, New York, London, 1974, containing the translation and original texts of 'Der Staz der Identität' and 'Die onto-theo-logische Verfassung der Metaphysik.' 'Der Sprung ist die jähe Einfahrt in den Bereich, aus dem her Mensch und Sein einander je schon in Ihrem Wesen erreicht haben, weil beide aus einer Zureichung einander übereignet sind.' (p. 96) 'Sein spricht je und je geschicklich und deshalb durchwaltet von Ueberlieferung.' (p. 117)

10. P. Virilio, 'from likely war to reconquered landscape' in: *Politics of the very worst* An Interview by Philippe Petit (Semi)text(e), New York, 1999 pp. 97- 112

the 17th century, and had become, in the 18th century, the leisure resort for the *mercator sapiens* where he went to exercise theology, art and science<sup>11</sup>. It was quite unromantic, and decidedly urban. In Holland, Welgelegen and Biljoen inaugurated the landscape garden, which was soon followed in almost every country estate and villa (and also adopted in the transformation of city walls into scenic walks). The romanticised countryside became the experience of an escape from the city. I think it is interesting to know that Piranesi stood at the cradle of the birth of the Dutch landscape garden. In a way, the Campo Marzio prefigured the territory city of Randstad, even if historical research must still account for all the misunderstandings.

William Chambers enjoyed a reputation at the opposition of Piranesi. In fact he accused him of extravagance. A famous anecdote illustrates this. Piranesi quarrelled with Lord Charlemont about the sponsoring of his books on 'The Antiquities of Rome'. When the Lord refused to pay, the enraged artist publicly changed the dedication on the frontispiece of the first volume to 'utilitati publice' (dedicating the other volumes and the Campo Marzio to Robert Adam). For the same Charlemont Chambers built a casino in Dublin. He also built Somerset House on the Strand, the perfectly preserved glory of which stands out against the misery of the nearby Adelphi Terrace, a revolutionary project for the Thames embankment, created by Adam in a truly Piranesian manner. And Chambers is famous for Kew gardens and its Pagoda.

Appointed to the royal court, his influence is major, and that means classical. But his ideas on gardening were rather unclassical. He published two treatises on gardening based on a travel to China, titled *Designs for Chinese Buildings*, 1757 with a chapter on 'The art of laying out gardens', and in 1772 *A dissertation on oriental gardening*. The information is only typological and lacks topographical documentation. In the first book the illustrations are rare and in the second they fail altogether. Although they compare poorly to Piranesi's elaborate writings and etchings of Roman architecture, their influence was immediate. In 1776 the first book was translated in French. Its aesthetics were acclaimed by Burke, who had the chapter on gardening reprinted in 1758 in the *Annual Register*, a periodical he directed<sup>12</sup>. Describing the 'terrible' and the 'horrid' in the first book, Chambers only adopted the term sublime in the second, probably after reading Burke's famous *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757).

#### Artful and artless

Chambers ventured a double critique; against the too 'artful' French geometry and the too 'artless' English informality. He criticised French gardens by comparing them negatively to cities: 'gardens ... where the antient [=baroque] style still prevails are in general mere cities of verdure, the walks are like streets conducted in strait lines, regularly diverging into large open spaces, resembling public squares; and the hedges with which they are bordered are raised in imitation of

walls, adorned with pilasters, with windows and doors, or cut into colonnades, arcades and porticos; all the detached trees are shaped like obelisks, pyramids and vases; and the recesses in the thickets bear the names and forms of theatres, amphitheatres, temples, banqueting halls, ball rooms, cabinets and saloons. (...) ranged in regular lines (...) in geometrick order (...) not a twig is suffered to grow as nature directs; nor is a form admitted but what is scientific and determinable by the line or the compass.'

As much as he ridiculed the imitation of classical architecture in gardens, he criticised the naturalist language employed by Lord Burlington, Humphry Repton, Lancelot Brown, William Kent and Henry Hoare (Stourhead), and since known as the English landscape garden. 'Our gardens, writes Chambers, differ very little from common fields, so closely is common nature copied in most of them.' According to him they offered the visitor a boring walk along 'a little serpentine path, twining in regular esses amongst shrubs of the border, upon which he is to go round, to look on one side at which he has already seen, the large green field; (...) from time to time he perceives a little temple stuck up against the wall; he rejoices at the discovery, sits down, rests his wearied limbs, and then reels on again, cursing the line of beauty, till spent with fatigue, half roasted by the sun, for there is never any shade, and tired for want of entertainment, he resolves to see no more: vain resolution! there is but one path; he must either drag on to the end, or return back by the tedious way he came.'

Finding the French style absurd and the English style insipid, Chambers wonders if the two could be combined. 'But how this union can be effected, is difficult to say. The men of art, and the friends of nature, are equally violent in defence of their favourite system.' Could this dilemma be solved by a Chinese intervention? Remarkably, Chambers concludes his preface with expressions of indignation about the cutting of forests and devastation of 'the growth of several ages and thousands of venerable plants' caused by the English landscape style and its desire 'to make room for a little grass and a few American weeds.' The immeasurable landscape of China and its surprising gardens seem to be called upon not just as an escape from the dilemma of style (too artless or too artful), but as the promise of a relation to nature, both original and eternal.

#### Scenes and senses

In Kew Gardens Chambers got the opportunity to realise his ideas on gardening. The Chinese pagoda, dating from 1761, elaborates an image presented in his first treatise. These and other Chinese buildings, such as a house for Confucius and a tea pavilion adorn the gardens, to which William Kent also contributed. A few years after their completion, in 1763, Chambers published a lavish book *Plans, Elevations ... of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew*. The buildings are Greek, roman, gothic, 'Moorish' and Chinese. More important than the apparent anti-classicism of this collection is the garden lay out, shown in a series of views. To under-

11. M. Glaudemans, *Amsterdams Arcadia, de ontdekking van het achterland*, diss., Nijmegen, 2000.

12. E. Harris, 'Burke and Chambers on the Sublime and Beautiful', in D. Fraser, ed., *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, New York, 1967. Also H. Huth, 'Chambers and Potsdam', in op. cit. About a Chinese bridge Chambers designed for Sanssouci Huth writes: 'After (...) the publication of his Chinese designs in 1757, Chambers' name headed the list of fashionable architects, and there could be no discussion of Chinese taste, without his name being mentioned.'

stand their intended effect, the treatise gives a clue. Chambers writes that the Chinese model their gardens according to nature 'and their aim is to imitate all her beautiful irregularities.' They do so by exploiting the site, but if the terrain offers no variety - as was the case in Kew - they conceive and combine scenes from elsewhere.

Among these they distinguish three types: 'the pleasing, the terrible, and the surprising'. The first is picturesque, open and light. The second is tragic, dark and sublime. The third is a fairytale, enchanted, full of supernatural 'audio-visual' effects, extraordinary plants and strange flowers. The terrible type is the most challenging. It consists of 'gloomy woods, deep valleys inaccessible to the sun, impending barren rocks, dark caverns and impetuous cataracts, rushing down the mountains from all parts. The trees are ill formed, forced out of their natural direction and seemingly torn to pieces by the violence of tempests (...) the buildings are in ruins... Bats, owls, vultures, and every bird of prey flutter in the groves; wolves, tigers and jackals howl in the forests; (...) gibbets, crosses, wheels, and the whole apparatus of torture, are seen from the roads; and in the most dismal recesses of the woods, where the ways are rugged and overgrown with weeds, are temples devoted to the king of vengeance, deep caverns in rocks, and descents to subterraneous habitations, (...) with pathetic inscriptions of tragical events, and many horrid acts of cruelty, perpetrated there by the outlaws and robbers of former times; and to add both to the horror and sublimity of these scenes, they sometimes conceal in cavities,

on the summits of the highest mountains, founderies, lime kilns, and glass-works; which send forth volumes of flame, and continued columns of thick smoke, that give to these mountains the appearance of volcanoes'. Chambers has much to say about water. 'It enables the artist to strengthen the character of every composition, to increase the tranquillity of the quiet scene, to give gloom to the melancholy, gayety to the pleasing, sublimity to the great, and horror to the terrible.

Water mirrors every desired effect. 'They compare a clear lake, in a calm sunny day to a rich piece of painting, upon which the circumambient objects are represented in the highest perfection; and say, it is like an aperture in the world, through which you see another world, another sun, and other skies.' Chambers acclaims the art of illusionary connections by which distant mountains of other views are drawn into the scene. Besides the 'ha-ha', the sunken barrier also known in the English landscape garden, they have other methods, still more effective. 'On flats, where they have naturally no prospects of exterior objects, they enclose their plantations with artificial terraces, in the form of walks, to which you ascend by insensible slopes; these they border on the inside with thickets of lofty trees and underwood; and on the outside, with low shrubberies; over which the passenger sees the whole scenery of the adjacent country, in appearance forming a continuation of the Garden, as its fence is carefully concealed amongst the shrubs that cover the outside declivity of the terrass.'

### Nature and art

The imitation of nature mustn't hide the art. Chambers admires the surprising water-courses, winding their way through the gardens and interrupted by various hydraulic machines, to enliven the scene. In 'Designs for Chinese Buildings' he commented on the weak optical construction of their perspectives, but praised the 'striking illusions of depth by giving the most distant parts of the composition grey colours and by planting trees of lesser clarity and a smaller form than those on the foreground'. He concluded the book warning that the Chinese garden is extremely difficult to design. 'This art demands strong imagination and a perfect knowledge of the human mind. As there is no fixed rule, it is susceptible to as many variations as there are different creations in the works of nature.'

The idea of nature is a central issue. In the 'dissertation' Chambers quotes an anonymous Chinese artist, who criticises the European imitation of architecture with greenery, saying 'such extravagances should never be tolerated excepting in enchanted scenes: and there but very seldom; (...) and if the planter be a traveller, and a man of observation, ... he will recollect a thousand beautiful effects along the common roads of the countries through which he has passed, that may be introduced with much better success.' 'The Chinese take nature for their pattern; and their aim is to imitate all her beautiful irregularities.' 'Though the Chinese have nature for their general model, yet they are not so attached to her as to exclude all appearance of art; on the contrary.'

After his description of the types and elements of Chinese gardens Chambers admits that they might give the impression of splendid cities instead of cultivated vegetation, and adds: 'But such is the judgement with which the Chinese artists situate their structures, that they enrich and beautify particular prospects, without any detriment to the general aspect of the whole composition, in which Nature almost always appears predominant.' If nature offers irregularity art provides contrast. 'Their artists knowing how powerfully contrast agitates the human mind lose no opportunity of practising sudden transitions, or of displaying strong oppositions. (...) from the simplest arrangements of nature, to the most complicated productions of art.' Sometimes the treatise reads as a fantastic travel book, taking us through urban and rural regions characterised by the contrasting composition of nature and art. In the end, Chambers ascribes to the Chinese the idea that: 'if all land-holders were men of taste, the world might be formed into one continued Garden.'

### Connection and Reciprocity

In the introduction to the reprint of the 'dissertation' in 1972, John Harris accuses Chambers of using the Chinese as a pretext for his fantastic flights of imagination. Unreliable in his information on China he is also unoriginal in his aesthetics, for he relies on Whately's treatise on gardening, published two years before. But although Chambers encountered sharp criticism in England, his treatise became the most widely circulated and influential on gardening

throughout Europe. Why? I think it must be because of the Chinese connection he established. Beyond pretext and pretence, beyond style and fashion, it was a battle of taste, in which European Reason, and its dreams and monsters, were fought in the name of exotic inspiration. Nor colonization nor tourism have brought true contact with 'the other'.

Deep exoticism such as that of Victor Segalen is rare. His attempts at becoming 'other' and adopting the subjective view of the East to criticize the objective West, remained marginal<sup>13</sup>. Joseph Rykwert has analyzed the exotic in architecture as a critique of classicism. Where the foundation of classicism was examined beyond formal matters, the age of reason touched on the primitive and Rykwert affirms the creative value of this research of 'paradise'<sup>14</sup>.

True knowledge of Chinese landscape culture is needed, its sciences, its arts, its philosophies, its vocabulary. In the context of the multiplication of landscapes (urban landscape, cityscape, datascape, wildscape) it is interesting to know that in Chinese there exist as many words for landscape as there are points of view to appreciate its 'nature'<sup>15</sup>. Besides studying the Chinese landscape tradition, it is most interesting to exchange experiences of how this tradition copes with modernity, sharing with the West the urgent task to create each time an original local-global reciprocity. In this, the oriental tradition of a non-anthropocentric, yet subjective, existential and corporeal cosmology seems more than welcome.

13. V. Segalen, *Stèles* (Dutch transl. M. Elzinga), 2000; review by A. Heumakers, *NRC Handelsblad*, 8.12.2000, p. 31.

14. J. Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise*. The idea of the primitive hut in architectural history, New York, 1972

15. A. Berque, *op. cit.* note 6, pp. 72 - 73. There are two general terms *shanshui* and *fengjing*. The first combines the characters for mountain and water; the second connotes pictorial and literary forms, and unites the characters wind and scene. Thus *fengjing* rather points at the atmosphere, *shanshui* at the elements. Both can designate the thing and its representation, but *hua* means exclusively the landscape as painting. And there is more, for example, the luminosity of a landscape is expressed by *fengguang* and even more by *guangjing*, its forms by *jingxiang*, its inhabitants (animate and inanimate) by *fengwu*, its attractivity by *jingse*.

# ON THE CHINESE ORIGINS OF CYBORGS HERMITAGE IN THE ABSOLUTE MARKET

AUGUSTIN BERQUE

*Prof. Augustin Berque declares that he is not going to give the lecture announced in the program, introducing his research program. Invited by Gijs Wallis de Vries he discovered that they had a lot of interesting common fields. The lecture On the Chinese origins of Cyborgs hermitage in the absolute market will be about those common points.*

This title will not tell you a lot if you are not familiar with Cyborg. So the first point is Cyborg. What is Cyborg? The problem today is that of what we know of Cyborg. We know Cyborg as a being, half organic and half mechanical, cybernetic. The problem is, when we conceive Cyborg in this way, we are entirely modern. We have in mind a being which is a body first of all. And in that body there are life functions and mechanical functions. The problem is that this body is limited to its own definition as a body. This conception is utterly modern. The modern conception of a person, a human person is precisely the "topos" which makes coincide two elements. One of them is the animal body, and the second one is a set of values and concepts related with the idea of individual person. I call this "the modern topos." What is excluded here is the field of relationships which exceed this limit of the individual body, which is the animal body we have. For being human we need something more, we need a common field, which is composed with two sets of relations: technical systems and symbolic systems.

Before presenting the philosophers and anthropologists I am referring to, I want to

stress that this conception of being has a long history behind it and concerns directly our conception of place. This conception of place is exactly that of Aristotle, when he defines the "topos" in his physics. Topos is like an unmovable vase. More precisely, it is the immediate outer envelop of a thing. So the first immediate outer envelop of the thing. So it does not go beyond that limit and that outer limit is the contour of the thing. In my mind this is directly related to Aristotle's conception of identity. The principle of identity is very directly related to our conception of being in the west. Being does not go beyond that limit in that conception. The principle of identity, which is also the principle of non-contradiction, is known under the following formula: "A is A and A is not non-A."

I became conscious of the problem in the past few years. I was responsible for the program on what has been called "the logic of place" by the Japanese philosopher Nishida Kitaro (1870-1945). He challenged the western way of thinking and pretended to overcome modernity basing mainly on, that logic of place, which he also called the logic of the predicate. And he opposes this to the logic of the identity of the subject. So the logic of identity is the logic of the thing in itself. In that case the word subject means what we are talking about. The problem is the following. To be talking about, is to predicate. For example, "Socrates is a human being." The subject is "Socrates" and the predicate is "a human being." The predicate is the way we apprehend the subject. We apprehend, we grasp Socrates as a human being.

We take him as; to take as, this is the essence of predication.

After discussions with colleagues it became obvious that predication is much more than what we conceive of it in linguistic or logical terms. It is really the relationships we have with anything, any subject. Of course these relationships comprise language and thought, but first of all comprise the fact to be in relation with. This relation is something which is much more imprecise and indefinable, because it comprises our bodyhood and we are not conscious of it. For example the perception of colours. We know that for example cows perceive much less colours than we do. And we are absolutely unconscious of it. It is just our body which does that for us. After that, at another level, we can talk about colours, about beauty and differences. The first reality is that we perceive more colours than cows. That is a kind of relationship with things, we are totally unconscious of. But these relationships make our world. What we call reality is exactly that way of being in relation with. So reality has very much to do with predication in that sense. This is the problem which was, well, not defined by Nishida, because he eventually made a very big mistake. He stressed that the world, the worldhood, the essence of worldhood, is predication. But he went too far. He forgot that in order to predicate there must be a subject, a thing that exists, which we can not subsume in an act of predication. He did that. We can interpret what Nishida did as the following: It is a reaction against the modern western conception of the real.

The logic of the thing in itself. But the thing in itself does not suppose our existence and that is a big problem. It is a purely objective world which does not comprise human existence. The reaction of Nishida was influenced by oriental, Chinese thought, which was stressing relation. It reacts against dualism, propagated in philosophy by Descartes. Descartes was conscious of the fact, that for establishing the conditions for, what he called, "pure science" was to abstract that kind of relations you have with things. He called that "sentiment," the capacity to feel. We must cut this to apprehend objectively things. The problem is that, what he posed as the condition for "pure science," in fact was the beginning of a dynamics which developed in the following three centuries and produced the world we are now living in. That world, in essence, works upon a logic, which is alien to and refuses human existence and history. (Here we are back at the place where we started, at the "topos," Aristotle's definition of place.) This tendency in the modern way of apprehending things was precisely that against which Heidegger reacted. Heidegger stressed in his philosophy of "being" that "being" goes beyond. It is going outside of the "topos," the animal body of the individual person. But into what is it going? What is this outside? Heidegger thought of it, mainly in temporal terms. There was a Japanese philosopher, Watsuji Tetsuro, who stressed that this was not only a matter of time. He stressed that space also is equally important. It is coming out into "milieu." These days milieu is often used as an equivalent for environment. But there is

an essential difference between those two. Environment is something which is objectified by modern science. The natural environment is exactly what ecology is about and we have objective tools for grasping it. But milieu is different, because milieu has as primal condition that it supposes human existence. Environment does not, because you can imagine an environment before the human species. Milieu is different; it supposes human existence; an existential relationship and that is why it is perfectly in tune with the Heideggerian conception of existence and the dynamics of going outside into the environment, composed with natural or artificial elements. It is outside. Outside can be a forest, but likewise a city. We have to grasp this dynamic of going outside. This way of thinking stems from phenomenology and that is not enough. It is something of subjectivity. We have other more recent proofs for saying the same.

The anthropology of Leroi-Gourhan is my main reference in this. He was studying the evolution of the human species out of an ape. He showed that there was a dynamic interrelationship between three dimensions. The first is the physical evolution of the body, the second is the development of technical systems and the third the development of symbolic systems and they are all functionally interrelated. The functions which were developed by technical and symbolic systems were externalisations of functions that were originally within the body. Which was still not a human body, but a animal body. For example functions of the teeth, which are used for cutting, for example meat. They are

not very developed in this species, but they were more developed before. In order to develop it, they were externalised by pebbles on the end of the arm, where you have a much bigger momentum. This was the start of a technology and it is exactly the same dynamics which is now expressed through the orders we can send to a robot on Mars to move a pebble. Leroi-Gourhan uses the word "exteriorisation," the same as "going outside." Another very important point is the way he talks about systems. When we see a hammer and nails, we do not see the system. But without the system you could do nothing with the tools. But system is not physical. It exists in the relationship which supposes human existence. Hammer and nail is nothing for a dog. So they suppose a human world and relate to Heidegger's ontology, the ontology of worldhood. What Nishida made clear, is that the logic of worldhood is not the logic of the subject, but the logic of the predicate, "what we do with the hammer." This can not be grasped with the modern positivistic logic of the subject. So this is the essential limit of the modern western way of conceiving things. Heidegger made clear that the modern western way of grasping things in fact grasps abstract systems of objects and not real things. It is a set of relations, supposing humans. That was what was made clear in logical terms by Nishida.

But, like I said, he made a big mistake. He absolutised worldhood and by doing that he lost the subject. What he said was that the predicate subsumes, engulfs the subject.

But what you do in fact when you absolutise worldhood, you absolutise your own world in fact. In his case that was the Japanese world and this had a direct political consequence. In fact that was the link he had with nationalism. That is why some people have problems with him, but in essence he just absolutised the political system he was inside, the Japanese imperialism.

What is worldhood? The problem is the relation between world as a predicate and earth as a subject. Subject comes from the Latin word "subjectum," which means "thrown under" and is derived from the Greek for "let under." Another reference is the word "cosmos," which means "cosmic order." But for the Greeks it meant much more. It was also order in general and ornament in general. But it is also the sky. Plato stresses that the "world, cosmos is the sky, ouranos." If we confront this with Heidegger's proposal and Nishida's conception of world, it becomes very clear. The sky is the order, because it is so orderly. But it is an order that the human makes its own, because we conceive of it. Than it is the order we can see in things around us, produce with our work and, in this way, make our world. That is the reason why cosmos says the same as world. To go back to the problem of place. We necessarily predicate the things which are on earth. This makes our world. This relation between earth and sky, subject and predicate, is reality. The fundamental problem which arises is, that this predication is alien to the principle of identity. You can symbolise the principle of identity with "A is A and A is not non-A."

The essence of predication is "S is P," so subject is predicate. This is directly in contradiction with the principle of identity. It is the problem of symbolism. For example, when you speak of a dog, you can say "this is a dog." The word "dog" is the predicate of the real dog. It is not the identity of the dog, which is here. The word "dog" does not bite. This is a terrible problem. Because in the modern way of thinking we are based on an Aristotelian conception of the topos of identity. In that way, being can not go beyond the limit of that vase. Being cannot go into a system of predicate. This would go beyond the identity of the dog. But the existence of the dog definitely goes beyond. To exist means "to stand out." It goes beyond the individual and goes outside in a common "milieu," which is both technical and symbolic.

Back to the problem of Cyborg. We know Cyborg as a being that is half organic and half mechanical, cybernetic. But this is only the image we know from the movies. We think we are not Cyborg, except for some people who need some mechanical parts in their body to survive. This is a very limited conception of a Cyborg. The techniques extend our functions. But what do the symbols? They retrieve the world within our body. When I speak of the planet Mars here. Mars is not here physically, but it goes through my body, because the symbol enables me to represent and it goes outside of my mouth to your ears into your bodies. So the symbols brought Mars back here. This is a movement of going in and going out. It is both a "cosmisation" and a "somati-

sation." So your body becomes a world and "somatisation" means, your world becomes your body. If our world is dominated by a logic of objective systems, a system of objects in a modern way, it becomes a mechanical world. This mechanical world is retrieved into our own body and by doing this, it imposes this mechanical logic to our own existence.

Cities are an expression of human existence and historically this has been expressed by numerous systems of symbols which equate this city to the body and the body to the cosmos. But now the modern functionalism and objectivism has made cities systems of objects rather than that externalisation of the human itself. For example in Japan in the 20th century, in the big cities there has been going on a destruction of small, historical streets and buildings. The reason for this destruction is the safety of the people. Because the fire-fighters truck is too big for the small streets they had to be destroyed. This is directly making a city for an object. So the city in that system is an object which you adopt to another object. That was also expressed by a former president of France, Pompidou. He said "il faut adapter Paris à l'automobile." Paris became an object, which you have to adapt to another object. This is the world of Cyborg. You have to adapt to that world. You are living in that world and your life is completely determined by it. This is Cyborg.

We need to overcome that system, because it is basically not human, it is the world of

Cyborg. It is based on the principle of identity, of object which has been abstracted from human existence, abstracted from the existential relationship with things, turning them into objects and based on the objective relation between objects only. This the problem of proportion. An essential distinction has to be made between this objective "proportion" on the one hand and "scale" on the other hand. Scale needs a reference to human existence. For example to the size of the human body. The difference between proportion and scale was shown by Viollet-le-Duc. He showed that Greek temples are a perfect expression of a system of proportion. In some cases to respect the proportion, if you made a bigger temple, for example the steps to go into the temple, would be too big for a human to climb up. It exceeded human scale, but it respected proportion. Proportion was divine. Easy to understand, because it was a house of God. But it can exceed human scale. So Viollet-le-Duc said, that you can build very big things, but there will always be elements referring to the human size. You can see this in for example Gothic churches. Scale refers necessarily to human size. Proportion can be totally abstracted from human existence. And the world we are living in, because of modern dualism, has more and more substituted proportion to scale. The example of the fire-fighter truck in Japan is a very simple illustration of this principle. You have a proportion between the truck and the street, which is totally objective and for example all the cultural relations which people had with their old streets and buildings are neglected. These relations



charged with history and feeling were not taken into account.

Scale is something pre-modern, but which has modern expressions. Pre-modern maps had some kind of scale. The principle of pre-modern scale was that you refer to scale. In modern maps this reference to the human body was replaced by a direct reference to the earth itself. At that time, the end of the 18th century, scale became a pure proportion between a piece of paper and the earth, as an object. That is modernization, "deworldization." This deworldization produces a world that not necessitates human existence and which in fact becomes less and less human. That is a problem which involves all systems of value in our existence, ethics, aesthetics etc. In the modern way of thinking, there is the idea, that the real is true and in fact is stronger than those very confused references to human existence. But that is what has changed at the end of the 20th century. Another reference appeared and that is the limit of the earth itself. That was the problem of the environment. Out of scaleness, which is essentially modern, can be discussed indefinitely if you refer only to human existence. Because you will always have people saying: "oh, this is a problem of your culture, but I am seeing this in another way," and "you are not serious, I am dealing with real scientific facts." So there is no end. But there appeared an end in the second half of the 20th century. This end is the reference to the biosphere. The new reference is the problem of scale, because these systems which develop for

themselves without reference to the biosphere, will end in the end of the biosphere. They destroy nature. We know this scientifically. We could not know this before modernity. That is what modernity made possible. Human existence on the one hand and the biosphere on the other hand, putting them together is the clue to go beyond modernity. Because we have a very strong, objective reason for referring to the biosphere and we have a very strong moral sense to take again human existence in to reference, we opened a way to overcome modernity.

*The following text is a supplement to the lecture of Augustin Berque.*<sup>0</sup>

## Research on the history of disurbanity - Hypotheses and first data

### § 1. Ontology of the ecumene

Disurbanity will be defined below, in connection with social overhead capital<sup>1</sup>. The hypothesis comprises an ontological plane and a geo-historical plane. The latter makes the body of the present paper. The former, its indispensable foundation, cannot here but be summarized as an introduction<sup>2</sup>. It rests on the idea that the human being is not limited to the contour of an individual body, but opens out into a common milieu, the nature of which is eco-techno-symbolic. The whole of human milieux forms the ecumene, which is the relationship of Humankind with the Earth.

This view is founded on three orders of references, which are focussed on the following concepts :

- *Being-out-of-oneself*<sup>3</sup> and *mediance*<sup>4</sup>, which mean that human existence is an opening outwards<sup>5</sup>. Mediance (from the Latin *medietas*, half), in particular, means that a "half" of Being is made up with a milieu.
- *Bodyhood* as the synthesis of a body and a milieu<sup>6</sup>, enabling one to consider the latter as a medial body, an indissociable extension of the animal body in the human species<sup>7</sup>.
- *Worldhood*<sup>8</sup> as embodying a *logic of the predicate*<sup>9</sup>; which means that our world is formed by the way we apprehend things. This predication is largely unconscious, since its focus is our animal body<sup>10</sup>.

