Modernism for the Future: An International Conference

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Introduction: Modernism for the Future

Vaidas Petrulis

In 2018, the European Year of Cultural Heritage, all forms of heritage throughout the European Union were celebrated as the source of memory, identity, dialogue, unity and creativity. These celebrations coincided with the centenary of Lithuania's independence, inviting a re-evaluation of the symbols of modernization and modernist architecture, which bears witness to an optimistic and progressive Europe before World War II.

Kaunas is the most important city in Lithuania to be associated with the legacy of modernism. From 1918 to 1940, Kaunas's urban and architectural character was forged by the processes that were essential to that period – modernisation and progress. The modernist architecture of Kaunas was granted European Heritage Label status in 2015, while in 2017 it was placed on the Tentative list of the State Parties of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. In 2022, Kaunas will be the European Capital of Culture. All of these events have been stimulated by a growing appreciation for modernist heritage, its recognition, reinterpretation, and reverence.

This interest transcends physical monuments, buildings and interiors, and touches the way we feel about the city based on our knowledge of the past and our aspirations for the future. One of the main aims of the 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage was to explore these often more complicated aspects of heritage and discover the deeper significance of the places and spaces that we encounter everyday, rarely acknowledging their impact on our surroundings and quality of life.

Once identified with progress and future, the architecture of the 20th century is experiencing a contradictory period of cultural transformation. Stylistic and technical innovations that have borne witness to social progress have lost their primary function and gradually became historical relics. Buildings and places that were never intended to become monuments acquired a new dimension of meaning and became cultural heritage. This process provokes huge social, cultural and economic challenges.

Despite these contradictions a lot of effort has been made to understand the architectural legacy of the 20th century as cultural heritage with a great potential for the future. Kaunas – European Capital of Culture 2022 invited participants of the conference to continue this process by sharing their diverse experiences of interpretation strategies for modern architecture and future visions for the 20th century architectural legacy.

Conference participants discussed the legacy of modernism as a collection of unique cultural references with a rich diversity of building types, technological solutions and aesthetic strategies which is far from being just a collection of white masterpieces by great masters of the Modern Movement. Kaunas, as a unique urban landscape of modern times, serves as an example of such aspirations for modernity.

The emergence of Kaunas as a city of modernism suggests putting the issue of heritage on the European Capital of Culture platform. Being on the ECOC agenda invites discussion of the legacy of the 20th century as a potential laboratory of heritage where creative interpretations and new, contemporary narratives are equally important as authentic relics of the past.

We sincerely hope that the proceedings of the the conference will give inspiration for everyday practice of cultural heritage professionals and, in a broader perspective, a better understanding of the Modern Movement as a diverse phenomenon of the past that can be successfully transferred to the future.

Opening Session

Mart Kalm

Self-Realization of the Newly Liberated: Architecture in the Baltic States Between the World Wars

Mart Kalm

When the ageing empires of Europe began to implode as a consequence of World War I, the Baltic States – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – along with Finland and Poland became independent from Russia. And even though tsarist Russia was no pariah in Europe in the early 20th century but a nation to be reckoned with, and was not poor like the Soviet Union before its collapse, these newly independent nations, as they started to build up their new economies, felt that belonging to Russia had hindered their development and they now had the opportunity to accomplish something for themselves. This meant building up new nation states and a rankless democratic polity, a challenge that lay before all newly independent European peoples who had to rapidly progress through developments that older nations had had centuries to work through. The Baltic States, though small and poor, were eager beginners and had great ambitions regarding modernisation. The most obvious physical and visual manifestations of the validity of these new nations was in the buildings they built. Architecture has a unique ability to reflect a society's mental aspirations, economic capability and cultural orientation.

This article[1] is one of the first attempts to take a comparative look at the architecture of the young Baltic States between the two world wars. Until now this has been undertaken only on a few occasions from outside the region and then only from the perspective of urban history[2] or briefly as part of art history.[3] Even though local researchers are reasonably familiar with the architecture of their neighbours, having been aware of the background forces that gave rise to it and having collaborated for many decades, the language barrier has nevertheless made it difficult for in-depth knowledge to be shared. The period between the wars was overlooked in the literature in Russian during the Soviet era, and in truth the period had not even been researched. The first harbingers in the English language were the guidebooks for functionalist architecture published as DOCOMOMO initiatives in 1998.[4] In recent years enough has been published about Latvia and Lithuania to make me bold enough to discuss their architecture. Researchers from outside the Baltic States are equally unfamiliar with the three countries, and because I am far more familiar with the Estonian material than that of Latvia and Lithuania, as an Estonian researcher my view is inevitably biased. Nevertheless, I do not think I have any prejudices regarding my neighbours, and my attitude is amicably neutral.

The following article will meander through the typology of the architectural briefs and the stylistic solutions provided.

Different Starting Positions

When the Baltic States restored independence as the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, to many they seemed interchangeably similar. But in 1918, their starting positions were fairly different. Linguistically, Latvians and Lithuanians are close relatives because their languages belong to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Estonians do not understand them because their language belongs to the Finno-Ugric language group and is a close relative of Finnish. Culturally, however, Latvians and Estonians have more similarity because they share a common history. The Lithuanian kingdom stood up to Christianity, whereas Estonians and Latvians, without a nation of their own, accepted Christianity when it was brought to them by the crusaders from Germany. An upper class developed on the territory of Estonia and Latvia, known during the Middle Ages as Livonia, which comprised German-speaking noblemen, town citizens and clergy, while the local Estonians and Latvians formed the lower class and were subject to them. And because the Lithuanian aristocracy became incorporated into the Polish aristocracy, Lithuanians also primarily became peasants. In the early 16th century, a religious cleansing took place in Livonia and as a result Estonians and Latvians became Lutheran, though they did not really take the "German religion" very seriously. Lithuanians are Catholic even today. In the 18th century, the Baltic territories were one by one incorporated into tsarist Russia. The Lutheran German-speaking territories became the Baltic Provinces (in Russian *Остзейские губернии*).

In the second half of the 19th century, a widespread national awakening occurred, during which the people began to feel that they were part of a separate nation and culture (literature, theatre, choirs) as a media in their own languages developed, and through a movement of societies their own societal structures were born. Politically repressed following the Polish uprisings, and without a university, this process in Lithuania came later and was not as powerful.

Since the Middle Ages, the region's largest city had been Riga, which during the 19th and especially the early 20th century saw a real economic boom. In this city, with its mix of German, Latvian, Jewish and Russian populations, there were over half a million people before World War I. At the same time Tallinn's population had only just exceeded 100,000 and the university town of Tartu had a population of close to 50,000. In the provincial capitals of Vilnius and Kaunas, there were over 150,000 inhabitants and close to 100,000 respectively, but in both cities there were few Lithuanians among the predominantly Polish and Jewish populations.

Though the people of the Baltic States may not like to hear this, the differences between their relative starting positions were determined by the concentrations of Baltic Germans (living in their respective countries). The centre of the Baltic German world was Riga, where in 1862 a polytechnical school was founded (since 1896 Riga Polytechnical Institute) and as a result technical know-how increased greatly and many fields became professionalised. In addition, many Baltic Germans studied in German universities and Germans from Germany, with a range of expertise, continued to settle in the Baltic provinces. Baltic German economic entrepreneurship ensured the development of industry and infrastructure for the whole economy. Unlike the rest of Russia, with the possible exception of St. Petersburg, electricity networks, telephone connections, urban public transport, water services and sewerage, bridges and road networks in the Baltic provinces, Latvia and Estonia that is, were established early. Along with local Germans studying at the polytechnical institute there were increasingly more Latvians and Estonians, and to a lesser extent Jews, Lithuanians and Poles. However, at the start of the 20th century when city governments were increasingly run by indigenous people, in regard to technical solutions they continued to rely on German culture operating within Russian legislation. Therefore, by the time of independence, the city of Riga was by far the most developed region in the Baltic States, while Lithuania, with fewer Germans, was the least developed.

Schools of Architects

At the start of the 1920s, when the newly independent Baltic people started to build their nations, the extent to which they were equipped with architects varied. Because the polytechnical institute trained architects and the Riga Association of Architects had already been founded in 1879, Latvia had plenty of architects. During the tsarist period real estate was the main way for Latvians and Estonians to increase their wealth, hence many trained to become construction engineers or architects and boldly assumed their position alongside Baltic Germans. Despite fewer architectural commissions, the Latvian architects Eižens Laube and Paul Mandelstamm, (of Lithuanian-Jewish heritage), who had previously had a central role in Riga's construction boom, continued to work in independent Latvia. In spite of the disappointment felt by many Baltic Germans about the formation of the Latvian and Estonian nations that caused many Germans to emigrate to Germany, a number of Baltic Germans like Heinz Pirang, Paul Campe and others remained in Latvia. The period between the two wars was a time of intense productivity for architects like Pauls Kundziņš, Indriķis Blankenburgs, Frīdrihs Skujiņš and the engineer Teodors Hermanovskis, who had all studied at the Riga Polytechnical Institute at the end of the tsarist period. In independent Latvia, this school became the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Latvia and virtually all the leading architects of the period studied there (Aleksandrs Klinklāvs, Osvalds Tīlmanis, Verners Vitands, and the Baltic Germans, Alfred Grünberg and Lydia Hoffmann-Grünberg). In addition, there were a number of important Latvian architects working at the time who had studied during the tsarist period at either the St. Petersburg Academy of Art (Ernests Štālbergs, Karlis Bikše) or the St. Petersburg Institute of Civil Engineering (Pāvils Dreijmanis).[5]

The first Estonian architects emerged later than in Latvia. The construction engineers who commenced working at the start of the 20th century and the architects who followed them in the 1910s had predominantly studied at the Riga Polytechnical Institute at the beginning of the century (Anton Soans, Edgar Kuusik) and augmented their studies with a couple of years in Germany (Herbert Johanson in Darmstadt, Eugen Habermann in Dresden, Erich Jacoby, the Baltic German from Tallinn, in Hannover). Since their designs were relatively similar, they are known in the history of Estonian architecture as the 'Riga generation'. The only exception was Karl Burman, who studied at the St. Petersburg Academy of Art and started work in Tallinn in 1910 as the first Estonian architect. The Tallinn Technical College was founded in 1918 and its graduates included successful architects like August Volberg, Edgar Velbri, Erika Nõva and others. Since it was not possible to acquire academic training in architecture in Estonia in the 1920s and 1930s, many went to study at German-speaking technical universities in Central Europe – Alar Kotli to Danzig/Gdansk, Arnold Matteus to Karlsruhe, Elmar Lohk to Darmstadt and Eugen Sacharias to Prague.[6]

Since Lithuania's historical capital of Vilnius became part of Poland, the main site of construction was the temporary capital of Kaunas, where increasingly more Lithuanians were locating. Architects in Lithuania – though they did not actually differentiate between architects and engineers – were the most varied ethnically. In the early 1920s, Lithuanians who had trained at Russian universities at the beginning of the century gathered in Kaunas – Mykolas Songaila and Vladimiras Dubeneckis had studied at the St. Petersburg Academy of Art, Edmundas Alfonsas Frykas at the St. Petersburg Institute of Civil Engineering and Feliksas Vizbaras at the Riga Polytechnical Institute. Architects from Germany, Poland, Denmark and elsewhere also came to work in Kaunas. Training architects began in Kaunas at the University of Lithuania in 1922, but in the 1920s many still went abroad to study – Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis and Stasys Kudokas completed their studies at the School of Architecture in Rome, Vladas Švipas studied at the Bauhaus, and although the most popular of the German schools was the Berlin Technical University, some also studied in Belgium and France.[7] Since Lithuania started from scratch, there were more international architecture competitions, but these did not attract very much attention[8] and maybe for this reason architects of the other Baltic States often won the prizes.

The 1920s: New Challenges for a New Society

The Baltic States all faced similar tasks and some of these were solved in a similar manner, others quite differently. Tallinn, Riga and Kaunas were all former provincial towns and lacked the infrastructure required of capital cities. It was not until the 1930s that large-scale government buildings were built, but the new parliament was an institution with specific spatial requirements and a venue was needed urgently. Lithuania never did end up erecting a purpose-built parliament house because on the one hand, the state structures were still being established[9] and on the other, they refrained from building facilities for state institutions in what was then the temporary capital.[10] In Latvia, Eižens Laube modified the former neo-renaissance building of the Livonian Knighthood (Robert Pflug, Jānis

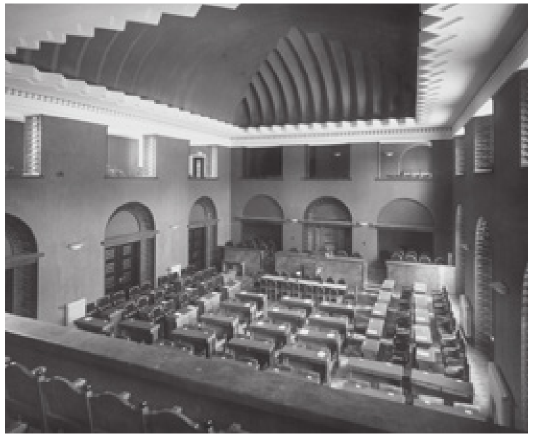
Figure 1. Herbert Johanson and Eugen Habermann. Assembly Hall of the Riigikogu, Tallinn, 1920–22. Photograph Karl Akel, 1922, Tallinn City Museum.

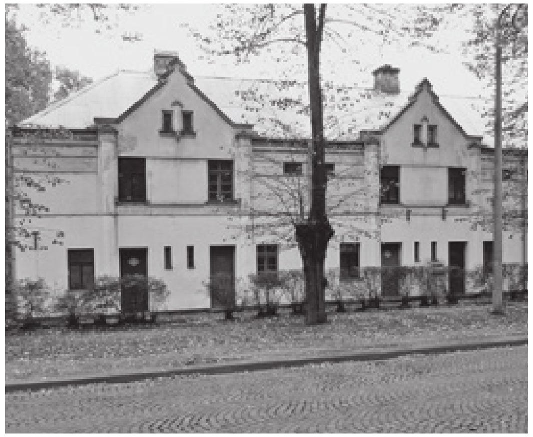
Figure 2. Pāvils Dreijmanis. Terraced house, Liepājas Street, Riga, 1925–27. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

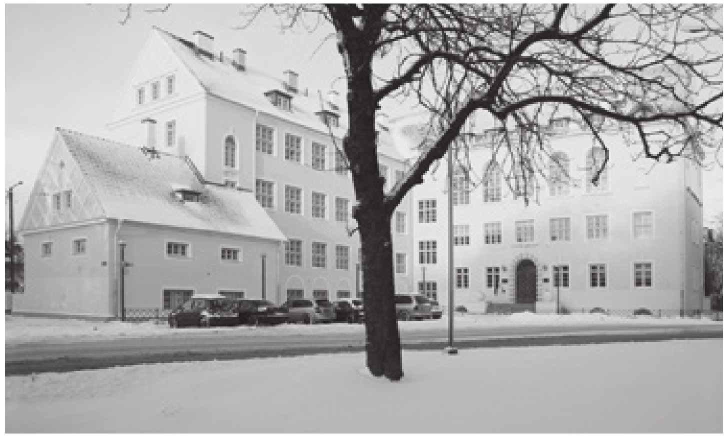
Figure 3. Herbert Johanson. Pelgulinn Primary School, Tallinn, 1927–29. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2007.

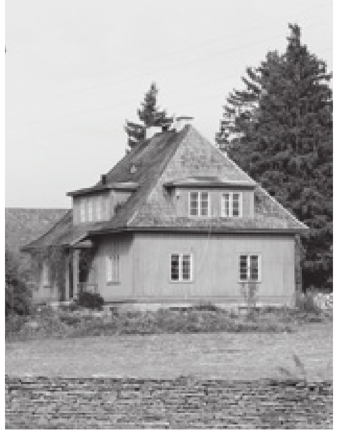
Figure 4. August Volberg. Aedla farm, Harjumaa, Estonia, 1931. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2005.

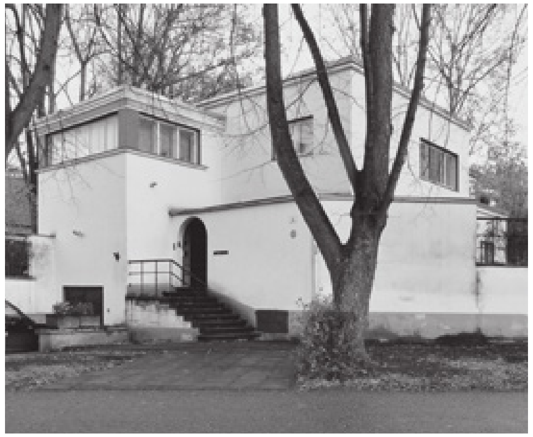
Figure 5. Herbert Johanson. Residence at 6 Toompuiestee, Tallinn, 1929. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

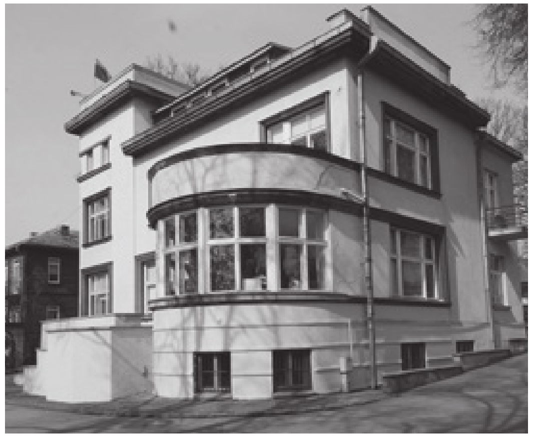
Figure 6. Feliksas Vizbaras. Villa Tūbelis, 1 Dainava Street, Kaunas, 1932. Photograph Vaidas Petrulis, 2007.