0. International scientific co-operation project; unsustainability in human settlements; General argument and personal project Augustin Berque, EHESS/CNRS, Paris, berque@ehess.fr

1. See below, note 25.

2. In have developed it in *Écoumène. Introduction à l'étude des milieux humains* (Ecumene : introduction to the study of human milieux), Paris : Belin, 2000 (Japanese translation *Fuudogaku josetsu* forthcoming at Chikuma, Tokyo in late 2001), where more detailed references will be found. The present research, in its turn, intends to develop some of the perspectives outlined in the last chapter of this book.

3. Translating Heidegger's *Ausser-sich-sein*.

4. Translating Watsuji's *fuudosei*.

5. The Latin etymology of existence combines *ex* (outwards) with *sistentia*, from *sistere*, to stand.

6. This view refers to Merleau-Ponty on the one hand, to Lakoff and Johnson on the other hand.

7. This view refers to Leroi-Gourhan, who, though, does not speak of a medial body but of a social body (*corps social*), constituted with the technical and symbolic systems which in the human species extend the animal body. "Medial" on the other hand expresses that this technosymbolic extension of the animal body is necessarily also ecological, as it opens out into the ecosystems of the environment (and by this very fact turns it into a properly human milieu).

8. Translating Heidegger's *Weltlichkeit*. Yet - and this is the problem of scale, which we will see later (§2) - the mediance of the ecumene cannot be reduced to the worldhood of the world, because, supposing the biosphere which in its turn supposes the planet (while the reverse is not true), it necessarily partakes, also, in the universalness of the physical.

9. Translating Nishida's *jutsugo no ronri*. Nishida also makes use in the same sense of *basho no ronri* (logic of place). For more details on this logic, see Augustin Berque and Philippe Nys (ed.) *Logique du lieu et œuvre humaine* (Logic of place and human work), Brussels : Ousia, 1997; and Augustin Berque (ed.) *Logique du lieu et dépassement de la modernité* (Logic of place and the overcoming of modernity), 2 volumes, Brussels : Ousia, 2000. The essence of the logic of the predicate is metaphorical : S is P violates the principle of identity A is not non-A.

10. In the sense that, on the one hand (as Merleau-Ponty has shown on the grounds of clinical neurophysiology) the body predicates its environment into a behavioural milieu (*milieu de comportement*) and that, on the other hand (as Lakoff and Johnson have shown on the grounds of cognitive science) it predicates thought through sets of "primary metaphors".

Needless to say, this ontology is incompatible with modern dualism, which juxtaposes a physical objectiveness with a mental subjectiveness, the latter projecting itself one-sidedly onto the former. The things of the *ecumene* cannot be reduced to such a relation : neither only objective nor only subjective, they are *trajective*<sup>11</sup> ; because our world is fraught with our bodyhood, while our body is fraught with our worldhood<sup>12</sup>. Accordingly, in human milieu, there is at the same time a *cosmisation*<sup>13</sup> of the body and a *somatization*<sup>14</sup> of the world. This bodyhood-worldhood is our *mediance*.

## § 2. Cyborg and disurbanity

As for the geo-historical plane of the hypothesis, it relates to the problematics of *sustainability* ; that is, the question of knowing how our civilization could become ecologically viable, which it is not<sup>15</sup>. The perspective is a historical one : it concerns the process which brought forth the present situation.

The two planes of the hypothesis are linked by three postulates :

- The said process is a *loss of scale*. " Scale " is here understood as that which relates a given size to the human body in its concrete existence ; that is in the *ecumene*, and therefore in the biosphere and on the planet which found it. For instance, in the scalar relation of map to territory, the territory is the size order in which our body lives, whereas it cannot in that of the map. In that way, scale is distinguished from *proportion*, which relates together any sizes without referring to the human one<sup>16</sup>. Accordingly, proportion can be abstracted from our existence, and thus totally objective. Scale remains concrete, and therefore essentially *trajective*. In the same way, there are proportions between *objects*, with no limits of size ; whereas a *thing* is necessarily at a certain scale, concretely qualified on the one hand by the capacities of the human body, and on the other hand by those of the biosphere. Now, in the process which Heidegger called *Entweltlichung* (deworldization), modernity has tended to objectify the things, and therefore to develop abstract systems of objects ; that is, the logic of which refers to themselves instead of concrete existence, to which they are imposed rather than they stem from it. Thus, *out-of-scaleness* tends to become the rule, because it is " objective ".

- The said process is at the same time a *fetishization*. This Marxian notion was originally applied to commodities : it means that hiding the social relations which have really produced their value invests them falsely with an intrinsic value. Here this meaning is extended to the following. By developing systems of objects for themselves, modernity hides the relations which make them things. It abstracts them from the existential tissue of their milieu (our medial body), reducing it to a physically measurable environment<sup>17</sup>. As this reduction rests on the principle of identity which founds modern science, it eliminates the logic of the predicate which makes the worldhood of things<sup>18</sup>. It deworldizes them into objects. By doing so, it invests them falsely with the value which they owe in fact ontologically to our *mediance*. Thus it fetishizes them ; and charging them in that way with an intrinsic value, it leads us to developing them out of scale.

- Out of scale and fetishized, these systems of objects *change the direction of technic* : rather than deploying the functions of the human body, it dictates its own functionality to human life<sup>19</sup>. Then appears *Cyborg* : a *being which is mechanized by its mechanical world*.

This change of direction motivates the present research. The question is not whether technic is good or bad in itself. Such a question belongs to a mere logic of identity. This, by definition, abstracts it from the *ecumene*, in which this logic is necessarily combined with a logic of the predicate<sup>20</sup>. A knife is good *when* one cuts meat, it is bad *when* one cuts one's finger. What it is - a thing - is neither only objective nor only subjective, but *trajective* ; that is, *tuned in to our body in the contingency of history*<sup>21</sup>. Now, systems of objects hide their meaning, which is a matter of things, not of objects.

This problem concerns our whole civilization. It is too vast to form in itself the object of a definite research. Therefore, I shall here consider only one of its aspects, relating to the question of settlements, particularly that of urban sprawl<sup>22</sup>. The thesis which I intend to uphold is the following. This paradigmatical expression of contemporary systems of objects : the coupling of Automobile and Cottage, which makes cities explode<sup>23</sup>, is not sustainable. It is not, because it tends to abstract itself from any scale, both from the ethical and political point of view of the human polity and from the ecological point of view of the biosphere.

17. This distinction between milieu (*fluudo*) and environment (*kankyou*) was established by Watsuji Tetsurō in *Fuudo* (1935). In other words, modernity reduces human milieu to Descartes' *extensio*. From the point of view of *mediance*, this reduction is a shutting out (forclusion) of " half " of our Being, i.e. of our medial body, thus reduced to the objects of *extensio*. Hence a " want-of-Being " (*manque-à-être*), in which I see the fundamental motivation of the consumption of these objects, which from thereon are standing for it.

18. See above, note 8. Thus the world is replaced by a universe abstracted from human existence. This is nothing else than Descartes' *extensio*, bereft - as Descartes had indeed seen it - of the " feeling " (*sentiment*) which is " our very life " (*notre vie même*). For Descartes, this abstraction was necessary only for " pure science " ; but the systems of objects of modernity have extended it to all the aspects of existence.

19. This reversal had been viewed as a risk by Leroi-Gourhan. It was indeed one of the possible results of the " exteriorization " of the functions of the animal body by technics. After the " prefrontal event ", biological evolution did not keep pace with technical progress ; then " technic (...) seems to exteriorize itself completely and, as it were, to live its own life " (*Le Geste et la parole* [*Gesture and Speech*], Paris : Albin Michel, 1964, volume I, p. 169).

20. The logic of identity is a logic of the subject (*IgS*) as opposed to that of the predicate (*IgP*). *IgS* can only grasp abstract objects, not concrete things, which belong to the relation *IgS/IgP* (i.e. reality). See above notes 9 and 18.

21. As I cannot argue this thesis in the present paper (I did in the book referred to in note 2), let us here consider it as a postulate.

22. I owe the idea of relating the figure of Cyborg with the question of urban sprawl to Antoine Picon, *La Ville territoire des Cyborgs* (*The Territorial City of the Cyborgs*), Besançon : Les Éditions de l'Imprimeur, 1998. Picon's standpoint is different, though, as I have commented in *Cybèle et Cyborg : les échelles de l'écoumène* (*Cybele and Cyborg : the scales of the ecumene*), *Urbanisme*, 214 (Sept.-Oct. 2000), 40-42. The same issue contains several articles relating to the question of the sustainable city.

23. This phenomenon, though most conspicuous in the United States, tends to follow individual motorization everywhere. In the French case, see Geneviève Dubois-Taine and Yves Chalas (eds.) *La Ville émergente* (*The Emerging City*), *La Tour d'Aigues* : Éditions de l'Aube, 1997.

This unsustainability<sup>24</sup> can be illustrated with the parable of the Delivery Trucks : Recently combined with the couple of Automobile and Cottage, the system of objects of the Computer has brought forth *e-urbanization*, which goes in pace with *e-commerce* ; that is, the faculty of ordering through the Internet any commodity at home, including adopted children. In its logic, such a system makes retailers, cities and even suburban malls useless. Accordingly, it makes possible to live close to nature. At the same time, as it frees commodities from the frictions of externalities, it also makes possible to actualize the ideal of market liberalism. Understandably, it does not lack supporters. Yet, in the reality of the ecumene, this system requires to multiply the social overhead capital<sup>25</sup> of cities by the number of individual consumers. Indeed, the book which formerly was bought by one hundred pedestrians at a single bookshop in a single street in a single town, now has to be dispatched by one hundred Delivery Trucks to one hundred Cottages disseminated in Nature at the end of one hundred Roads<sup>26</sup>. Such is the logic of Cyborg's systems of objects, which also is the logic of absolute market. This *market absolutism = machine absolutism* abstracts both the commodity and the consumer from the ecumene, that is at the same time from the biosphere and from the polity<sup>27</sup>. Clearly, this logic is neither ecological nor sociological. Unsustainable at least on a living Earth, it therefore structurally *needs the desert*.

### § 3. The cottage in the landscape

I am considering the main figure of this system : the Cottage. It is indeed for serving its Cottage that Cyborg buys its machines ; it is for staying in its Cottage that it orders on the Internet, and it is for living in its Cottage that it escaped from the city. What then is the glamour of the Cottage ? It is *to be close to Nature*.

Now, the parable of the Delivery Trucks has shown us that this system destroys its very object. Why then does Cyborg want the Cottage ? This is firstly because Cyborg lives in a predicate brought forth by the *Fordian revolution*<sup>28</sup> ; that is, where mass consumption of individual goods (e.g. Ford cars and Misawa Homes cottages) tends asymptotically to replace the social overhead capital which cities used to exalt. Indeed, toward the horizon of the asymptote, you do not even need roads : as the Four-Wheel

Drive Toyota Land Cruiser parked in front of the Cottage proclaims in bold letters on the cover of its prominent spare wheel (the emblem of wilderness), *INTO THE NATURE*<sup>29</sup>!

One can see here that the Fordian predicate is itself subtended by another predicate, that which the Land Cruiser points at : " *the " Nature*. Yet, the Fordian revolution was decisive. Before it, indeed, living in the wilderness was the special feature of hermits ; that is, one could have access to the solitudes of the desert (uninhabited land, in Greek *eremos*, hence " hermit ") only by giving up the goods of the ecumene (inhabited land). Thus, one could be a hermit only at the price of frugality, which as a matter of fact started eremitic asceticism. As the reverse of the ecumene, the *ereme*<sup>30</sup> was that which freed you from the world, and especially from the city. Henceforth, on the contrary, Cyborg frees itself from the city to the very degree of its consumption of goods. By so doing, to be sure, it disrupts nature, insofar as it multiplies anthropic pressure on the ecosystems ; but this is hidden by Cyborg's fetishes, which even procure it on the contrary the feeling that the more numerous and splendid its machines are, the deeper it lives " into the Nature ".

Living closer to nature, this is indeed Cyborg's basic motivation. Where does it get it from ? From predicates devolved upon it by history, and which, in the West, have converged into the paradigm of the American suburb. These predicates make our world. They motivate modern disurbanity. They have been rather well assessed<sup>31</sup>. Yet there is one, the range of which has not been sufficiently acknowledged by historiography : that by dint of which was instituted, for the first time in human history, namely in Southern China under the Six Dynasties (III<sup>d</sup>-VI<sup>th</sup> c. AD), the aesthetic couple *Landscape-Cottage*. As a matter of fact, Cyborg's world is incorporated on the aesthetic plane ; because what it is seeking for, above all, is landscape : *the look of nature*<sup>32</sup>.

How, in this respect, since the Six Dynasties, was hollowed out the *semantic basin*<sup>33</sup> which Cyborg is now living in, this is the question. It comprises that of a possible transmission of the landscape predicate from China to mediaeval Europe, which must be considered but remains hypothetic<sup>34</sup>. My own research is about the moral foundations of the Landscape-Cottage couple, which not only links ethics and aesthet-

24. Needless to say, I am not alone in advocating such a thesis. For more detailed argumentations, see for instance Guy Mercier and Jacques Béthémont (eds.) *La Ville en quête de nature* (The City in Search of Nature), Sillery (Québec) : Septentrion, 1998.

25. I use this locution a wider meaning than its ordinary acceptation in economics. The social overhead capital of the city does not only consist in material collective goods (such as buses, sewage systems etc.), but also in the social relationships which make urbanity, thus enabling humans to live in large numbers in a common space (the city). Correlatively, I understand disurbanity as a dilapidation of this physical and moral capital.

26. True, Cyborg is fond of devising routes which optimize the circuit of its Delivery Trucks ; but this changes nothing to the logic of its system : substituting the individual to the collective, and therefore multiplying anthropogenic impact on the biosphere ; which, in the end, leads to the desert. By the way, the use of capitals here indicates the fetishization of the system.

27. Indeed, this logic breaks down at the same time the city and fellow citizenship. The motif of the " village community " which Cyborg often invokes is a chimaera. For an analysis of precise sociological studies on this question, see Michel Conan's contribution to Augustin Berque (ed.) *Urbanité française, urbanité nipponne*, vol. II : *La Maîtrise de la ville* (French Urbanity, Japanese Urbanity, vol. II : Urban Control), Paris : Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1994. This chimaera, on the contrary, leads to segregation, notably on racial (i.e. naturalistic) grounds. This can already be observed clearly in the average socio-spatial structure of the USA, where the lighter your skin, the farther you live from the city core, and the darker, the closer. See the statistics p. 97 in Cynthia Ghorra-Gobin, *La Ville américaine, espace et société* (The American City : Space and Society), Paris : Nathan, 1998.

28. In the sense of a reversal, like when one speaks of the Copernican revolution. Economists have celebrated the obsequies of fordism too early ; in fact, it imbues our world so deeply that one does not see it anymore. Needless to say, the Fordian revolution occurred in the wake of the bourgeois revolution, which as a general trait has tended to reduce the human to the modern topos "animal body : individual person". For instance, privatizing commons has substituted an " I possess this object " to a " We are this medial body ". On this topic, see op. cit. in note 2.

29. This is a Japanese example (hence the solecism), but Cyborg also makes use of other makes of Four-Wheel Drives, and its cottage is not necessarily located in Izumi Park Town. The fastest growing category of vehicles in rich countries is the SUV (Sport and Utility Vehicle), that is the big FWD which one uses for shopping at the mall. For any self-respecting Cyborg, the SUV is today an indispensable attribute of the Cottage, together with the Sedan and the Mini. Indeed, the SUV enables Cyborg to assuage its structural need of desert, because it is of the same make as the machines of the Paris-Dakar Race (Cyborg's eucharistic rite, celebrating its consubstantiality with the Machine, the Market and the Desert).

30. I have analysed this contrastive structure in *Le sauvage et l'artifice. Les Japonais devant la nature*, Paris : Gallimard, 1997 (1996) [English edition *Japan : Nature, Artifice and Japanese Culture*, Yelvertoft Manor : Pilkington, 1997 ; Japanese edition *Fuudo no Nihon : bunka to shizen no tsuta*, Tokyo : Chikuma Shobou, 1988, and *Chikuma Gakugei Bunko*, 1992] ; and more recently in *Les Déserts de Jean Verame* (Jean Verame's Deserts), Milan/Paris : Skira/Seuil, 2000 ('Erèmos', p. 15-31). The Greek *eremos*, like the Latin *eremus* and the Gascon *herm*, comes from an Indo-European root *er*, meaning separation.

31. Let us, for the record, only mention four titles, complementary to each other : Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore : Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley : University of California Press, 1967 ; V. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, New Haven : Yale University Press, 1973 ; K. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier : the Suburbanization of the United States*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1985 ; and Georges Teyssot (ed.), *The American Lawn*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1999.

32. One can be convinced of this by reading Pierre Donadieu (photographs by Gérard Dalla Santa), *Campagnes urbaines* (Urban Countrysides), Arles and Versailles : Actes Sud and École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage, 1998 ; as well as Bertrand Hervieu and Jean Viard, *Au bonheur des campagnes* (et des provinces) (To the Happiness of Countrysides, and of Provinces), La Tour d'Aigues, Éditions de l'Aube, 1997, who show that it is landscape which nowadays cements French territoriality. Starting from different premisses, this is in fact the same purport as Picon's.

33. The notion of *bassin sémantique* is due to Gilbert Durand, who notably used it in regard of Pelagius' heritage in *Introduction à la mythologie. Mythes et sociétés* (Introduction to mythology : Myths and Societies), Paris : Albin Michel, 1996.

34. For a recent inquiry, see Hidemichi Tanaka, 'Leonardo da Vinci's landscapes and Chinese influences', p. 73-76 in Heliana Angotti Salgueiro (ed.), *Paisagem e arte. A invenção da natureza, a evolução do olhar* (Landscape and Art : the Invention of Nature, the Evolution of the Eye), Sao Paulo : Comitê Brasileiro de História da Arte, 2000.

ics, but implies a whole worldview. The Six Dynasties are an epoch of political unrest, and that of a fecund intercourse between Taoism, Bouddhism (a newcomer) and Confucianism, which had lost the position of an orthodoxy it had under the Han. It is poets who then have invented the notion of landscape (*shanshui*)<sup>35</sup>, and it is also a poet, Tao Yuanming (365-427), who established the paradigm of the return to authenticity (*zhen*) in the "woven hut" (*jie lu*) at the outer limit of the fields, after having escaped from the city<sup>36</sup>.

What I want to make clear<sup>37</sup> are the moving forces of this feeling of authenticity, which Tao Yuanming, exactly to the reverse of his contemporary Augustine, experienced in the landscape, from the side of his small garden: *ci zhong you zhen yi*, "here is true meaning"<sup>38</sup>.

#### § 4. The desert, the frontier, and Xinjiang

By alluding to Saint Augustine, I mean that doing such a research will be to set a perspective. It does not aim at adding another room to the building we owe to the specialists of the Six Dynasties<sup>39</sup>, which would be to close a worldhood upon itself in the culturalist way; but, on the contrary, at understanding how the world which was set at that time in fact lives on and imbues our own. This impregnation was made through aesthetics, toward present East Asia on the one hand<sup>40</sup>, and toward the Occident on the other hand, by the agency of the Jesuits and of personages like William Chambers (1723-1796)<sup>41</sup>. On this side, then, the question will be to clarify the way in which a confluence was performed between this oriental influx (manifested among others in "Sharawadgi" taste) and the heritage of the classic pastoral; a confluence which nurtured the art of parks in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, and from thereon conditioned the view which the Europeans and above all the Americans have had of the Home, with the myth of the house close to nature<sup>42</sup>.

35. In particular Xie Lingyun (385-433). See Obi Kouichi, *Shareiun, kodoku na sansui shijin* (Xie Lingyun, the lonely poet of landscape), Tokyo, Kyuuko Shoin, 1983. More generally, see Donald Holzman, *Landscape Appreciation in Ancient and Early Medieval China: the Birth of Landscape Poetry*, Hsin Chu (Taiwan), National Tsinghua University, 1996.

36. Much has been written on Tao Yuanming, who in East Asia is much more alive than Horace, Hesiod or Virgil are in the West. See in particular Ishikawa Tadahisa, *Tou Enmei to sono jidai* (Tao Yuanming and his epoch), Tokyo: Kenkyuu Shuppan, 1994.  
37. For the moment, I have only cleared the outskirts of the question; see Augustin Berque, *Les Raisons du paysage. De la Chine antique aux environnements de synthèse* (The Reasons of Landscape, from Ancient China to Synthetic Environments), Paris: Hazan, 1995; 'En el origen del paisaje' (At the origins of landscape), *Revista de Occidente*, 189 (Feb. 1997), 7-21; 'El nacimiento del paisaje en China' (The birth of landscape in China), p. 13-21 in Javier Maderuelo (ed.), *El Paisaje: arte e naturaleza* (Landscape: Art and Nature), Huesca, Ediciones La Val de Onsera, 1997; 'Paysage à la chinoise, paysage à l'europpéenne', p. 61-69 in Jean Mottet (ed.), *Les paysages du cinéma* (The Landscapes of Cinema), Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1999.  
38. Verse 9 in Tao Yuanming's famous poem *Yin jiu* (Drinking), 5.

39. Except referring to the Chinese texts when it comes to the most significant notions, my own research will rely mainly on the works of Japanese sinologists, whose bibliography on the Six Dynasties is enormous.

40. The aesthetic theme of the hermitage, established under the Six Dynasties, was transmitted to Japan through the poets of the Tang dynasty (Bo Juyi in particular). There, it brought forth, among others, the *sukiya* architectural style of tea pavilions (*chashitsu*), and influenced in many respects the Cottage-Garden couple which nowadays proliferates in Japanese suburbs. I intend to clarify this descent, which I have outlined in *Du Geste à la cité. Formes urbaines et lien social au Japon*, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobou, 1993 (English edition Japan: Cities and Social Bonds, Yelvertoft Manor: Pilkington, 1997; Japanese edition Toshi no Nihon. Shosa kara kyoudoutai e, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobou, 1996) and in 'Destin, au Japon, de la garden city howardienne' (Destiny of the Howardian garden city in Japan), p. 147-162 in Ignacy Sachs (ed.) *Quelles villes, pour quel développement* (Which cities, for which development?), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996.

41. Chinese gardens were known of through the Jesuits, but it is William Chambers' books on Chinese architecture and gardens which definitely influenced the creation of parks in the English style.

42. See below, §5 and note 58.

This confluence - the compost in which Cyborg's Cottage germinated - must be analysed as such, not from the single point of view of the sole Western history. Accordingly, the method can only be a systematically parallel scrutiny of the two flows, that which comes from Greco-Roman Antiquity and that which comes from China. As such a task is enormous, one should focus it on certain themes, certain works and certain figures<sup>43</sup>; and it cannot but be collective (see §5).

Personally, I intend to deepen the comparison of the *ecumene/ereme* contrastive structure in East Asia on the one hand, in the West (Europe and North America) on the other hand. Here interfere several referential fields. The *ecumene in general* combines World (logic of the predicate: *IgP*) and Earth (logic of the subject: *IgS*), the World being that which predicates the Earth; i.e. *IgS/IgP*. This predication (worldization) applies to all the aspects of the Earth, including deserts in all the acceptations of this term. Within this relation but at another level, though, *the ecumene in particular*, as "inhabited land" (*oikoumenê gê*), is opposed to ereme as "the uninhabited"; that is the wilderness of forests, mountains, seas, arid and cold deserts. The general ontological structure of the *ecumene* is necessarily expressed in the terms of this contrast, at the particular level of a given milieu or a given world; e.g. Six-Dynasties China, or XXth c. United States. As a matter of fact, the ereme is there the concrete metaphor of an unpredictable absolute: that which, in the abstract relation *IgS/IgP*, would be *IgS* itself, i.e. Truth, un-veiled (*a-lêtheia*) of any worldly predicate and beyond any contingency. Eremitism, in the Orient as in the Occident, consists in seeking for this absolute in the ereme.

However, in the contingency of history and the concreteness of human milieux, World and Earth touch each other<sup>44</sup> and grow together<sup>45</sup> by dint of a certain horizon, which limits both and makes them indispensable to one another; that is, ereme and *ecumene* here are correlates: they exist as a function of each other, concretely, *in the motifs of a milieu and the motivations of a history*. In that of the United States, for example, the ereme (wilderness) was identified with the West. It was positive, as the Frontier, an attribute of American identity which later was applied even to the conquest of the Moon and now is applied to the edge city, i.e. to the paradigm of Cyborg's habitat<sup>46</sup>. On the contrary, in neighbouring Canada, the ereme lies rather to the North, which is negative: at the end of that ereme, there is flatly

43. For instance, it should be fruitful to compare the purport of the Bao pu zi (The Master who Embraced Simplicity), a work by Ge Hong (284-364) which deeply influenced Chinese eremitism (*yindun*), with that of anchoritism in early Christian times. The least one can say is that the latter's contemptus mundi (contempt of the world) was not prone to landscape aestheticism; but one has to go beyond too simple oppositions. In a context and with referents which at first may seem antipodal, there are for instance subtle congruences between the pre-destination of saints as it appears in the arguments exchanged between Augustine and Pelagius on the one hand, and the achievements of Taoist immortals (*xian*) as exposed in the Bao pu zi on the other hand. On the former, see B.R. Rees, *Pelagius: life and letters*, Woodbridge: the Boydell Press, 1991; on the latter, see Murakami Yoshimi, *Hou boku shi* (The Bao pu zi), Tokyo: Meitoku Shuppan, 1967.

44. In Latin *cum-tangere*, hence contingency. This essential contingency is for instance symbolized by the ambivalence of mundus (a sacred hole in the earth) = mundus (the world = kosmos) at the foundation of a city in Roman times. Kosmos, the World, is the predicate of the Earth, this subject (subjectum in Latin, i.e. "thrown under" = *hupokeimenon* in Greek, i.e. "laid under") which "lies under the sky" (*hupo to kosmō...keimenê*, Isocrates, 78); a sky-predicate which is at the same time Order, Ornament and World - the three meanings of kosmos in Greek (as well as three of those of mundus in Latin), since kosmos = ouranos (sky), as is stressed in the last sentence of Plato's *Timaeus*. As a matter of fact, the templum of the foundation of a Roman city consists in projecting a portion of the sky onto the earth, i.e. in instituting, through this predication (*cum-templatio*) a new *ecumene* [eco-, from oikos, house, comes from a radical *weik*, inhabit, which has also given the French *villie*, city]. *Contemplatio* hence has taken the sense of "consideration", which indeed consists in seeing things in a certain way, that is in predicating S into a certain P, Earth into a certain World. For example, for the Byzantines, *hê oikoumenê* meant the Christian world.

45. In Latin *cum-crescere*, hence concreteness. This essential concreteness is for instance symbolized by the mutual begetting of territory, myth and dream among the Aborigines of the Red Centre of Australia. On this topic, see Sylvie Poirier, *Les Jardins du nomade. Cosmologie, territoire et personne dans le désert occidental australien* (The Nomad's Gardens: Cosmology, Territory and Person in the Australian Western Desert), Münster: LIT Verlag, 1996.

46. The subtitle of Joel Garreau's famous book, *Edge city* (1991), is indeed *Life on the New Frontier*. The edge city is the noble forehead of suburban sprawl, which, besides, Brian J.L. Berry has upgraded to e-urbanization.

death, not California<sup>47</sup>. In mediaeval Europe as in China, the main motif of the ereme was the wooded mountain<sup>48</sup>. Yet in China, the ereme was also the Western Areas, *Xiyu*, with their stretches of sterile *geb*<sup>49</sup> but with their oases as well, which, along the piedmonts of the Tianshan and the Kunlun, led to other worlds.