Frīdrihs Baumanis, 1867)[11] for the *Saeima*. The statue of the last Master of the Order Wolter von Plettenberg above the main door was exchanged for one of the mythical Latvian hero, Lāčplēsis, the bear slayer (sculptor Richards Maurs, 1922).[12] Since the knighthood had been the administrative body of the local governing nobility, this building, where the *Landtag* met, was typologically the closest thing to a parliament building. While in Tallinn the Estonian Knighthood building (Georg Winterhalter, 1848) became the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Estonian Constituent Assembly met in 1919 in the Estonia Society House (Armas Lindgren ja Wivi Lönn, 1913), which was the city's most modern building with an auditorium and the only building with a clearly Estonian identity. However, since it belonged to the Society it could not remain the permanent location for the parliament. In Tallinn it was decided that the ruins of the medieval convent building, which formed the central part of Toompea Castle, whose east wing had already been rebuilt in the 18th century to house the provincial government, was to be replaced by a building for the *Riigikogu*. At the time, the notion of 'hiding' the new symbol of Estonian democracy in the courtyard of a stronghold of German power attracted much criticism. Since a new Estonian identity had to be created between the medieval castle of the German order and the Baroque wing of tsarist Russia, using someone else's old architecture was not appropriate. Architects Herbert Johanson and Eugen Habermann designed the new building, built 1920–22, in an Expressionist style – the most modern architectural language at the time. And even though Expressionism was primarily a phenomenon of the German-speaking world this was to be expected from architects who had gained their training there[13] (Figure 1).

Unlike Estonian researchers, Latvians and Lithuanians do not use the term Expressionism but prefer to structure their research around the term *art déco*. Nevertheless, the terraced houses on Liepājas and Ropažu streets in Riga (Pāvils Dreijmanis, 1925–27) (Figure 2), with their zigzag gables and façades that were originally painted in strong colours, are reminiscent of the most typical examples of Expressionism and the Ausekla Street residence with its zigzag décor and kindergarten in the enclosed courtyard (Pāvils Dreijmanis, 1927)[14], is similar to Viennese Expressionism. And what is more important than formal aesthetic indicators is the change in social concerns – they followed a path typical of Central and Northern European cities with their emphasis on community focused building. In spite of the marked decline in the population of Riga after World War I, there was a shortage of small apartments with modern conveniences, and this forced the city government to build residential buildings at their own cost.[15] In the 1920s while the need for social housing was being discussed in Kaunas,[16] many towns in Estonia were building municipal housing for the poor. In Tallinn, houses for workers were built near city institutions like the abattoir, central hospital, water treatment plant, schools and others. Building work in the cities was also inspired by state loans, which alongside small apartments with modern conveniences also encouraged the idea of a garden city. It was only in town centres that large residential buildings were favoured, and these were built cooperatively, something new in Estonia. City houses in Tallinn and many cooperative residential buildings were designed in a traditionalist manner by Herbert Johanson, the head of the city design office which had been created in 1923. Traditionalism in 1920s Estonia was based on the local 18th–19th century style used by master builders for parsonages, manor dairy farms, taverns and others, which were free of decoration, had thick walls with few door and window openings under a high-hipped roof. This Tessenow-like architecture with its inward-looking character was a conscious attempt to avoid a grand style, but it also lacked a connection to the national Estonian peasant style[17] (Figure 3). The after-effect of 1910s neoclassicism was much greater in Latvia in the 1920s, and architecture based on archaic, simple, local Latvian heritage, which is very similar to Estonian, is possibly only seen in designs by Pauls Kundziņš (Vecgulbene housing for railway workers, 1921; Allaži church, 1927).[18] Kundziņš had an immense interest in researching Latvian farm architecture and using its motifs in contemporary architecture, and this was something that had no analogy in either Estonia or Lithuania. During his student days in Riga, Kundziņš had become good friends with the Estonian architect Edgar Kuusik and even in the 1930s they visited one another in summer and went watercolour painting together,[19] and this is the only known lasting friendship between an Estonian and a Latvian architect.

In the 1920s the head of the construction office at the Agricultural Association in Estonia was Erich Jacoby, a Baltic German architect of the 'Riga generation' with a traditionalist approach, who won first prize in a competition for new settler farms organised by the Lithuanian Ministry of Agriculture in 1927.[20] Under his guidance at the construction office, young architects like August Volberg, Edgar Velbri and others who had studied at the Tallinn Technical School started to design buildings for rural areas that acknowledged local heritage (Figure 4). The training at the Tallinn Technical School had a strong emphasis on pragmatism, but at the request of the Estonian National Museum, architecture students surveyed and drew old farm architecture. Since there were many students at the technical school with a farming background this task taught them to value their own roots.

In the 1920s, during the course of land reform in all three Baltic States, land was taken away from existing landowners and divided up among peasants. In Estonia and Latvia, where reform was more drastic, the land that was divided had mostly belonged to Baltic German nobles and the new landowners were Estonian and Latvian peasants who had successfully fought against them in the War of Independence.[21] In Estonia and Latvia over 50,000 new farms were created and these all required new buildings. And since the bank would only give a loan on the presentation of a design, this meant that architects had to design large numbers of standard designs. The new farm buildings looked like traditional farm architecture, but in terms of comforts and sanitary conveniences they represented a great leap forward. If some might regard the designs as the imposed civilising of farmers, then even today it is possible to see in the landscape across the Baltic States, that few farms were actually built according to plan because a poor person's life demanded simplifications.

The Different Aspects of Modernism

In the first decade of independence, the important manifestations of modernisation in architecture were of a social and technical nature, and assumed a traditional form, which in itself was also innovative. When the Latvian construction engineer Teodors Hermanovskis, who had not studied architecture but civil engineering at the Riga Polytechnical Institute, and until then had built railways, been active in politics and published magazines, opened his own architecture office in Riga in 1926, modernist architecture arrived in the Baltic States.[22] As a newcomer he was free from the architectural traditions that constrained local architects[23] and designed in a fresh, new way, and during the 1930s, he slowly melded into the general architecture scene.

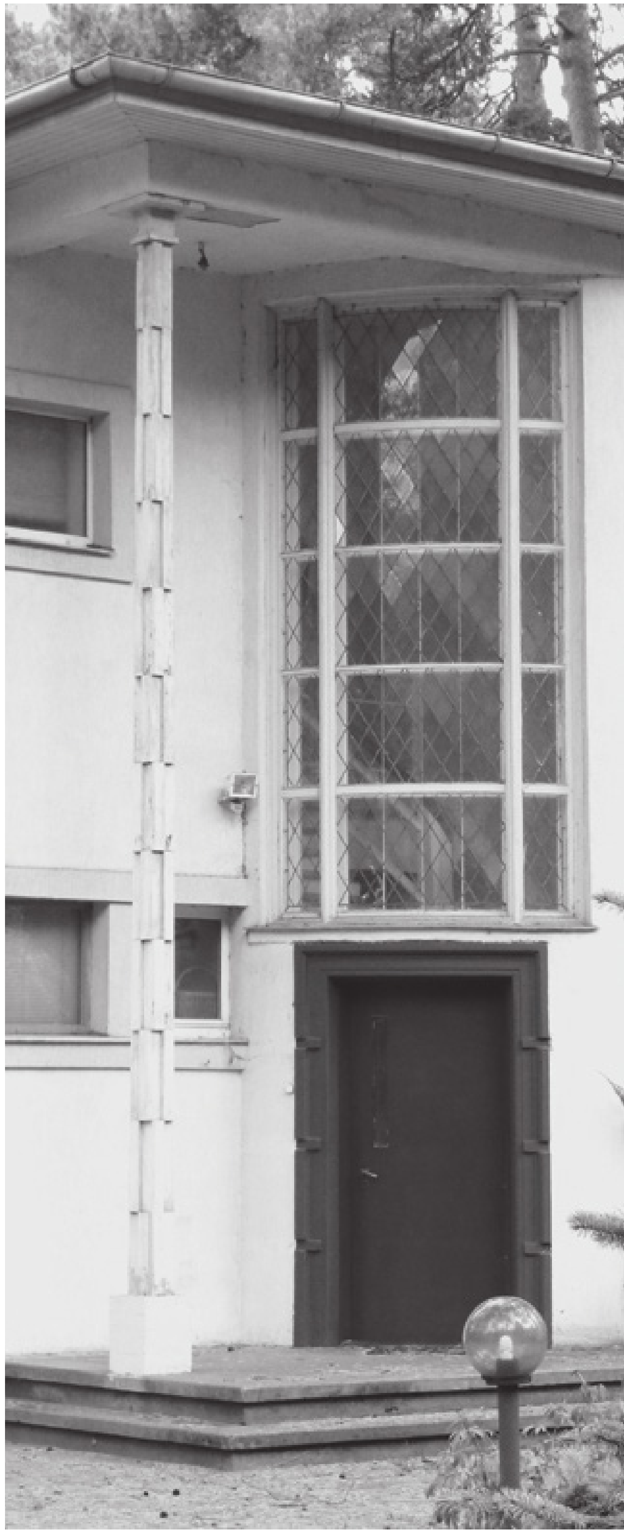

Figure 7. Jānis Rutmanis. 58 Meža prospekt, Riga, 1933. Photograph Mart Kalm 2018.

Hermanovskis can be regarded as having the most clearly distinguishable style in the Baltic States during the interwar period. His first apartment buildings (6 Marijas Street, 1928 and 8 Marijas Street, 1926, Riga) and numerous villas in both Riga and Ogre[24] were completely devoid of historical architectural references, but have luxuriant forms and are highly decorative. It is not without cause that they are associated with *art déco*.

In the Baltic States, the less decorative version of modernism is usually referred to as functionalism. Elements of the functionalist machine aesthetic had slowly been absorbed in the Baltic States by the end of the 1920s. One of the first features to be used was the railing borrowed from ships, which can be seen in Erich Jacoby's otherwise traditionalist villa at 5 Lahe Street in Kadriorg, Tallinn, and Paul Mandelstamm's large city building at 51 Elizabetes Street, Riga, (both 1928), where the long balconies with their delicate railings curve around the corner emphasising a dynamic modernism. The first functionalist building in Estonia is generally considered to be Herbert Johanson's semi-detached house built in 1929 at 6 Toompuiestee in Tallinn, about which the leading architecture critic Hanno Kompus wrote an approving article with a title that was typical throughout Europe during that decade, '*Katusega või ilma*' (With or without a roof)[25] (Figure 5). Smooth, light-coloured rendered walls and horizontal windows without horizontal divisions were indicators of functionality and hygiene, and continued to be typical of functionalism in Estonia. From the Estonian point of view, the continued widespread use of vertical windows sometimes with a combination of vertical and horizontal panes in Latvian functionalism, and also to an extent in Lithuanian, was surprising. This type of window from the building boom at the start of the century was probably so deeply entrenched that the new style had difficulty breaking through. Estonian architects, who started later and were not encumbered by the past, were able to go along with the innovations more easily. The decoratively articulated wall surfaces typical of our southern neighbours suggest a distrust of clean, smooth surfaces – the vertical or square windows had to still be connected with a thick band to form a horizontal line. The bold rounded forms and protruding horizontally striped façades like Alfrēds Birkhāns's Rota office block complete with print workshop in Riga (1934) and Aleksandrs Klinklāvs's apartment building in Elizabetes Street (1931) indicate the great popularity of Erich Mendelsohn. The same can be seen in Kaunas, where from among numerous examples Feliksas Vizbaras's Villa Tūbelis at 1 Dainava Street (1932) (Figure 6) or Stays Kudokas's apartment building at 3 Vaidilutės Street (1938) are worth mentioning. In Riga, a dense line of low horizontal windows on a curved stairwell was popular and the engineer K. Janson's villa on 10 Poruka Street in Mežaparks,[26] Riga is most effective. In Latvia, they also succeeded in applying nationalist motifs to functionalist villas. Narrow decorative pillars that extended through two storeys were popular (T. Hermanovski's, 4 M. Nometņu Street, 1928) and, made of timber, they could assume a nationalist flavour (Pauls Kundziņš, 30 Sigulda Prospekt, 1930; Haralds Kundziņš, 14 Poruka Street, 1931; Jānis Rutmanis, 58 Meža Prospekt, 1933) (Figure 7). But sometimes a couple of lines on the balcony support was sufficient (Lydia Hoffmann-Grünberg, 74 Meža Prospekt, 1932) (Figure 8).

In Riga, they managed to skillfully apply their extensive experience of building apartments from the previous period to the development of functionalism. The protruding dormer with symmetrically placed balconies on either side on the upper floors of street-fronted tenement buildings was a popular design feature in 19th century Berlin and avidly followed in Riga. The municipal housing project at 5 Miera Street (Alexander Schmaeling, Edgar Hartmann, Viktor Unverhau, 1912) with its curved balconies is the first decoration-free development of this familiar feature, one that increased the spatial qualities of the façade and increased the floor area of the apartments. The balcony on the upper floors of the decoration-free façade of the publishers and printers trade union building at 43/45 Lāčplēša Street (Alfred Karr and Kurt Baetge, 1930) has been elongated and, with the stripes on the railing, only adds to the horizontality. Teodors Hermanovski's building doubles the feature on the otherwise smooth-surfaced corner building at 4 Stabu Street (1932) (Figure 9). One of the most typical features of tenement houses in Riga at the beginning of the century was to have two large apartments that extended through the building and whose living rooms from the first floor upwards extended symmetrically on the façade as dormers. On functionalist apartment buildings the layout and design of the façade was altered, but the protruding pair of dormers was retained, as can be seen on Pauls Kundziņš' building at 8 Baznīcas Street (1930) or the previously mentioned Rota office building and print workshop at 38/40 Blaumaņa Street (Alfrēds Birkhāns, 1934).

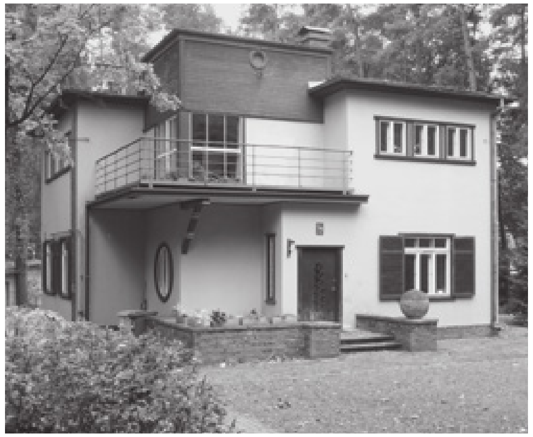

Figure 8. Lydia Hoffmann-Grünberg. 74 Meža prospekt, Riga, 1932. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

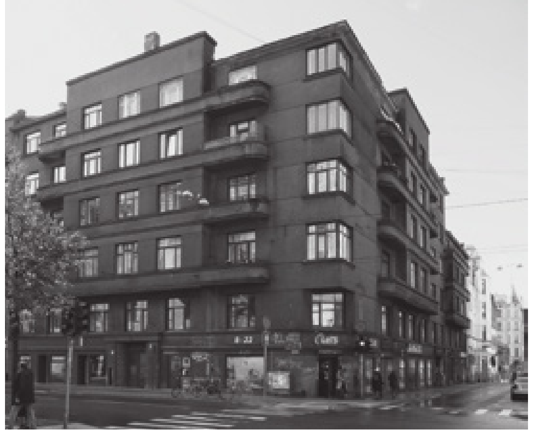

Figure 9. Teodors Hermanovskis. Apartment building on 4 Stabu Street, Riga, 1932. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

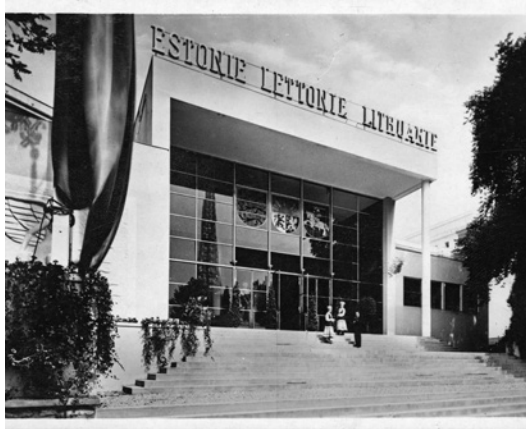

Figure 10. Alexander Nürnberg. Baltic pavillion at the 1937 Paris World Fair. Photograph 1937, Art Museum of Estonia.

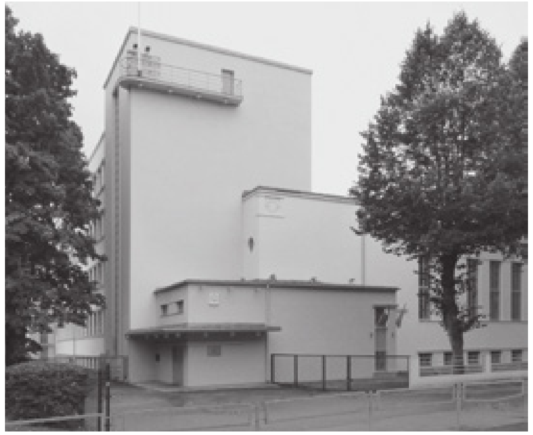

Figure 11. Alfred Grünberg. Riga 10th Primary School, Čiekurkalns, 1933. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

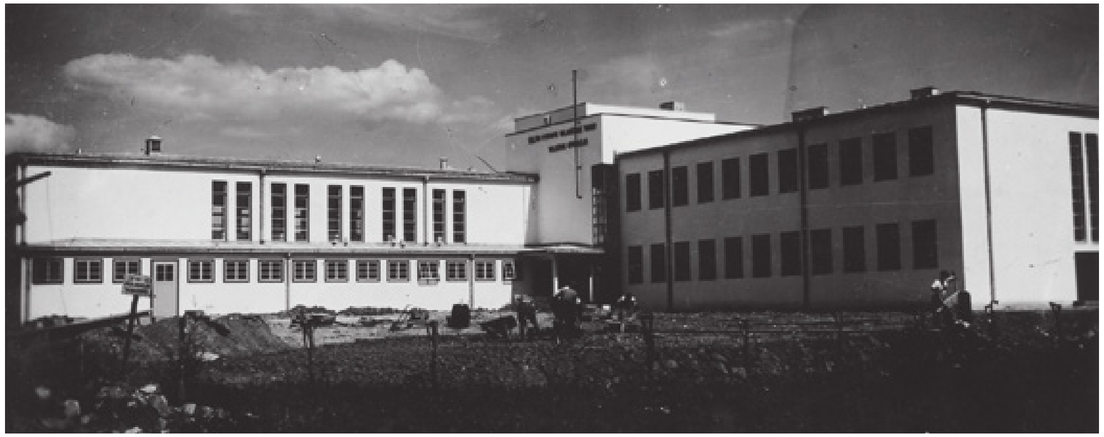

Figure 12. Steponas Stulginskis. Telšiai Secondary School, Lithuania, 1935–36. Samogitian museum "Alka".

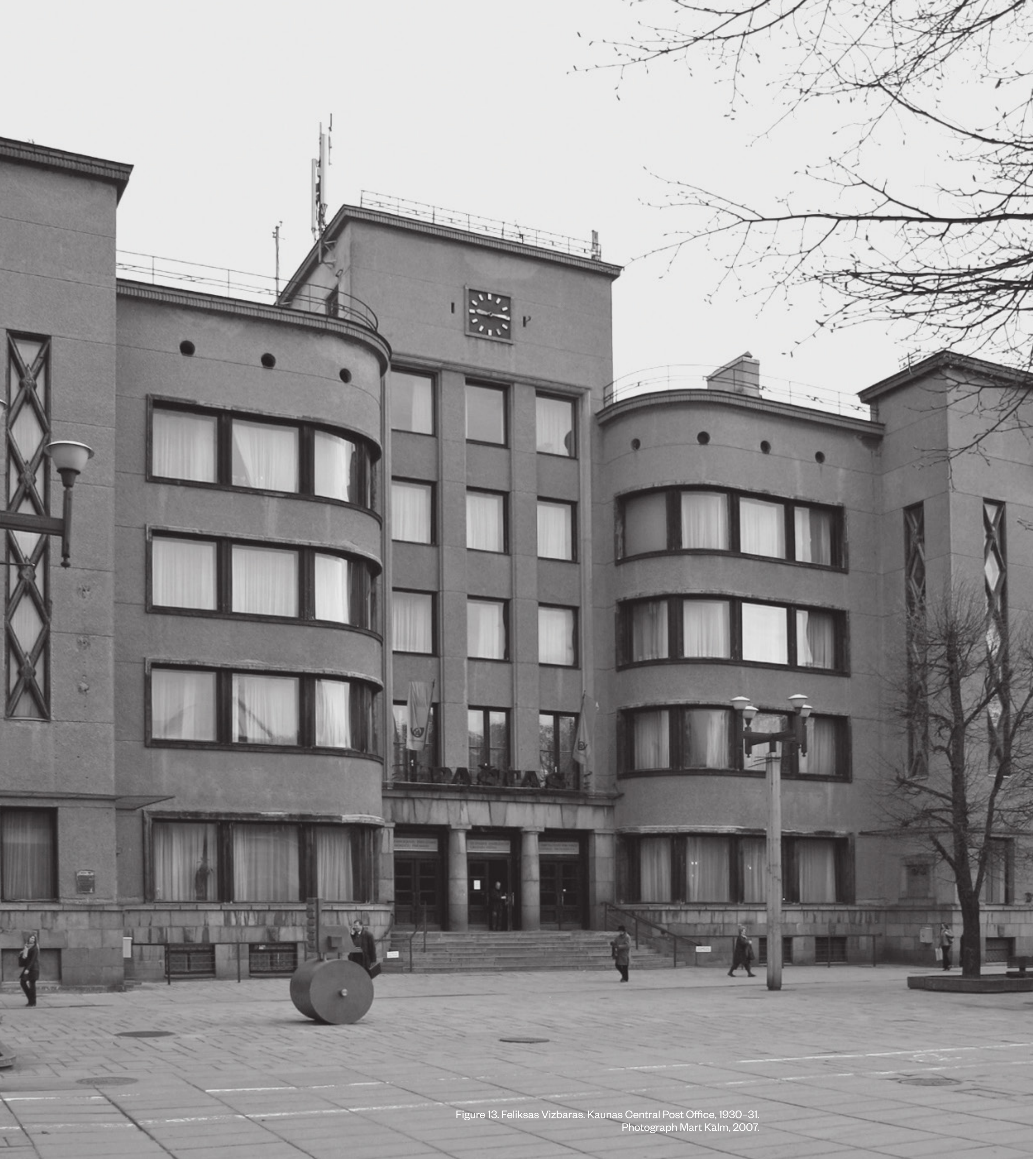
Figure 13. Feliksas Vizbaras. Kaunas Central Post Office, 1930–31. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2007.

Functionalism's emphasised modernity satisfied many important aims for the young Baltic States. The innovative new language of form helped to emphasise the differences between them and the burden of Baltic German and Russian history, and to present themselves as modern European nations. The joint Baltic pavillion[27] at the 1937 World Fair in Paris was an especially good opportunity to prove the latter. This was, to all knowledge, the only joint venture in architecture undertaken by the Baltic States (Figure 10). The architecture competition, undersigned by architects Johan Sigfrid Sirén (Helsinki), Elmar Lohk (Tallinn), Haralds Kundziņš (Riga) and Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis (Kaunas), was won by a Baltic German from Pärnu, Alexander Nürnberg. The modernity of the joint pavilion nestled in the crook of the eastern wing of Chaillot Palace was well suited to the demanding requirements of the competition, which demanded strict equality between the three countries and ruled out any nationalist motifs on the façades.

They were building a new society, a healthier and better educated one, thanks to the obligation of having to attend more years of school – and functionalism, which was considered hygienic and required little maintenance, was well suited for the architecture of schools. By positioning the classroom wing and the sports hall/auditorium at right angles many successful modern buildings were achieved, and schoolhouses especially in the early 1930s were experimental. Herbert Johanson's Lender Secondary School in Tallinn (1933–34) has a glass tower on the classroom wing in which the second staircase spirals like a screw. Alfred Grünberg's 10th Primary School in Riga (1933) has a tall, dynamic staircase tower with no windows toward the street. At the top is a balcony for hoisting the flag that has delicate railings curving around the corner (Figure 11). The absence of eaves on Steponas Stulginskis's Telšiai Secondary School (1935–36) has an especially modern effect and the glass corners create spaciousness in the staircase area (Figure 12). In school architecture in the second half of the decade, the love for a round functionalist tower at the point where the two wings meet continued, but the entranceway next to this was emphasised with traditional features, as indicated by Alar Kotli's Rakvere Secondary School in Estonia (1935–38) and Stasys Kudokas's Šančiai Secondary School in Kaunas (1938). And the grand Lithuanian stairwell towers, of which the most spacious is Ukmergė Secondary School (Feliksas Bielinskis, 1936–38), has a hipped roof that stops the tower from extending up too high.

Among the most exciting and unique witnesses to the new modernity were the Kaunas Central Post Office (Feliksas Vizbaras, 1930–31)[28] (Figure 13) and the Tallinn Art Hall (Edgar Kuusik ja Anton Soans, 1933–34)[29] (Figure 14). Both belong in the canons of modernism in their respective countries, but, having non-functionalist characteristics, are also perplexing. The post office has large glass-paned horizontal windows, which dynamically curve in towards the centre, but in an academicist manner the façade is symmetrically divided into three. The building, dedicated to the 500th anniversary since the death of the Lithuanian king Vytautas the Great, has nationalist motifs in the form of the heavy timber-framed vertical windows, while the interior with its appropriation of designs from nationalist textiles on the floor tiles has a modernist feel. Tallinn Art Hall stands partly supported by pillars and the windows on the façade have been presented like a giant screen, with the wall between the windows covered by black sheets of glass. The façade is symmetrical, and the main floor is decorated in a classical manner with bronze statues of a man, 'Work' and a woman 'Beauty' (sculptor Juhan Raudsepp), which stand in niches. I venture to think that confusion is caused by the fact that these building types, which would be more suitable as free-standing structures, were forced into the walls of a perimetric style city block in the fear that in such a location the symbolic message of the building would not become evident. Vizbaras further developed this academicist, albeit busy spatial treatment of the three-part façade set in a perimetric block, on his Pažanga building (53 Laisvės Avenue, 1934) where, typical of Kaunas, stylised national motifs were applied to otherwise functionalist buildings.

One of the most surprising conservative aspects of Kaunas modernism is the firm adherence to axial symmetry in the floor plans and other academicist compositional features. This is not only evident in the main post office but also in the Vytautas the Great War Museum (Vladimiras Dubeneckis, Karolis Reisonas, engineer Kazys Kriščiukaitis, 1930–36) and most surprisingly on the otherwise functionalist Defence Ministry research laboratory (Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, 1933–35), now the Kaunas technical university) (Figure 15). The laboratory building, though positioned at end of the street is in the middle of a park, and the strict axial symmetry is a syntactical error considering the smooth pale walls and very long ribbon windows that extend around the corners. It is possible that the academicist undercurrent comes from the St. Peterburg Art Academy training of the influential Kaunas architects Mykolas Songaila and Vladimiras Dubeneckis, and we may assume that Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis and Stasys Kudokas received strong classical training in Rome in the 1920s.

The young Latvian modernist Aleksandrs Klinklāvs responded quickly to the modernism of the tuberculosis sanatoriums built throughout Europe in the interwar period, and on the basis of competition designs, designed the Red Cross Tērvete Sanatorium in 1930[30] (Figure 16). The developing social conditions in the 1930s introduced the notion of holidays and the sandy beaches of the Baltic Sea were perfect for spending time there. The people of Pärnu were convinced that in summer 1940, all of Europe would be travelling through their town on the way to the Helsinki Olympic games,[31] (which unfortunately were postponed because of the war), and in anticipation of this in 1939 built the grand Beach Cafe (architect Olev Siinmaa), whose mushroom-shaped reinforced concrete balcony immediately became a symbol for the town[32] (Figure 17). Pärnu as well as Riga's seaside town of Jūrmala had been popular resort towns already in the 19th century, but a *grand hôtel* had never been built in either town. Now, in Pärnu, a functionalist Beach Hotel (1935–37) designed by Olev Siinmaa and Anton Soans had been built, as had Ķemeri Hotel in Jūrmala (1933–36), designed by Eižens Laube, which though white, was a neo-classically decorated palace. While the wing of the Pärnu hotel, with its captain's bridge, curving off towards the sea, created a connection with maritime aesthetics, the round roof tower crowning the central axis of Ķemeri hotel was based on medieval fortresses and not ship aesthetics. Did the hero of Latvian architecture refuse to go along with functionalism or did this already herald the dawn of a new era with completely new requirements?

Architecture and Authoritarian Regimes

Led by Antanas Smetona, Lithuania became more authoritarian in 1926, while in Estonia and Latvia, the coups that brought Konstantin Päts and Kārlis Ulmanis to power took place in 1934. Even though in the European context these regimes were quite mild in the limitations they imposed on democracy, the task of architecture changed and needed to demonstrate the might of the nation and the people, and neoclassicism with a blend of national motifs was perfectly suited to this. Since the coup in Lithuania took place earlier, before the new taste for neo-classical motifs was applied to functionalism in the mid 1930s, experiments there were more independent.

Even though the awards for the competition for the Ramovė Officers' Club in Kaunas in 1931 went to Estonia,[33] quite understandably the building was designed by local architects, one of whom was Vladimiras Dubeneckis who died during the designing stage in 1932. The final result was designed by Stasys Kudokas the following year and the building was built from 1935–37[34] (Figure 18). The axial symmetry of the receding central section is classical, but the undivided large glass window panes look modern. The vertical, mostly hierarchical façade, is without detailed decoration and reminiscent of Kudokas's student days amid Roman architecture of the 1920s. The carefully designed interiors are dominated by art deco style design elements with nationalist motifs; however, the Vytautas Hall is unusual. It is dedicated to the grand duke – who

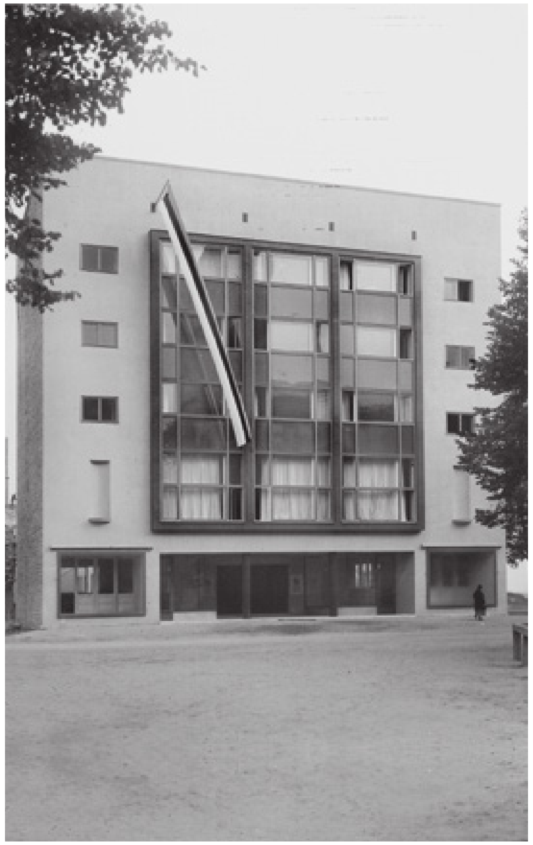

Figure 14. Edgar Kuusik and Anton Soans. Tallinn Art Hall, 1933–34. Photograph Estonian Film Archive.

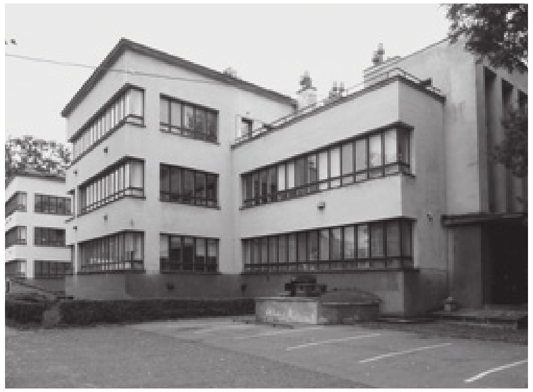

Figure 15. Vytautas Lansbergis-Žemkalnis. Defence Ministry research laboratory, Kaunas, 1933–35, now the Kaunas technical university. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

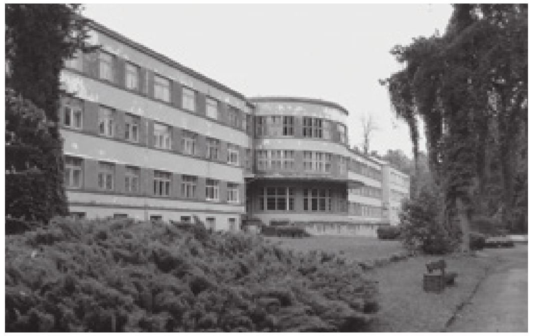

Figure 16. Aleksandrs Klinklāvs. Latvian Red Cross Tērvete Sanatorium, 1930–32. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

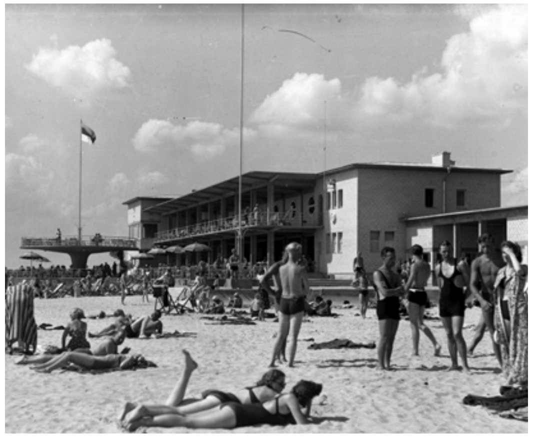

Figure 17. Olev Siinmaa. Pärnu Beach Cafe, 1938–39. Photograph Mihkel Õnnis, 1939, Pärnu Museum.