Most of the time, though, people are not in quest of the absolute. Like Tao Yuanming or like Horace, they are satisfied with the amenity of a countryside in the way of anti-worldliness. Therefore, it is rather on this side than among true anchorites that I should see the main source of contemporary disurbanity. Nevertheless, cultivated though it may be, the countryside, in relation to the city, plays here the role of the ereme in relation to the ecumene; anyway, it is as "nature" that it exists for Cyborg<sup>50</sup>. The ground of the structure is indeed the relation of ereme to ecumene, and the analysis must be pressed on down to that level<sup>51</sup>.

I intend in that way, again from a comparative point of view, to examine how was organized in China the predicate of the ereme, in its double version of wooded mountain (*shan*) on the one hand, and of Western Areas on the other hand. In the misty recesses of the *shan* hides the Obscure Female, *Xuan Pin*, a cosmic life-giving principle, and in the *shan* of the West, the Kunlun, reigns the Queen Mother of the Occident, *Xiwangmu*, an immortal who possesses the elixir of life. The Travel to the West, *Xiyouji*, is a classic of Chinese fantasy<sup>52</sup>. The thing will be on the one hand to see how functioned the imagery of this fantasy<sup>53</sup>, and on the other hand to see how, correlatively, was organized the Chinese presence in the Western Areas; for instance, in the region of Luntai, through the settling of *tuntianbing* (colonial troops), the model of which - in Japanese *tondenhei* - was adopted by the Meiji government, two thousand years later, for colonizing the Northern Island, Hokkaido<sup>54</sup>.

The rough history of the colonization of the Western Areas leads to the present problematics of sustainable development, since Xinjiang - the Chinese West - is now the object of a policy of development by forced marches. In this sense, while the traffic there is still widely made by donkey cart (*lûche*), the problem meets that of Cyborg; and although the Tarim River<sup>55</sup> flows far away from the Seine and the St. Lawrence, it is their common basin which I would like to put into light.

47. As stresses Gaille McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985. N.B.: langscape reveals that the matter is indeed about a predication.

48. See for instance Laurence Meiffret, 'L'ermitte et la montagne dans l'art médiéval, XIIIe-XVIe siècles' (Hermits and mountains in mediaeval art, XIII-XVIth c.), p. 107-152 in *La Montagne et ses images, du peintre d'Akrésilas à Thomas Cole* (Mountain and its Images, from the Painter of Akresilas to Thomas Cole).

49. The *geb* are stony and barren stretches of land. This word has given the toponym Gobi. *Gebi* are Cyborg's delight: there it feels really at home, since it can drive without roads (see above, note 29).

50. See above, §3 and particularly notes 29, 31, 32. Cyborg does not get on with farmers, those ereme-busters.

51. I postulate therefore that in order to understand the couple of Landscape and Cottage, one has to study the thought of hermits. In this respect, I refer first to Kagurazaka Masatoshi, *Chuugoku ni okeru in'itsu shisou no kenkyuu* (Research on the thought of eremitism in China), Tokyo: Pelikansha, 1993. The theme of "retreating to the desert" (in Japanese *inton*, i.e. the Chinese *yindun*) has been a remarkable motif and a motivation in the history of Japanese suburbs. On this topic, see Higuchi Tadahiko, *Kougai no fuukei*. *Edo kara Toukyou e* (Landscapes of the Suburb: from Edo to Tokyo), Tokyo: Kyouiku Shuppan, 2000.

52. Dating from the Ming Dynasty, it is still very popular. I have bought my own copy from a pavement bookshop in Kashgar in 2000, but I had read before, in 1960, René Grousset's *Sur les traces de Bouddha* (On Buddha's Footsteps), Paris: Plon, 1929, which relates Xuan Zang's journey to India in the VIIIth c. - the origin of this story -, and in the eighties, my children were fond of Dragon Ball, a Japanese interpretation of the *Xiyouji* in manga (comics), now also widely diffused in the world by the television.

53. In particular by exploiting Isobe Akira's huge work 'Saiyuu'ki keiseishi no kenkyuu' (Research on the History of the Formation of the *Xiyouji*), Tokyo: Soubunsha, 1993.

54. See Augustin Berque, *La Rizière et la banquise*. *Colonisation et changement culturel à Hokkaidô* (Ricefield and Icefield: Colonization and Cultural Change in Hokkaido), Paris: Presses Orientalistes de France, 1980. The matter will also be, correlatively, to compare the North in Japanese history with the West in Chinese history. The word *Emishi*, which in the history of Japan applied to the Savages of the North-East, was transcribed by two characters, one of which, in the history of China, applied to the Savages of the East, i.e. Japan.

55. Xinjiang's main river. Born on the slopes of the Dapsang (also called Qiaogeli, K2 or Godwin Austen, 8611 m, Earth's second peak) as the Yarkand River, it dies in the Taklamakan Desert 2200 km away. Its basin equals that of the Danube (800 000 km<sup>2</sup>). Main source of life in Xinjiang, it flows near Luntai under the Talimu Daqiao (Great Bridge on the Tarim, 605 m long, completed in 1995). On this river, see Cheng

## § 5. Synergies

Exploring the semantic basin of Cyborg's Cottage can in this way lead up to the sources of the Tarim River. That is, to the Karakorum, in Sanskrit *Krishnagiri* (Black Mountain), which phonetically gave the Chinese *Qiaogeli* (i.e. the Dapsang or K2), and semantically perhaps also the Turkish *Karakorum*. This blackness is the unknown of research. Indeed, light has been shed only on the outskirts and on some landmarks here and there in this immense basin. It is certain that I shall never climb up the Dapsang, and that I shall never be able to do all of this research alone. This is why, from the start, I conceived of it as a co-operative project. At the present stage, some collaborations have already been assured; some others are probable, others yet possible. Taking stock of them now would be premature<sup>56</sup>, but it has already been decided that my own work will be connected with Mr Lu Qi's researches on sustainability (in general) and on the reclamation of Luntai (in particular)<sup>57</sup>, together with Ms Cynthia Ghorra-Gobin researches on the myth of the individual house in the United States<sup>58</sup>. In that way, a heuristic axis will be functioning between East Asia, Europe and North America; but I wish other cultural areas to join with it<sup>59</sup>.

In the same intention, I wish future doctoral researches to be undertaken on related themes in the frame of the doctoral course (DEA) and laboratory *Jardins, Paysages, Territoires* (Gardens, Landscapes, Territories) in Paris, under my own tuition or that of my colleagues.

Last, as History and Geography here obviously interfere with one another, I intend to organize in November 2001, in Paris, a debate between *L'Espace géographique* and *Annales: Histoire, Sciences sociales* on some of the themes which are presented in this paper, focussing on the problem of scale. As a matter of fact, I think that the time has come for history and geography to meet again<sup>60</sup>, in order to think together the concreteness and the contingency of their common object: human evolution on the Earth.

*Sendai, 12 February 2001.*

Qichou, Talimu-he yanjiu (Studies on the Tarim River), Nanjing: Hehai Daxue Chubanshe, 1993. Overexploiting the Tarim is one of the dangers of the present policy. This is typically a problem of sustainable development, and more fundamentally a problem of scale.

56. In my mind, the project should sooner or later become an International Scientific Co-Operation Program (PICS in the French initials) linking East Asia (China - with Taiwan -, Japan, Korea) with Europe and Northern America, and hopefully other cultural areas.

57. In co-operation with the Institute of Ecology and Geography in Urumqi.

58. A theme which she has already been dealing with in her books *Los Angeles, le mythe américain inachevé* (Los Angeles, the Unfinished American Myth), Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1998; *La Ville américaine, espace et société* (The American City: Space and Society), Paris: Nathan, 1998; *Les États-Unis entre le local et le mondial* (The United States between the Local and the Global), Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2000. To a large extent, the value system of the American nation was built against the city. In Europe, the schema of the city remains predominant, while coexisting anarchically with the Fordian predicate which came from the United States.

59. For instance, what about the tradition of "renouncers" in its relation to present forms of settlement in India? And as for the desert, the Arab world should all the more be called in comparison as, in Xinjiang, Islam and the Chinese world penetrate each other.

60. The least one can say is indeed that, after the fecund relationship which was established in the first half of the last century between the Vidalian School and the Annales School, the links between geography and history have been distended. Now, from my point of view (that of Watsuji), milieu embodies history; accordingly, one cannot conceive of historicity without mediance, nor of mediance without historicity. I shall add: one cannot think of the ecumene without the contingency of history, nor of history without the concreteness of the ecumene. To wish for such a reflection is - let us state it plainly - to think that history and geography, because they still have to educate the young, could efficiently contribute to promoting a world, the future of which would be less barren than Cyborg's, in the pure mechanicity of its global market.

# THE MENTAL TERRITORY-CITY OF NOMADIC SOCIETIES IN ASIA, EUROPE & AMERICA. QUESTIONS AND COMPARISONS

ANA MARÍA MOYA PELLTERO

I would like to address the following questions connected to the possible relation of landscape with movement.

- How "movement" in a physical and mental perspective, affects the esthetical relation of a society with its environment?
- In which way, different types of movement influences the birth of different landscape aesthetics in cultural landscape societies?
- Movement is related to nomad and state society conditions. Which is the difference between them in the field of the mental construction of their territories and the relation with their environment?

First of all I would like to speak about the PhD research that I started few months ago entitled: "Regiopolis. A comparative study of Landscapes as urban territories in Asia, Europe and America", that belongs to the program "The ABC of density". My starting point in the research is based on the notion of "territory-city"<sup>1</sup> of the Swiss architecture historian André Corboz. The concept of territory implies that the city is a part of an extensive urban region, where city and countryside, rural and urban spaces are not independent entities. The urban territory is a configuration of urban fragments, is the surface for urban links "where the inhabitants have acquired and urban mentality".

For an improved understanding of the existing conditions of the physical identity of the territory it is necessary to analyse its mental construction.

The human being relates with its natural and urban environment building it mentally. Taking in account the concepts of ecumene and mediance of Augustin Berque<sup>2</sup>, both are not objects but relations, both are ambivalent because they represent the physical and the phenomenological. Mediance is the sense of connection that exists between a society and its environment. Ecumene is the relation of the human being with the extensive territory, understood as the union of different environments.

In the subjective mental construction of the territory, a process of perception, interpretation, representation, configuration take place, in that moment, in the need of a society to be related to its own natural and urban environment determines the existence of "landscape". Although "landscape" is a certain esthetical way of relation, that occurs in a specific period of time, inside a particular society. But other valid different ways of connection with the environment are able to coexist depending on different values of other social cultural groups. As Augustin Berque affirms cultural landscape societies can be recognised when there exist treatises, pictural representations, pleasure gardens, words for saying landscape and oral or written appreciations of the environment.

To be conscious of the existence of a certain environment, and establish a connection with it, it is necessary to move away, to take distance, and to "look" at it. The "look" symbolises the recognition of a surrounding exterior world by a subjective mental understand-

1. André Corboz, El Territorio como palimpsesto, Article (1982), Translation 1983 "Diogene"magazin

2. Augustin Berque, Les Raisons du paysage (Hazan, 1995)

ing. In a historical process has represented an act of sovereignty, a sacred ritual of a politic and religious cosmological order on the territory. It is important to take into account the observations of A. Berque in his book "Les Raisons du paysage" referring to the importance of "looking" in the perception of new environments. Without that "look" the tribes in the jungle do not have the notion of wilderness space. The peasants, although having the notion of wild space, do not perceive the cultivated land as countryside landscape. The citizens in the XVII and XVIII centuries in Western countries, although living in an urban environment, did not "look" at it as an urban landscape as we do in our days, although they had the conception of landscape designers who modelled the rural territory "artificialising" it in "natural" and "picturesque" parks and gardens. And now when the city is not any more a closed entity but a broadly scattered and heterogeneous urban territory, flexible, fragmented, dispersed, where the network and the flows organise the territory, and urban growth is spontaneous, indiscriminate, we have the notion of urban landscape although maybe we have to "look" at this particular territory with a new mental consciousness. How do we "look" nowadays to our environment? Which are the new esthetical values of nature? Do we "look" in the same way in Asia, Europe and America? If there exists differences, why is the reason? Are those differences rooted in their cultural historical background? And if we are approaching each other to a common perception and common values on our environment, which specific

cultural conditions among societies awake a new particular landscape conscience?

A distance is needed to be able to "look" at the environment, therefore taking distance implies movement. A social group needs to move in a physical and mental way to search for new possible relations with their environment, departing from a prior mental built conditions. I will introduce four different possible movements ( the transhumant, the immobility, the migrant and the itinerant) which influence "those relations" of societies with their environment, and in the following examples, characterises different landscape aesthetics.

The transhumant movement represents a rotation, a movement of go, get and bring back. Referred to landscape exists a relation of subtraction. The subject goes to a specific new environment and obtains new mental values that will use to build a codified esthetical imaginary construction in his existing environment or his internal subjectivity. In China appears a landscape aesthetic already in the Han dynasty ( 206 bC), twelve centuries before the appearance of landscape in Europe. Chinese landscape culture influenced all the eastern civilisation. The relation of the Chinese society with its environment, its particular "look", was characterised by a transhumant movement. The birth of landscape, shanshui (referring to the motives, "mountain" and "water") fengjing (referring to their representation, their atmosphere, "wind" and "sun") appears with a will for "search". "Search" for a supreme condi-

tion of immortality. The esthetical relation with their environment was linked to an animistic form of religion, the Taoism. Therefore landscape had a collective dimension, a social link, it was accessible to everybody, not only cultivated societies. The Chinese cosmology of fengshui articulated all the fields of the human activity. In this will to search for immortality, for Taoism, the "mountain" and the "waters" are spiritual places. In the "mountain" the immortals xin inhabit. In the "waters", as a mirror gives back a clear image, possesses clarity, a pure spirit, awakes the sage's pure minds. To go and walk in the mountains was necessary to return to the origins, to the energies, to have in the soul and the eyes esthetical schemes. The movement to an exterior environment was due to a will for searching new mental subjective values. The need to be always connected spiritually to those geographical environments, determined the need to "look" at them without leaving their homes. The Chinese term woyou, "go for a walk while you are lying", demonstrates the importance of the imagination (the imaginary walk) in the appreciation of the landscape. Imagination asks for memory, and therefore a codified aesthetic. The Chinese society went to those particular sacred mountains, and got the images of those landscapes as magic substitutes to be placed back in their homes, in their souls. The landscape representations are schematic, and have an affinity with myth. A metaphorical process, where it is not important the morphological exterior resemblance, but the symbolical similarity, where it is important to "look like",

their belonging to a field, accessible to the intuition and not the measure. It is important that it motivates the sense of relation with the environment, not its formal appearance. They used the technique in gardens of the "landscape transposition", to look at a certain landscape as a reference to another. The Chinese term mitate ( intuition by the look), explains the esthetical representation of assembling, borrowing scenery (miniature replicas of famous environments), the simulacrum of rocks for mountains, streams for rivers, ponds for lakes, bushes for forests, moss for plains, and the dwarf trees. The standing stones where not mimetic, they were abstract sculptures that would provoke the experience of the inexplicable, the unnameable. The more altered in size the representation from the natural object, the more it was taking on a magical and mythical quality. The idea of a garden in a container, or landscape in a container, the smaller gardens among urban residents, miniature models of natural land form, were complete Yün. In Chinese Yün means round, completeness, perfection. In the garden, in that particular mental representation, nothing was lacking, nothing was superfluous. Round was the entrance to the mental container gardens, the "moon gate"<sup>3</sup>, as a symbol to the entrance to a different mental reality, the imaginary garden, where through a window looking at a stone wall, feelings bring them back to the experience of gazing out across endless cliffs. The garden recreated in a limited space a complete environment, that was meant to be observed and contemplated gradually,

3. Dusan Pajin, Environmental Aesthetics and Chinese gardens, Article (1997), PhD University of Belgrade

through a succession of scenes, designed to serve all the senses and emotions, providing isolation and serenity.

In all the fields of esthetical perception, including gardens, paintings, and poetry the observer was involved in the esthetical perception. It was possible to comprehend in the microcosm of painting or garden the macrocosm of nature itself. Chinese rejected the optical perspective as a concept of simulation of nature, that later would appear in the European landscape.

In the Chinese society there was a will, a need to move to search for subjective values in a specific environment. Their transhumant movement had the aim to go to sacred mountains to find there mental images of their intuitions, bringing them back to their subjectivity, and built with them a codified social representation, where those images where reduced to a metaphor.

Immobility represents obviously the negation of movement. And referred to landscape it represents a relation of immersion of a society in its environment. There is not a need of "looking" at it, and subsequently it is impossible the existence of landscape. Europe in the Medieval times was characterised by a society that built a mental allegoric world where the reality disappeared under the legend. We could speak about a legend environment, where lakes where the home for dragons, and wild forests for the devil. The motivation of the society was more moral than aesthetic, where the interior conscience, and the richness of the soul was more important than looking to the external environment.

The migrant movement represents a physical and mental change of conditions. A move from one position to another one, in a fixed direction, induced by a reason, under the influence of a "force", a "will" or a "need". This movement can be followed by a new migration to another position, if new forces and reasons appear. Referred to landscape with this migrant movement exists a relation of addition. The subject contributes with new mental values to the external new environment, providing new meanings to that new location, and changing its pre-existent identity.

Landscape appears in Europe in the Renaissance, in the XVI<sup>c</sup>. The relation of the European society with its environment, its particular "look", was characterised by a migrant movement.

Land becomes Land-scape with the discovery of the physical world independent from the human subjectivity. There is a break between the intrinsic reality and the subjective reality, the phenomenological world. It generates the developing of the science and technology in one side, considered the objective truth, and the appearance of Landscape in the other, representing the subjective beauty. With the dualism Subject-Object of Descartes, the abstraction of science from the subject of Copernicus and the homogeneous, isotropic space of Newton, the construction of the perspective, represented a way of taking distance from nature, eliminating subjectivity, and aiming to a representation of an objective world. In this particular Landscape the spectator was involved in the distant approach of the optical per-

spective. And the window, the frame, for the perspective construction, was the evidence of being outside that physical world. The will that induced movement in the Italian, French and English cultivated society of the XVI, XVII and XVIII c, was the search for an Arcadia.

The Italian cultivated society of the XVI<sup>c</sup> was influenced by prefigured images of the classical mythology that motivated them to "look" at a new specific type of environment, the countryside, as a new space to be perceived and occupied. But with their physical movement to that new environment, they brought with them their models of inspiration: the bucolic themes of the classical countryside. Before their arrival the existing conditions were slightly different. Peasants were cultivating their lands and working for living. For them countryside was not a landscape. Nevertheless for the new high cultivated inhabitants, the real peasants were invisible, the countryside as a leisure territory then was transformed in a new artificial bucolic construction. The Renaissance Villas of the XVI c in Italy (like d'Este at Tivoli, Medicis at Fiesole, Palladio's at Venice) had gardens overlooking the landscape. This outdoor landscape was considered an extension of the building. The unity between house and garden was emphasised by the proliferation of considerable "built" elements as lavish, statuary, fountains, and classical accents as grottoes or nymphaea (Roman buildings, urns, inscriptions). Gardens with a geometric regularity imposed a man made cosmological order conceived as a microcosms, different from nature were the order was not

perceptible.

The French cultivated society of the XVII c was influenced by the prefigured images of the Renaissance. Their Arcadia was built using the models of inspiration of the Italian aesthetics. There is the need to extend the "look" to the unlimited countryside, beyond the garden, to frame the landscape views in a perspective construction (from windows and flight of stairs), evidencing the power of being outside the physical world, overlooking the unlimited extension of nature.

The English cultivated society of the XVIII c built their Arcadia by the prefigured images of the Romanticism. The seek for inspiration in the virgin nature, the dramatic, the bizarre, the remote exotic places and past.

The painter and Architect William Kent and Lancelot "Capability" Brown revolt against the "artificial" symmetrical garden. It was necessary to achieve an "irregular" formality, a "natural" garden (redesigning the forests, streams, according to nature's harmony, the use of the sunken fence to vanish the division between garden and continuous park). But the school of landscape design did not agree in how should look a "natural" garden. Different styles tried to search for the "naturalisation" of landscape like the "brownian style", the picturesque school, or the bric-a-brac garden (also called le jardin anglo-chinoise) this last one creating an air of accident and surprise, and arousing sensations of sublimity, terror in the viewer, where chinese and gothic details were featured together with classic temples.

The will that induced movement in the American society in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century was



the preservation of an Arcadia. In America the society was more preoccupied in making a world not a landscape. The puritan colonisers of New England realised that the new territory to discover was a wild space. For them the sense of "frontier" was the myth for their identity. With the fast development of the urban metropolis, among them, New York, the society acquired the conscience of the garden "lungs", the power of the natural scenery and the restorative. Central Park, in the heart of the city, is an example, planned as a natural landscape, on picturesque principles by Frederick law Olmsted (1863). Central Park preserves an oasis of rural surprises in the midst of rectilinear dense urban design.

As an opposition to the human presence, the wild nature, the wilderness will have an aesthetic value in itself, and its virginity will be praised, because there is no evidence of any urban sign. Natural Landscapes as an environment far away from the urban spaces need to be preserved and enclosed. The beauty of the wild park is venerated. It is a sacred place, a museum, an abstraction. (the first natural park will be Yellowstone in 1872).<sup>4</sup>

The itinerant movement, represents to follow a flow, the continuously possibility of being in any space at any time. Referred to landscape it exists a relation of deterritorialisation. The subject "looks" while he is moving, freezing images of the environment without subtracting or adding anything neither to his subjectivity or the external world. The "look" represents the transitory instant of his own

condition of no belonging to any place. In China the concept of the mysterious mirror (the hsün-lan or hsün-chien), its an object related to the subjective mind of the onlooker and not to a specific urban or natural environment. This metaphorical object belongs to the subjectivity, and therefore travels with the subject everywhere he goes. Lao Tzu in his Ma-Wang-Tui manuscript speaks about cleaning the mysterious mirror of the mind, so it becomes spotless. He says: "The perfect man uses his mind like a mirror- going after nothing, welcoming nothing, responding but not storing".<sup>5</sup>

In Europe the frame in perspective represented the awareness of feeling distance from the world, becoming the society conscious of the "outside" and the "inside" as separate entities. In the XVIII c picturesque tourists travelled in their carriages through England with their Claude Glasses. As the traveller Gilpin William wrote in 1791 " a succession of (...) pictures is continuously gliding before the eye. They are like the visions of the imagination". He is not looking out of his carriage window but into the framed mirror reflection of what the window offers of his view. The world outside is a succession of pictures, waiting to be fixed and appropriated. The world outside has been reduced to frameable possession, connected to a uninterrupted movement.<sup>6</sup>

In America, Land Art appeared between the 60's and the 70'. Artists became interested in finding new exterior urban and natural environments for their creations. One of the main characters of this movement is Michel

Heizer. Particularly New York was the main foyer for this artistic and intellectual effervescence. In the 60's and 70's the artists asked themselves for new ways of expression, to break frontiers among the arts. This break is a constituted phenomenon with the works of the Ready-made of Duchamp, the Monochromes of Ives Klein or the music of John Cage.<sup>7</sup> This new way of looking at the environment is characterised by the will to break with the classical conceptions of the aesthetic creation. The relation of this artistic movement with the environment is influenced by an itinerant movement.

Their artistic works have a temporal and ephemeral character. They built temporal installations, called happenings, actions, and performances. The performance has a narrative character, a ritual, between the artist and the piece of art. The improvised actions have a theatrical attitude, making participate the onlooker in it. Those installations again represent a will. The will to search a new relation of art, time and place.

Place belongs to the own interior space of the piece of art. The onlooker is motivated to discover it progressively with its movement. ( Influenced by the American minimalism). In the museums the public learns a new way of understanding the architectural space, walls does not exist as walls, but as part of the elements of the piece of art. The artist proposes a stimulant situation in an environment to liberate affectivity, to sacralise elementary gestures. The work of Herbert Bayer ( an important figure in the Bauhaus) influenced the use of the land as an artistic media announcing the future "earthworks" and

the use of the environment as a provisional support. The work is open to the onlooker, as Umberto Eco said in 1965 "the onlooker is invited to go inside the artist work, to discover it while he is walking, it is an integral part of the space and time of the work".<sup>8</sup>

Time is not eternal. The piece of work is mortal, because it is above all attitude, proposition, action. Its mortality gives to the art life and movement. Land artists are fascinated by the life of their works. How art is modified by the action of natural elements, the change of the light, the vegetation, the erosion, that affect them till they disappear.

Which are the processes of dialog with the environment? Due to the mortal character of the installation in the natural environment, the photography, the video, the film, the text, are ways to document and show to the onlooker the sensible experience of movement of the artist.

The British Richard Long and his uninterrupted movement through natural chosen landscapes, where art is made by walking. The only traces of his movement are the photographs of sculptures made along the way, the walks made into textworks. Walter de Maria and his Lighting Field (1997) 46, Christo and the Cubicmeter Package (1967), Robert Smithson and his Mirror displacement (1969) or the Glou Pour (1969), Nancy Holt and the Sun Tunnels (1973-76). All of them are actions, installations, machines, in an environment without the aim of subtracting images or adding new meanings to the space. Those machines are anonymous, without intrinsic properties, without being related or having an internal structure with

4. Malcolm Andrews, Landscape and Western Art (Oxford University Press, 1999), Chapter 3 Landscape as amenity

5. P.N.Gregory, The mirror of the mind in: Sudden and Gradual:Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought (ed.), (Honolulu University of Hawaii, 1987)

6. Malcolm Andrews, Landscape and Western Art (Oxford University Press, 1999), Chapter 5 Framing the view

7. Etienne Landais, Land Art temps et lieux, in: Le Courrier de l'environnement n 24 (April 1995)

8. Etienne Landais, Land Art temps et lieux, in: Le Courrier de l'environnement n 24 (April 1995)

other elements. Only it is relevant about them is their position, their situation, in a particular moment in a specific place. They do not belong to a milieu of interiority, they are pure strategy, exteriority. Those machines are not meant to transmit feelings, but affects. Those machines are the machines of nomads.

Movement is related to nomad and state society conditions. Which is the difference between them in the field of the mental construction of their territories and the relation with their environment?

I would like to compare some concepts based on the Treatise on Nomadology, the war machine of Deleuze and Guattari, with movements and Landscape.<sup>9</sup>

Movement is not directly related to a nomad condition. The transhumant, the migrant, the itinerant movement have also belong to state societies. Only transhumant, migrant and itinerant societies could become nomad if they occupy and hold a smooth space.

But before understanding the concept of smooth space, it is necessary to compare the differences between the nomadic mental construction of the territory and the state construction.

In the state construction of the territory its elements have an internal nature, they have intrinsic properties, their situation derives from their qualities. It has a milieu of interiority, pure semiology. The elements have relations between them, they belong to a common structure. Those elements could destroy a constellation in an evolution process.

Its space of relation is striated, a close space arranged with certain values, that space could increase in size by addition or going to one point to another one with the purpose to occupy the maximum number of space with the minimum number of pieces. The state construction of the territory codes and decodes space, making the outside a territory, consolidating by joining adjacent territories. Its form of interiority is the state apparatus, a subjective model according to which we are in the habit of thinking and feeling.

In the nomadic construction of the territory its elements are anonymous, without intrinsic properties only situational. Its milieu, is a milieu of exteriority, pure strategy, the relation among those elements, is extrinsic, they have functions of insertion, situation, an element could destroy the harmony of a constellation in a certain moment. Its space of relation is smooth, open, with the possibility to spring up at any point. The movement then becomes perpetual, without aim or destination, without departure or arrival.

Territorialises and deterritorialises by shattering other environments or by renouncing and going elsewhere. Their form of exteriority is the machine that does not transmit feelings, but affects.