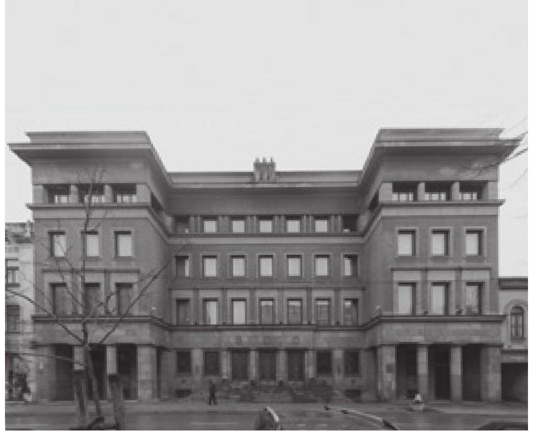

Figure 18. Vladimiras Dubeneckis and Stasys Kudokas. Ramovė Officer's Club, Kaunas, 1931–37. Photograph Norbert Tukaj, 2014.

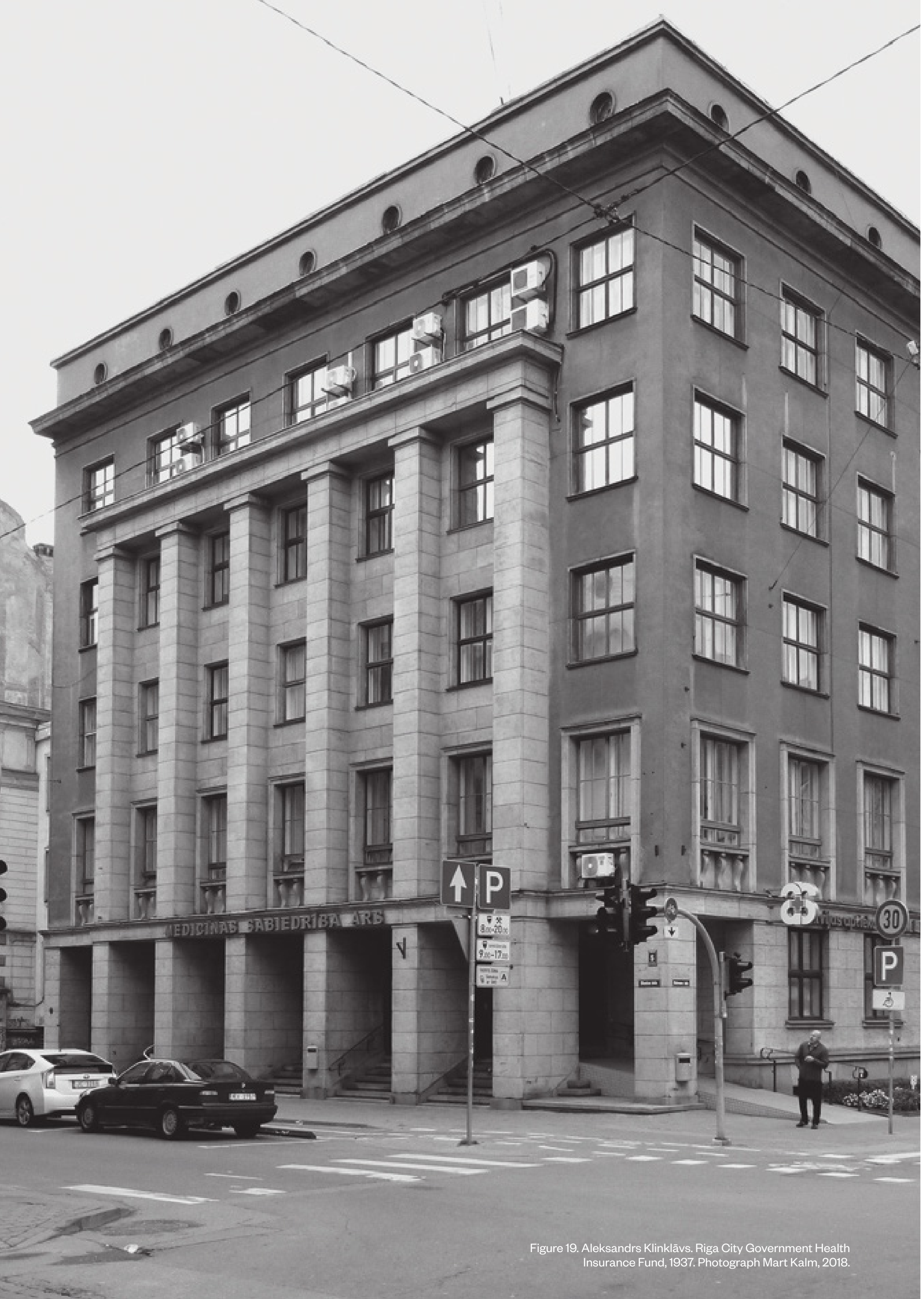

Figure 19. Aleksandrs Klinklāvs. Riga City Government Health Insurance Fund, 1937. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

alternately fought with and against the Teutonic Order – and designed in a neo-gothic style, for which the architect, Jonas Kovalskis-Kova was sent to the Order's main castle in Marienburg (now Malbork, Poland) and to Kuressaare in Estonia for inspiration.[35] In the Estonian and Latvian context, the choice to follow the Gothic style would have been both old-fashioned and simply wrong, but not so in Lithuania where, in the absence of an alternative visual expression, they simply needed to demonstrate the period when the grand duke carried out his great feats.

In contrast to the Italian style of Ramovė, the Estonians and Latvians interpreted the new classicism of the 1930s on the basis of German examples. One of the typical characteristics of the severe looking Nazi German architecture was a stone-framed vertical window divided equally into four panes. In Riga, the City Government Health Insurance Fund designed by Aleksandrs Klinklāvs looks very German, and furthermore considering its function is even a little too grand (Figure 19). In Estonia the most German style buildings were those designed by Alar Kotli, the head architect at the state construction firm 'Ehitaja' but these were ultimately not completely as planned.[36]

In the Baltic States, alongside the emphasis on the state, a characteristic of European architecture of the 1930s, it was significant that by this time the state bureaucracy had been established and they were wealthy enough to be able to build stately administrative buildings. Among the more monumental and carefully considered government buildings were the Palace of Justice (Frīdrihs Skujiņš, 1936–38) and the Ministry of Finance (Klinklāvs, 1936–40) in Riga, and in Tallinn the administrative offices built behind and just as large as the baroque Kadriorg Palace – the residence of President Päts (Kotli, 1937–38) (Figure 20). The grandest idea for a state and administrative complex was the Lithuanian State Palace, from where the whole country would have been ruled.[37] Even though, in the beginning, the Lithuanians refrained from constructing state buildings in Kaunas because it was the temporary capital, the international competition for the State Palace that ended in 1940 was planned for a site in Kaunas, and even after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact when Lithuania got Vilnius back from the Soviet Union in October 1939, the location for the State Palace was not altered. It is possible that during the war this building project was considered unrealistic anyway.

A very large multifunctional example of monumental architecture that was completed is Unity House (*Vienības nams*, Verners Vitands, 1934–37) in Daugavpils. Behind its columned portico it houses an 850-seat city theatre, rooms for the Latvian Society including a 600-seat hall, a restaurant, cafe, a printing office and newspaper editorial office, a hotel, swimming pool, office spaces and so forth[38] (Figure 21). Even though this giant building did not house any state offices, it was nonetheless a very political building brief. Daugavpils is located in the part of eastern Latvia known as Latgale, a region where Russians, Belorussians, Jews and Poles outnumbered Latvians, and which during tsarist times was not part of Livonia, but belonged to Vitebsk province. This meant a significantly lower level of literacy and undeveloped infrastructure and the function of Unity House was to cultivate culture in the region and also to *Latvian-ize* it. The building could have been entirely functionalist, which its structure and floorplan suggest, but patriotic aspirations added columns and Latvian folk art motifs to the chandeliers and capitals. The same occurred in Estonia but to a lesser extent, in the town of Pechory in Setumaa, a county which during tsarist times belonged to the Pskov province and was home to orthodox Estonians. Here, because the town lacked infrastructure, the Bank of Estonia built a branch (Ferdinand Adoff, 1929–30) much larger than the other county buildings that included, in addition to the usual bank rooms, court rooms, a printer's workshop, solicitor's offices, a city archive and so forth.[39]

State institutions and public buildings were more decoratively embellished; however, classical architectural motifs were also attached to the façades of commercial and residential buildings further down in the architectural hierarchy, such as the Army Economy Department Store (1936–49) in Riga, designed by Artūrs Galindoms (1936–49) and the Palace Hotel in Tallinn, designed by Elmar Lohk (1936–37).

Aspects of stylised classical architecture also found their way into residential architecture. Two apartment buildings, both on corners – Nikolajs Voits's apartment building at 20 Ģertrūdes Street, Riga (1939) (Figure 22) and Eugen Sacharias's at 8 Pärnu Highway in Tallinn (1937) (Figure 23) are very similar in terms of their structure, layout and grey granite render. Even though Voits's house has a band of moulding running under the windows and the high squarish windows are divided into five panes, the round protruding living

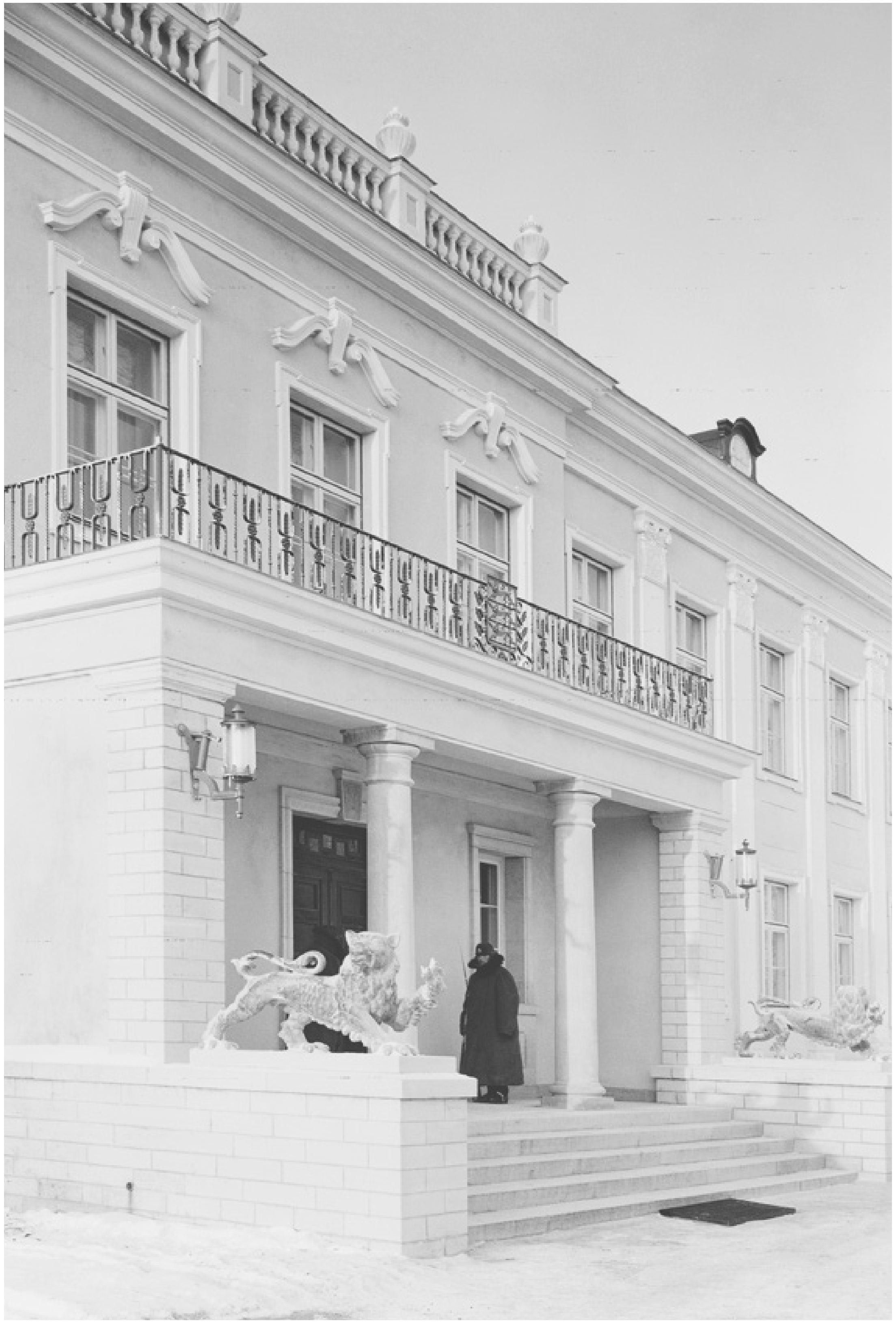

Figure 20. Alar Kotli, sculptor Voldemar Mellik. President’s office, Tallinn, 1937–38. Photograph Parikas 1938, Estonian History Museum.

room windows, in the spirit of Erich Mendelsohn, create a decidedly functionalist look. And though Sacharias’s building has three-part horizontal windows and an especially wide window that reached around the curved corner, the pilasters between the windows topped with elongated capital motifs, emphasising the height of the building, make it look neoclassical. Very little is needed for the intended message to be read in a completely different way. The dignified appearance of state buildings was predominantly achieved through the use of granite render sheets. These were produced in Riga already during tsarist times and their use was widespread in the functionalism of the first half of the decade. Local natural stone was considered the ideal, but there was little of this in Latvia, so concrete panels that looked like natural stone were used.[40] In Estonia in 1937, they started to produce limestone façade panels and this provided a much more dignified look, as illustrated by the EEKS house on Vabaduse Square (Elmar Lohk, 1934–37) with its façade of Saaremaa dolomite. In truth, Tallinn’s rusticated limestone buildings, mostly designed by Herbert Johanson from 1932–36 as municipal buildings, were more functional and the rusticated stone was used because of its low cost (limestone quarries belonged to the city and the unemployed could be used as labour), and not for its dignified appearance (Figure 24).

The growing ambitions of the authoritarian regimes and rapid economic growth spurred on the architectural dreams of the late 1930s, but the war in 1939 and Soviet annexation in 1940 quickly brought these to a halt. In addition to the Lithuanian State Palace, in Riga there was fierce debate about how to *Latvian-ize* the German style old town,[41] and Alar Kotli was thinking about how to free Tallinn’s Toompea from the symbol of Russification in the form of the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in front of the palace.[42] Riga and Tallinn were planning for a new town hall and in both competitions the most popular inspiration was Ragnar Östberg’s Stockholm City Hall (1908–23), with its gigantic tower. Unlike Riga or Kaunas, where new city districts were incorporated into 19th century town planning, Tallinn had developed with no planning. In 1935, to modernise the city, they started to apply designs that considered aspects of town planning.[43]

To look at architecture of the second half of the 1930s only from the point of view of increasing the stateliness of functionalist buildings by adding neoclassical features is one-sided. In the less official sphere, architects moved from the restrained forms of tehno-utopian functionalism to architecture that was closer to the people and nature. Ernests Štālbergs’s Gaujaslīči tuberculosis sanatorium for children (1936–39), a timber house sitting perched on a slope in Cēsis, Latvia, has vertical boards, a brick stairwell and a low, pitched gable roof and consequently a Scandinavian feel[44] (Figure 25). Architect Herbert Johanson’s summer house near Tallinn was a timber house with a lower than usual roof. The very long living-room window was asymmetrically divided and the wall built from local stone also extended into the living space, expressing the building’s inherent relationship between people and nature.[45]

Summary

Architecture was one of the main platforms where the beginner republics could prove their modernity, and could prove their worth, as it were, to themselves and the rest of the world. Neither Estonia nor Latvia had a heroic history, Lithuania did but without visible evidence of it, so modern architecture, interpreted in the form that their architects, clients and builders were able to provide, was suited to all three countries. While Estonians managed to be possibly the most modernist, Latvians, because of Riga’s size and wealth, were the most professional and varied in terms of architectural briefs as well as technically, and the distinctive characteristic in Lithuania, where they were starting with a clean slate, was that of a decoratively interpreted functionalism with an academicist undercurrent. And with the task of building Kaunas, they were the ones who took the biggest steps. Already in 1934, the Estonian architect August Volberg wrote approvingly, ’As a result of a healthy and well planned building policy very good results have been achieved in Lithuania, especially in Kaunas, where despite the lack of a building tradition, the city is developing slowly but surely from a poor provincial town to become Lithuania’s metropolis.’[46] In contrast to Kaunas, Riga, during the previous decades, had dazzled as an international metropolis, but half-empty during the interwar period it tended to be too large to fill with Latvian life, and therefore architecture built outside the capital tends to be more interesting.

In Latvia and Estonia, where German was the other local language, architects who had trained in the German cultural sphere continued to look towards Germany. They subscribed to magazines,

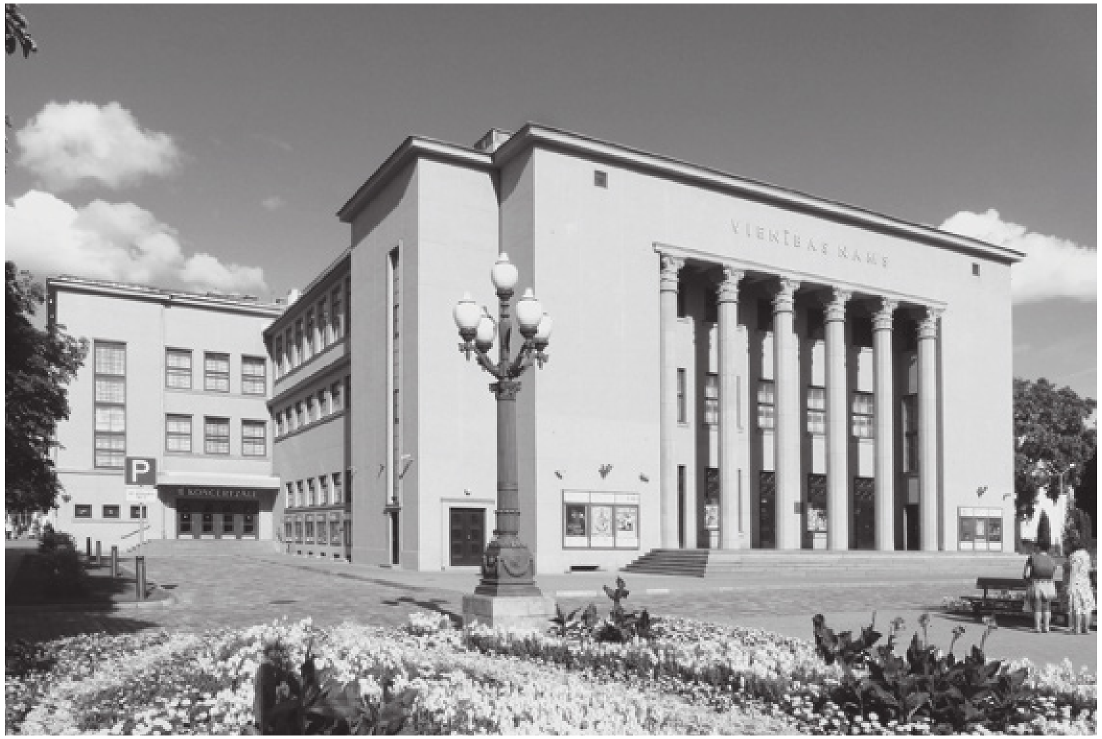

Figure 21. Verners Vitands. Unity House (Vienības nams), Daugavpils, 1934–37. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2017.

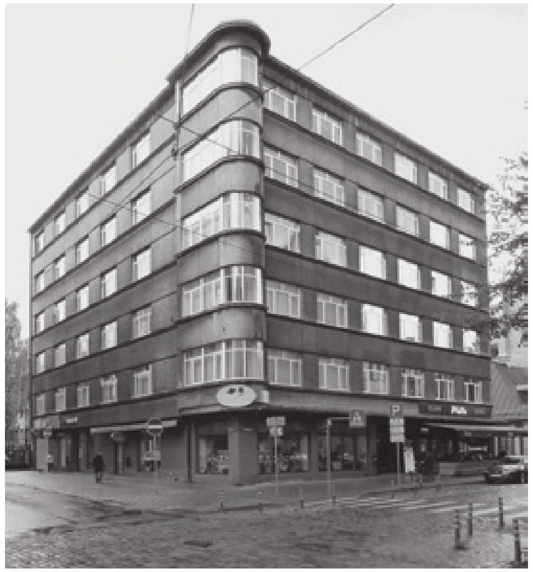

Figure 22. Nikolajs Voits. Apartment building, 20 Ģertrūdes St, Riga, 1939. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2018.

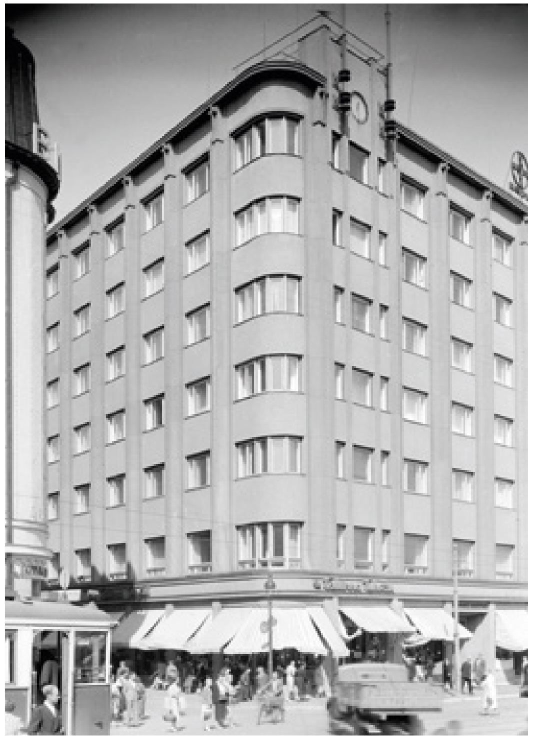

Figure 23. Eugen Sacharias. Apartment building, 8 Pärnu Highway, Tallinn, 1937. Photograph Hans Voolmaa approx. 1938, Estonian National Museum.

visited trade fairs and exhibitions, and so on, though Estonians also followed events in Finland. With a much more heterogenous background Lithuanian architects combined influences from Italy, France, Germany, the large Lithuanian diaspora in the US and elsewhere, and therefore thanks to its eclecticism, a rich architectural scene developed. For all three Baltic States, the architecture of the inter-war period was of special significance because it bore witness to their competence and helped them endure the following period of annexation to the Soviet Union (1940–41 and 1944–91). Irrespective of the differences in their starting positions or the extent to which each country was modernist, all three countries managed to build the infrastructure of a modern society that was important and dear to the people, because for the first time they had made it themselves and it was not the work of foreign powers. With the help of this architecture they were able to *Estonian-ize*, *Latvian-ize* and *Lithuanian-ize* their own lands. Thanks to its positive political connotation, the architecture of the 1920s and 30s is an easy legacy compared with what was built during the subsequent Soviet period.

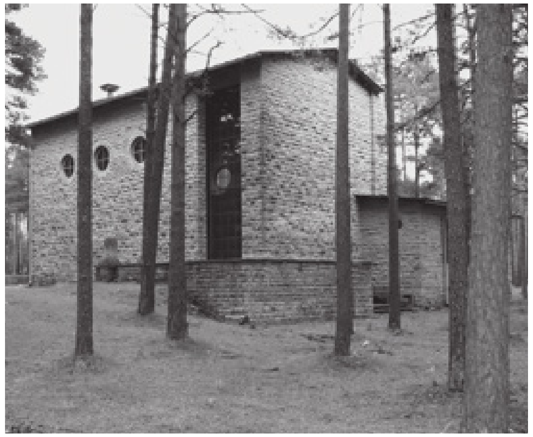

Figure 24. Herbert Johanson. Chapel, Liiva Cemetery, Tallinn, 1933–34. Photograph Mart Kalm, 2006.

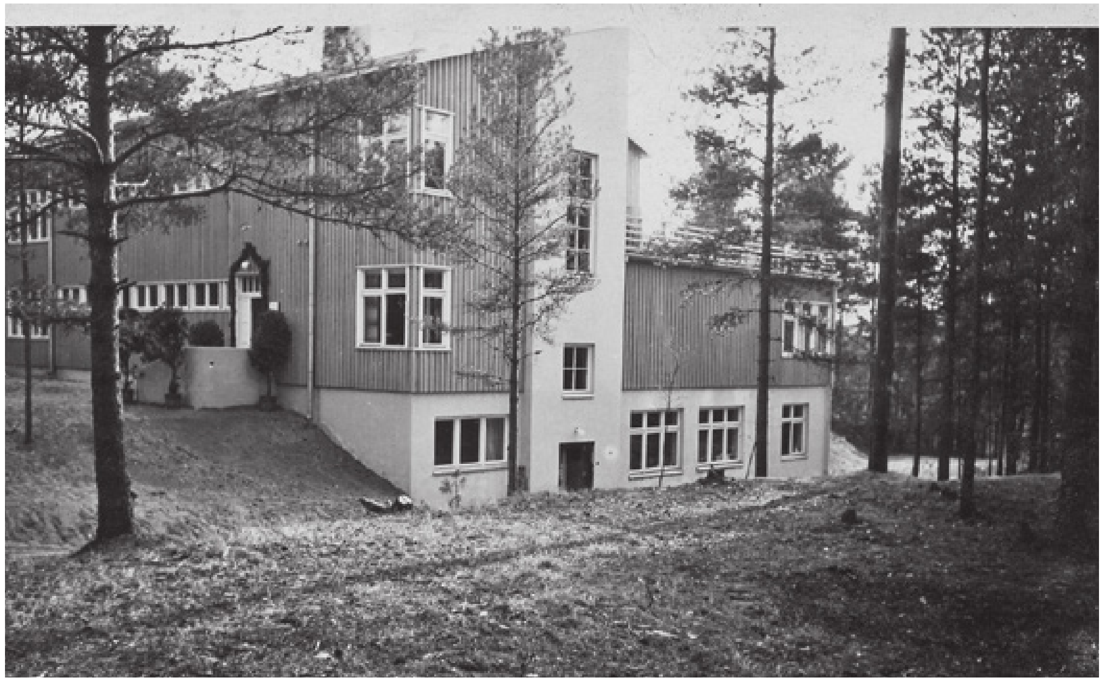

Figure 25. Ernests Štālbergs. Gaujasliči children's tuberculosis sanatorium, Cēsis, Latvia, 1936–39. Photograph Latvian State Archive.

Endnotes

[1] The writing of this article has been supported with an Estonian Research Council grant IUT32-1. It is an expanded and rewritten version of the article: Mart Kalm, ‘Taka podobna, a taka różna. Architektura krajów bałtyckich w okresie międzywojennym / So similar and so different. Architecture in the Baltic states between the two wars’, *Architektura niepodległości w Europie Środkowej / Architecture of independence in Central Europe.* (Krakow: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury International Cultural Centre, 2018), pp. 188–206.

[2] Andreas Fülberth, *Tallinn – Riga – Kaunas: ihr Ausbau zu modernen Hauptstädten, 1920–1940* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005).

[3] For more on Estonia and Lithuania see: Steven A. Mansbach, ‘Modernist Architecture and Nationalist Aspiration in the Baltic’ *Journal of Architectural Historians*, vol. 65, no. 1 (2006) pp. 92–111 and for Riga see: Steven A. Mansbach, ‘Riga’s Capital Modernism’[Oskar Halecki Lecture 2013], (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas an der Universität Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag GMBH, 2013); Andrzej Szczerski, *Modernizacje: sztuka i architektura w nowych panstwach Europy Srodkowo-Wschodniej 1918–1939* [Modernisations. Art and Architecture in the New States of Central and Eastern Europe 1918 to 1939] (Lodz: Muzeum Sztuki w Lodzi, 2010).

[4] For the 1998 DOCOMOMO (International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement) conference in Stockholm the following were published with the support of the Swedish Institute: J. Krastiņš, J. Lejnieks, Z. Redberga, *DoCoMoMo Latvian Working Party for documentation and conservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement / Modernās kustības celtņu un vietu dokumentēšanas un restaurācijas DoCoMoMo Latvijas darba grupa: National Register Latvia* (Riga: Latvian Museum of Architecture, 1998); *Lietuvos moderno pastatai / Lithuanian Monuments of Modern Movement*, edited by Morta Baužienė (Vilnius, 1998); Mart Kalm, E*esti funktsionalism. Reisijuht / Functionalism in Estonia. Guidebook* (Tallinn: DOCOMOMO-Estonia, 1998). Architecture guides that were subsequently published and continue to be useful in determining authorship and dates (not referenced in the article) are: Karin Hallas, Mart Kalm, Krista Kodres, Triin Ojari, Andres Kurg, 20th Century Architecture in Tallinn. Architectural Guide (Tallinn: Museum of Estonian Architecture, s. a. [2001]) (this was an expanded version of the German language book published 1994, published in Estonian in 2002 and Finnish in 2003); Jānis Krastiņš, Ivars Strautmanis, Riga. *The Complete Guide to Architecture* (Riga: ADD Projekts, 2004); *Kaunas. An Architectural Guide*, edited by Julija Reklaitė (Vilnius: Lapas, Architektūros fondas, 2017).

[5] Ilze Martinsone, ‘Architecture,’ *Art History of Latvia V 1915–1940,* edited by Eduards Kļaviņš (Riga: Institute of Art History of the Latvian Academy of Art, 2016) pp. 471–563. The first overview of Latvian architecture between the two wars is only in Latvian: J. Krastiņš, *Latvijas Republikas Būvmāksla* [Architecture of the Republic of Latvia], Rīga, 1992, but judging by the illustrations it established a canon. The most prolific researcher of Latvian architecture between the wars is Jānis Lejnieks, but his work has only been published in Latvian.

[6] Mart Kalm, *Eesti 20. sajandi arhitektuur* [Estonian 20th Century Architecture] (Tallinn: Sild, 2001) pp. 67–74.

[7] Marija Drėmaitė, ‘Migrant Modernists: Collective Architectural Power,’ *Architecture of Optimism: The Kaunas Phenomenon, 1918–1940*, edited by Marija Drėmaitė (Vilnius: Lapas, 2018) pp. 59–73.

[8] Jolita Kančienė, *Kauno tarpukario architektūra / Architecture of Interwar Kaunas*, edited by Gintaras Balčytis (Kaunas, 2013) p. 11.

[9] *The Seimas of Lithuania* (Vilnius: Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo kanceliarija, Valstybes žinios, 2001) p. 26.

[10] Vilma Akmenytė-Ruzgienė, ‘Lithuania’s Loss and Kaunas’ Gain: The Phenomenon of the Provisional Capital,’ *Architecture of Optimism: The Kaunas Phenomenon, 1918–1940*, edited by Marija Drėmaitė (Vilnius: Lapas, 2018) pp. 36–47.

[11] Inta Pujāte, ‘The Saeima Building and its Halls,’ *Saeimas Nams. The House of the Latvian Parliament.* (Rīga: Latvijas Republikas Saeimas Kanceleja, s. a. [1999]) pp. 10–55.

[12] The destroyed statue was restored in 2007. Eduards Kļaviņš, ‘Sculpture,’ *Art History of Latvia V 1915–1940*, edited by Eduards Kļaviņš (Riga: Institute of Art History of the Latvian Academy of Art, 2016) pp. 228–309 (p. 309).

[13] Mart Kalm, ‘Representation of a nation without a glorious past. The Riigikogu Building in Tallinn,’ *Parlamentärische Represäntationen. Das Bundeshaus in Bern in Kontext internationaler Parlamentsbauten und nationalen Strategien,* edited by Anna Minta and Bernd Nicolai (Bern et al: Peter Lang, 2014) pp. 179–194.

[14] Jānis Krastiņš, *Rīgas Arhitektūras meistari / The Masters of Architecture of Riga 1850–1940* (Riga: Jumava, 2002) pp. 322–329.

[15] Ilze Martinsone, pp. 497–502.

[16] Vaidas Petrulis, ‘Residential Architecture,’ *Architecture of Optimism: The Kaunas Phenomenon, 1918–1940*, edited by Marija Drėmaitė (Vilnius: Lapas, 2018) pp. 250–267 (pp. 256–260).

[17] Mart Kalm, ’Keskklassi maailm võtab ilmet–1920. aastate arhitektuurist [Middle-class World Takes a Shape – About the Architecture of the 1920s],’ *Eesti kunsti ajalugu* [History of Estonian Art] *V, 1900–1940,* edited by Mart Kalm (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, Sihtasutus Kultuurileht, 2010) pp. 262–286.

[18] Ilze Martinsone, pp. 507–510.

[19] Edgar-Johan Kuusik, *Mälestusi ja mõtisklusi I-V* [Memoirs and Contemplations I-V] (Tallinn: Eesti Päevaleht, Akadeemia, 2011) pp. 371–372, 534.

[20] For Estonian architects this was a very successful competition, because 2nd place went to Viktor Reinhardt and two 3rd prizes to Aleksandr Wladovsky and a joint design by Edgar Kuusik and Franz de Vries. In *Postimees* (10 July 1927) p. 2. Of the winning entries only Wladovsky’s was made public: Андрей Юрьевич *Пономарев, Александр Владовский: материалы к творческой биографии* (Москва, 2018) p. 192.

[21] Andres Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) p. 113.

[22] Jānis Krastiņš, *Rīgas Arhitektūras meistari...*, pp. 302–309.

[23] Ilze Martinsone, p. 519.

[24] Renāte Čaupale, ‘Teodors Hermanovskis, Art Deco and a Provincial Town Ogre,’ *Scientific Journal of Riga Technical University. Architecture and Urban Planning*, vol. 5, (2011) pp. 6–13.

[25] HaKo [Hanno Kompus], ‘Katusega või ilma [With or without roof],’ *Päevaleht* (16 November 1929) p 5.

[26] Jānis Krastiņš, *Mežaparks* (Rīga: Zinātne, 1997) pp. 166–168.

[27] Irina Solomõkova, ‘Eesti kunst ja sisekujundus 1937. a Pariisi maailmanäituse Balti paviljonis [Estonian Art and Interior Design at the Baltic Pavillion of the Paris 1937 World Fair],’ *Eesti kunstikontaktid läbi sajandite II* [Art Contacts of Estonia through Centuries II] (Tallinn: Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Ajaloo Instituut Kunstiajaloo sektor, 1991) pp. 27–61 (p. 29).

[28] Giedrė Jankevičiutė, Vaidas Petrulis, ‘Modern communication: The Central Post Office,’ *Architecture of Optimism: The Kaunas Phenomenon, 1918–1940*, edited by Marija Drėmaitė (Vilnius: Lapas, 2018) pp. 138–149.