9. Deleuze-Guattari, A thousand plateaus (The Athlon Press, London, 1988)

# BORROWED LANDSCAPE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANDSCAPE AND URBANISATION IN EARLY AND MEDIEVAL CHINA

WANG TAO

## Landscape, city, and cosmology

Many articles and monographs have been written on urban development in China, and on Chinese gardens and other forms of landscape art. However, the relationship between landscape and urbanisation is less well explored, perhaps because of its odd position crossing the boundaries of many different branches of learning. The question can be viewed from different perspectives: geographical, historical, archaeological, architectural, sociological, or even ontological.

This paper does not attempt to synthesize all these disciplines, nor does it try to provide a comprehensive survey of the data. Based mainly on archaeological and historical sources, it aims to explore several models from different historical periods and from a variety of geographical settings, in order to see the interaction between landscape and urban development in early and medieval China, from the late third century BC to the tenth century AD.

When art historians coined the term 'landscape', it referred to a genre associated with a particular artistic movement in representing nature.<sup>1</sup> However, in its most common modern usage, it refers to the spatial arrangement of the land, and in particular, to natural scenery. It is also used to describe specific marks made by man on the surface of earth, such as agricultural fields or towns, as in the case of 'the agricultural landscape'. Many other professions have also come to employ the term in different ways, making it increasingly difficult to find a universally accepted

definition for 'landscape'.

Although the term 'landscape' may have multiple meanings, in this study I shall focus on 'organically evolved' landscapes such as cityscapes, as well as on more 'clearly defined' landscapes, such as gardens, parklands, and planned landscape architecture.<sup>2</sup> In Chinese language, the traditional term '*shanshu*' is usually used to translate the term 'landscape', but, clearly, there is a gap between the two terms. '*Shanshu*' means "mountains and water", and refers to both the beauty of the natural land formation, and the artistic representation of it, by alluding to the two most important elements in nature. Artificial mountains and water-features are also essential components in Chinese landscape-design. I shall attempt to analyse the interrelationship between the different levels of landscape-making, and the transitional process from 'natural' to 'represented' landscape during a particular historical period. As many modern scholars have argued, landscape is not limited to the physical transformation of land, or to an untouched natural environment. It is a window through which people see the outside world and it sets the ground where man and nature may interact with each other in a particular way. The implications are thus much broader than we might at first expect. As Cosgrove puts it, 'it is in the origins of landscape as a way of seeing the world that we discover its links to broader historical structures and processes and are able to locate landscape study within a progressive debate about society and culture.'<sup>3</sup>

1. See Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into art*, New York: HarperCollins, 1979; and Ernst Gombrich, 'The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape,' in: *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, vol. 1, London: Phaidon, 1966, pp. 107-121.

2. Cleere defines cultural landscapes in three categories: (a) 'clearly defined' landscapes, (b) 'organically evolved' landscape, and (c) 'associative cultural' landscapes. See H. Cleere, 'Cultural landscapes as world heritage', *Conservation and management of archaeological sites*, no. 1 (1995), pp. 63-68. I have borrowed his terminology here, but do not necessarily agree with the contents of his classifications.

3. Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social formation and symbolic landscape*, London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984, p. 15.

Landscape is fast becoming a hot topic in archaeology;<sup>4</sup> it can be seen as a product created by human beings in specific cultural conditions. This opens the way for interpreting different cultural patterns and behaviour: 'it is the arena in which and through which memory, identity, social order and transformation are constructed, played out, re-invented, and changed.'<sup>5</sup> The study of landscape provides information on both the social and cognitive development of the past.

In Europe, the idea of landscape evolved alongside the transition from feudalism to capitalism. In Renaissance Italy, landscape became a well-defined topic for literature and the visual arts, and the first disciplines of landscape architecture were established at this time. A crucial element of the transition was the development of urbanism. In the eyes of the urban bourgeoisie, landscape was both a weapon with which to fight the rural feudal magnates, and the imagined, yet realisable, paradise of their dreams. As Cosgrove so rightly pointed out, 'the city is the birthplace of both capitalism and landscape.'<sup>6</sup>

If the idea of landscape is necessarily associated with urban development, paradoxically, it is often the contrast between the two concepts that stands out: landscape versus city. This has led to overused contrasts in the literature on landscape, such as 'country/urban' or 'nature/culture'. It is important to see that these concepts are some-

times artificially separated and contrasted for various analytical purposes, and that this is all the more dangerous when a wider discourse is conducted entirely within a Eurocentric framework.

The Chinese landscape tradition, as Augustin Berque has recently argued, emphasises the integration and affinity of landscape with the environment. More importantly, the Chinese tradition has developed within a non-dualist cosmology, i.e. where there is no clear cut between 'subject' and 'object'. This is fundamentally different from the European tradition.<sup>7</sup> I will start my discussion with the well-known Chinese model representing the 'five zones' (*wufu*) theory.

The 'five zones' model is a spatial system, dividing the land into (a) the royal zone, (b) the lords' zone, (c) the pacified zone, (d) the controlled zone, and (e) the wilderness zone. It is a hierarchical model that can be interpreted for different purposes. For example, Ying-shih Yu views it as a representation of the 'world order' of the Han empire<sup>8</sup>. In their recent discussion on Chinese cosmology and gardens, Hall and Ames have gone a step further, asserting that the system is, ontologically, about a 'focus/field distinction that defines the relative focus of an 'inner-outer' (*nei-wai*) circle'; and in this system, 'the boundaries are permeable, elastic, and indefinite'.<sup>9</sup>

Hall and Ames' observation includes the important point that there is no firm distinction between 'nature' and 'artifice' in domi-

nant modes of Chinese thinking, and that the principle of Chinese gardens is not a biological 'organism', but a bureaucratic 'organisation', in which space and time can be 'arranged'.

The views of Hall and Ames, as well as Berque, are important for understanding the Chinese idea of landscape. Traditional Chinese cosmology is based on the mode of correlative thinking, and emphasises the mutual relations among the different components. In such a system, each element relates to the other elements, and there is a constant transformation from one category to another; everything changes and nothing is static. This conceptual model provides a framework in which a landscape may be perceived differently in different contexts. At the heart of the debate about the characteristics of the Chinese landscape tradition is the concept of 'nature' (*ziran*).<sup>10</sup> Chinese landscape art is often viewed as a microcosm of the universe, or as an imitation of nature. But, as Craig Clunas has argued, in this context 'nature' is not a transcendent and unproblematic term; it has to be culturally deconstructed and contested.<sup>11</sup> When creating a landscape, or a landscaped garden, the Chinese landscape architect is faced with a dilemma: the supreme desire in landscape design is to achieve the state of 'nature', untouched and unaffected by man; yet the principle of landscape architecture is to manipulate natural motifs in such a way as to present an artificial 'nature'. As Yi-fu Tuan

has observed, gardens, either natural or formal, reveal the human need to dominate. 'A 'natural' garden with groups of trees and serpentine water may seem a more modest venture than a formal garden with stone terraces and elaborate water-fountains, but the 'natural impression' of the former is a calculated illusion.'<sup>12</sup>

At this point it may be useful to look at John Hunt's model of 'three natures'.<sup>13</sup> According to Hunt's theory, the first nature refers to the 'true wilderness', untouched by man; the second nature is a more controlled intermediate zone, which may include agricultural or urban development; and the third nature refers mainly to landscape architecture. The 'three natures' are not isolated, but interact with one other. When creating a garden, whether in the wildness or in an urban setting, the third nature transcends and transforms the first and second natures.

When we return to the 'five zones' model, we can see it as both a geographical model and a conceptual model, reflecting particular relationships among landscape, town and country, in a specific cultural tradition. In this tradition, the concepts such as 'man/nature', 'country/urban', and 'culture/wilderness' should not be treated as simple dualistic opposition. As F.W. Mote pointed out long ago, 'the idea that the city represents either a distinct style or, more importantly, a higher level of civilization than the countryside is a cliché of our Western cultural traditions. It has not been so in traditional China.'<sup>14</sup>

4. For more recent studies on landscape archaeology, see Peter Ucko and Robert Layton, eds. *The archaeology and anthropology of landscape: shaping your landscape*, London and New York: Routledge, 1999; and Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp, eds. *Archaeologies of landscape: contemporary perspectives*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

5. Knapp and Ashmore, 'Archaeological landscape: constructed, conceptualised, ideational', Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp, eds. *Archaeologies of landscape*, p. 10.

6. Cosgrove, *Social formation and symbolic landscape*, esp. chapters 3, 4.

7. Augustin Berque, 'Beyond modern landscape', AA Files, no 26 (Summer 1993), pp. 33-37.

8. Ying-shih Yu, 'Han foreign relations', Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge history of China*, vol. 1: *The Ch'in and Han empire 221-BC -AD 220*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 379-380.

9. David L. Hall and Roger Ames, 'The cosmological setting of Chinese gardens', *Studies in the history of gardens & designed landscapes*, vol. 18, no. 3 (July-September 1998), pp. 175-186.

10. Many scholars now recognise that the concept of 'nature' itself bears cultural variations, and that the relationship between man and nature is conceived differently in the Western and Eastern traditions. For a general discussion, see Baird and Ames, *Nature in Asian traditions of thought: essays in environmental philosophy*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989; and Ornas and Svedin, 'Earth - Man - Heaven: cultural variations in concepts of nature', in Bruun and Kalland eds. *Asian perceptions of nature*, Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies No. 3, Copenhagen, 1992, pp. 159-175.

11. Craig Clunas, *Fruitful sites: garden culture in Ming dynasty China*, London: Reaktion, 1996, esp. 'Introduction', pp. 9-15.

12. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and affection: the making of pets*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984, p. 22.

13. John D. Hunt, *Great perfections: the practice of garden theory*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, chapter 3, pp. 32-75.

14. F. W. Mote, 'The Transformation of Nanking, 1350-1400', William Skinner, ed. *The city in later imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977, pp. 101-153; esp. 116-118.

Historians have also observed a social condition in China's history that allowed people, especially the elite, to enjoy great mobility, both geographically and psychologically.

This mobility has had a significant implication on landscape making, in terms of the practical requirements involved in designing a landscape, such as the location and materials, as well as the function of, and different ideas associated with, the landscape. For example, a favourite setting for landscape-making is the mountains and the countryside, as opposed to the city. Where a landscape is being created in a city, very often there is an aim of creating an atmosphere that closely resembles a natural setting. It is easy to see how landscapes are often 'borrowed' from another world.

There are also important historical implications. 'Landscapes' can be borrowed from different times. However, our understanding and appreciation of landscape is very much culturally conditioned; it would be naïve to assume that urban residents, countryfolk and nomads on horseback share universal ideas and experiences of landscape. David Keightley wrote, that for the Shang people, who first shaped the political and natural landscape of early China, '...that beautiful land would have been ordered land - cleared of trees and brush, protected by baulks and the visitations of friendly Powers whose temples stood nearby, and under cultivation; no natural sight would have so moved the king as his fields of millet, ripe for harvest. The Shang king's attitude towards the natural landscape would not simply have been pantheistic, one of reverence and awe for Powers encountered there; it would also

have been anthropocentric and pragmatic.'<sup>15</sup> Would other peoples through history have regarded such a vista as the perfect landscape?

### Typology, gardens and landscape architecture

In his seminal study on the Chinese garden, Osvald Sirén asserted that Chinese landscape architecture, especially gardens, must surely qualify as 'works of art', as 'an expression for artistic ideas and conceptions that have emerged from an intimate feeling for nature' rather than from 'the layout and formal arrangement'. As such, he wrote, it 'eludes formal analyses'.<sup>16</sup> Craig Clunas has taken a different stand, arguing that 'as a manifestation of material culture, a garden is an artefact of a particular kind.'<sup>17</sup> These are contradicting statements from respected scholars. It is clear that we need to draw together a factual basis from which to draw our own informed judgement. Whether we consider gardens as 'works of art' or 'artefacts', it is possible to make a formal analysis of the attributes, assemblage, and typology of gardens and landscape, and one way of approaching this is to consider the classification, or typology, of landscape architecture. There is very little physical evidence for reconstructing the landscape architecture of early and medieval period in China, and although a number of early gardens, both imperial and private, have been excavated in recent years, in the main scholars have had to rely on written descriptions in historical or literary sources, and of course, on pictorial representations. Yet, as many scholars are now acutely aware, verbal and visual repre-

sentations are often vastly different from 'the real thing'. 'Real' gardens have survived in cities such as Beijing and Suzhou, and these are another heavily employed source. Although many of these date to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, and contain features derived from earlier periods, there can be no doubt that they were formed on principles that are quite different from those earlier periods. These 'real' gardens should be seen as eighteenth, nineteenth, or even twentieth, century reconstructions. There are, therefore, problems in determining how these various forms of evidence can be used constructively and reliably in a formalistic discussion of landscape architecture.

A key to understanding the most basic ideas behind landscape and garden may lay in the etymology of different Chinese terms; different roots are likely to have different historical and cultural connotations. The basic Chinese term for garden derived from the meaning of 'enclosure', a concept which is also found in other languages. In Classical Chinese, there are several words which convey in a similar way the idea of 'garden': *yuán* means 'enclosure for fruit trees'; *pu* means 'enclosure for vegetables'; *you* means 'enclosure for animals'. Another term *yuàn* is closer in meaning to 'natural park'. It refers to a much larger enclosure, usually outside the city, where hunting and various economic activities took place. Detailed linguistic study of this kind and close examination of the terminology used over time and distance may well yield very interesting results in the future. In the meantime, if we look at the work of modern scholars who have considered gardens in China, we see quite different views,

often presented with firm conviction. Traditionally, gardens in pre-modern China have been classified in several categories: (a) royal gardens; (b) private gardens, including scholars' gardens; and (c) gardens associated with religious buildings, such as Buddhist and Daoist temples and monasteries. Government buildings, and privately owned hotels and restaurants sometimes also had gardens. This convenient classification is basically sociological. It emphasizes the ownership of individual gardens and considers the architectural elements in terms of social expression. It is within this framework that the mainstream studies on Chinese gardens have been carried out.

A second method of classification divides gardens into (a) paradise gardens, and (b) pleasure gardens. This approach emphasizes the function of individual gardens, regarding them as either for worship or for pleasure. This method of classification is more commonly used in the west, but is more problematic when applied to Chinese gardens. As a number of scholars have demonstrated, many early gardens could serve either function, and it is sometimes very difficult to separate aesthetic response from religious experience.<sup>18</sup>

It is impossible to identify the typological features of gardens or landscape architecture without considering the context. The significance of the design, function, ownership and exact location all demand careful examination. Only by analysing the basic attributes of landscape architecture, in relation to a particular setting, can we then consider a third classification system, and identify (a) an urban garden, (b) a suburban villa, or (c)

15. David N. Keightley, *The ancestral landscape: time, space, and community in late Shang China (ca. 1200-1045 B.C.)*, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, pp. 118-119.

16. Osvald Sirén, *Gardens of China*, New York, 1949, p. 3.

17. Clunas, *Fruitful sites*, p. 13.

18. In his 'The Earthly paradise: religious elements in Chinese landscape art', Susan Bush and Christian Murck, eds. *Theories of Chinese arts*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, pp. 165-183, Lothar Ledderose has used this classification, but his main argument was to demonstrate that these two categories were related in the early period.

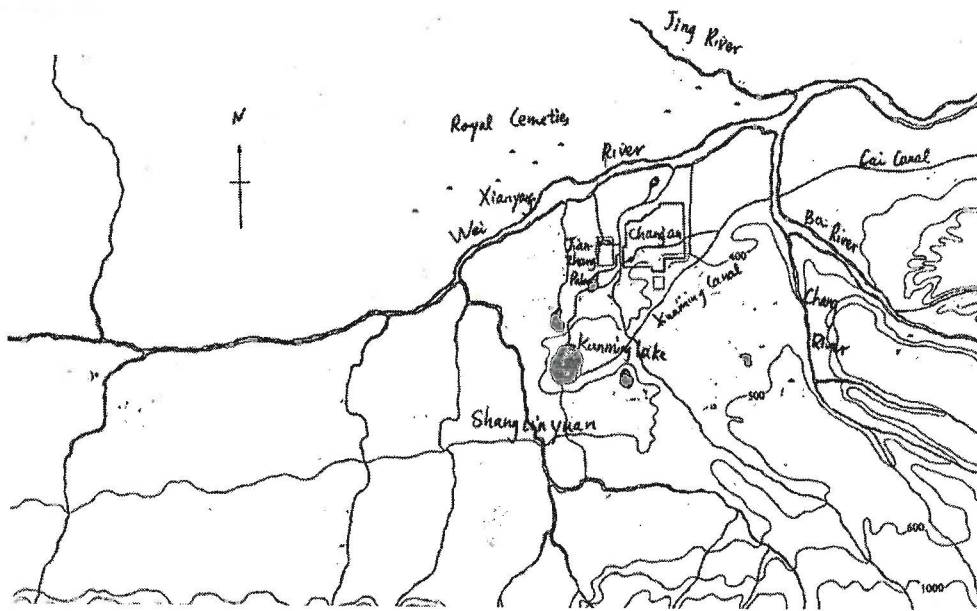


fig. 1:  
Western Han Chang'an and its outskirts. After Zhou Weiquan, *Zhonggou gudian yuanlin shi* (1990)

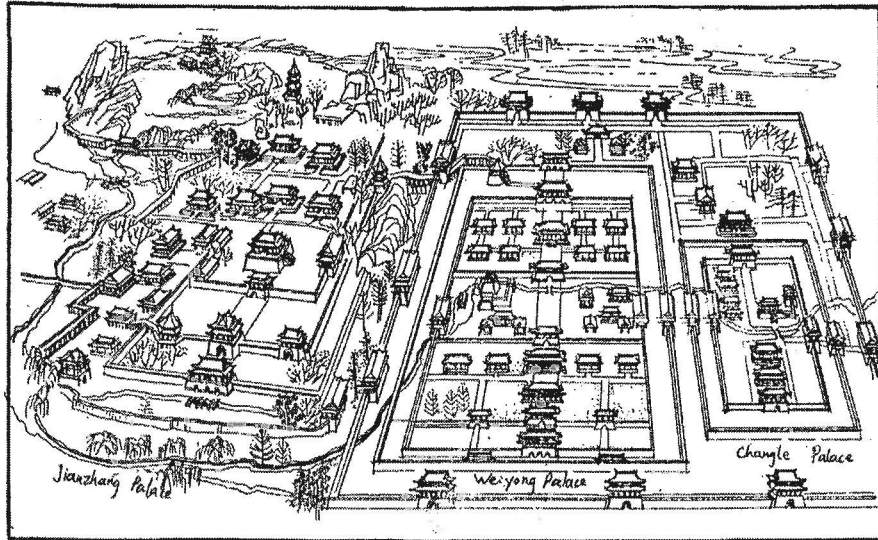


fig. 2:  
The reconstruction of the Han Chang'an city and the Jianzhang Palace. After Wang Congren, *Gudu Chang'an* (1981)

landscape architecture in a natural setting. Of course, in different locations, the respective typological features might differ greatly. Furthermore, each category has its own history and function, and it is not necessarily the case that these developed side by side. It is preferable, therefore, to combine all three methods of classification, in order to come closer to understanding the various activities relating to creation of a 'landscape', and to identifying those activities that are relevant to the understanding of the relationship between landscape and the development of cities in pre-modern China.

#### Han Chang'an: city as landscape

The remains of the ancient city of Chang'an still form part of the present landscape. Chang'an lies in the Wei River valley, with the Taihang Mountains to the south. It was here, with the important hinterland, that the early civilization of China developed into a sophisticated empire. Towards the end of the third century BC, the newly established Han dynasty began to build its capital city on the southern bank of the Wei River, on the ruins of the old outer palaces of the preceding Qin dynasty (221-207 BC). The capital was named Chang'an ('lasting peace') and was the centre of the Western Han court and Wang Mang's government until 25 AD, when Emperor Guangwu established the Eastern Han dynasty and moved his capital to Luoyang. Since the 1950s Chinese archaeologists have been excavating the site of Han Chang'an in present-day Xi'an, Shaanxi province. The archaeological evidence is now sufficient to create a reconstruction of

Han Chang'an, including its outskirts (fig. 1).<sup>19</sup> A single wall surrounded the city, with a circumference of 25,700 metres, and enclosing an area of over 35 square kilometres within the wall. The city was more or less square in outline, with its northern wall irregularly formed to follow the river; and on the other three walls were nine gates, three on each side. Within the city stood five royal palaces: the Changle ('lasting happiness') Palace, the Weiyang ('never-ending') Palace, the Northern Palace, the Gui ('cassia') Palace, and the Mingguang ('bright lightness') Palace. These five palaces occupied most of the city, leaving minimal space for streets, markets, an armoury, and almost nothing else. For years, the question of space at Chang'an has perplexed historians and archaeologists alike. The population of Han dynasty Chang'an was over a quarter of a million. How, and where, did such a small city accommodate such a large population? Might there have been an outer enclosure at Chang'an?

If we examine the evidence and the historical sources, we see that Han Chang'an was not a city built on a well-designed blueprint. Rather, it evolved in different stages.<sup>20</sup> The construction of the wall began as late as 194 BC, years after the completion of the Changle and Weiyang palaces, and took five years to build. The other three palaces were built during the reign of Emperor Wu, 140-87 BC. Emperor Wu's reign was remarkable in many ways, and it was during these years that important developments were made at Chang'an. Not only did he authorize new building work within the city, he also initiated ambitious new construction work outside the

19. For a general archaeological discussion on early urbanisation in China, see Wang Tao, 'A city with many faces: urban development in pre-modern China', Roderick, Whitfield and Wang Tao, eds. *Exploring China's past: new discoveries and studies in archaeology and art*, London: Saffron Books, 1999, pp. 111-121.

20. See Wu Hung, *Monumentality in early Chinese art and architecture*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995, esp. chapter 3.

city. The Jianzhang ('establishing patterns') Palace was built near the Zhangcheng Gate to the west of Chang'an. The Ganquan ('sweet springs') Palace was built in the mountains 300 li northwest of Chang'an. The grandest royal hunting park, the Shanglin ('supreme forest') Park, was built southwest of Chang'an. Using these examples, and combining archaeological evidence and historical texts, we can start our analysis of the basic characteristics of early landscape design in China.

The Shanglin Park was built on the old hunting grounds of the Qin dynasty. In 138 BC, Emperor Wu decided that royal hunting trips should not take place so far away from the city, and that attempts should be made to prevent damage to farmland caused by the hunters and the processions. Land to the south of the capital was designated as the royal hunting park. It is said in some historical records that the Shanglin Park had a circumference of 130-160 km, which would make it the largest royal park in Chinese history.

We have no direct evidence of how the Shanglin Park was laid out, what was included within the park, or even the actual size of the park. A number of architectural remains have been found, including the Kunming Lake, where Emperor Wu trained his first navy. It was an artificial lake, measuring about 10 square km in size, with an island in the northern section. Stone figurines have been found on the island. A contemporary account in the form of a *fu*-poem, written by the Han dynasty scholar, Sima Xiangru (179-117 BC), paints a vivid picture of the landscape of the royal park with its mountains,

rivers, huge trees, great variety of flora and fauna, and the various activities relating to the royal hunt. Most importantly, as a Confucian scholar, Sima Xiangru could not forget to remind the emperor that landscape making should always be an integrated part of a moral code (*li*). We cannot be sure how accurate, or how imaginary, Sima Xiangru's description may have been; and we should bear in mind that there was competition among scholars to write the longest, most descriptive *fu*-poems to impress their rulers.<sup>21</sup> Even if there may have been a fictional element to his writing, Sima Xiangru described features which he believed to be appropriate for a royal landscape, and the emperor was certainly impressed with it! The Jianzhang Palace was built in 104 BC, just outside the western wall of Chang'an city (fig. 2). It is described as being linked to the Weiyang Palace by a special passage over the wall. The chief motivation in constructing the Jianzhang Palace was to build a huge water reserve to protect the city from fire. But its fine water features were also designed to be a magnificent part of the grand royal landscape of Chang'an. At the southern gate, always the most important orientation in Chinese architecture, three multi-storey buildings were built, with weather-cocks in the shape of a phoenix, a bronze figurine holding a bronze plate, and a jade cup for morning dew. In the north was the Taiyechi ('cosmic liquid') lake, with three (or possibly four) artificial islands representing the lands of the immortals: Yingzhou, Penglai, and Fangzhang.<sup>22</sup> The combination of water feature and royal residence became one of the basic features in the later Chinese

landscape tradition, and the names 'Taiyechi', 'Yingzhou', 'Penglai' and 'Fangzhang' continued to be used in gardens down to the later imperial periods. The Ganquan Palace, built in 120 BC, represents another important aspect of landscape design. This palace was built in the Ganquan Mountains, a natural beauty spot some distance from the city, and was rather like a summer palace. But the primary purpose of the Ganquan Palace was not for enjoying the scenery, but for worshipping the deities, and in particular Taiyi, the superior cosmic deity. In the centre of the palace was an altar, with images of the deities depicted on them. The names of various buildings and terraces at the Ganquan Palace suggest that the magic ritual, as well as the natural elements and the landscape itself, had become a significant part of the worship.<sup>23</sup>

The Shanglin Park, Jianzhang Palace and Ganquan Palace represent very different types of landscape architecture. All three manifest the early characteristics of Chinese landscape tradition and the idea of landscape at that time. Some of these characteristics and ideas persisted for centuries. However, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between these early constructions and later landscape architecture. Whilst we may be able to trace similar features in different examples of landscape architecture of different periods, it would be naïve to presume that the underlying ideas remained the same and did not change.

The Shanglin Park was designed with definite functions, and the practical and economic implications are immediately apparent. Herbs were grown for medicinal use; fruit

and animals were destined for the imperial kitchen; horses were brought to be tamed and trained; and produce from all over the world was brought to the Park. The Shanglin Park was also the location of the most important Han dynasty mint, and archaeologists have found the remains of coin-casting workshops in the park.

Han emperors certainly enjoyed their parks and gardens, yet it is unlikely that their appreciation of the landscape would have been purely aesthetic. More probably, such a landscape would have inspired in them the very strong feelings associated with power and the vision of the successful empire they were building, or the fulfilment of religious experience derived from ritual practice. At this stage, the idea of landscape had yet not been separated from its political, or religious context. The elaborate palaces and other buildings at Chang'an can be seen as the creation of a landscape designed to confirm and reinforce the authority of the emperor, and to assure him that he did indeed have the power to transform the world. As the Grand Councillor Xiao He (d. 193 BC) said to Emperor Gaozu (Liu Bang, 256-195 BC), founder of the Han dynasty: 'A true Son of Heaven takes the whole world within the four seas to be his family. If he does not dwell in magnificence and beauty, he will have no way to manifest his authority, nor will he leave any foundation for his heirs to build upon.'<sup>24</sup>

Appropriate use of landscape also came within the bounds of Confucian moral teaching. For example, the same Grand Councillor Xiao He, who had successfully convinced Emperor Gaozu to reside in the Weiyang

21. Wu Hung, *Ibid.* pp. 170-176.

22. In Sima Qian's *Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), there are four names: Yingzhou, Penglai, Fangzhang, and Huliang. (juan 12, p.482). But, in later sources, Huliang was deleted. The legend of the three immortal islands in the Eastern Sea can also be read in the *Shiji* (juan 28, pp. 1369-1370).

23. Among more than a dozen names, are the 'Hostel for Welcoming the Breeze (Yinfengguan)', 'Terrace for Watching the Hills (Fengluanguan)', and 'Tower for Communicating with Spirits (Tongshentai)', 'Tower for Communicating with Heaven (Tongtiantai)'.  
24. *Shiji*, juan 8, pp. 385-386. Translation by Watson, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Grand Historian of China*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 137.