[29] Karin Hallas-Murula, *Tallinna Kunstihoone 1934–1940: Ehitamine ja arhitektuur / Tallinn Art Hall 1934–40: Construction and Arhitecture* (Tallinn: SA Tallinna Kunstihoone Fond, 2014).

[30] Karīna Horsta, ‘Veselības pils. Tērvetes sanatorijas būvvēsture, architektūra un dizains [The Palace of Health. Construction History, Architecture and Design of Tērvete Sanatorium],’ *Mākslas Vēsture un Teorija* 20 (2017) pp. 70–80.

[31] In Latvia the hotel Rūjiena was built with the same intention (Rūjiena, ins T. Hermanovskis, 1939) (From Artis Zvirgzdiņš’s presentation: ‘The interwar Modernist architecture heritage in Latvia – diversity of typologies and a variety of nowadays approaches towards it’ at the seminar *Modern Movement Architecture – an Asset to Cultural Heritage*, Kaunas, 11 September 2018). Since the direct route along the coast was considered too sandy for the Tallinn-Riga Highway the road went through Rūjiena, Latvia: Valdo Praust, *Eesti teede ja transpordi 100 aasta*t [100 years of Estonian Roads and Transport] (Tallinn: Post Factum, 2018) pp. 132, 135.

[32] Mart Kalm, *Rannalinn, seenrõdu ja viinakapp. Pärnu linnaarhitekt Olev Siinmaa / Beach town, mushroom balcony and vodka cabinet. Pärnu city architect Olev Siinmaa* (Tallinn: Eesti Arhitektuurimuuseum, Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2012) pp. 92–101.

[33] 1st prize, Herbert Johanson and Elmar Lohk; 2nd, August Volberg and Erika Volberg (Nõva); 3rd, Aleksandr Wladovsky. *Tehnika Ajakiri*, 1931, no. 2, p. 31.

[34] Giedrė Jankevičiutė, Vaidas Petrulis, ‘Military Prowess: The Lithuanian Officers’ Club,’ *Architecture of Optimism: The Kaunas Phenomenon, 1918–1940*, edited by Marija Drėmaitė (Vilnius: Lapas, 2018) pp. 114–127. On page 117, illustration no. 3 shows the design by the Estonians August Volberg and his sister Erika Nõva who came second, not the winning design as the title suggests. The text correctly mentions that Volberg and Nõvas’s design is preserved in the local archive and the photograph of it is in the Estonian Architecture Museum (EAM Fk 3348). There is no know image of the winning entry.

[35] Giedrė Jankevičiutė, Vaidas Petrulis, ‘Military Prowess...,’ p. 120. Kuressaare (Arensburg in German) in Saaremaa looked then much more Gothic than it does today because Hermann Seuberling, a Baltic German architect from Riga had reconstructed it in the early 20th century in a neo-gothic style. Soviet Estonian restorers removed the neo-gothic layers in 1970–1980.

[36] Mart Kalm, *Arhitekt Alar Kotli* (Tallinn: Kunst, 1994) pp. 93–132.

[37] Giedrė Jankevičiutė, Vaidas Petrulis, ‘An Unrealised Symbol of Statehood: The Hall of State Complex,’ *Architecture of Optimism: The Kaunas Phenomenon, 1918–1940*, edited by Marija Drėmaitė (Vilnius: Lapas, 2018) pp. 150–159. Latvians Nikolajs Bode and Nikolajs Voits were awarded one of the three equal prizes. According to the collection of Estonian architect Anton Soans in the Estonian Architecture Museum the photographs of the design and the explanatory letters that have survived confirm his involvement, but recently when the sealed envelopes were opened in Lithuania it became clear that the main designer was August Tauk, assisted by Anton Soans and Konstantin Bölau. This may reflect the hours invested in the competition entry and would have been important in distribution of the prize money, because Tauk has not won prizes in Estonian architecture competitions.

[38] Ilze Martinsone, pp. 561–562.

[39] Karin Hallas-Murula, Mart Kalm, Märt Karmo, *Eesti panga ajaloolised hooned / Historic Buildings of Eesti Pank* (Tallinn: Eesti Pank, 2004) pp. 81–82.

[40] Ilze Martinsone, pp. 478–479.

[41] Deniss Hanovs, Valdis Tēraudkalns, *Ultimate Freedom – No Choice. The Culture of Authoritarianism in Latvia, 1934–1940* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2013) pp. 190–202.

[42] Rein Zobel, Juhan Maiste, Mart Kalm, *Toompea castle* (Tallinn: Riigikogu kantselei, 2008) pp. 176–177.

[43] Karin Hallas-Murula, ’Konstantin Päts ja Tallinna väljaehitamine pealinnaks 1934–1940 / Konstantin Päts and Recasting of Tallinn as Representative Capital, 1934 to 1940,’ *Vana Tallinn 26* (30) (Tallinn: Linnaarhiiv, 2015) pp. 142–170, 284–286.

[44] Karīna Horsta, *Sanatoriju arhitektūra Latvijā 1918–1940 / Sanatorium Architecture in Latvia 1918–1940* (Rīga: Latvijas Māksla akadēmijas Mākslas vēstures institūts / Mākslas vēstures pētījumu atbalsta fonds, 2018) pp. 130–135, 238.

[45] Mart Kalm, ‘Pätsi ilusa Eesti ehitamine [Building Estonia the Beautiful under President Konstantin Päts]’. *Eesti kunsti ajalugu* [History of Estonian Art] V, 1900–1940, edited by Mart Kalm (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, Sihtasutus Kultuurileht, 2010) pp. 369–389 (p. 388).

[46] August Volberg, ‘15 aastat ehitustegevust [15 Years of Building Activity],’ *Eesti arkitektide almanak* [The Almanac of Estonian Architects], edited by Edgar Kuusik, Konstantin Bölau and Alar Kotli (Tallinn: Eesti Arkitektide Ühingu Kirjastus, 1934) pp. XI–XV (p. XIII).

Session I

National Modernisms

The search for national identity and its various expressions affected the art and culture of countries founded after World War I. Nationalist discourse was instrumental in identifying the particularities of modernist architecture in different regions or states, and provides a lens through which to analyse neo-traditionalist deviations and to question their symbolic and architectural meanings. This session welcomes discussions on the influence nationalism had on interwar modernism, and on the links between modernism and neo-traditionalism in the architecture of specific countries, focusing on the architectural heritage of Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, which has received less attention in the architectural discourse of the first half of the 20th century.

Giedrė Jankevičiūtė

Matthew Rampley

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Vendula Hnídková

Serena De Dominicis

Temples of Modernity? Avant-Garde Church Architecture Between the Wars[1]

Matthew Rampley

Introduction

In the summer of 1933, building work began on the Resurrection Church (Figure 1) in the Kaunas suburb of Žaliakalnis. Designed by Karolis Reisonas (1894–1981), a Latvian architect who had settled in Lithuania in the early 1920s, it was meant to symbolise the rebirth of independent Lithuania in 1918, more than a century after it disappeared from the map in the partitions of the late 18th century.[2] Built on an imposing scale – its spire is some 70 metres tall and the main nave can accommodate up to 5,000 worshippers – and set on a hilltop just off the city centre, the church dominates the Kaunas skyline. It is also a prominent example of the modernist architecture of interwar Kaunas for which the city is now justly celebrated. The fact that it was not completed and consecrated until 2004 – indeed it was converted into a factory under the Soviet regime – underlines its role as a powerful symbol of the interrupted history of the Lithuanian state.

These aspects of its history are well known and hardly require further commentary. What has been less discussed, however, is its role as a *church*. For the fact that a church was chosen as a visual emblem of the new state is indicative of the importance of religion, in particular, Roman Catholicism, in the construction of Lithuanian national identity. In the decades following independence, the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party, founded in 1917, was a completely dominant force in national politics, even playing a part in the anti-democratic coup d'état that brought the nationalist authoritarian regime of Antanas Smetona to power in 1926. It was no coincidence, therefore, that the idea of political rebirth should be expressed in the form of a church, since the idea of a Christian Lithuania was important for the project of nation building. Yet the church poses numerous questions. On the one hand, it was meant to symbolise continuity with the past and the triumph of the Lithuanian people over the vicissitudes of history. On the other, it was an embodiment of modernity. Reisonas's original proposal was a Neo-Gothic spiral tower (Figure 2) which, it has been suggested, may have been informed by the Gothic revivalism of the Votivkirche in Vienna but, following a campaign in favour of a more contemporary proposal, it was eventually replaced by the geometric design that now stands on the hill.

The church thus combines two contradictory impulses: on the one hand, a drive for modernity and the idea of renewal and, on the other, a reverential attitude to tradition. This is, moreover, not the only way in which the church embodies seemingly opposed values. In its current state the church presents the smooth white plastered walls of a modernist purism that easily lends itself to a sense of the spiritual, and this was how it was envisaged. Yet this is a very recent addition; for much of its history, the church was an unfinished brick construction and as such, it invited comparisons with factory architecture. The church as a representation of spiritual transcendence thus took the form of a building that seemingly foregrounded the mundane and the material conditions of industrial production. It is thus perhaps no surprise that Soviet occupation led to its conversion into a radio factory; it invited such repurposing.

Such considerations may shape how we interpret this particular structure, but they have wider ramifications beyond Kaunas and Lithuania, and it is these that form the focus of this essay. For the Resurrection Church points towards wider issues to do with the status of churches as exemplars of interwar modernist architecture. These relate not only to the meanings that could be attached to functionalism as a design language but also to its role as an expression of religious faith, to the significance this may have for understanding the politics of modernism, and to modernist architecture as an instrument of the state. The discussion focuses on central and eastern Europe, where the creation of new states prompted particular reflection on these questions as part of the process of state formation and elaboration of new identities. It highlights the specific case of Czechoslovakia, where the ambiguities and ambivalences generated by debate over the relationship between the church, state identity and modernism were especially notable.

Modernity and the Christian State

In Lithuania Catholicism became an important component of national ideology in the interwar period, but it was not unusual in this respect in central and eastern Europe. The most obvious comparison to make is with Poland, with which its history was so intertwined. In the period up to the mid-1930s the Catholic Church avoided direct intervention into state politics, but the post-war Constitution of the Polish Republic gave it a privileged position and, throughout the 1920s and 1930s, prominent right-wing commentators sought a programme of moral reform that was distinctly coloured by the social and cultural values of the Church, imagining the Church as defining all aspects of private and public life.[3] Marshal Piłsudski's dictatorship – the so-called *sanacja* – was founded on a secular attitude that kept the Church at bay, but its socially conservative vision was easily assimilable to Catholic teaching and after his death in 1935 the Church became much more assertive, intervening in political life in a much more overt manner and becoming central to definitions of Polish national identity.[4]

Poland was not the only nation where the relationship between church and state became a defining political issue between the wars. In Hungary the idea of the Christian state became a declared state ideology after 1919, when Admiral Horthy became regent. In contrast to Lithuania and Poland, this was not exclusively aligned with Catholicism, for reasons to do with the complex confessional and linguistic composition of Hungary: the Catholic Church included Germans and Slovaks amongst its congregation and therefore could not claim to be the focus of a specifically Hungarian national identity while it was the minority Lutheran and Calvinist churches that *could* lay claim to this status, since the overwhelming majority of their members were ethnic Hungarians. The result was therefore a vaguely defined Christian Hungary that was ultimately identified less by its allegiance to particular doctrinal beliefs and more by what it was opposed to: putative Jewish influence in public life.[5] One might also mention Austria in this context. Traumatized by dismemberment and loss of status after World War I, the Austrian Republic, famously referred to as 'a state that no one wanted', struggled to put behind it the legacy of the Habsburg Empire.[6] Above all this meant that the Catholic Church continued to play a dominant role in politics, culminating in the 1934 coup, when Catholic conservatives colluded in the suspension of democratic government and the installation of a clerical authoritarian state under the leadership, first, of Engelbert Dollfuss and then Kurt Schussnigg.

Such political ideologies shaped building and architectural projects between the wars. Interwar Austria, for example, is best known for the communal housing programmes overseen by the Social Democratic city council of Vienna, summarized under the term 'Red Vienna'.[7] Alongside projects such as the Karl-Marx-Hof and the Werkbund estate, however, many building projects were much closer aligned to the conservative politics of the state.[8] Perhaps the best-known example is the theatre built by Clemens Holzmeister for the Salzburg Festival in 1926 and then rebuilt in 1936. As Michael Steinberg has argued, the Festival, first organised in 1920, became a centrepiece for the staging of a new sacralised conception of the state, founded on the notion of Salzburg as the locus of southern German Catholicism and a valorisation of pious provincial life as the true basis of Austrian identity.[9] Holzmeister was also active as the designer of a significant number of churches in the 1920s and 1930s, such as the Church of Christ the Redeemer, in Wiener Neustadt (1931–32) (Figure 3) and the memorial Church of St. Mary the Helper in Bregenz (1925–31), or the reconstructed Church of St. Erhard in the Vienna suburb of Mauer (1934–36). It would be inaccurate to talk of a systemic connection between architectural aesthetics and state politics – as Friedrich Achleitner has argued, there was no 'austro-fascist architecture' – but the socio-political tenor of the times undoubtedly contributed to the fact that many of these buildings were conservative in conception and design, showing few references to the architectural experiments of pioneers such as Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius, preferring, instead, historical references or the inclusion of provincial, *völkisch*, motifs.[10] Indeed, even the communal housing in Vienna, for all the socialist municipal vision that lay behind it, often had little to do with the utopian projects of the Werkbund estates in Germany; as the Austrian architect Josef Frank acerbically stated, they had more in common with the urban palaces of the Habsburg era, a characteristic for which he coined the term 'Volkswohnpalast' (Palace of the people).[11]

In Hungary, too, there was considerable resistance to modernist architectural innovations. One crucial historical reason was that leading representatives of the avant-garde, such as Laszlo Moholy-Nagy and Marcel Breuer, had fled abroad after Horthy's assumption of power in 1919. But there were also ideological grounds. The flurry of new churches built in the interwar period, for example, consciously avoided the language of international modernism in favour of a more historically oriented and introverted approach to design. István Medgyaszay's Church of St. Imre in Balatonalmádi (1930) (Figure 4), a faux-medieval structure, harked back to the national romanticism of the turn of the century, as did the Catholic church in Győr built by Aladár and Bertalan Árkay the previous year. Perhaps the most imposing demonstration of this is to be found in the neo-romanesque cathedral in Szeged (Figure 5), which was completed in 1930. Designed by Frigyes Schulek (1841–1919), work started in 1913, but was interrupted by the war and the political chaos of the immediate post-war years, and then delayed by the economic privations of the early 1920s. This might be seen as a relic of pre-war Hungary, but in 1927 a competition was announced for proposals for development of the land around the cathedral, and the winning submission by Béla Rerrich envisaged a colonnaded piazza that emphasised the Italianate and historic associations of the church and cemented the role of the Catholic Church as a defining feature of the urban identity of Szeged.[12] In this context it is perhaps not coincidental that it was from Szeged that Marshall Horthy started on his march towards Budapest and the seizure of power in 1919. A parallel phenomenon can be observed with respect to secular building projects; the main building of Debrecen University, for instance, was built in 1932 as a neo-baroque palace (albeit in a pared-down geometrizing idiom), in what has come to be regarded as a prime example of interwar Hungarian neo-baroque. This was motivated by a reading of history on the part of influential Catholic ideologues such as Gyula Szekfű, who, in his widely read book *Three Generations*, had critiqued the secular liberal heritage of the 19th century as an unwelcome interruption in Hungarian history, in which the Catholic Church had been the guarantor of continuity.[13]

Writing About Modern Architecture

A common thread tying these states together is the correlation between state promotion of Christianity – and more usually the Catholic Church – as an integral element of national cultural identity and, on the other, a prevalence of historicist and nostalgic architectural idioms. Some of these were sponsored and commissioned by the state, others by municipalities and other organisations, including various churches. Yet whatever organisation was responsible, a recurrent feature was a lack of interest or deliberate distancing from the functionalism that was rapidly becoming a defining feature of new architecture elsewhere in Europe. There were occasional exceptions, such as Farkas Molnár (1897–1945), whose constructivist designs were the product of the years studying and working at the Bauhaus and in Walter Gropius's studio in the 1920s. Yet when he returned to Hungary in 1933, he was limited to undertaking private commissions to build houses for wealthy clients in Budapest.