Palace, also tried to persuade the emperor to let the common people use the land in the Shanglin Park. But this proposal earned him heavy punishment and thrashings, until the emperor finally relented. In the *Hou Hanshu*, we read a similar story of Emperor Ling (r. 168-189) wanting to construct the Biguilingkun ('straight-gui and spiritual jade') Park, but Yang Ci, Chamberlain for the Palace Revenues, raised objection, saying: 'the wise kings of the past made parks for hunting, but shepherds and woodcutters were all allowed in. The founder of our dynasty built the Swan Lake to the left and the Shanglin Park to the right; this was neither extravagant, nor too simple, and was in perfect accord with the *li*-rites. Now, you want to take land on the outskirts of the city and turn it into a hunting park. This will damage fertile land, destroy fields and gardens, and drive people out of their houses in order to let animals roam the land. This is not a policy of looking after people.' Yang Ci's argument was based on a Confucian discourse. But, the project went ahead, thanks to clever courtiers who adopted similar tactics, and retaliated, citing Mencius' words, that a king could build anything he liked as long as he shared it with the people.<sup>25</sup> Stories such as these indicate that imperial landscape, like kingship and good rule, had to be defined within the moral code of *li*-rites. Han Chang'an, as the most important urban centre in early Chinese history, represents an "organically evolved" landscape. It is, however, embodied with a complex ideology, and there are many basic characteristics which are identifiable in the "clearly defined" landscape-making.

25. Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, juan 54, Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1971, pp. 1782-1783. Mencius' story can be read in *The Works of Mencius* (trans. Jame Legge, Dover edition, 1970), pp. 127-129, 153-154.

### The birth of landscape

Between the third and sixth century, there was a revolution in landscape representation in China. Landscape was brought into the domains of visual art and literature, not only as a formal component, but also as the main subject itself. It was during this period that landscape-creation became a profession, an expression, an aesthetic object, and a philosophy. I believe that the birth of landscape-creation in China, both as idea and as architectural practice, was a product of the social changes which took place against a background of urban development, and that it can be associated with particular events which took place during this period.

During the Wei (220-265), Jin (265-420) and the Northern and Southern dynasties (420-589), what had been the Han empire was now divided between the north and the south. In the south the most important urban centre was Jiankang (present-day Nanjing). It was made a capital city in 211 by Sun Quan of Wu (222-280), then again in 317 during the Eastern Jin dynasty and was the capital of four successive Southern dynasties: Song (420-479), Qi (479-502), Liang (502-557), and Chen (557-589). Jiankang enjoyed a strategic location, close to the lower reaches of the Yangzi River, with easy access to the very important network of water transport and the fertile agricultural region of Jiangnan. The city flourished with trade, and the population reached unprecedented levels, rising to approximately 1.4 million people in the sixth century.

What do we know about the spatial arrangement of Jiankang city? As yet, the archaeological survey of Jiankang city is still quite

limited.<sup>26</sup> According to literary records, the city was planned and built on a central axis, with two enclosures. In the northeast corner, between the royal palace and outer city wall, was the large royal park, known as the Hualin ('splendid forest') Garden. It was probably already in existence in the fourth century, as we find an interesting reference to the Hualin Garden in the *Shishuo xinyu* by Liu Yiqing (403-444) of the Liu-Song dynasty: 'On entering the Hualin Garden, Emperor Jianwen (r. 371-372), looked around and remarked to his attendants "The spot that suits the mind is not necessarily far away. By any shady grove or stream one may quite naturally have such thoughts as Zhuangzi had by the Hao and Pu rivers, where birds, beasts, fowl and fish come of their own accord and ignore one as they go about their business.'<sup>27</sup> The Emperor seems to have had a sound understanding of philosophy and the idea of landscape.

Large-scale renovation at the Hualin Garden began in 446, under Emperor Wen (r. 424-453) of the Song dynasty. But Hualin was not the only park at Jiankang. Emperor Wen was also responsible for the construction of another royal garden outside the city, the Leyou ('enjoyment of wandering') Garden. Another royal garden, the Fanglin ('fragrant forest') Park, was built during the Qi dynasty (479-502). Emperor Wu of Liang (r. 502-550) attempted to build two more royal parks at Jiankang, but the projects were brought to an end by the revolt of Hou Jing in 548, when the city was badly damaged. The city walls and palaces of Jiankang were broken down, and all the trees were felled.

26. For a brief archaeological survey, see Luo Zongzhen, *Liuchao kaogu*, Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1996, esp. chapter 2, pp. 10-33.

27. For an English translation of the book, see Richard B. Mather, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü: a new account of tales of the world*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976, p. 60. However, I have modified the translation, in particular the romanisation system.

28. Nan Qi shu, juan 7, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972, p. 104.

29. See Zhou Weiquan, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi*, Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 1990, pp. 36-37.

The royal parks and gardens in Jiankang were mostly concentrated in the northern and eastern sections of the city and the suburbs, close to the large Xuanwu ('dark warrior') Lake and the natural hills which rose in the east. Although today we can only imagine the beauty and grandeur of the royal parks at Jiankang, there are detailed descriptions in the literary records. These reveal, for example, that in the Fanglin Park 'rocks and stones were painted with five different pigments; purple mansions and terraces were built overlooking the water ponds, and the walls were painted with intimate scenes. Fine trees and bamboo were planted, but in the heat of the summer these would wither and die in a day. Officers would be sent to seek out plants from people's home; they would uproot every tree they saw, even damaging houses and walls in order to do so. Along all the roads, trees planted in the morning were pulled up by the evening, and it was the same for grasses, flowers, medicinal herbs, and weeds.'<sup>28</sup>

The luxury and extravagance of the royal landscapes may be impressive. However, it is in private gardens that we can see the most significant developments in landscape-design. Private gardens appeared as early as the Han dynasty, as private ownership of land became possible, and the richest people began to build gardens modelled on, or inspired by, those of the royal court.<sup>29</sup> When the empire fragmented, private landownership increased, and by the time of the Northern and Southern dynasties, the power and wealth of some families could rival even the royal courts.<sup>30</sup> Private gardens became



extremely fashionable, and a means of displaying social status.

As we might expect, there were many wealthy individuals in the capital city of Jiankang, and many of them built gardens, usually located on the northern side of the Qinhuai river.<sup>31</sup> It is reasonable to assume that most of the richest residents of Jiankang had private gardens, and that the exceptionally rich probably had both urban gardens in the city, as well as large villas with substantial land in the suburbs. The landscapes created were not only a source of pleasure for their owners, but were also important locations for produce and economic activities. What did the private gardens look like? We know from literary sources that there were hills of earth, fishpools, terraces and pavilions, and of course, bamboo, fruit trees and medicinal herbs. It is significant also that the names of the architectural features were often taken from the natural elements, so that we read about the 'Wind Pavilion', 'Moon Terrace', and 'Bamboo Hall' among others. Although no monographs on gardens were written at this time, it is clear from the contemporary written sources that the principle aim in landscape architecture during this period was to imitate the natural landscape. We read in the biography of the famous scholar and artist, Dai Yong (378-441) that 'when he went to live in Wu, the local gentlemen all came together to build a house for him. They gathered stones and dug a

stream, planted trees and opened up a water source; and within a short space of time the place became dense and lush. It was just like nature.'<sup>32</sup> This last phrase 'just like nature' (*youruo ziran*) is the key to landscape-design during this period. But, in the text, 'just like nature' is not an abstract concept. It referred specifically to the real landscape of the Jiangnan region.<sup>33</sup> The Kuaiji area in modern-day Zhejiang province was particularly famous for its natural beauty. The description in the *Kuaijijun ji* reads, 'in the Kuaiji area there is an especially large number of famous mountains and streams, where peaks tower upwards, lofty and precipitous, disgorging and swallowing clouds and mist; where pines and junipers, maples, and cypresses rise with mighty trunks and gaunt branches; and where lakes and pools lie mirror-like and clear.'<sup>34</sup> When the famous artist Gu Kaizhi (345-406), returned home from a journey to Kuaiji, people asked him about the beauty of the mountains and rivers he saw there. He replied: 'A thousand cliffs competed to stand tall, ten thousand torrents vied in flowing. Grasses and trees obscured the heights, like vapors raising misty shrouds.'<sup>35</sup> The natural beauty of this landscape and the scholars' activities which took place there were vividly described in the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi's (303-361/379) 'Preface to the Orchard Pavilion'.<sup>36</sup> The landscape poet Xie Lingyun (385-433), was born in Taikang, Henan, but retired to

Kuaiji. His writing reflected the profound impact the natural environment had made on him.<sup>37</sup> In his *Shanju fu*, Xie described the exact location and layout of his large private villa in Kuaiji. It is interesting that the fertile, ordered agricultural land and the wildness of the mountains and waterfalls all played an equal role in his landscape. Fifty years later, Xie Tiao (464-499), another famous writer of the Xie family, began to explore a different landscape, this time, on the man-made gardens within Jiankang city.<sup>38</sup> Many scholars have argued that the emergence of ideas about landscape in the Six Dynasties is closely linked with the idea of the recluse.<sup>39</sup> The dramatic social changes and chaotic urban life of the Wei-Jin periods had prompted many intellectuals to withdraw from their traditional roles as politicians or government administrators. It became common for the Southern Dynasties elite to abandon their civil duties and become recluses, mountain-climbers and even blacksmiths. The phrase of the day was *Zongqing shan-shui*, 'let your feelings go wild in the mountains and streams'. The most famous role-model was Tao Yuanming (365-427), who gave up his official career and returned to his homeland in Jiangxi, where he lived a modest life seeking personal freedom and enjoyment in the natural surroundings. He wrote a large number of poems describing his retreat into the countryside and the happiness he found in the landscape.<sup>40</sup> Mountains and trees were the best medicine for unsuccessful

ful politicians as well as the inspiration for creative writing. Tao Yuanming set an example for all scholar-officials who became disillusioned with politics. There were, however, some less fortunate ones who could not make it in the countryside. These people became 'city recluses' (*shi ying*), and they were the new innovators of private urban gardens.

As landscape-design, philosophy and appreciation developed, there were associations, and entanglings, with the religious ideas that were circulating at that time, such as Daoism and Buddhism. The Daoist belief always associated landscape with the land of the Immortals, and the principle of Daoist teaching was about going 'back to nature'.<sup>41</sup> Such Daoist beliefs coincided with the reclusive behaviour of the time. However, Buddhist beliefs may have had a more significant impact on ideas about landscape. In Buddhist cosmology, landscape is a core element,<sup>42</sup> and many Buddhist monks were also keen landscape gardeners. The monk Huiyuan is famous for creating 'landscape Buddhism': in 384 he arrived at Lushan Mountain, Jiangxi province, and designed and built the Donglin Temple there, believing that the landscape there would facilitate the teaching of Zen Buddhism. His followers included Zong Bing (375-443), who wrote an important essay on landscape painting.<sup>43</sup> The natural beauty of the south, the reclusive life-style, new religious experiences, and, perhaps most important of all, the psycholog-

30. During the six dynasties period, the government in theory still owned the land. But, the contemporary land regulations suggest that private landownership had already become the reality. See Tang Changru, *San zhi loiu shiji jiangnan da tudi suoyouzhi de fazhan*, Shanghai: Renming chubanshe, 1957; and Gao min, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shehui jingjishi tantao*, Beijing: Renming chubanshe, 1987, pp. 104-125.

31. See Liu Shufan, *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui*, Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1992, esp. pp. 111-134.

32. *Song shu*, juan 93, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, p. 2277.

33. The discovery of natural landscape in fact went further beyond the Jiangnan region. Many contemporary sources also describe the landscapes of Anhui, Hubei, and Jiangxi.

34. Mather, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, p.72. I have modified the romanisation for the place name.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

36. For a brief discussion on Wang's work, see Eugene Wang, 'The taming of the shrew: Wang His-chih (303-361) and calligraphic gentrification in the seventh century', Cary Y. Liu, Dora C. Y. Chang, and Judith G. Smith, eds. *Characters and context in Chinese calligraphy*, Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999, pp. 132-173.

37. See Kang-I Sun Chang, *Six dynasties poetry*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 47-78.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-134.

39. See Wang Yi, *Yuanlin yu zhongguo wenhua*, Shanghai: Shanghai renming chubanshe, 1990, pp. 81-108.

40. For a detailed study of Tao Yuanming and his works, see A. R. Davis, 'Tao Yuan-ming (AD 365-427), his works and their meaning', Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

41. For a general discussion on Daoism and garden, see Cooper 'The symbolism and the Taoist garden', *Studies in Comparative religion* (1977), pp. 224-234.

42. In 'The Earthly paradise', Ledderose has observed: 'A mountain is, iconologically speaking, always represented in a Buddhist temple in the form of the throne of Buddha.' (p. 171).

43. See a detailed discussion by Susan Bush, 'Tsung Ping's essay on painting landscape and the 'landscape Buddhism' of Mount Lu', Susan Bush ed. *Theories of Chinese arts*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp.132-164.

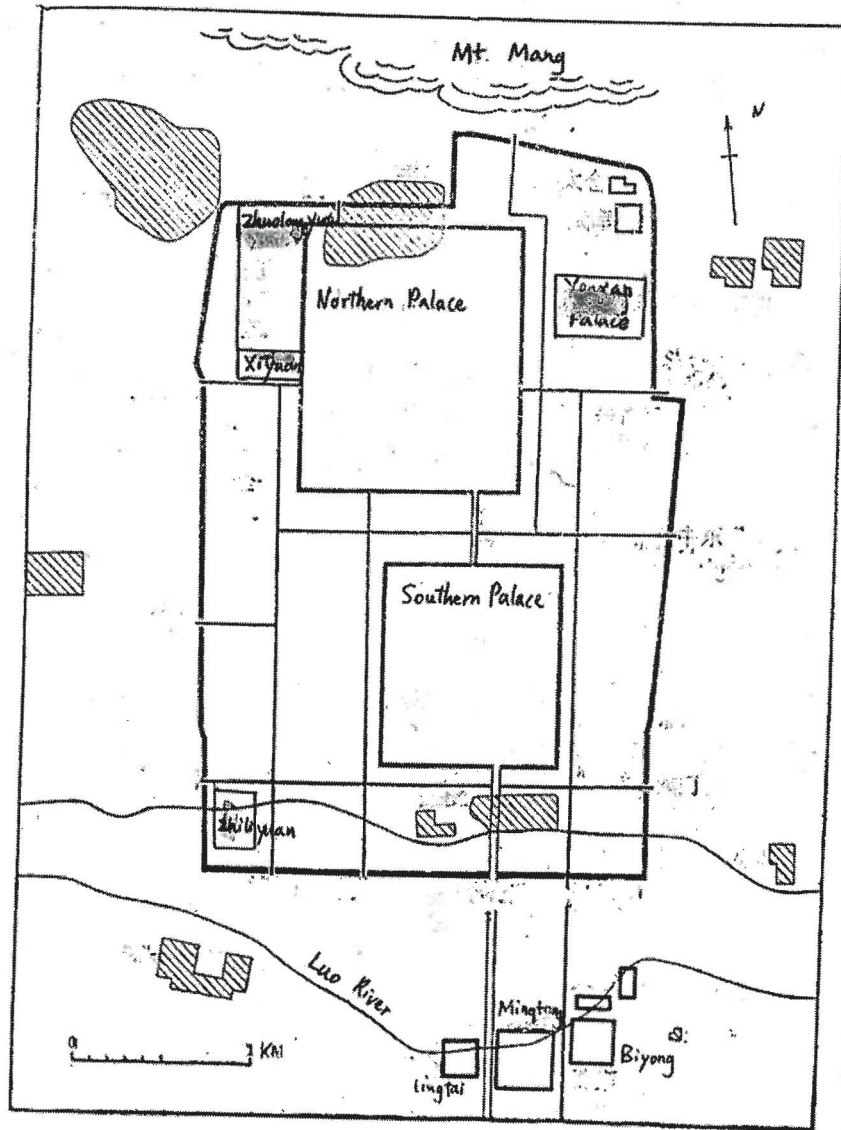


fig. 3:  
Eastern Han Luoyang. After Wang Zhongshu, *Handai kaoguxue kaishuo* (1984)

ical reaction to the deterioration and chaos of city-life led to the discovery of 'landscape' by the literati of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Scholars have noticed that the emergence of landscape painting (*shanshui hua*) had much to do with three-dimensional landscape architecture such as natural gardens and even miniature landscapes in trays.<sup>44</sup> From the third century onwards, the development of landscape architecture, together with similar trends seen in literature and the visual arts suggests that there was a different understanding of, and different attitudes towards, landscape than in previous periods. New ideas had been born, and landscape-design reflected, or more precisely, facilitated, this movement.

#### Luoyang: the garden city

In 1095, the Song dynasty scholar Li Gefei, wrote *The Famous Gardens of Luoyang* describing nineteen of the best gardens he had personally visited in the city. He wrote:

'In the Tang dynasty, during the Zhenguan (627-650) and Kaiyuan (713-742) reigns, there were over a thousand officials and wealthy men built houses in the Eastern Capital (Luoyang) and brought their families to live there. But when disorder came, most badly during the Five Dynasties, the lakes and trees were trampled by soldiers and ruined by chariots, and the land was left in ruin. The great buildings and high pavilions were burned to the ground, reduced to smoke and ashes. There is now hardly anything left of what once existed in Tang times. This is why I once said: "The rise and fall of the gardens are the best indicator of the

prosperity and decline of Luoyang".<sup>45</sup>

How accurately does the garden culture of Luoyang mirror the political fortunes of the city? Whilst we should not take Li's words too literally, it is true to a degree that the gardens of Luoyang have been an integral part of the history of the city. This makes Luoyang an excellent example for understanding the relationship between landscape and urban development in early and medieval China. Luoyang has been an important urban centre since the 10th century BC, when King Cheng of Zhou first built a settlement there. Later, it became the capital of the Eastern Zhou dynasty (770-256BC). Throughout the Han to Wei period, it acted as one of the major political and economic centres in the central plains, as the Eastern Han (AD 25-220), Cao-Wei (220-265), Western Jin (265-316), and Northern Wei (386-534) dynasties all made their capital at Luoyang.

The topography of Luoyang gave it an advantage over Chang'an in the west. To the north were the Mangshan Mountains, offering protection from the invasions of hostile nomads as well as sand-storms. The climate was mild and the agricultural land fertile. More importantly, the water supply was plentiful, with two rivers, the Luo and Gu, running through or close by the city.

Like Western Han Chang'an, the Eastern Han capital city at Luoyang was also planned within a square enclosure, about 13,000 metres long, making the city inside about 9.5 square kilometres. It was much smaller than Western Han Chang'an, but the layout of Luoyang was more orderly (fig.3). Two main royal palaces, the Southern Palace and

44. See Ledderose, L., *The Earthly paradise*, esp. 178-180. For a general study of Chinese landscape paintings, see Michael Sullivan, *The birth of landscape painting in China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.

45. The translation is based on the Chinese text in *Zhongguo lidai mingyuan ji xuanzhu* (compil. Chen Zhi and Zhang Gongchi, proof r. Chen Congzhou), Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983, pp. 38-55.

Northern Palace, were built on the central axis, which offered better symmetrical proportions than at Chang'an. There were four royal gardens in the city: the Zhili ('Zhi ward') Garden, the Xi ('western') Garden, the Zhuolong ('dragon bathing') Garden, and the Yong'an ('forever peace') Palace. The palaces were located in the south, east, north and west, respectively, and all had adjoining residential buildings. Outside the city walls, there were a number of natural parks, mostly to the west, and these had the traditional functions of hunting-ground, training-ground, as well as being lands for supplying the court with meat and vegetables. Religious complexes, such the Round Mound (*yuanqiu*), Bright Hall (*mingtang*), and the Spirit Terrace (*lingtai*), were in the southern suburbs, following the model built by Wang Mang in Chang'an in AD 9.

During the Eastern Han period, when Luoyang served as the capital, urban gardens became a main feature in the city planning.<sup>46</sup> Not only did the emperors and queens build parks and gardens; the rich people and the aristocracy followed the royal example and created their own private gardens. As we saw earlier, the appearance of private gardens should be understood against the background of the intensified struggle for private landownership.<sup>47</sup>

In 190, the general Dong Zuo (d. 192) forced Emperor Xian to move the capital back to Chang'an, and his troops set Luoyang ablaze. It is not known if any of the grand palaces or gardens survived. After 220 when the Eastern Han dynasty collapsed, Luoyang

was Cao Pi's (187-226) chosen site for the new capital city of his Cao-Wei dynasty. New palaces and gardens were built at Luoyang, including the new Fanglin ('fragrant forest') Garden, (which was later renamed Hualin 'splendid forest').

The new Fanglin Garden at Luoyang was located at the rear of the royal palace, which was similar to the Eastern Han design. But, there were important additions, such as the lake (AD 235) and the artificial hill (AD 237). Thousands of people were employed to build the new hill, and ministers and even the emperor lent a hand. When the hill was completed, bamboo and trees were planted at the summit, and animals were brought in.<sup>48</sup> It would seem that the emperor wanted to create a natural park in the city.

After the Cao-Wei dynasty, the Western Jin continued to use Luoyang as its capital for 47 years, and the parks and gardens remained an important part of the city's political and cultural life. However, in 321 Xiongnu invaders sacked Luoyang and the city was abandoned once more.

The most significant change in the history of Luoyang took place in 494 when Emperor Wen of the Northern Wei (386-534) moved his capital from Pingcheng (modern-day Datong, Shanxi province) to Luoyang. Luoyang was the Northern Wei capital for 44 years, until 534, when the newly established Eastern Wei dynasty (534-550) moved its capital further north to Ye (in modern-day Hebei province).

During the Northern Wei period, Luoyang developed as both a political and an urban centre in northern China, almost rivalling

Jiankang in the south. The most distinctive feature of Northern Wei Luoyang was its grid-design (fig.4): the city was divided into regular shaped residential wards, rather like a chess-board, with the royal palace on the axis and in the northern section of the city.<sup>49</sup> There were two enclosures, dividing the city into inner city and outer city. The 320 residential wards were built in the outer city in 501, seven years after the Northern Wei court had settled there.<sup>50</sup>

For a long time, scholars have been arguing whether the plan of Northern Wei Luoyang was based on a traditional Chinese model, or whether it may have been a Northern Wei innovation, or even a western influence.<sup>51</sup> However, the historical records suggest that the design of Northern Wei Luoyang was inspired by that of Jiankang, then the capital of the Southern Qi court. In 493, Emperor Wen of the Northern Wei sent his people to Jiankang to spy on the designs of architecture there.<sup>52</sup>

The northern Wei rulers were, ethnically speaking, not Chinese, but Tuoba. However, having settled in Luoyang, Emperor Wu of the Northern Wei carried out a wholesale sinicization policy. This even included adding Chinese-style landscape architecture to the capital city. The old Hualin Garden of the Cao-Wei period was now split into two separate gardens: one retained the original name Hualin, and the other was named Xiyou ('wandering in the west'). It is likely that the main features of Northern Wei gardens were

those which had survived from earlier times, as the keeping of the old names suggests. According to a contemporary source, the *Luoyang qielan ji*, by Yang Xuanzhi who lived through the Northern and Eastern Wei periods, there were many private gardens in Luoyang at that time: 'princes and nobles of the imperial clan, princesses, and the Emperor's relations through marriage seized for themselves the wealth of mountains, seas, forests, and rivers. They competed in building gardens and mansions, boasting to each other of their achievements. They erected splendid gateways, sumptuous houses whose doors connected one with next, flying passageways to catch the breezes, and high buildings shrouded with mist. Tall towers and fragrant terraces were built in every home, and each garden had flowering cypresses and twisting pools. They were all verdant with peach in summer and with bamboo and cypress in winter.'<sup>53</sup> The popularity of private gardens in Northern Wei Luoyang might have been due to the fashion of imitating the life-style of the Southern dynasties, but also important are the practical facts that private landownership was permitted, the population of Luoyang was not so great, and space was not a pressing issue. When Luoyang became the capital, it had a population of about half a million, equivalent to less than a third of the population of Jiankang. However, when considering Luoyang as a garden city, the Northern Wei period is fraught with difficulties. The chessboard arrangement of the

49. For a general discussion on Northern Wei Luoyang, see Ho Ping-ti, 'Lo-yang, A.D. 495-534: a study of the physical and socio-economic planning of a metropolitan area', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, no 26 (1966), pp. 52-101.

50. The *Luoyang qielan ji* gives 220.

51. See Liu Shufan, *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui*, esp. 167-191; Meng Fanren 'Shi lun Bei Wei Luoyangcheng de xingzhi yu zhongya gucheng xingzhi de guanxi - jiantan silu yanxian chengshi de zhongyaoxing', *Han Tang yu bianjiang kaogu yanjiu*, no. 1 (1994), pp. 97-110.

52. Nan Qi shu, juan 57.

53. Translation from W. J. F. Jenner, *Memories of old Lo-yang: Yang Hsuan-chih and the lost capital (493-534)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, pp. 241-242. I have changed his Wade system into Pinyin system for Chinese names.

46. For a general background study of Eastern Han Luoyang, see, Hans Bielenstein, 'Lo-yang in later Han times', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 48 (1976), pp. 1-142.

47. See Zhao Lisheng, *Zhongguo tudi zhidushi*, Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1984, chapter 3, pp. 54-79.

48. See Zhou Weiquan, *Zhongguo gudian yuanli shi*, pp. 50-52.

wards might have been convenient for controlling the movement of the population, but it was not ideal for landscape architecture and making gardens. Furthermore, social class determined which residents lived in which ward. It is known that there was powerful opposition to Emperor Wen's policy of sinicization at the Northern Wei court, especially from the Tuoba aristocracy, who clung to their nomadic life-style. But did they also develop a taste for Chinese gardens? Yang Xuanzhi's *Luoyang jialan ji* also recorded sixty Buddhist temples in the city, and noted that almost every one of them had a garden. Many of them had been converted from old private residences and gardens. As Buddhism grew in popularity, monks and nuns became the innovators of a new ideology, which also included landscape-design and theory. But, in contrast to the gardens of the imperial family and the nobility, which were exclusively for a limited range of guests, the Buddhist temples served as a kind of 'public space' and their gardens were open and accessible to everyone. For example, the Baoguan ('precious lightness') Temple was one of the grandest monasteries in the western suburb of Luoyang; its 'garden was level and spacious, and all who saw its luxuriant fruit and vegetables sighed with admiration. There was a pool in the garden, called the Xianchi [a name derived from early mythology], whose banks were covered with reeds. The pool itself grew water-chestnuts and lotuses, and was surrounded with green pines and emerald bamboo. On fine mornings the gentlemen of the capital would ask for bath-leave and invited their friends to make a trip to this temple with them. Their

carriages would pack in crossboard to crossboard, and their feathered canopies made a continuous shade. Sometimes they amused themselves by drinking wine among the trees and streams, writing poems about the flowers, breaking off lotus roots, and floating gourds.<sup>54</sup>

Such landscapes were not merely for entertainment and visual pleasure, but their designers also sought to invoke a memory of the past. For example, in the *Luoyang qielan ji*, we read: 'On the eighth day of the fourth month many of the men and women of the capital used to go to the Hejian ('between rivers') Monastery; "all of them would sigh with admiration when they saw its splendid porticoes, and reckon that even the immortals' houses on Penglai could be no better. On going through to the garden at the back they saw twisting canals and lofty stone steps, red lotuses over the ponds, and green duckweed floating on the water; flying bridges leaping over pavilions and tall trees soaring up through clouds; they all sighed, for not even the Rabbit Park of Prince Liang could have been anything to compare with this.'<sup>55</sup>

We should remember though that the descriptions of Luoyang and its gardens in literary records such as the *Luoyang jialan ji* were not a contemporary architectural survey, but a memory full of nostalgia. Yang Xuanzhi wrote his recollections of old Luoyang many years after Hou Jing had set the city ablaze in 538. The once beautiful Luoyang would remain in ruins for another seventy years.<sup>56</sup>

In 581, Yang Jian (541-604), a general of the Northern Zhou court, established the Sui

54. Ibid., pp. 233-234.

55. Ibid., p. 244.

56. Ibid., esp. chapters 1, 6; pp. 3-15, 103-138.

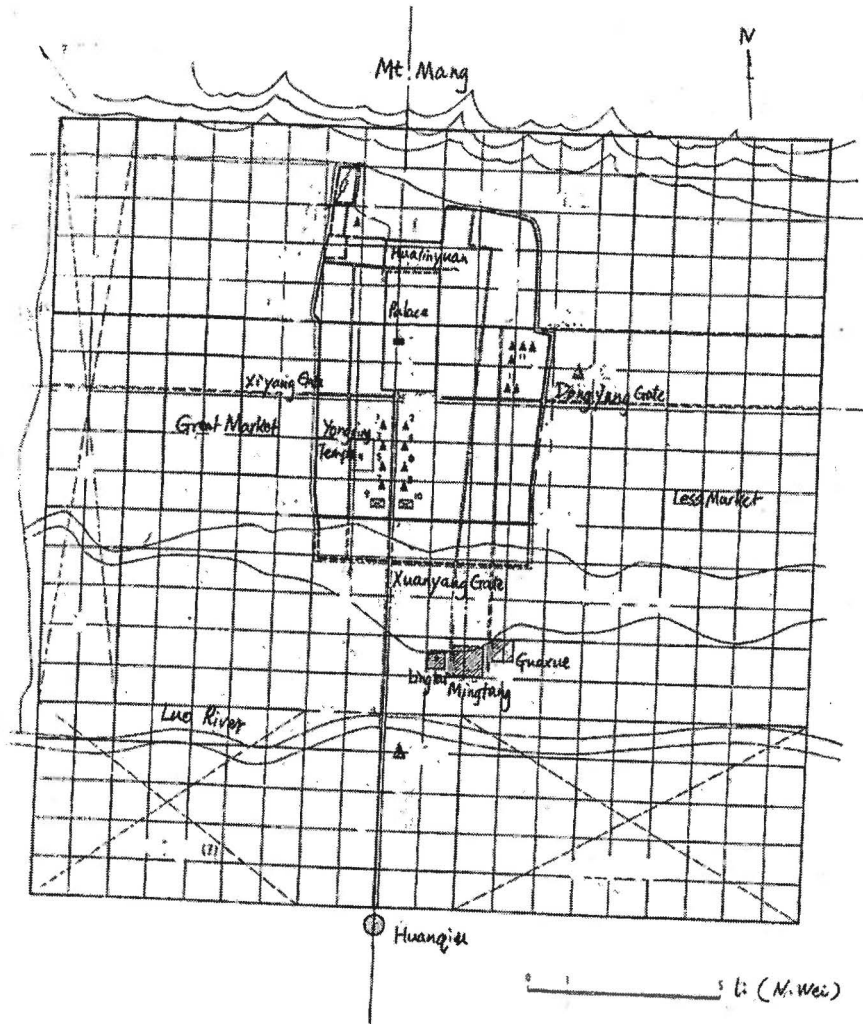


fig. 4:  
Northern Wei Luoyang. After He Yeju, *Kaogongji yingguo zhidu yanjiu* (1986)

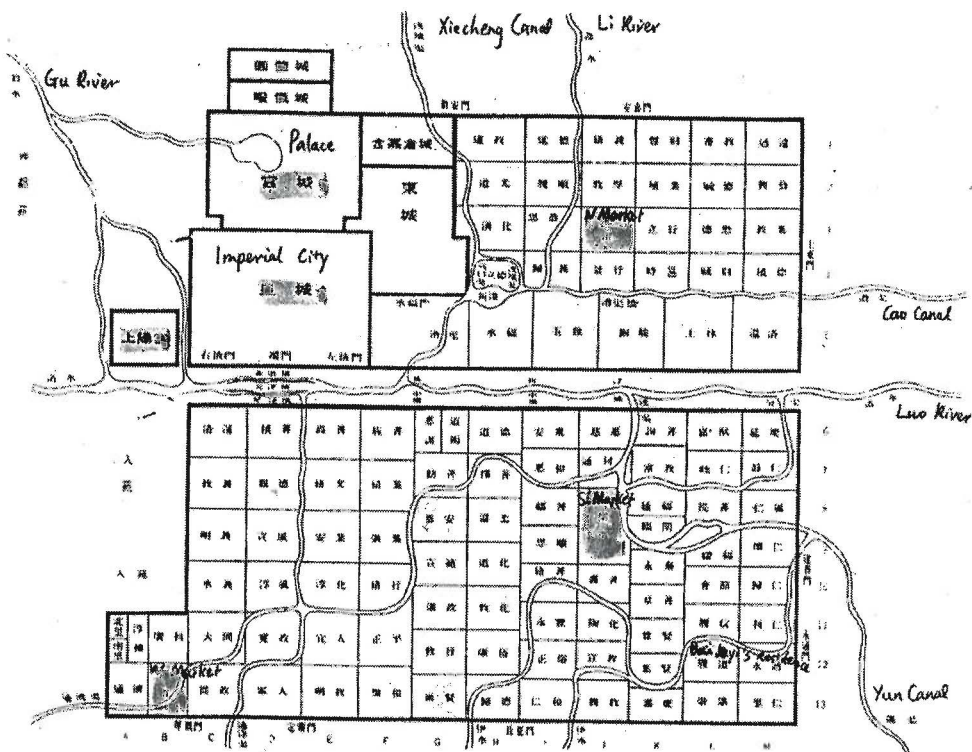


fig.5:  
Sei Tang Luoyang. After Xu Song, Tang liangjing chengfang kao (1810)

dynasty, and by 587 the whole of China was once again united as an empire. In 605, the new emperor Yang Guang (569-618) ordered his minister Yuwen Kai (555-612) to build a second capital at Luoyang, between the old city sites of the Eastern Han and the Northern Wei.<sup>57</sup> The primary capital was at Chang'an. This system of having two capital cities followed an ancient tradition, and continued throughout the Sui and Tang dynasty. Luoyang was an obvious choice for a second capital mainly for political and historical reasons, but also for its superb geographical location. Luoyang was close to the key agricultural areas for steady supplies of food, and there were four rivers and canals, the Luo, Yin, Jiang and Gu, running through the city, providing easy transport for people and goods.

Archaeologists have been excavating the Sui and Tang city remains of Luoyang and the finds seem to match largely what is recorded in the historical literature (fig. 5). The eastern and southern walls of the city were 7.3 km long, the western wall 6.8 km, and the northern wall 6.1 km. The total circumference of the city wall was about 27.5 km, making an area of about 47 square kilometres within the city. It is difficult to estimate exactly how many people lived in Luoyang during the Tang dynasty, but it was certainly smaller than Tang dynasty Chang'an, which is known to have had a population of over one million, a city wall circumference of 36.7 kilometres and an area of about 84 square kilometres. Luoyang was about half the size of Chang'an, so must have had a smaller population. However, at its peak, the population may have neared a million. During her reign,

Empress Wu Zetian spent more time in Luoyang than in Chang'an, and in 691, she ordered more than 100,000 households to migrate to Luoyang to 'fill up' the city. The city of Luoyang must have been crowded, and this is believed to have had an impact on the surrounding natural environment.<sup>58</sup> Some historical sources indicate that the forests in the suburbs were diminishing, even disappearing. In 755, Luoyang was badly damaged during the rebellions of An Lushan and Shi Siming, and the city went into decline. The Tang dynasty cities of Chang'an and Luoyang were influenced by the city planning of Northern Wei Luoyang, which was built on the grid system. Both cities were arranged with royal city, granary, markets, and residential wards. The classic model of city design, with the royal palace at the centre, could still be seen at Chang'an, but at Luoyang, the river Luo ran through the city, creating a natural division into northern and southern sections, and the palace was located in the northwestern corner of the city. Chang'an had two markets (the Eastern and Western markets); Luoyang had three markets all located near the canals (Northern, Southern and Western).

According to literary and historical sources, Tang dynasty Luoyang was a beautiful city full of gardens, both royal and private. The royal palace, the Shangyang ('upper sunny') Palace, was built in the northwestern corner of the city, and the Xiyuan ('western') Park was created outside the city, to the northwest. Luoyang's scholar-officials competed to create the best gardens in town, giving rise to a 'garden culture'. For example, the famous poet Bai Juyi (772-846), who created

57. See Victor Xiong, 'Sui Yangdi and the building of Sui-Tang Luoyang', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 52, no. 1 (February 1993), pp. 66-89.

58. In the Northern Wei and Sui/Tang periods, the surrounding areas of Luoyang lost most of their forests and the supply of wood to the city had to be sought in the Hunyuan and Song xian areas. See Shi Nianhai, *Zhongguo gudu he wenhua*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998, pp. 281-282.

his own garden in the Lüdao Ward in the southeast corner of the city, wrote about his own garden and the gardens of his friends, reflecting the beauty and density of private gardens in Luoyang. To date, archaeologists have uncovered the Shangyang Palace and Bai Juyi's private garden,<sup>59</sup> and their findings will provide first-hand information for understanding the tradition of landscape-design in China.

After the Tang dynasty Luoyang was never again a capital city of China. It lost its political and cultural influence, but the charms of its gardens lived on. The Song dynasty scholar, Li Gefei, described nineteen gardens in his *Famous gardens in Luoyang*. Some of these had actually survived from the Tang period, including the old gardens of the poet Bai Juyi and his friend Pei Du (765-839). The nineteen gardens all had their own characteristics. Some gardens, for example the Tianwang Garden was not appreciated for its landscape, but for being a ruin and garden nursery where the city's flower-sellers could make their living. Sometimes, scholars would open their private gardens to the public, and bring in a little extra income. It is somewhat ironic that the famous scholar Sima Guang's (1019-1086) garden, named Duleyuan ('garden for my own personal pleasure'), was one of the most visited private gardens in Luoyang. One spring it raised ten thousand cash from the entry charge alone, and this income was used to add a new pavilion. Economic development may have transformed society; it also transformed the landscape culture of Luoyang.

### Conclusion

To sum up, I would like to draw some general observations:

1) Landscape-making has been an important aspect of Chinese civilization. In a broad sense, we can say that the first agricultural lands and the first city are the most remarkable landscapes ever made by man. However, where landscape architecture, in the more narrowly defined sense, is concerned, we see its beginnings in the development of urban settlements which sought to supplement hunting and horticultural sites. This is the origin of the garden. The economic roots and functions remained important in the later development of the Chinese landscape tradition.

2) In the early period, it is the imperial landscape which dominates. The building of gardens and parks went hand in hand with the building of the city, and followed a defined imperial ideology. The idea of landscape at this stage cannot be separated from political motivation and religious experience. In this sense, the idea of landscape is a product of the social as well as artistic developments of the 3rd and 4th century AD. The fast expansion during this period of cities such as Jiankang and Luoyang brought direct transformations to the society and natural environment, which facilitated new ideas and practices in urban landscape making. The literati of the Northern and Southern Dynasties were the main innovators for creating a new type of landscape, as well as an aesthetic theory about it. Religion, such as Daoism and

Buddhism, and old and new beliefs, also played an important role in this process.

3) The tradition of Chinese landscape architecture is based on an understanding of nature, or is viewed as a microcosm of the universe. But, here, the 'universe' is a carefully organised configuration; and 'nature' should not be treated as a transcendent and static concept, but as a historical product. Mountains, rivers, waterfalls, as well as man-made lakes, and artificial hills, all play their part in the making of a 'natural' landscape. However, the 'picturesque' landscape gardens such as those which have survived today in Suzhou are rather different from the early and medieval gardens. Where the relationship between landscape and urban development is concerned, it is clear that the landscape is always 'borrowed'.

There is another dimension to 'borrowed landscape'. As I have argued, landscape is closely linked with economic and urban development. The very process of urbanisation destroys natural landscapes, and modernisation in China, as elsewhere, has posed the biggest threat to its landscape tradition. Borrowing implies a temporary loan, to be repaid, and in the light of urbanisation on the massive scale of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, we should consider, before we 'borrow', which values of the traditional system we consider important.

59. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Luoyang tangcheng dui, 'Luoyang dongdu Ludaifang Bai Juyi guju fajue jianbao', Kaogu 1994/8, pp.692-701; 'Luoyang Tang dongdu Shangyanggong yuanlin yizhi fajue jianbao', Kaogu, 1998/2, pp. 38-44.

# SÃO PAULO

WIM NIJENHUIS

1. São Paulo is a world city and Brazil is its hinterland.

2. Like a huge, dynamic mass of gridded patches and structureless emulsions of masonry, asphalt, cars and people, the colossus sprawls across the endless plateau and gobbles its way through the dark green forest, leaving little reddish spots behind. The new developments and the mutations follow the logic of land speculation and are driven by instantaneous impulses such as a randomly placed new factory or an equally randomly placed favela. Admittedly, the ring of motorways around and through the centre, together with the railways and two rivers, form a bundle of infrastructure that allows us a distant panorama, and the built-up area occasionally follows an undulation of the landscape, but ultimately these nuances vanish amid the hugeness and chaos of the whole. Thus São Paulo has the appearance of a vast, monotonous, dense uplift cut across by deep clefts.

3. São Paulo occupies an area of 8051 square kilometres. Of this, 1771 square kilometres is built up. The city lies at an elevation of 860 metres.

4. Even the most inveterate *Paulistano* loses his bearings now and then. He has to discover a new route to work every month, the buses take a different route every week, familiar shops and services relocate without warning, whole suburbs go through major changes in the blink of an eye, urban villas turn into showrooms and sometimes, at

night, they suddenly change into bars. Streets are dug up and boulevards constructed. Not only does the city centre shift bit by bit, but it also undergoes a kind of nuclear fission, with local centres rising alongside the motorways in places that were previously not even part of the city. Everywhere there are building excavations. Sometimes activities are taking place within them but often they lie silent for long periods. Nothing is solid, nothing is durable or dependable. The environment is so unreal that no-one would be the least surprised if the entire city were to vanish overnight.

5. In 1973, 1.3 percent of the population lived in favelas. Today the figure is 20 percent.

6. A friend has been living on the 25th floor of Niemeyer's *Edifício Copan* (1951), near Praça da Republica, for the last three years. The building has a S-shaped ground plan and 30 floors. The bottom two floors contain shops and other businesses and the rest consists of apartments. This architectural jewel stands in the middle of neglected shopping streets and movie theatres. At night the area is the domain of streetwalkers and the homeless. I saw two vagrants in the street making love.

From her flat that evening, between the brise-soleils which are over 1.5 metres deep and frame the outlook rather like a panoramic camera, I have my first prospect of the town from above. Hundreds of skyscrapers loom against a purple-black sky. Many have a red light on the roof. Between them there

are dozens of television masts with white flashing beacons. The Hilton, the only round tower, is on the foreground, in the right corner. Down in the depths, the traffic buzzes softly on.

7. The train and the subway together transport 3.5 million passengers daily, and the buses 5.8 million.

8. During the first half of this century, development of the city still took the form of large-scale new building projects. But the uncontrollable rate of growth has now produced a dominant architecture of countless investors and individual owners. They develop the city plot by plot. This approach has produced very narrow, tall and ingeniously organized building types. A single block of flats sometimes has only one flat per floor and depends for its stability on its more robust neighbour. Their designers are often anonymous and in some cases no architect was involved at all. My attention was drawn to a gigantic building designed by a butcher. Crazy! Everywhere there are facades with half to three-quarters of their area windowless and covered with advertising. This produces a city of concrete pillars with strips of windows here and there. São Paulo is like a stretched-out, three-dimensional bar code.

9. The metropolis has 4.4 million vehicles, including 11,000 buses. The greatest part of the 270 km.-long railway line is unused.

10. Every notion we may have about planning and architecture evaporates here.

What do you do about cities with over 10 million inhabitants? What do you do about cities that threaten to swell into metropolises of 25 million inhabitants (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro)? What do you do about cities that were planned for a few hundred thousand people but within a few decades have 2 to 3 million inhabitants (Brasília, Belo Horizonte)? You cannot do them justice with 'normal' planning or 'normal' architecture. That would suggest that the contemplative slowness of the plan or design would work here. In Brazil, action is chronically overtaken by events. No time for consideration, no time for reflection. That's a European luxury, but here every municipal organization is powerless against the proliferation of the city. All that can be done is to keep things under control. Urban planning becomes a matter of policing rather than a political or cultural discipline.

11. In a street near the ring road, the *Marginais*, an architect has spent years developing and building little towers in various architectural styles.

12. The favela may be seen as a 'strategic' land reservation. Where there is a favela, the land prices remain low, even though the location is often close to important urban and regional routes. Property developers are able to clear the settlement at a certain point and set down a new industrial zone, office park or housing estate with relative ease and, owing to the cheap land, at low expense. Thus in São Paulo, the favela heads a series of urban functions that follow one after another in the same location. The favela is necessary

to the development of the city because it guarantees that land can be freed quickly. Changes in the form and function of a certain area always begin with the favela, which thus provides the fixed framework, which gives a place to the series of events of which São Paulo consists.

13. From 1987 to 1991, the city had an average of 1,312,107 housing units, 239,504 hospital beds and 18,544 doctors.

14. Meeting houses of the *Candomblé*, known as *terreiros*, were usually located in the poorer districts. The religion is now no longer restricted to the poor and the Negroes, and these houses may now be anywhere, including in wealthier districts such as Pinheiros, Vila Mariana and the Jardins, in the vicinity of subway stations and in ethnic neighbourhoods such as the predominantly Japanese Liberdade and Jewish Bom Retiro. Many *terreiros* have insufficient space. In the *terreiro* of *Minas de Thoya Jarina*, the ritual has therefore been modified: in Father Francelino's living room, which measures only four square metres in area, now some twenty adherents can dance and sway in honour of the gods. *Candomblé*, which is supposed to take place in the purely natural surroundings, does not belong in a city. But the magic imagination will not be suppressed by cramped conditions and logic, and it banks on the multi-dimensionality of the metropolis.

15. The population grew at a rate of 3 percent per annum for a long time, but now it is

growing only with 0.5 percent.

16. The din of the traffic indicates the adrenalin-level of São Paulo. Power City. It roars in the morning, it roars at night, it roars the whole day long. The city is one huge engine. The engine of Brazil. Nor is it shy about the fact. Naturally there are places where the noise is subdued, such as in a few parks and residential areas, but then they are really oases in a city that has not been laid out under normal conditions but has been ground out of the earth by an incessant stream of vehicles. Just as the water of a river can create a canyon, the traffic of São Paulo has made its streets.

If someone were to ask me what I am doing here in Brazil, I can only reply that I am mentally straying, tanning my brains or getting permanently rid of a few obstinate prejudices and automatisms. And why not in Brazil?

17. It is freedom and expansion that matter in São Paulo, not historical continuity.

18. The *Paulistanos* do not see their city as a landscape, for they have no aesthetic bond with it. They either live in the thick of it and are barely distinguishable from it, or do distinguish themselves from it and experience it as inimical neo-nature. For those immersed in São Paulo, the surroundings resemble a universe of temptations and metamorphoses, where large areas of the city take on human traits and where people come to resemble the city. As neo-nature, the city is respectively resistance, future, adventure, obligation



and... an absurd secret. Since the city demands so much energy from its inhabitants, from their intuition and emotions, not enough remains to apply to one's fellow citizen, for example to improve him. The inclination to manipulate and educate is strange to the Paulistano. If there is solidarity here, it is not impelled by a sense of responsibility but by a conspiracy against the metropolis.

19. Machismo and feminismo: except for the banks, Brazil is ruled by women.

20. In *Grande Sertão: Veredas* (The Devil to Pay in the Backlands, 1963), Guimarães Rosa wrote that the Brazilian interior was undeveloped, but it did have culture. Other forces, chiefly magic ones, predominated there. If the culture of the interior were integrated with that of the cities, a new Brazilian man would arise. Euclides Da Cunha had earlier related in *Os Sertões* (Rebellion in the Backlands, 1902/1947) how an occult-messianic revolt had been beaten down by a 'cold-hearted, technical-functional' army. Brazilians, he argued, had a duty to colonize the interior and so blend the occult-messianic and the technical-functional facets of their culture. Today's São Paulo has a cultural mix containing not only Negro magic and Indian ritual but Shintoism, Zen, Tai Chi, French Positivism, a bit of German Idealism, a pinch of American Pragmatism, Neapolitan music, North Italian Futurism, Russian Orthodoxy, Dutch Calvinism, Spanish Mysticism and Jewish Intellectualism.

21. Mario de Andrade's *Macunaíma* (1928)

depicts a spineless hero and fantasizes about people who know no responsibility.

22. The new man lives on fashion. He thus liberates himself from the obligation to authenticity. His great passion is to apply information, models, strategies and all kinds of examples from elsewhere to his daily life, and to turn them into reality. In so doing he can experience the finest of what someone else has already experienced. In philosophy and literature, this results in the lightness of dilettantism, an intellectual delight in anything that is new, and that brings into being such marvellous fusions as magic positivism, spiritualistic logical analysis, Marxist kaballa and Zen Catholicism. By the way, the basis for this fashion-following and dilettantism is always the new man's abysmal openness to seduction. At the end of all this mixing together, two things rise to the surface - the genius of the feminine, and liberation from prejudice.

23. São Paulo, hotel. Milton Vargas said, 'The Brazilians are not convinced that they live in reality'.

24. They are apparently unfamiliar with the idea of team spirit here. You can see from their football that they do not know how to deploy themselves. Twenty of them at a time run after the ball, without strategy, and it depends solely on the qualities of the individual player who will ultimately win. They are incapable of creating openings, of making room for a team-mate to improve his position. This is moreover an impression you get

in Brazil as a whole. Their personal space is far too cramped, both physically and mentally. But isn't team spirit much too European a notion? Suppose it's not at all the group as a whole that matters, but solely the excellence of the individual. Perhaps that's precisely the power of a system that is the very opposite of self-organization. As a group they are a mess, but as a synergy of talented individuals the Brazilians will undoubtedly come out on top.

25. Brazil has an area of 850 million hectares. 70% of the land is privately owned. Of the landowners,

3%	own less than	10 ha.
35%	own more than	1,000 ha.
28%	own more than	10,000 ha.
42%	of the large landholdings	are non-productive.

26. Something happens in my heart / every time I cross Ipiranga and Avenida São João / when I first came here, I understood nothing / neither the hard, concrete poetry of your street corners / nor the discrete inelegance of your women / when I gazed at you / I did not see my own face / I called what I saw poor taste / the poor taste of poor taste! / for Narcissus finds everything ugly that is not a reflection / you gave me a difficult start / what I do not know from afar, / from a different, happy dream of the city / quickly teaches to call you 'reality' / because you are the opposite of the opposite of the opposite of the opposite.

27. Belo Horizonte. The eternally repudiated

city. Brasília. The eternally unfinished city. Rio de Janeiro. The eternally dreaming city. São Paulo. The city that simply roars.

28. In the favela of Vila Prudente in eastern São Paulo, over five hundred people are packed together in the blue and green painted 'salon'. Music from the north-eastern region is playing, as usual, and the customers are drinking Ypioca sugar cane whiskey.

Severino José da Silva, illiterate, left Itora in the interior region of Pernambuco in 1948, when he was sixteen. He became a street vendor of potatoes, garlic and onions in the city centre of Recife. Ten years later, he had saved enough to set off on a freighter to Rio de Janeiro to join his family in the favela of Caxias. After a further eighteen months, he moved to São Paulo, a city about which he had heard much. Severino arrived there in 1960 and immediately went to stay with a cousin in the favela of Vila Prudente. Since then, he has never been back to Rio de Janeiro or his home town. He married, and now has five children and three grandchildren.

29. A city without a horizon. You see skyscrapers wherever you look. Imagine Manhattan multiplied by thirty and you get something like São Paulo.

30. *Jogo do Bicho* is a lottery in which players bet on football results. All around the city countless little shops have been set up, and outside them endless queues of people wait for a chance to gamble. The sheer numbers

of the poor are astonishing. But it would be mistaken to think that these people are making their small sacrifices solely for the chance of winning a fortune. Winning is a secondary matter here, for they see lottery as an invitation to adventure, as a challenge to fate. Their sacrifice is to gambling itself, for the game gives the participant's life a sense of purpose for a while, or at least a rhythm. He lives from draw to draw, so creating a period of waiting and hoping for himself, something that history and progress have never been able to give him.

31. Vertical congestion! A strange sight, queues not waiting for a shop or a checkout, but for a lift.

32. As opposed to the uncertainty of the surroundings, Brazil has the sanctity of the gesture. The best means of making something of a purposelessness situation are music, dance and movement. Rhythm has a secret power. It converts pointless time into time that has some point. Rhythm has the power to structure the movements of daily life and give them an added aesthetic, ritual and sacral dimension. The boy's dancing gait, the private smile, the rattling of the typewriter as though it were a tom-tom, licking an envelope behind the post-office counter, starting a video recorder, opening the door. Every gesture, even the gesture of fighting, has a certain cultivated quality here. Amid a sea of purposelessness there thus rises the sacrosanctity of the gesture, in which is celebrated the supremacy of the body, with its undulations, its sensuality and its expressiveness.

33. *Macumba* - turn the mind into a body. *Umbanda*.

34. Despite the impotence of the authorities, Brazil is not unplanned. That is a myth. Worship of the cheerful Brazilian chaos is typically European. Everything is planned here, as it is in Western Europe. Perhaps the layout is less well-structured and less successful, but once you abandon the idea that space has to be the medium or the mirror of a certain order and accept that time is the crucial factor here, the Brazilian sense of order suddenly discloses itself everywhere. The Brazilians allow their actions to be governed far more by temporal predestination than by spatial planning. They treat fate as a kind of planning instrument, and only in the light of fate one can perceive the order and logic of Brazilian cities.

35. *Anhangabaú, Pindamonhangaba*. Do not speak in sentences but in semantic blocks of fused verbal roots. He who speaks thus, wards off the curse of development.

36. In a shop, one assistant is required to fetch my order from the shelves. A second assistant, on another counter, packs the little box in paper. At the next counter, elsewhere in the shop, I pay a third shop assistant for the purchase and get my change. All this takes place at such a lethargic rate that my sense of effectiveness is undermined. I have wondered a thousand times about the true significance of this nationally nurtured slow-motion. Is it a sign of poverty or of superiority? Probably the latter. Brazilians spread all

actions out in time, and take the time to dissolve time in dilated action.

37. *Furia da figura*. Believe in nothing but style.

# NEW AND OLD CONFLICTS IN SÃO PAULO'S URBAN (DIS)ORDER

LUIZ RECAMÁN

## Abstract

*In the recent urban transformations of the city of São Paulo, a link can be found between the endogenous tendencies of its development and the changes demanded by the new global organization of production. Brazilian modernization, nonetheless, permits an investigation, which seeks a deeper connection between the evidence that indicates a crossing over from the territorial structure to the technological structure of information. More than a paradigmatic change of the urban models, a development cycle is defined. The local circumstances permit seeing this more precisely, as the notions of landscape, territory, etc. - more than related to real transformation processes - were concepts that sought to control the urban phenomena, unsubmitive to order. While this process of metamorphosis of the cities is completed, urban thought watches its instruments of analysis become obsolete. In the countries that experienced super-late capitalistic economic development, nonetheless, they never had validity.*

The Brazilian social processes have, at least in the last two centuries, affirmed and denied the social processes throughout the world. There, we built utopias which here could only be imagined. Allow me to explain: Ideas, which later capitalism created in continental Europe, in its somewhat desperate anxiousness to associate industrial growth and social development, were formalized in our super-late industrial development, which were permitted due to the local circumstances. Our late arrival in this capitalistic production

process has its obvious disadvantages, but some small advantages. One of which is the fact that the connection between social ideas - liberalism, for example - and social relations could be more flexible, and this connection not be taken as seriously as in the centers where they had been generated. (Good myopia prevented Europe's quick abandoning of its search for individual freedom over freedom of the market, with disastrous consequences in the end.) To be brief, our modernization in the last century occurred not despite the backwardness in our social relations, but at their expense. More quickly than the cycles of development in the last 150 years, only with the substitution or discarding - symbolic or real - of the working classes, did they accumulate in the outskirts of the city (blacks, immigrants, the "national worker" of the "Estado Novo", etc.).