In many respects this situation is not unusual, since it conforms to well-established narratives about modern architecture. In the wake of works such as Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, first published in the 1930s, it has been an axiom of the history of the modern movement that it was linked to a growing emphasis on rationalism, functionalism and positivism, linked to a broadly leftist political vision that sought to make architectural design an instrument for a more egalitarian society.[14] This clearly stood at odds with the conservative cultural politics espoused in most of the new states of central and eastern Europe. On the one hand, therefore, this narrative sees modern architecture of the interwar period as a continuation and radicalisation of innovations already initiated before the war; despite the internal doctrinal disputes over how to respond to the challenges of industrialisation and capitalism – or indeed what those challenges even

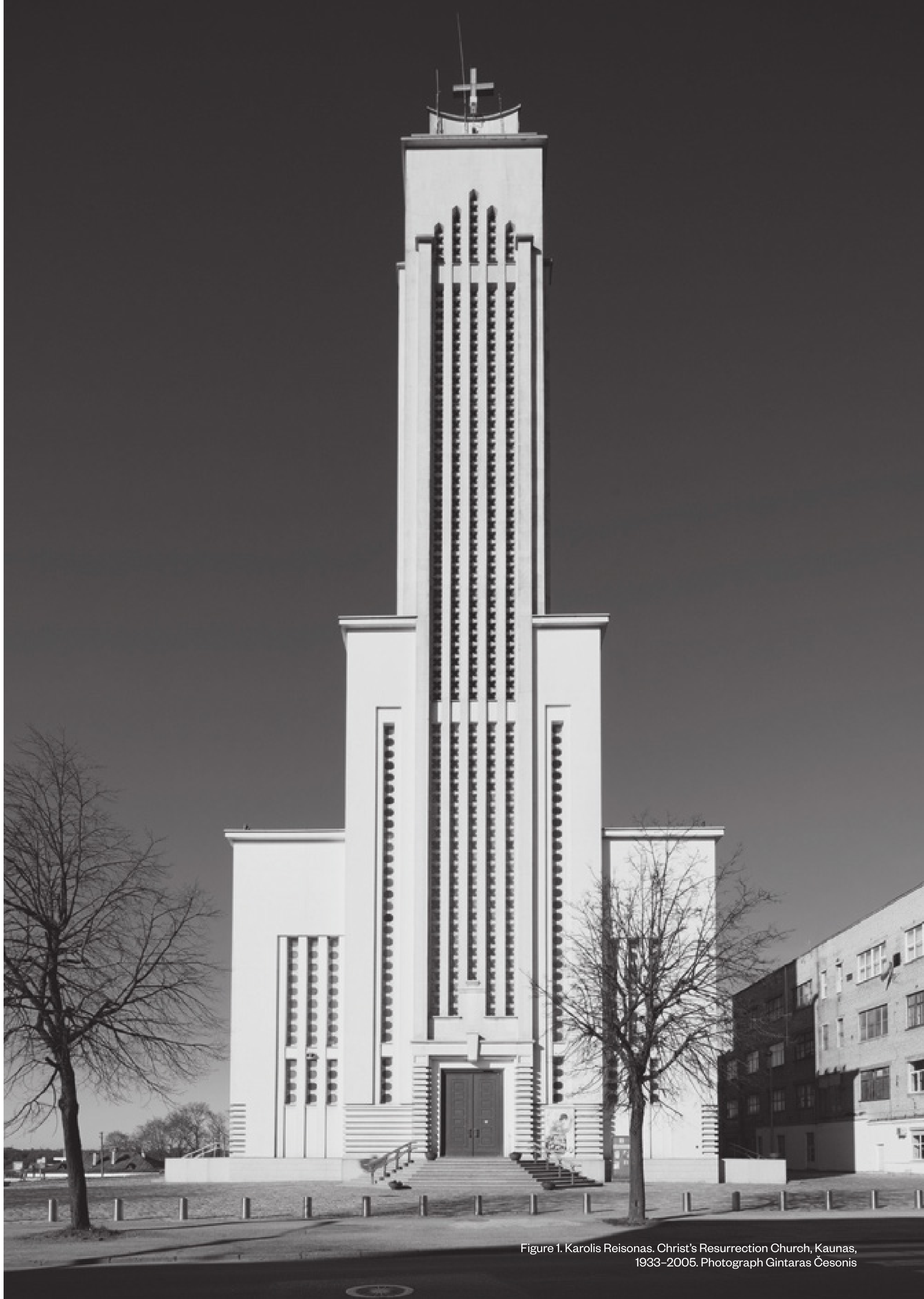

Figure 1. Karolis Reisonas. Christ's Resurrection Church, Kaunas, 1933–2005. Photograph Gintaras Česonis

were – a common thread led to the valorisation of technology and the potential of new modes of production, coupled with utopian notions of urban planning and social organization. Accordingly, states, organisations and individuals not subscribing to the utopian visions of the avant-garde were thus naturally suspicious of its practices and displayed a preference for architecture that preserved some sense of tradition and history. This narrative became a central part of modernist design discourse in the 1920s and some version of it was articulated by most of the leading architects and architectural theorists active in the 1920s.[15] As the Prague-based critic Karel Teige stated:

> Overcoming the architectural decadence of the last century is possible only through the correct understanding of modern life and of the conditions of production, the economy and society. As a result, historicism has inevitably been abandoned. What is required are new forms, forms that correspond to our vital needs. Great social transformations always give birth to new needs.[16]

Even though Teige's dismissive attitude towards historicism has been replaced by a more nuanced and sympathetic understanding of late 19th-century architecture, one or other version of this account has long persisted as the orthodox and accepted basis for the theory and history of the international modern movement.[17] Embedded in this approach, too, are certain implicit assumptions about the nature of modernity as a teleological process, a kind of technological and economic determinism that saw the past being swept away and new social formations – the capitalist metropolis – as *demanding* new architectural forms. Within this vision there could be no place for continued adherence to superseded belief systems, including Christianity, which can only appear in the drama of modernisation as efforts to bring history to a standstill. Indeed, this is touched on in Teige's materialistic theory of constructivism (his metonymic term for the avant-garde in general), which he intentionally reduces to mere social function and utility:

> The idealist aesthetic perceives architecture as a decorative art and its individual decorative periods and styles as symbolic, determined by the ideological or religious character of each era. The constructivist aesthetic, having shed the superstition of an 'art' existing a priori, does not explicate architecture as a symbol but as a craft activity serving concrete tasks, an activity moreover that is experiencing a revolution in our era and becoming science, technology, industry. The Gothic cathedral is more of a construction record than an expression of religious fervour.[18]

The year after Teige wrote these words Josef Frank published *Architecture as Symbol*, a critique of functionalism that argued the opposite – that architecture was always already a symbolic practice.[19] The German Marxist critic and philosopher Ernst Bloch, too, was critical of the semantic impoverishment of functionalism, but these were in many respects marginal voices.[20]

I have cited Teige, for he is of particular interest not only because of his pertinence for the discussion of Czechoslovakia, but also because he formulated a position that would find echoes as late as the 1970s. In 1925 he published an article on 'Constructivism and the Liquidation of "Art"' in which he argued for the priority of function over aesthetics. In an inversion of idealist aesthetics, he asserted that beauty is a product of function: 'whenever a specific task or problem if resolved in the most economical, exact, and complete way, we achieve, without any extraneous aesthetic considerations, the purest modern beauty.'[21] This uncompromising assertion is an illustration of what Peter Zusi has suggested was Teige's aim of destroying the aura of architecture.[22] As such, Zusi suggests, Teige had much in common with Walter Benjamin's theory of avant-garde, even though it is not likely he was directly acquainted with the latter's work. The aura of art, Benjamin argued, was in part due to the historical associations of artworks, their rootedness in time and the authority of pastness but, above all, it lay in the origins of art in cult. The aesthetic cult of art was, he argued, an echo of religious worship.[23] This was perhaps a commonplace in much art theory of the time, but it underpinned a strong binary divide in Benjamin and, by extension, Teige, between the idea of a secular avant-garde and a notion of tradition beholden to aesthetics, understood as an expression of religious aura. The idea of the liquidation of aura was taken up again in the 1970s by the Neo-Marxist theorist Manfredo Tafuri, who equated the 'death of history' in the modern movement with the destruction of aura and the sublation of architecture into the materiality of urban space.[24]

This conception had important consequences. It underlay an unease in much writing on modernism with ecclesiastical architecture. The idea of avant-garde church architecture seems to be a contradiction in terms, and one frequent solution in many histories of modernism has been to pass it by either hurriedly, in silence, or, as in the case of Teige, in mostly negative and critical terms. A case in point are his brief comments about Jože Plečnik. Before World War I, Plečnik had enjoyed a successful career in Vienna as a student and designer in the studio of Otto Wagner. In 1911 he

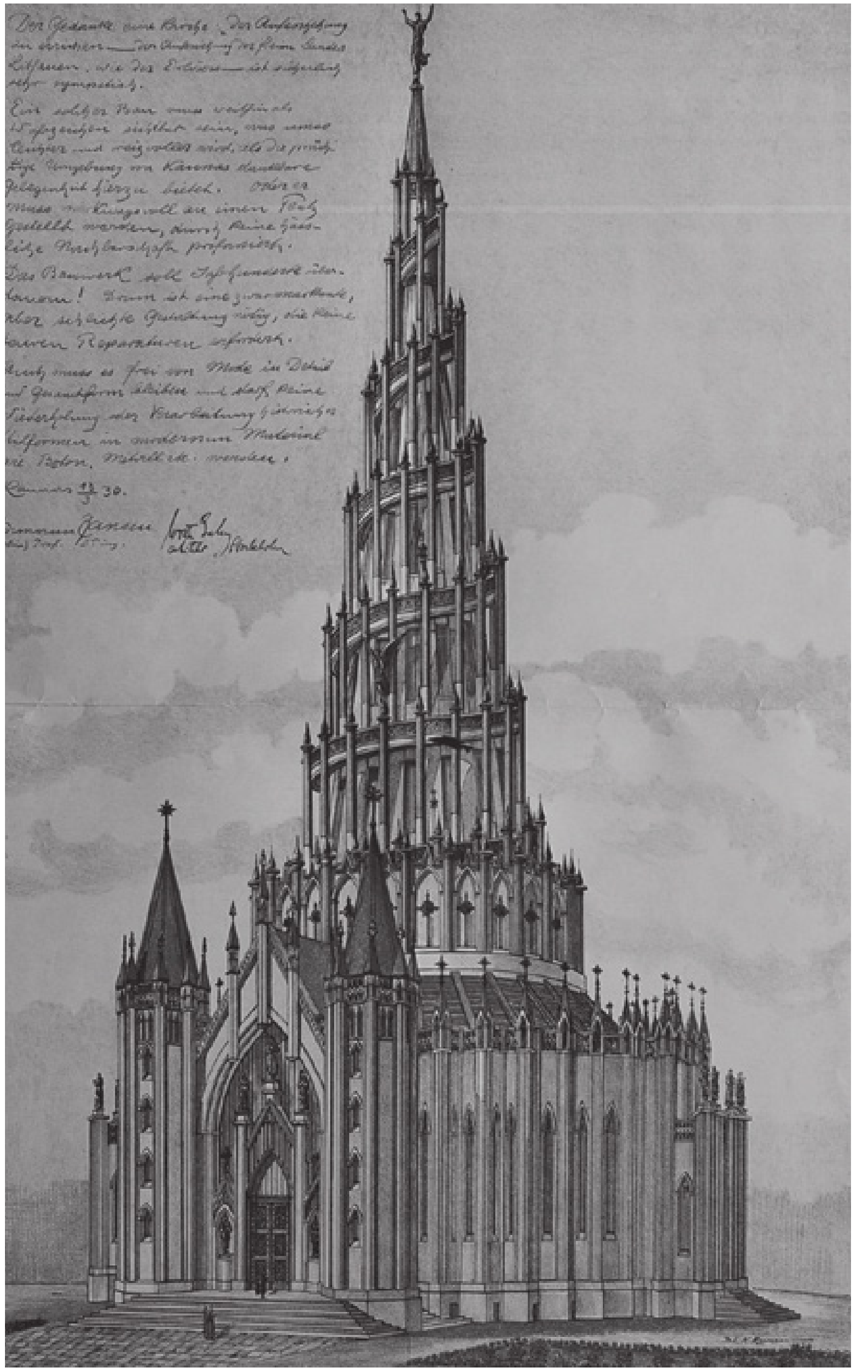

Figure 2. Karolis Reisonas. First design for Christ's Resurrection Church, Kaunas, 1928. From collection of V. Petrulis.

moved to Prague, and he stayed there after the end of the war where he became noted for his work on renovating and reworking the castle for the new president Tomáš Masaryk, but perhaps his most prominent work in the city is the Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart (Figure 6) of our Lord (1929–32) in the suburb of Vinohrady. This church, with its striking amalgam of classical motifs and oversized clock-face on the bell tower, was an example of his project ‘to forge a new architectural language, one that expressed modernity without abandoning history.’[25] This was also intimately linked to his personal piety as a Roman Catholic. Teige did not write specifically comment on this church, but he did write dismissively about Plečnik in general. Noting that its ‘rather sacral and remote character renders Plečnik’s work outdated,’ he concluded that ‘Plečnik’s significance as an architect and his influence as a teacher, however, have been basically negative and counter to the new healthy tendencies of today’s architecture.’[26] This judgement is completely in keeping with the logic of his overall theory of ‘constructivism’ centred on the idea of the liquidation of aura.

Liberal Democracy, the Avant-Garde and the Sacralized State: The Case of Czechoslovakia

The work of Plečnik has always been noted for standing apart from that of many of his contemporaries, not least given his commitment to his Catholic faith. One might not concur with Slavoj Žižek’s contention that his architecture was a precursor to the fascism of the 1930s, yet, clearly, he was an idiosyncratic figure.[27] Nevertheless, the opposition between the avant-garde and spiritualism suggested by Teige and others is not so straightforward, above all in Teige’s homeland.

A central part of the myth of Czechoslovakia is that it alone, among the new states of central and eastern Europe that emerged out of the wreckage of the old Empires, remained a liberal democracy. Whereas the Baltic states, Poland, Austria, Hungary and Romania all turned into authoritarian dictatorships by the mid-1930s, Czechoslovakia maintained the values of progressive secular pluralistic politics. The central figure in this story was, of course, its first president and effective founder, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the former philosophy professor who provided the new Republic with its legitimizing narrative of identity. Yet in certain respects this account of Masaryk the liberal is one-sided. An indication of this can be found in the memoirs he published in collaboration with the modernist writer Karel Čapek.[28] The *Conversations* played an important role in helping create the myth of Masaryk, but it is notable how frequently he refers to the importance of his own personal faith as well as to the church in public life. This aspect of his thinking has tended to be overlooked, since it does not fit well into the image of Masaryk the liberal philosopher-king; indeed, the English edition of his *Conversations* mostly omits the extensive passages where he discusses faith and the church.[29] Yet if we take his pronouncements seriously, a case can be made for a more general nuanced understanding of cultural politics in interwar Czechoslovakia, in which a longing for the sacred was an important element.[30] Masaryk longed for a re-enchanted modernity, not, in contrast to Plečnik, by boosting the fortunes of the Catholic Church but, rather, through a humanistic religiosity. Masaryk would later say: ‘I saw in politics an instrument. The aim for me was religious and moral. Still, today, I do not say that the state will be the fulfilment of a cultural mission. Instead, we must work toward the building of the City of God.’[31] The medieval reformer Jan Hus, an iconic symbol of Czech national identity, figured prominently in this vision, and this lay behind Masaryk’s support for the creation of the national Czechoslovak Hussite Church in 1920, but so did the Renaissance scholar and reformer Jan Komenský, indicating a sympathy on the part of Masaryk for the Reformation and Humanist notions of science and learning.

One of the most visible expressions of this project was Masaryk’s decision to commission Plečnik to rebuild Prague Castle as an emblem of this newly sacralized state. Yet the convergence of faith and national identity was also evident in the renewed effort to complete construction of the incomplete medieval St. Vitus Cathedral, which had been undertaken sporadically since the 1870s, but was concluded in 1929. This was not merely the work of pious and backward-looking conservatives, however, but involved some of the major figures in the Czech art world, for St. Vitus served as a symbol of the new state and of continuity with the past. Moreover, the completion of the Cathedral was part of a much more widespread process; population growth in the major cities and towns and the development of new suburbs as well as the expansion of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church led to the construction of a considerable number of new churches.

Plečnik was representative of a conservative segment of the population, and Catholicism became an increasingly assertive political force during the 1920s. Yet it is a notable feature of the church building activities that many of the leading architects associated with the Czechoslovak avant-garde were involved. This may be explicable in relation to the Hussite Church; with its anti-clerical attitude and role as a symbol of the purportedly

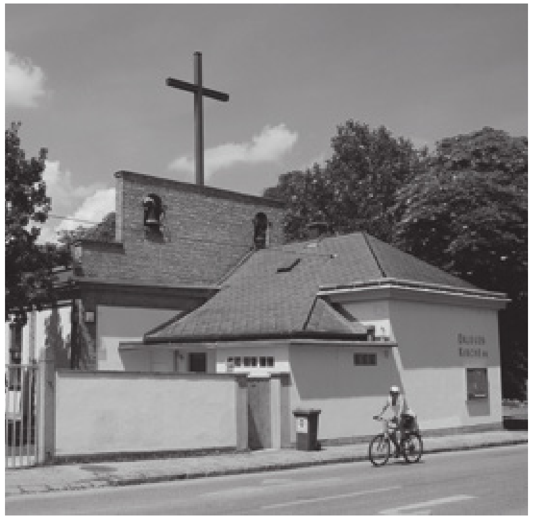
Figure 3. Clemens Holzmeister. Church of Christ the Redeemer, Wiener Neustadt, 1930. Photograph Wolfgang Glock.