To think - and create - Brazil has been the work of its artists and intellectuals, even before its formal existence, before independence. This is a particularity of our cultural system. What is really new in recent "Brazilian thought" (at least one branch of thought and very controversial at that) is to show the contrary to what was disseminated: our artistic formulations are more genuine when, overcoming the founding myths, self complacency or our inferiority complex, they no longer are the incomplete and reveal, in our uneven pace, the contradictions of the original process at the center - without directly dealing with it. Upon building, reforming and planning our cities according to the teachings of the most advanced European

thought from the first half of the recently concluded last century, we realize a tragedy. Not because we did not know how to do it correctly, but because in the act of constructing, we put in gear the destructive forces of rationality which were present in the origin of each sketch, statement or beautiful utopia from architectonic modernity. This without the counterpart of the conflict of social forces which has attenuated these processes here. (These forces were constituted in the "ideological" moment of the development of European capitalism post bourgeois revolutions, from the second half of the eighteenth century until 1930, obvious ideological inflexion). To provoke a bit, I attempt to extend this thought, which announces and denounces the social stalemates of capitalism in the "metropolis" through what is experienced in its "colonies", to urban issues in the panorama of globalization, this post-utopian and post-ideological universalization, which quickly presented its accomplishments.

The urban transformations which accompany socioeconomic alterations of capitalism in its global phase - perhaps we should speak of financial globalization - can be attributed to two factors which especially impacted "old" economic and territorial order: a network of "global" cities as decision centers of the large transnational corporations and new information technologies which make geographical and spatial conditions relative. Of course, we cannot speak of one without the other. The post-Ford "soft" production of goods, which disaggregates the traditional factory in

the global search of low costs and environmental facilities, is only possible thanks to the transmission of online data. This has altered, it would seem, the physical base over which industrial capitalism developed: the geopolitical hierarchy between the metropolis and the Nation State, and the factory, concentrator of work and merchandise. At the same time in which spatial concentration is renounced, contemporary capitalism accelerates the concentration of capital, as it never had before, which today is reproduced without first necessarily becoming merchandise. The dematerialized capital, monetary values or services, is transformed in an incessant flow of information, constantly in acceleration. The "global city" is that in which these flows intersect with one another most intensely, in which the network is most dense. The new international hierarchy between cities is based on the intensity of the knot in the fabric that composes the virtual network that envelops the world. This only summarizes and grossly approximates some of the theories of urban and economic alterations of the last decade from the last millennium. More than consummated fact, we should maintain these theories as one version, which have, however, motivated concrete alterations in various "merchandise cities", put up for sale in the generalization of the market which now passes through all the spheres of our life.<sup>1</sup>

The alterations in the urban landscapes have raised new theories, which indicate that we are facing "post-urban" phenomena. Concepts such as territory, place, landscape,

center, periphery, public space, etc., are substituted for "deterritorialization", non-place, information highway, cyberspace, flows, etc. Modifications which are quite evident in the territorialized cities - palimpsests of places and secular meanings - have also been the target of interest in some large cities on the periphery of the system, because there, due to the violence of the transformation process, they can be better contrasted, and therefore defined. Few cases should be as surprising as that of São Paulo, which, more than a radical and deformed example, I believe better clarifies the impasses and the sense of the ultra-modernization.

In approximately one hundred years, the population grew 270 times, in other words 27,000%, reaching 10,000,000 inhabitants. The urbanized area grew 400 times, or 40,000%, reaching 1,509 km<sup>2</sup>. These data refer to the city of São Paulo. If we consider greater São Paulo, which today has more than 16,000,000 inhabitants the exponential would be much more accentuated in both cases, since the official municipal area is totally urbanized, and that many of the neighboring cities just form the immense peripheries or dormitory cities. The growth in the metropolitan region of São Paulo can be seen, during the last century, as an "explosion." The number of inhabitants, the urbanized area, the economical and social indicators: the small town from the eighteenth century exploded. With unreachable boundaries, be it a regulating action or be it for urban infrastructure, the city until recently faced a

centrifugal movement of land occupation. The "peripherization" of poverty - absolute majority - and of wealth know no physical, political-administrative, nor legal limits. Today, to territorially define the urban phenomenon of São Paulo, and its urbanized continuum, you can reach radiuses of 100 km from its center, which cross over various municipalities. And this corresponds to its area of direct influence, in other words, basic urban functions: sleeping, working, and circulating of the poor and the wealthy. Bucolic luxury condominiums, dormitory cities, industrial and commercial centers alternate with one another, connected by highways and saturated roads. A large metropolitan beltway with an average radius of 25 km starting from the city center will run through the metropolitan zone, relieving the traffic in the most central area by removing some of the heavy cargo which crosses through the city. However, medium sized cities such as Campinas, Santos, São José dos Campos, Sorocaba, etc., outside greater São Paulo's area and distanced by 80 to 100 km from the capital's city center, already participate in this day-to-day. This tentacular image should not be a still one since what characterizes it is the movement. Expansion is not possible due to saturation, in other words, because the intense occupation of the territory, after reaching a density limit, would demand an overflowing toward new areas until reaching a new situation of equilibrium. The movement within the territory is not the result of the spontaneous or programmed occupation, but is a process, an active mechanism of production of the urban space, which is its

1. I refer to large contemporary urban projects, strategies which attempt to attract capital, which become more or less frequent starting from the success of Barcelona. See the recent work of Jordi Borja and Manuel Castells. For a critical point of view see Arantes et alii. "A Cidade do Pensamento Único: Desmanchando Consensos". Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2000.

own *raison d'être*. Therefore, it does not enter into equilibrium, not even with the brutal deceleration of the city's growth. From the historic average of more than 5% annual population growth until the 1970's, the city grows today less than 0.5% per year<sup>2</sup>. Recently combined to this movement of explosion is a movement of implosion, be it attempts to recuperate degraded urban areas to increase their value, be it internal movements of the population and investments, or be it for de-industrialization.

Since there is a stock of large empty spaces within the urban area which is used for investment, the production of new spaces can continue intensely, without continued expansion of the borders. This movement leaves remains in constant deterioration, until the areas become degraded and the cycle begins again. In 1976, the empty urban lots reached forty-three percent (43%) of the total space, the majority of which were private properties, in other words, stock of value<sup>3</sup>. Meanwhile, favelas (a typical Brazilian phenomenon, similar to shanty towns, where people build precarious homes normally on public land) experienced a rate of growth which increased in recent years at a pace much greater than the municipal population growth. This increase is larger still if we consider greater São Paulo. The most current data, provided from the 2000 General Census, preliminarily indicates that the growth in the number of favelas in São Paulo between 1991 and 2000 was 4.6%, but reached 112% in neighboring Guarulhos. The smaller number of favelas for São Paulo

proper however does not represent a limit to growth or stability. In one favela alone in São Paulo during the same period, the number of inhabitants grew from 370 to 6,000.<sup>4</sup> Between 1994 and 1998, the number of families living in favelas grew by 47% in the city of São Paulo<sup>5</sup>. Without significant growth in the city's population, the 1990's therefore experienced an immense migration of its inhabitants within its territorial boundaries. In 1993, in the Census performed by the municipal government, 39% of the favela residents declared that they gave up paying rent to own a shack. We should also consider the last two political administrations of São Paulo removed various favelas, in rather violent operations and without offering alternatives to the residents, to permit the construction of roads or commercial properties, especially in the more valued areas of the city. Additional data also helps characterize this "implosion." The Map of Social Exclusion<sup>6</sup> (which takes snapshots of the differences in the quality of life in São Paulo's districts) shows a curious inversion: an emptying of the consolidated and legal areas of the city toward the outskirts. Between 1991 and 1996 there was an increase of 470,000 inhabitants in the 53 districts where the quality of life worsened. Within the 37 districts where the quality of life improved, there was a decrease of 260,000 inhabitants, 8.4%. A decrease in the population in the districts where the quality of life remained stable could also be observed.

The 1990's presented, for the first time in the last century, a reduction in the pace of the population growth in the country as a whole.

The phenomenon of "metropolization" became widespread occurring in other state capitals and in the larger cities in the state of São Paulo. With the cumulative effect of these factors there was some relief in the migratory pressures toward Brazil's two largest metropolises, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (even so, the state of São Paulo has 40% of the nation's *favelas*). The 1990's was also a decade in which the Neo-liberal agenda was applied. Upon promoting economic growth at the expense of the social programs and unemployment, the number of poor people increased across the nation. And the dynamic of the city continues to respond to these changes in a self-consuming process of construction and destruction. We will now try to make sense of this movement. What are the forces which put this voracious process in gear, which have, on the land and on the constructed areas, a base over which they are realized incessantly? In understanding this perhaps we can comprehend the morphology of the land occupation, the components of landscape, in other words, the spatiality and its urban forms. As we have seen, these categories are not the determinants in the constitution of the city as social and spatial facts. It is for this reason that they appear to be so inadequate to us when we think and project in this peculiar urban agglomerate.

Two vectors compose the force which moves the territorial occupation in the city of São Paulo: economic gain and segregation. And the link between the two accelerates both,

which gives the case of São Paulo a dynamic that may be unique in the international panorama. The difference between São Paulo and other large cities, whether they are in rich or poor countries, is the purity and intensity of these vectors. Normally counter-balanced with other components - politics, the land and construction inertia, the reform thought and other ideologies - these vectors can be found in this specific case unobstructed and mutually feeding each other. This applied unidirectional potential produces great efficiency for the gross logic that generated it (post colonial capitalistic accumulation). And, in crossing over the last century, it surprises those who believe that the chaos, in the urban form of São Paulo, is an impediment toward its economic growth.

The city was always an intersection of paths, from the first settlement of the Jesuits to the strategic conquest of the plateau - the Eldorado - after crossing over the steep coastal mountain range. An obligatory stop for those who circulated throughout the unknown territory, it was a modest trading post for three and a half centuries, which supplied food and equipment to the troops who were in search of Indians and gold. With the shift in coffee production from Rio de Janeiro to the Paraíba Valley and to instate São Paulo, in the middle of the nineteenth century, São Paulo city was transformed into a meeting point for the railroads, which drained coffee down the mountain range toward the Port of Santos, and from there to the world. At this moment, the matrix which would guide all of the following

2. Data from PMSP [www.prodiam.gov.br](http://www.prodiam.gov.br)

3. Milton Santos, *A Urbanização Brasileira* (Hucitec, São Paulo, 1996)

4. *Folha de São Paulo* (January 7, 2001)

5. *Id. Ibid.*

6. *Mapa da Exclusão Social* (PUC-São Paulo, 2000) Coordenado por Aldaíza Sposati

decades was born. Equidistant in time between independence from Portugal and the Republic, the middle of the nineteenth century marked the transition between the colonial slave economy and the initiation of the country in the liberal order of markets. We resolved this in the most paradoxical form for an enlightened spirit. The new oligarchic coffee elite conciliated what seemed to be impossible: the colonial roots of slave work and the modernity of economic liberalism. We can even say that modern Brazil is formed in this apparent paradox, in its economic structures as well as in its ideological representations<sup>7</sup>. The second half of that century was to see the appearance of capital from coffee production, with the stately houses of wealthy producers, the railroads, and sophisticated commerce. But this growth marked the need to reorder the distribution of territory, which until then had been under the control of the master class, since the slaves could not own property. The restrictions within the slave trade - which culminated with the late end to slavery in 1888 - created new actors which destroyed the previous proprietary relationships: the free slaves and the European immigrants (the majority of whom were Italian) who came to work in coffee farming. In 1893, foreigners represented 55% of the city's population. Even before the end of slavery, a new law created a new territorial pact, which pushed away the poor non-slaves (free blacks and immigrant workers) from access to property. If before owning property was connected to occupying it and the land's productivity, beginning in 1850 with the Land Law, land became a good which

one buys and sells through public register. Merchandized and valued, land did not change hands, and became a new way to immobilize capital. In the colony and the first decades after independence, land had no value and its economic importance depended on the slaves available for working it. In 1868 an inventory shows that only one slave was worth six times more than a 10,000 m<sup>2</sup> lot near the center of the city.<sup>8</sup>

The segregating mechanism of the city, which still grew slowly, was to use different, increasingly more complex, devices. Even without access to property, free blacks as well as immigrants - which more and more remained in the city rather than follow farmhands to the countryside - began to occupy slum tenement houses in the central region. The new law, which restricted and valued urban land, was part of a sequence of regulations, which until then had not existed. It set out to create legal and orderly territory, which was to be the space for the elite and their investments, as well as another, extralegal territory, without order by laws or codes, nor street plans, nor buildings. This matrix (legal and extra-legal), plus the sanitation of the center - which was defined from the first moment of surging growth as the center of business and services - was to give the parameters for the ulterior development of the city. Upon leaving the central region of the city, the elite needed to guarantee its use and its value and to do so therefore sought forms of preventing their empty large houses from being transformed into slum tenement houses. This was a difficult task since the

city had not planned any solution for low income housing. The worker faced two solutions: either to build in the suburban area (which was not regulated but whose occupation was tolerated because it distanced the poor and at the same time preserved the noble regions), or to occupy slum tenement houses.

The counterpart of this expulsion and segregation operation was simultaneously put in operation. With the new urban land statute (which created merchandise to be valued) the elite residences began to define a standard. It was different from the colonial houses which were built to the front border limit of the lot and characterized the main streets in the center of the city (even if these large houses were being reformed to adapt them to new standards of consumption and taste). New developments appeared in accordance with legislation, which foresaw the demarcation of large lots (different from the narrow rectangle that characterized colonial occupation), the distancing of the building from the lot limits, and the construction of freestanding houses. The streets of these new enterprises were lined with trees and benefited from newly available forms of infrastructure, supplied by the public authority. In this manner the legal standard for land occupation was designed, as well as the reference for the whole city, even if the majority of the population remained outside such standard. But the land structure also required a direction, which concentrated real estate investments so that improvements would be mutually beneficial, a sort of hyper-regulated zone

making non-residential use or collective housing impossible. Two barriers created topographical conditions for the new occupations: the Tamanduateí River, which runs in a north-south direction, and the Tietê River which runs east-west - defining the south-west quadrant. A perpendicular line to the Santos-Jundiaí Railroad (which circulated in a southeast-northwest direction and also represented a barrier) directed the uphill climb toward the tallest hill of the city. Sophisticated developments began the occupation of the Paulista ridge, in search of views and permanent sun. The path of the elite crossed over the Anhangabaú Valley, occupied Campos Elísios, then Higienópolis, reached the top of the city with the opening of Avenida Paulista in the turn of the 20th century, and afterward descended in the direction of the Pinheiros River with the developments by Companhia City, which designed the Jardins neighborhoods, always with the same spirit of exclusivity, both in residential use and the residents themselves. Such occupation strategy guaranteed high and permanent returns for its investors. With the end of slavery, the assets were secure now in real estate, and to invest in them was the best way to guarantee that the capital which came from high coffee profits would continually increase in value (the capital market originated in Brazil only in 1965).

The spatial transformations in the last quarter of the 19th century acquired a very precise sense. Sanitation condemned the slum tenement houses, at least in the central areas, and promoted a freestanding single family

7. Roberto Schwarz, *Ao vencedor as batatas (Duas Cidades, São Paulo, 1977)*

8. Data for the following discussion were originally taken from Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a Lei: Legislação, Política Urbana e Territórios na cidade de São Paulo (Studio Nobel, São Paulo, 1997)*

house as the model for housing. It was not just a question of preventing epidemics, which were frequent, but to impose a new moral conduct which eradicated the promiscuous customs of the blacks, accustomed to collective cohabitation in the slave quarters, and therefore inapt to modern life in the cities. These theories, and others similarly based on the inadequacy of the blacks for free work, justified the investment by the federal government in accelerating immigration to substitute slave labor. And it created a procedure which became common to the new elites: the pretension of making the undesirable classes be invisible. Inadequate for free work, inadequate for modern life, pushed away from owning land, the millions of free blacks in this period had no place in Brazilian social order. Their way of living, collectively and in the center of the city, was increasingly closed in on. Their forms of subsistence, as small street vendors, were prohibited. For them and for the future workers, the periphery was reserved, without regulation, tolerated, but subject to eviction should the investors become interested. And this area also was a target for speculation, with enterprises at times much more profitable than building lots for the elite. As they were not projected according to the rule of law, the narrow streets and dense city blocks permitted super-profitability for the "extra-legal" investors.

The street, free and unimpeded for circulation, a freestanding house with a front yard in tree lined residential developments, and the city center for business and commerce were

characteristics of the new city idealized by European standards. These characteristics translated the changes in the public sphere, the privatization of personal relations to inside the house, with enlarged social areas, and the use of the street for increasingly faster circulation of people and vehicles. What is peculiar is that this urban order was put side by side with the majority of the urban space, which was occupied in a disorderly way. They maintained a strict connection, as it was from these disorderly areas that maids, small service providers, retail employees and small factory workers came. While in Europe and in the United States reform thought intended to include the totality of the city in the new urban standard, which reached and controlled the territory more efficiently (this work was partially facilitated by the authoritarian reforms in the second half of the 19th century), the large Brazilian city was born with an original birthmark of our social formation: a dual society, in which the pre-modern social relations, inherited from the efficient colonial structure, are updated to fulfill new roles in modernization, which, for this reason, is called "conservative" by some thinkers. The "spatialization" of this social structure is based on the acceptance of the precariousness of the work and the life of the worker, via his invisibility as a social player. They are not granted rights, but favors. The land does not belong to them, but they may occupy it without rules (which guarantees its availability for future profitable occupation). It is a curious situation in which the law is converted into an exception and infractions into rules (¾ of the city). Condescending with

this illegality created a relationship of political guardianship, which characterizes Brazilian politics until today. We continue to be understanding masters with the rule-breaking slave, which intercepts the modern work contract and transforms it into a familiar-personal relationship commanded by the strict father, at an industrial scale. Exploitation becomes absolute.

The polarity between the norm and the extra-legality maintains economic gain and segregation as the matrix for land occupation. The value of land is such not because of its physical characteristics or proximity to the center of the city, but due to its position in the value equation. Lots that are in the more valued areas permit huge profits in the elites' enterprises. Devalued lots in the suburban areas - the extra-legal areas - permit even higher profits because, at a lower final cost and with super-occupation - a benefit in the absence of regulations - they reached a higher number of buyers. Maintaining both of these sides of the equation increased the profits of the investor. A city where the rules reach most of the territory will necessarily have smaller and less dynamic value differentials, restricting the strategies of the investors. This polarity is what determines spatiality; it utilizes the territory not only as a physical base but as a mean of production of urban merchandise.

This dialectic followed some conditions: the axis of land occupation, physical barriers, and railroads, which determined the location of new industries and private neighborhoods

for workers, as well as the possibility for access. Until the 1930's, the mode of transport was the electric cable car, monopolized by the Canadian company, Light and Power. The transport system entered into crisis in the 1920's with the increase in demand for transport and with industrial growth, since industries paid more for energy produced, which was in limited supply. The city, then, chose an option which would definitively mark its features from then on: it prioritized the use of the diesel bus for passenger transport. More flexible, without the need for infrastructure to be able to circulate, this mode of transport accelerated the expansion of the urban areas and the clandestine developments, which became a huge real estate business. The Avenues Plan by Prestes Maia, from 1930, foresaw the opening of large concentric avenues at the perimeter and radial arteries, and did not define a limit to the city. A city in movement, with the multiplication of the city centers, with different densities. As it was only partially achieved, this plan - which was not only a bundle of laws, but designed a new city - consecrated the tendency to disperse land occupation. Without the necessary restrictions of urban zoning, it permitted expansion, which escaped out of control with the industrial development of the 1940's, which happened to be based on the automobile industry. This, on top of the consecrated vectors of valuation, investments accelerated, at the speed of the automobile, as well as the original cleavage of the city. In 1914, the density of São Paulo was 110 inhabitants per hectare; in 1930 the density reduced to forty-

seven 47 inhabitants per hectare. From that point on the image of the city would be that of dense corridors in pursuit of the valued areas, intermixed with low density neighborhoods and empty urban lots. This is the model in existence until today, despite the fact that we are discussing avenues which are 30 kilometers from the center of the city, and whose average speed of circulation is similar to that of the horses in the colonial village.

So that this model reaches a maximum investment efficiency, dispersion is associated to verticalization. As the economic event occurs with the sale of a constructed area, the current legislation, inherited from previous rules, distinguishes different construction potentials in accordance with the city zones, consecrating and reinforcing the valuation of traditional, privileged areas. Each constructed lot seeks a more profitable economic performance, even if all of the neighboring lots are empty. It is evident that this operation is what defines the legislation, and not the average densities, zoning, standards for height, or urban design. One need only observe that the southwest quadrant possesses at the same time the most restrictive area (its residential use permits only construction of 50% of the lot) and areas with the highest construction potential (four times the lots' area). Even the legal possibilities to increase the construction potential in the "neutral" area of the city (which represents 70% of the urban area) is associated with large investors and forbidden for small proprietors, who are restricted to pre-set limits.

The construction of the landscape completes itself: tall buildings surrounded by small houses, whose use is devalued and await investors. At the limit, at the end of the process, entire neighborhoods would then have a regularity in the buildings (we are not speaking of urban space, but only a typology of land occupation). As this never occurred, since the polarity puts the real estate machine in function, the city is composed, primarily of new neighborhoods on the speculative frontier, by the coexistence of conflicting uses and land occupations, which quickly begin to deteriorate.

The most evident case of this deterioration is the emptying process of the city center, which, since the beginning of urban growth, had been defined as the commercial and business area. Beginning at the end of the 1950's, these activities began to disperse toward the southwest axis, which also corresponded to the expansion of the financial sector. More than just modernization of the infrastructure, this change broadened the speculative model described. This occurs through the deterioration of the residential areas, which this out-of-control expansion produces (such as traffic, commerce). Residential use changes to commercial use. The model is a predatory and self-sufficient one: as valuation occurred, it produced deterioration, and thereafter, re-valuation. This "self-consuming" process already is part of the population's imagery, who does not identify the city by what within it is permanent, but by what changes non-stop. We may say that the city was rebuilt four times over within

a century: mudwall, brick, concrete, and now glass. And at each phase of this expansion, public space becomes more restricted. From the squares of the old center, we go to the wide sidewalks of Avenida Paulista, with its buildings seeking integration with exterior space, then to Avenida Faria Lima for the automobile and only modest sidewalks, and finally we arrive at the southwest border (Avenida Berrini and Marginal Pinheiros), where the electrical poles and equipment, on the 80 centimeter sidewalks, dispute space with pedestrians.

In this distant urban desert, one of the largest urban operations of late is taking place, without the existence of any prior project that attempts to organize this speculative explosion. Dozens of new buildings, sophisticated and equipped with high security, burst on to the scene each year in old residential neighborhoods without any urban infrastructure or services. While this speculation bubble lasts, groups of small, lower-middle class, houses will be bought up all at once to make way for new super-valued enterprises in these areas. Immense favelas, which were tolerated on empty urban spaces near the Marginal Pinheiros Avenue, were quickly evacuated in order to construct an avenue which widened the area of real estate interest. The public authority is "towed" along behind the speculation, making these enterprises viable with the construction of avenues, channeling of rivers, and especially, in removing favelas in areas of interest. In the last two administrations, the construction works budget was practically consumed

entirely in this quadrant of the city. The urban space which results is desolating. Congested avenues, narrow streets, leftovers from lots and buildings which result from the expropriations limited only to the strips opened to make way for new avenues, and small single family homes stand between enormous buildings, which end up being transformed into precarious service providers (copy centers, improvised restaurants for employees, etc.) Large hotels, convention centers and auditoriums for more than 4,000 people accompany this valuation, in locations where the only possible access is by car. Reaching the administrative land limit of the urban area, this frontier leaves behind remains in deterioration, which, today, are the primary characteristic of the city. Recently, the public authority and some bankers began a movement to attempt to reverse the deterioration occurring in the center of the city. Projects such as cultural centers, museums, and restoration of historic buildings, attempt to attract the interest of investors in the area. Without dealing with the problem of social housing in the center (we relive the policies of sanitation from the last century), and the armies of the homeless who concentrate there, these initiatives are able to only beautify some areas. They become sophisticated islands for the use of the elite, amid the disorder of precarious occupation by the poor population (small street vendors, slum tenement houses, homeless persons on the streets, drugs, etc.) The survival of these spaces is guaranteed by a security plan which, allied to the parking facilities, permits safe access to those who cross the city in their cars to benefit from



their history. The described mechanism of land occupation in the city did not need to change in facing the situation of social deterioration that the country experienced - in fact many countries experienced. The increase in population and violence requires only that the exclusive areas, guaranteed by the public authority and, in the past, by law, now be more efficiently protected. Streets are blocked by private security, private house condominiums enclose themselves by walls with electrical wires both inside and outside the city, luxury buildings with sophisticated apartments guarantee peace and tranquility to its residents (just as cars are bullet-proofed, in sales promotions that already reach the middle class). The construction of the walls and electrical fences only updates the segregation, responding with operational efficiency to the exponentially growing rates of crime and poverty.

São Paulo helps us to better understand the secular mechanisms of bourgeois city construction because there they operate more directly, without restrictions which could oppose this logic and delay the more drastic changes to the territory, which nowadays we see all over. The mechanisms, specific to the constitution of capitalism on the colonial fringe, nevertheless should not be isolated, nor seen as a disfigurement of super-late industrial modernization. We can define them as a free movement over the territory of the forces of production, whose resulting space does not only passively formalize this process, but constitutes these mechanisms

as an active mean of production and capitalistic accumulation. Upon producing land as merchandise and reproducing the conditions for its production, all of its determinations are materialized, in this case, without the inertia of more consolidated cities and societies. In São Paulo, space or urban landscape which could restrict or oppose the aggressiveness of the land speculation, were never constituted. The abstract character of the real estate transactions determined the non-organicity of the form of territorial occupation, from its origin. Further, abstract and paradoxical, since the colonial village transformed itself into a city following the logic of the liberal oligarchy that controlled it (the apparently uncomfortable marriage of the liberal and the slave master). Laissez-faire extended to the territory contrasts even with the other large cities in Brazil, which, for various reasons, including economic apathy, still maintain a symbiosis between colonial space and the interventions of the State, which forces modernization.

Disaggregation, in urban form, however, is confused with the initial moments of capitalism still within its commercial phase. Beginning from the economic transformations at the end of the middle age, European territory was linked by orbital points, interconnected by routes of intense commerce, which connected centers of financial, judicial, linguistic, artistic and political regulation. The previous territorial juxtaposition was made hierarchical in "Europe of Capitals". This geopolitical reordering expanded the borders of the old world toward the orient, culminating with the conquest of America.

The territorial order of the structured and conflicted network of "capitals" definitively altered the territory, overlapping itself, without destroying, the atomized pre-bourgeois, or feudal, structure. This orbital system renounced the old territorial demarcations that separated the city and country dominions, which had been partially related universes until then. The new gravitation, which the territorial capital imposed, permitted breaking the old organization of space, or the spatiality of the medieval social relations - barriers, gates, walls, etc. - making the flow of merchandise possible, which was growing and continuous, in its mercantile circulation (regional, peninsular, continental and between "worlds"). It was a new form of space control as an indispensable factor for the "de-spatialization" of social relations, the territorial equivalent to the abstraction of the productive relations in operation<sup>9</sup>.

To Abbott Laugier, at the birth of liberal ideology in the eighteenth century, the city is reduced to a natural phenomenon, contrary therefore to territorial organization. Connecting the "aesthetics of the picturesque" from English empiricism to the cities of the eighteenth century, Laugier accepts the "antiprospective character of urban space." Contrary to landscape regularization from the baroque experiences, it is nature's variety that is interesting to the development of cities. "Urban fragment" and "natural fragment" approximate one another, even if the city and architecture are "anti-organic", or even, artificial. In the decades that preceded the French revolution, the pre-revolutionary

bourgeoisie had, as its historic duty, to ideologically overcome the contradiction between the mode of production of the old regime, patrimonial and territorial, and nascent urban capitalism. Upon announcing a continuum between the countryside and the city, and at the same time fragment the urbis unit, interpenetrating city and country (garden-fragments in the city and ruin-fragment in the gardens), what is new in the economic process is "naturalized." The fruit of the city and of the countryside are presented as being from the same order.

The city of fragments, from which Piranesi did the autopsy, is the destruction of the architectonic object as a unit<sup>10</sup>. This loss is the loss of the symbolic role of architecture and the incorporation of scientific urban reformism, not utopian. Talking architecture and typology are before a new project method that assures the construction of the open city. This is nothing more than total control of the territory - which goes beyond the idea that an urban unit opposes the countryside - the homogenous and infinite spatial base. The baroque interventions are the last attempt to insert a closed form of landscape, whose geometrism still indicates the organization of the natural environment, controllable but autonomous. The absolute urban space of the open city can not be reached via the original unitary sense of architecture, that which, upon conceiving of monuments, designs public space. Type and surrounding empty space will be the project method of the industrial bourgeois city. The comparison between Ledoux's two proposals

9. Luiz Recamán, Salvi, Ana Elena, *Unidade e Fragmento: a Dissolução da Forma Arquitetônica na Cidade Burguesa* in: *Leopoldianum* nº 70, Santos, (dec 1999)

10. *Manfredo Tafuri, Projeto e Utopia* (Presença, Lisboa, 1985)

for the project of Chauv's ideal city in France, can give shape to this change<sup>11</sup>.

The first proposal can be seen as the last attempt to maintain the architectonic unit, in the physiocratic impasse, and the second as a first demonstration of the anti-projectism of the industrial city.

Reform urbanism of the 19th century, which culminates with "Plan Ideology" in the first decades of the 20th century, had before it a metropolis, defiant to any type of intervention to establish order. Its methods, only partially utilized, served to give prolonged life and to correct the excesses of the liberal city. However, the rationality and scientism of this reform thought can not free itself from the irrationality of the logic that generated it. The myth of the "machine city" isolated the technological moment of the capitalistic process. However, that which was constructed was the "production city", with all of its materialized conflicts. A city without limits, without barriers, whose horizon was the global control of the territory, free from distinctions of the past (city and countryside, national borders, cultural specificities, environment, etc.).

The global city today is not a new condition of the contemporary city, but an acceleration, at the speed of the computer chip, of the fragmentary tendencies of the occidental city from the last centuries. The large cities are being transformed, beginning from the radical possibilities of the world wide web, which for some only "constitutes the dynamic sector for a simply virtual economy of the global financial bubble, but not for a real economy."

And also in this aspect, São Paulo presents a radical alternative, since what we have seen recently is the profusion of advertising images - many related to the Internet and virtual euphoria - which spread themselves throughout the city covering buildings, parks, favelas and museums. It is not only a new international advertising architecture, which you see everywhere, but a virtual city for consumption. The city destroys itself and reconstructs itself for the fifth time in a century. In crossing the city by car on high-speed roadways, we can follow, in cinematographic sequences, lit up announcements that evolve in frames by second, in an aesthetic *avant-garde* operation turned upside down. This distracted look, toward the horizon, intercepted by advertising signs, prevents our accidentally looking down, and noticing, the rather material and precarious paraphernalia which support these signs. Carelessly bolted onto the roofs and the broken sidewalks which accumulate trash, these billboards sometimes serve to provide shade to new urban players to whom the materiality of public space is directed: the street population. The restricted access to this virtual city does not need legislation nor security to be exclusive: the filter that achieves the largest social division of modern history comes from its own technological nature. While some doubted that São Paulo could become one of the global cities of the southern hemisphere because of its precarious urban situation - which totally contradicts the prescription of the new prophets of globalization - what you experienced in the city was an accelerated technological modernization, the apportioning

of the southwest axis with special phone lines, fiber-optics, cellular phones, etc.

While the theorists prescribed the restored historic center, public transport, social housing and improvement in the crime rates and violence, the real city knew quite well where to invest. After all, its urban process is composed from flows, de-territorialization, fragmentation, segregation and valuation, since the beginning.

The urban thought and the real processes of building cities have approached and distanced themselves for the last two centuries. Discipline itself is born as a perplexity facing an urban agglomeration that does not permit planning; it is born with the end of form and the city unit. The distance between thought and city, between what is and what should be, is the interregnum of utopia and ideology. The modern *tour de force* sought to make the two coincide and the result revealed the original commitments of machine rationality, which reappeared as a myth. Today we are re-editing procedures from the past, without the certainty of rationality or belief in the myths. Urban strategies are sold to cities as re-engineering is sold to companies. As history shows us how difficult it is to alter urban and social realities, we are giving ourselves instruments to intervene in its simulacrum. Contemporary urbanism abandons the critic and utopia, and associates itself with new methods of post-industrial management: beautify city centers, choose culture as a differential, stimulate diversity and competition. Without space for ideology, it incorporates the discourse and the objectives - somewhat

softened - of the world economy and the multilateral organisms, using the ideological safe conduct from the critical experiences of the last decades ("difference" against homogeneity, "place" against the plan, and history against *tabula-rasa*). The sense of São Paulo's urban transformations can object as much to the idea of a new development cycle of the city as well as to the discourse of new urbanism which does, for the dominating classes, what they themselves could do alone.

11. Emil Kaufmann, *De Ledoux a Le Corbusier* (Gilli, Barcelona, 1982)

# URBAN SPECULATIONS FOR A FRAGMENTED METROPOLIS

CARLOS LEITE DE SOUZA

I will present some images and I will invite you to think of some problems and possibilities of work on this complex territory. I would like first to comment some aspects, concerning this territory. Concerning complexity, diversity, density and fragmentation of the territory.

This is an aerial image of downtown São Paulo, with the river and the first plaza (fig. 1).

São Paulo is a kind of "Palimpsest." A city that was rebuilt three times. The first one was made 500 years ago by the Jesuits at this place. Then it was neglected and rebuilt over the first center as a palimpsest, on the turn of the 19th century. The third city again neglected the old one during the last century. This third city was the beginning of modernity in Brazil and also the beginning of density in the center of the city. During the 40's 50's and 60's there were built a lot of beautiful modern buildings in the center. The most famous building is the Copan-building designed by Oscar Niemeyer. This curved building, a variation on Le Corbusiers Unité d'Habitation, is house to 5000 people. One of the few points in São Paulo from where we can see its limits. A place of very high density, with shops and public functions in its base.

Through these black and white images (fig. 2), produced from a helicopter view, we can see here the modern rationalist urban planning. New expressways over the existing city.

The most dramatic point of this situation, is the place where a park was transformed into nothing. Once this place was a beautiful park designed by a French designer in the beginning of the 19th century. In São Paulo has a huge population of 5,1 million cars... and they did this. To keep the high-density-center living there were built a lot of expressways, breaking down everything in their way. So this French design park became a park of American design, a concrete jungle of flyovers.

This leads us to another point I want to comment, the city designed by the rivers and the expressways, the Marginais close to the river. Close to this Marginais there are a lot of areas with the same problem. The problem of the post-industrial city. These former industrial buildings and urban fabric are for the bigger part deserted. The place that exists these days is a place full of "terrain vague" or "void-spaces." In these areas 60 percent of the space is "not used," but also "no open" space.

During 100 years São Paulo transformed from a city of 200.000 persons in to a metropolis of around 17 million people. The process was very fast and produced a lot of problems, lots of diversities on the urban fabric and density and created a totally fragmented metropolis.

This slideshow shows us liberalism in São Paulo. Liberalism producing, what Koolhaas calls, a generic city. This is a generic city, a city with a kind of inurbanity, a city without



fig. 1

fig. 2

urbanism. Saskia Sassen, as someone mentioned today, called São Paulo a global city. But I think, just few parts of this huge city could be called a global city. Not the parts of São Paulo that I showed, but just the richest parts. These people work in the high-rise buildings in the center and live in enclosed condominiums. A lot of them avoid intruding in the rest of the city, by flying in helicopter to their work.

The mental maps and environmental knowledge, Ana María Moya mentioned in her lecture, are impossible to think of in São Paulo.

Finally I want to comment briefly two projects of my small office. I am a little bit optimistic and I think we can work on this complex and fragmented metropolis. We have to do it against the globalization.

This is one of the projects that we call "speculative urban proposals for São Paulo." This one was an international competition for a kind of cultural center for Mexico City. The other 117 international teams produced cultural centers, some of them beautiful and some of them ugly, like always. We thought that we didn't need another monument, or cathedral for culture in a city like São Paulo. We have enough and at that time we should work on the fragments of the city, the special fragments of the city. In stead of producing one cultural center, we developed a very cheap architectural system, we called "the soldiers of culture." These movable buildings could develop the cultural layer in the fragmented area. These cultural elements should

work as a network.

The second project is the Marginais-project. It was a second-prize design for a national competition, to develop a kind of Marginais-urban access rehabilitation. The winning project was a post-modern scenario, projecting a lot of program on this site. That project was a common project on urban rehabilitation, more or less what happened in the rehabilitation projects in North American cities, like Baltimore, San Francisco or Battery Park City in New York. These are artificial scenarios, totally Pall Mall architecture, kind of transforming the reality with very easy images for the population. These images are sometimes historical, sometimes lying. We tried to work on the territory, to create a metropolitan image, one of a green access of public space. For the first time we could have a 40 km's long public park, probably the most important park in the world. Totally possible, without scenarios, without architecture, without design and no post-modernity, just a park. We are trying to rescue the original site. It was a swamp and should never been urbanized, but it was destroyed under modern discourse, always thinking in cars.

The proposal was a four matrix system that could generate a dynamic urban design, working with space and time. So no fixed design for the city. The park should be a "link" between all existing small parks. The second matrix was called "fluxes." It was a public transport system, a sort of surface metro and new crosswalks and bridges to connect the fragments of the city. The third

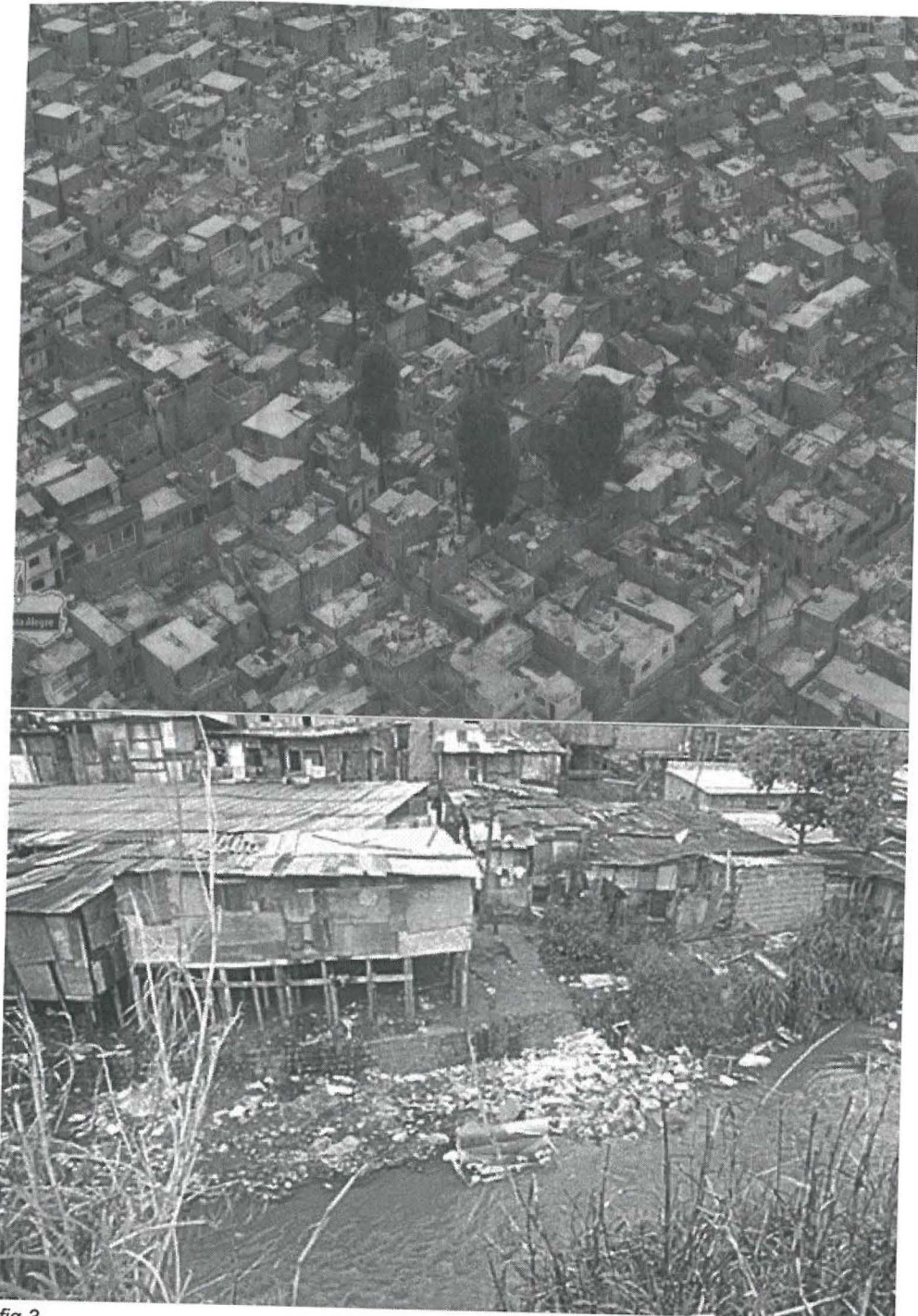


fig.3

fig.4

matrix was called "the event." In stead of proposing lots of different scenarios we should think in a dynamic, contemporary process for this contemporary metropolis. We should try to find a strategy linked with some possibilities for program. So we tried again to connect existing huge programs, as the university of São Paulo, some research areas, clubs and places to view the carnival. We didn't project new towers, but events for leisure and culture.

I want to end this lecture with some comments on this image of the favela (fig. 3), because it has a lot to do with São Paulo and this lecture. It is a picture of a favela, a beautiful image of a fragment of São Paulo. First of all we see these five trees. Seven years ago it was a entire forest under protection of the government. In seven years we had this kind of high density, a favela. In one hand we have informality, self-production of space, richness of live-diversity, local cultures, happiness and colours. These are the positive aspects Peter Cooke, the famous Archigram-architect, commented in 1987. After him the French famous architect, Cristian de Portzamparc and after him lot of architects and urbanists, including big names like Koolhaas and Zaha Hadid followed him and commented that positive aspect. Everybody likes informality and self production of place, but all of them just watched the phenomenon from the helicopter. Nobody entered the favela by foot (fig. 4). I agree with them. I can see a lot of aspects that Europeans can learn from this local cultures, but I worked there. I can add some aspects

of these areas to the list, like no security, no comfort conditions, no open spaces, no infrastructure and it was built over protected forest. There is a rule here to survive. It is the rule of the mafia. Every favela is controlled by drugdealers (traffickers). People die here every day.

If we would ask the inhabitants of this local territory, what they think of globalization, probably they would prefer the money of the European and not the beauty of the image of the favela.

This is a kind of provocative comment, but my last comment.

# THE GLOBAL CITY AND THE TERRITORY

## DISCUSSION

(Audience)

Historically the Asian way of thinking about landscape and nature was this whole way of living in harmony with it. And the rest of the world always thought of it in a philosophical way and in opposition to nature. What I would like to ask is primarily focused on Asia, but it also concerns the rest of the world: isn't this also still a romantization? In fact the way China is developing now, is not at all about merging with nature into one, it has made a full turn and has become generic, western and modernized. Is it correct then of western writers to make a claim for the Asian landscape with the argument that the Asian way of looking at landscape is still fundamental different from the western perspective?

(Chairman)

Do you agree that I re-phrase this question a bit into a more general one?

So, is the occupation with the (exotic) landscape within the realm of the generic city not a romantization? There is a co-called 'third world way' of city development that is copied from the west and that has the tendency to neglect or to underrate the specific features of the cultures within whom it occurs.

In China this is shown by the putting aside of the values of the Chinese landscape and art of gardening. About the same happens in Brazil. Here too there is the underrate of the local culture and the tendency to forget nature in favour of the condensed land use of the high density city.

Seen in this light, Carlos Leite, what then is the practical, or political power of your idea of a green area in São Paulo, running along

the metropolitan highway, the Marginais? With regards to the strong emphasis on land value speculation and the tendency towards high density in the urban planning culture of São Paulo, do you believe your proposal can be realized; is it really a strong idea in this sense? And when not, what then is the status of this proposal regarding to nature?

(Carlos Leite)

I think we should ask; what kind of city we need? What kind of city Paulista's need? When we have a very strong dramatic consequence, that is called globalization, I think we should more then ever be modern. We are in Brazil, and we are Americans. We live in a new territory; that should be modern.

So let's be modern, let's build a territory for all, a city for all. It is an important question, because if we do not worry to think about it, we will be swallowed by the process, by the Americanization of the urban space.

Two years ago I visited the new architecture; a new and urban design that had been produced in Berlin. Lots of beautiful interesting architecture and I was especially interesting in the Potsdamer Platz; that's a very authentic site in Germany of the Europe before the wars. When I saw it, I realized, that the place had become an American city; it was no more the Potsdamer Platz.

(Chairman)

About the question of the possibilities to realize your own plan; the green zone around the Marginais, how do you estimate its position in the Brazilian culture of today?

(Carlos Leite)

I think it is just a proposal, but it works on the level of the thought. I think it was not a coincidence that we won the second prize.

We did not win the first prize, but we won the second, because it was a strong idea. Strong because it planned green instead of buildings, by the way beautiful buildings like the ones that were designed by Renzo Piano and Helmut Jahn at the Potsdamer Platz.

Beautiful! I like the buildings, but here architecture co-operates with a process that favours the privatization of the land. Up to its destruction during the second world war the Potsdamer Platz was a meeting point, a public place for the collectivity, and they transformed it into an Americanized space.

So during the four months we prepared the idea for this competition in Sao Paulo, we were worried about this process of privatization and we wanted to propose something for the collectivity.

(Chairman to Wang Tao)

Why did China give up or leave its traditional philosophy about gardening in the new towns?

(Wang Tao)

My talk was on the pre-modern channel, but you probably want something to know about today; the city or the urban places we live in now. When it is about today I will have to rely on my personal experience. We are talking about two different symbolic systems here. This morning I introduced the traditional system, which is actually more de-layered as you could have seen. We have different

types of landscape in relation to the functions, the usage and the assessment. There is the royal landscape, which was occasionally opened to the public, by Chinese law certainly. And then we have private gardens; I am sure they are exclusively private, maybe opened to neighbours and friends only.

And then there are the religious landscapes or temples which are normally opened to everyone. So in a certain way you could call it a public space. But all this is very different to the public space we know now, and that we understand in a modern context. If you go to China nowadays, there are different types of places. In Beijing, along the Forbidden City for example, you will find all the royal parks converted into public parks. Here you can buy a ticket and enter. That's one thing, on the other hand I think that the temples still remain the most popular landscapes accessible. This includes their ideology,

I probably should use the word cosmology, because in Chinese Buddhism and Taoism it's not just a pretty designed landscape for you, it is also a kind of designed cosmology they offer to the visitors. And this still exists, although nowadays we can see much change in the urban centres. But I think these spaces are still there. Of course private parks now still exist as a kind of protected cultural relics, but you still can access them. But in a more general sense you are right I think. When you walk through a Chinese city; what do you see? It is like a copy of the western style; they are introducing a new symbolic system, which contradicts the old traditional system. We have a very good example of this. If you look at the two biggest

cities in China today, Shanghai and Beijing, - I visited both cities last year-, you will get a completely different impression of these two cities. Shanghai now has all the expressways, and all the skyscrapers; it is very much like what you see in São Paulo. Except a few areas because it has water nearby. It is a port town, so it has a very open area on one side, where it doesn't look so crowded. However it is a modern city in a weird sense, and its history goes back probably about 100 years, when it was a little fishing village.

So in its style it has no Chinese layout at all. It is completely new, it's a resort of western influence. The new development of the last ten years has been very successful, because it works in a city that is very crowded. On the other hand this type of development would be very difficult in Beijing, because it is the capital, and a symbolic city. Even the communists adapted to the existing style of the city lay out when they had to construct their own roads. The basic layout of Beijing still relies very much on the geometrical square. The old palace is still the centre, and all the other places are still detached to it. In Beijing they never tell you to go left or right, it is always east, south, north and west. It are the different historical gates that provide you the orientation. In Shanghai they tell you to turn left or right, because there is no other orientation in that city. But despite of this the traffic in Beijing is terrible. In the last ten years they built the expressway. This highway system, that has been very successful in Shanghai, caused a total chaos in Beijing, terrible. For example; before the express way was built, to go from one end of the city to

the other end would take you about one hour by bike. Now if you want to do the same by car on the highway, it will take you two hours. So it is not just about the conflict between two symbolic systems here, that occurs when western ideas and technology such as the construction of highways are introduced, but it also doesn't work in practice. So I think people now begin to realize that this western way of doing things does not work always. That's why I think that after a period some kind of adjustment will happen.

(Augustin Berque)

The way we grasp nature is always a cultural construction. And each culture has its own way of grasping nature. In this sense the Chinese and the Japanese way are not more natural than any other one. When you compare a Japanese garden to a French garden, for example Versailles, it seems that the French garden is more or less geometrical, dramatic and the Japanese one is more natural, but in fact they both are as natural as the other, only the ways culture and nature are being grasped, is different. The French gardens at Versailles are from the 17th century, so therefore you should look at them in the light of the 17th century. Galileo said; nature is geometry, is geometrical. This sense of grasping, or understanding nature is not the same as understanding nature in a phenomenological approach, which is determining in East Asia. There is a contrast in attitude towards nature. We have spoken of the difference between Shanghai and the geometrical plans of the old city's and of the Chinese capital, where the gardens in these

city's appear completely natural, totally non-geometrical. It is an enormous contrast. In Persia it's just the other way around. The streets in the city are not geometrical, where as the gardens are very geometrical. All these different attitudes towards nature are disturbed and distorted by modernity. Modernity tries to grasp something in itself and wants to understand it internally; this is exactly what science has done. It is a human feature, the human way, to get as close to nature as you can be. How nature works, we learn through science, which is not human at all. The scientific approach has banned other ways of looking at nature. In the western world we have created a sort of vaccine against these differences. Because the western world has 'created' science itself, we have become immune. That is our history. Other countries or cultures are disrupted in their understanding and living with nature. In Japan this is very clear to see. Their current creations are in contrast with their own historical beliefs and traditions. They destroy old habits, old surroundings, even gardens. Now they have surrounded themselves with skyscrapers, being placed very near the old gardens and their historical knowledge. So many huge buildings are erected in the city, while the old gardens are deteriorating and the vegetation is doomed. This leads to the complete evaporation of the gardens; they will vanish. This development has nothing to do with the tradition of caring and loving the garden and nature as a whole. But there is a way to exceed the current way of producing meaning, that resides in recovering the traditional values en customs.

In Japan for instance this is almost impossible, because the current values and moral understanding of nature and the gardens comes directly from ecology and science. This science was necessary for the Japanese to be aware of the value of their own traditional gardens. We have a great deal to learn from the Chinese, Japanese and Brazilians in their way of organizing space. You just can not say that one tradition is better than another tradition.

(Carlos Leite)

I think that there are at least two reasons to be against this Americanization of the cities all over the world. The first one concerns the consciousness of the people, and that of the producers of space, including architects, urban designers, mayors etc. In Sao Paulo we now have a new mayor, a woman from the left. As I said earlier, I'm optimistic. I think that we could influence these people from the government and the agencies, in the sense that we make these people conscious about their habitat. I am concerned about the fact space is created because of the transfer of money. I think this flow of money will end very soon all over the world. I do not know how, or where it will lead to, or if it will be better. The fast grow of (cyber) information economy has been as an explosion. We now begin to realize that there could be something wrong with this. All the firms who started to grow because of this explosion of the new money transfers, the Internet etc. now already show signs of deterioration very rapidly. The world will change because of these collapses.

(Luiz Recamán)

I do not think globalization is a change, or a new phase in the development. In Europe you see cities being changed almost entirely through the years. Maybe globalization is the last change throughout the cities all over the world. There are a lot of different phenomena. The Chinese city, as mentioned earlier, is completely different. Brazil is a western civilisation, apart from the Indians it were mostly the European people who created the city there. China was already a highly developed civilisation at that time, and it did not develop in a western way. Compared to China Brazil is like a western colony, or province, due to the fact that a vast majority of Europeans dominated the culture there.

It will be very difficult to make a distinction, because the Brazilian city is dominated by a western way of live and globalization is just the most recent phenomenon of this we can witness in the city. For us it is just a transformation between others, and we are very used to transformations. This has nothing to do with Americanization, because the Capital of the money has no function anymore in this game. The money continues to flow throughout the city, and does not stay locally attached to one centre. It moves from one place to the next one, to a different place. It is very interesting to see how this works in São Paulo. I think the logic of this type of process is the same everywhere; in this sense you will find no contradiction between the urban cultures in China or São Paulo, nor between the western and the native Brazilian way. There is no conflict between these cultures.

(Chairman)

We can conclude that according to Carlos this globalization, this international and accelerated flow of money will lead to a large (economic) accident in the nearby future. We can presume that a city like São Paulo will suffer much from this; they will have the full experience of this danger. We already know that Mexico City was struck by a similar type of accident in 1984. A sudden concentration, or deconcentration of money will become a general feature of the globalized city of the future. This city will suffer from a sudden and accidental fortune followed by a sudden and accidental misfortune. You can not predict when it will happen, but it is a sure thing that when you have experienced this cycle several times in your city, you automatically loose all confidence and will get suspicious about the idea of globalization. Wang Tao states that people in Beijing for instance will start to negotiate about the introduction of western values. On the other hand Luiz Recamán tells us, that the movements of money related to globalization will only mean a minor shift in the reality of urban planning in Sao Paulo up to now.

I am still puzzled by the question why old traditional cultures give up so easily their local values for wanting to live according to the western way of live. Why do Chinese people for instance accept the western culture? I suppose it could be related to the enormous power of a promise a culture can introduce into another one. When a system of thought carries a certain promise, it can execute a very powerful temptation. When the western



culture for instance shows the fortunes of freedom within in a culture of order and rule, this can be very seductive. That could very well be what is happening in São Paulo as well. This major (cultural)power that makes things happen, could be this power of the idea of freedom. Let's conclude this discussion with the question what freedom actually means. What is it and what are the most important features of it?