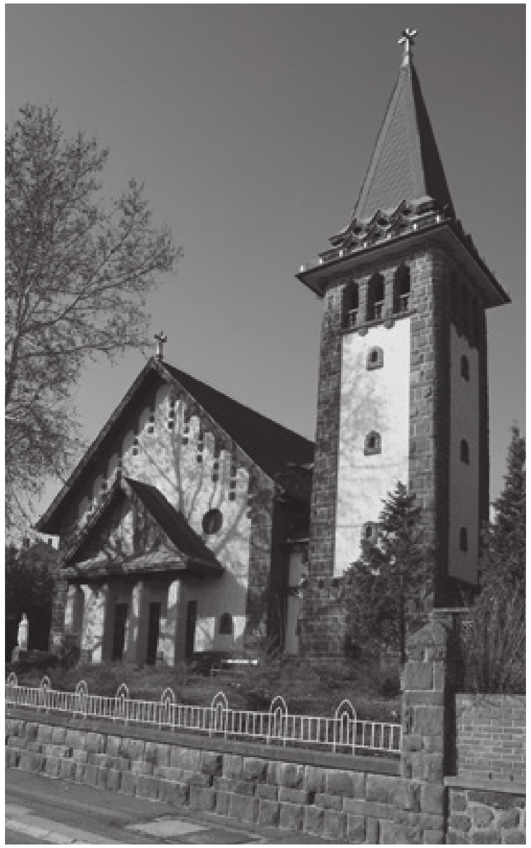
Figure 4. István Medgyaszay. Church of St. Imre in Balatonalmádi, 1930. Photograph Szilas.

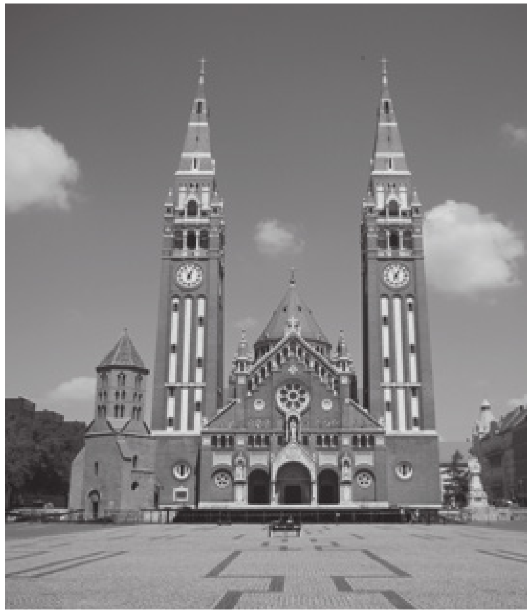
Figure 5. Frigyes Schulek. Votive Church and Cathedral of Our Lady, Szeged, 1913–30. Photograph Zairon.

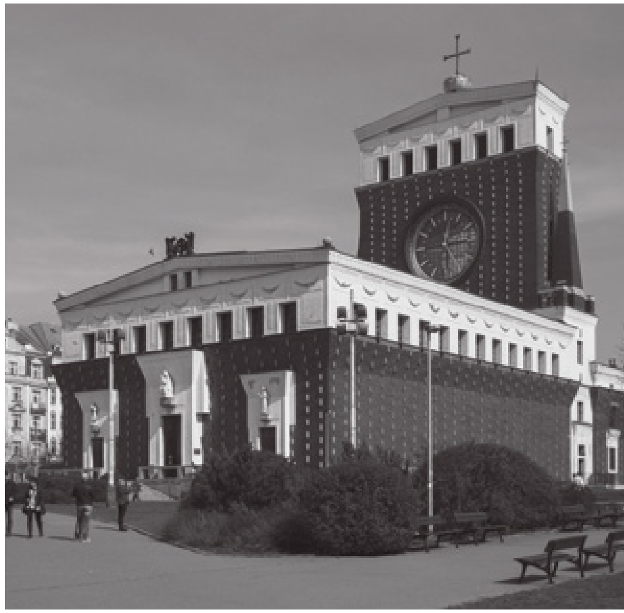
Figure 6. Jože Plečnik. Church of the Sacred Heart of our Lord, Vinohrady, Prague, 1929–32. Photograph Ferenc Somorjai.

progressive, liberal and humanist identity of the new Republic, the Church could with some justification claim to be helping relegate the strictures of Catholic dogma and the legacy of Habsburg *pietas austriaca* to the dustbin of history. The embrace of architectural modernism was thus logical given the Church's view of itself as an agent of modernization. However, the Catholic Church was also a significant actor in the commissioning and building of new churches by avant-garde architects.

This phenomenon can be observed in connection with Josef Gočár, one of the leading exponents of Cubist architecture before the War and of the so-called 'National style' (or 'Rondo-cubism') in the early 1920s but who had, by the mid-1920s, adopted the language of functionalism. Gočár had none of the religious commitments of Plečnik, but he was nevertheless chosen to design the Church of St. Wenceslas (Figure 7), built in 1929 in the Prague suburb of Vršovice as part of the millennial commemoration of the death of Duke Wenceslas. The design breaks with convention in numerous ways; from the front, the main body of the church is hardly visible, hidden by the oversized porch and the soaring tower. And yet the apparent triumph of technology evident in both the constructivist aesthetic of its geometrical forms as well as the apparent conquest of technology conveys a profoundly metaphysical and spiritual concern, for everything about the church connotes ascension – implying not only the resurrection of the spirit of St. Wenceslas (the legend on the front states: Svatý Václav nedej zahynouti nám ni budoucím – St. Wenceslas, do not let us perish nor those to come) but also the ascent of the individual believer to communion with God. The church was built on a steep plot of land, but the practical limitations imposed by the location were converted into a religious symbol. St. Wenceslas was, of course, a national symbol for secular as well as for pious Czechs, but Gočár's design is remarkable for its sensitivity to the dimensions of religious life and for its attempt to turn the language of functionalism into an allegory of spiritualism.

This example, and there are numerous others, stands clearly opposed Teige's formulation of the avant-garde as pure functionalism but, equally, it cannot be treated as merely the design of a reactionary. Indeed, it indicates the ease with which the language of functionalism in architecture lent itself to completely different kinds of interpretations. Writing in the 1970s, Manfredo Tafuri was critical of the fact that the avant-garde had become appropriated by capitalism, but here the point is that it could equally become a vehicle for an 'auratic' architecture.[32] Yet the issue here is not one of appropriation, as in Tafuri's Marxist critique, but merely of the extent to which architects with a leftist and secular political orientation collaborated with and worked for churches of all denominations. We might explain this as responding to the exigencies of professional life: a commission is a commission, but it nevertheless interferes with our image of the architectural profession of this period, one in which Plečnik has been seen as an outlier due to his overt piety. It poses particular challenges in the case of Czechoslovakia (in contrast to, for example, Lithuania, Hungary or Austria) since the myth of state identity was so wedded to a vision that marginalised religiosity in public life as an unwanted relic of the Habsburg *ancient regime*. The awkwardness of the questions it poses is evident in the fact that, as with general histories of modernist architecture, the major works on the history of modernism in Czechoslovakia make minimal mention of it. Church architecture was absent, too, in the provocative exhibition on interwar architecture and design: *The Building of the State* staged in the Prague National Gallery in 2015–16, which, when discussing the 'Temple of the Nation' is in fact referring to the National Liberation monument built on Vitkov Hill in Prague.[33]

Conclusion

This discussion has pointed towards some of the complex issues raised by consideration of the place of architectural practice in the cultural politics of the states of central and eastern Europe between the wars. The orthodox account of states such as Austria, Hungary, Poland and Lithuania is that as they shifted, politically, ever more to the right and, in particular, as state politics became increasingly entangled in issues of religious confession, this entailed a hostility to the tenets of modernism, with visible consequences when examining the architectural environment. I have suggested, however, that this narrative, which relies on a straightforward binary opposition between avant-garde and tradition, secularism and religiosity, runs the risk of simplification, not only of the cultural politics of the states in question, but also of the history of architecture between the wars. The example of Czechoslovakia makes especially apparent the contradictions and ambiguities that in fact attended interwar architectural culture, as an apparently liberal democracy whose leader nevertheless espoused the importance of public religion, and one in which prominent examples of modernist design were churches designed by figures designated as 'avant-garde' architects. It thereby highlights the complexity of the terrain of architectural modernism, involving issues which have tended to be passed over for systemic reasons to do with the way the logic of that history has been conceived.

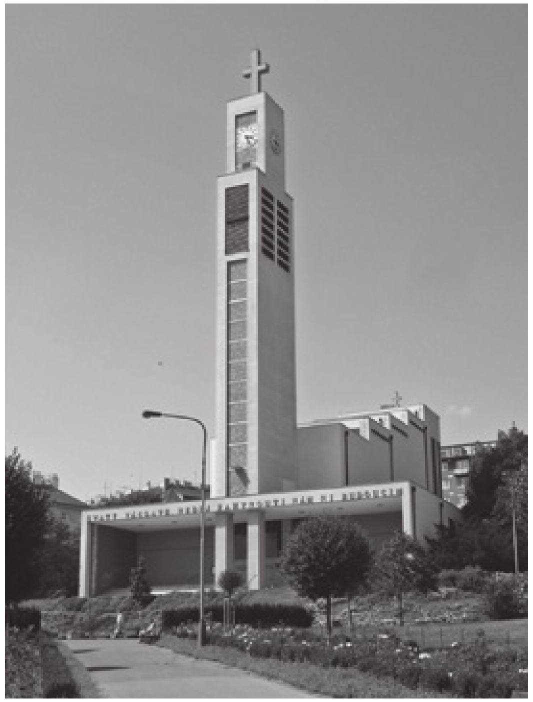

Figure 7. Josef Gočár. The Church of St. Wenceslas, Prague, 1929–30. Photograph Petr Vilgas.

Endnotes

[1] This article has been supported by the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme under ERC-2017-ADG Grant Agreement No. 786314.

[2] For an outline history of the church see Giedrė Jankevičiūtė and Vaidas Petrulis, 'The Nation's Shrine: Resurrection Church,' *Architecture of Optimism: The Kaunas Phenomenon, 1918–1940*, edited by Marija Drėmaitė (Vilnius, 2018) pp. 102–13.

[3] Eva Plach, *The Clash of Moral Nations: Cultural Politics in Piłsudski's Poland, 1926–35* (Athens, OH, 2006).

[4] Edward Wynot, 'The Catholic Church and the Polish State, 1935–39,' *Journal of Church and State* 15.2 (1973) pp. 223–40.

[5] See Paul Hanebrink, *In Defense of Christian Hungary: Religion, Nationalism and Antisemitism, 1890–1944* (Ithaca, 2006).

[6] The phrase was coined by Hellmut Andic as the title of his book *Der Staat den keiner wollte: Österreich 1918–1938* (Vienna, 1962). On the question of Austrian see Lonnie R. Johnson, 'Europe: Austria,' *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview. Volume 2 (1880–1945),* edited by Guntram Herb (Santa Barbara, 2008) pp. 540–54.

[7] Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919–1934* (Cambridge, MA, 2018).

[8] Andreas Nierhaus and Eva-Marie Orosz, eds., *Werkbundsiedlung Wien 1932: ein Manifest des neuen Wohnens* (Salzburg, 2012).

[9] Michael Steinberg, *Austria as Theater and Ideology: The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival, 2nd edition* (Ithaca, 2000).

[10] Friedrich Achleitner, 'Gibt es eine austrofaschistische Architektur?' in Achleitner, *Wiener Architektur: Zwischen typologischem Fatalismus und semantischem Schlamassel* (Vienna, 1996) pp. 93–98.

[11] Josef Frank, 'Der Volkswohnpalast. Eine Rede anläßlich der Grundsteinlegung, die nicht gehalten wurde' (1926) in Frank, *Schriften: in zwei Bänden, edited by C. Long* (Vienna, 2012) vol. 1, pp. 254–67.

[12] See József Sisa and Dóra Wiebenson, *The Architecture of Historic Hungary* (Cambridge, MA, 1998) pp. 248–49.

[13] Gyula Szekfű, *Három nemzedek: egy hanyatló kor története* [Three generations: the history of a decaying era] (Budapest, 1920).

[14] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London, 1936).

[15] Classic texts include Le Corbusier, *Towards an Architecture* (1923) translated by John Goodman (Los Angeles, 2007); Adolf Behne, *Der modern Zweckbau* (Berlin and Vienna, 1926); Walter Curt Behrendt, *The Victory of the New Building Style* (1927) translated by Harry F. Mallgrave (Los Angeles, 2000); Bruno Taut, *Modern Architecture* (London, 1929).

[16] Karel Teige, 'Toward a New Architecture: Marginal Notes on Le Corbusier-Saugnier's *Vers une architecture*' (1923) in *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings*, translated by Irena Žantovská Murray and David Britt (Los Angeles, 2000) p. 311–12.

[17] See, for example, Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London, 1992); William Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (London, 1996); Werner Oechslin, *Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos and the Path to Modern Architecture*, translated by Lynnette Widder (Cambridge, 2002); Alan Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture* (Oxford, 2002). This image was also canonized in anthologies of architectural writings, such as Programs and *Manifestoes on 20th-century Architecture*, edited by Ulrich Conrad (London, 1970).

[18] Karel Teige, 'Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia' (1930) in *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings*, translated by Irena Žantovská Murray and David Britt (Los Angeles, 2000) p. 289.

[19] Josef Frank, *Architektur als Symbol: Elemente neuen deutschen Bauens* (Vienna, 1931).

[20] On Bloch see Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge, MA, 1999) pp. 118–27 and Matthew Rampley, '"We Have Suddenly Become Severe." Ernst Bloch as a Critic of Modern Architecture,' *Nowhere Somewhere: Writing, Space and the Construction of Utopia*, edited by José Eduardo Reis and Jorge Bastos da Silva (Porto, 2006) pp. 171–80.

[21] Karel Teige, 'Constructivism and the Liquidation of "Art"' (1925) in *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings*, p. 338.

[22] Peter Zusi, 'Vanishing Points: Walter Benjamin and Karel Teige on the Liquidation of Aura,' *The Modern Language Review* 108.2 (2013) pp. 368–95.

[23] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility: Second Version' (1936) translated by Edmund Jephcott and Harry Zohn, in Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) pp. 19–55.

[24] Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*, translated by G. Verrecchia (London, 1980) p. 64. See, too, Esra Akcan, 'Manfredo Tafuri's Theory of the Architectural Avant-Garde,' *The Journal of Architecture* 7.2 (2002) pp. 135–70.

[25] Christopher Long, 'Jože Plečnik in Vienna and Prague, 1900–1921: The Search for Architectural and Cultural Identity,' *Slovene Studies* 18.2 (1996) p. 171.

[26] Teige, *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings*, p. 99 and 112.

[27] Žižek has argued that 'In the second half of the 1930s, the Plečnikesque is understood as a point of reference against functionalist modernism, against reinforced-concrete, utilitarian, functionalist architecture, and as a basis for some kind of national foundation, an organic unity, and simultaneously – this is interesting – for an elite, aristocratic, and pan-national art against the spiritless, liberal, reinforced-concrete modernism. I am not speaking nonsense. I am not saying Plečnik is a fascist. I am only saying that there are, with Plečnik, all the roots of a discourse that fascism appropriates without a problem.' Slavoj Žižek and Andrew Herscher, 'Everything Provokes Fascism: Plečnik avec Laibach,' *Assemblage* 33 (1997) p. 62.

[28] Karel Čapek, *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem* [Conversations with T.G. Masaryk] (1928–35) (Prague, 1990).

[29] Karel Čapek, *Talks with T.G. Masaryk*, translated by Dora Round (North Haven, CT, 1996).

[30] Bruce Berglund, *Castle and Cathedral in Modern Prague: Longing for the Sacred in a Skeptical Age* (Budapest, 2016).

[31] Masaryk, cited in Čapek, *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem*, p. 517.

[32] Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, translated by Barbara Luigi La Penta (Cambridge, MA, 1976).

[33] Milena Bartlová, editor, *Budování státu: reprezentace Československa v umění, architektuře a designu* (Prague, 2015).

The Palace of Health: The Influence of Manorial Architecture on Modernist Sanatoriums in Latvia, 1918–1940

Karīna Horsta

This article presents one segment of research results from the author's monograph *Sanatorium Architecture in Latvia: 1918–1940*.[1] This interdisciplinary study is an analytical survey of sanatoriums built and arranged in the Republic of Latvia during the interwar period, broadening the view of healthcare architecture at that time and describing the link between healthcare and architecture. The first part of the article conveys the characteristics of the sanatorium building type, while the second briefly describes sanatorium buildings in Latvia, and the third, their connection to manorial architecture.

Sanatoriums were largely meant to treat tuberculosis and sometimes other chronic illnesses. World War I, with its malnutrition, humble living conditions and shortage of medical care, left a legacy of contagious diseases, especially tuberculosis, all across Europe. These circumstances initiated a boom of sanatorium construction in the interwar period. Unified building types and principles of sanatorium layout and arrangement in line with then-current methods of treatment were established. However, architectonic solutions could be very different: alongside modernist buildings there were retrospective tendencies too.

The location of sanatoriums outside populated areas or in resorts was common. Thus sanatorium architecture retained close links to nature for a long time. Usually, in addition to the main building, the sanatorium complex included a vast park or garden for walks, a separate dwelling house for staff, outbuildings and often an auxiliary farm. The building's orientation toward cardinal directions was observed in almost all cases; medical theory of the time preferred the solution of one corner facing north, thus the patients' wards, facing southwest or southeast, got sufficient insolation and were not overheated in summers.

The location of the sanatorium regarding its surroundings and cardinal directions was closely related to its architectonic expression and layout, and often to improvement of the interior and environment. The sanatorium became a well-considered, stylistically unified architectural object, organically blended with the landscape and nearest buildings. The building became a 'medical instrument',[2] according to architect Alvar Aalto (1898–1976).

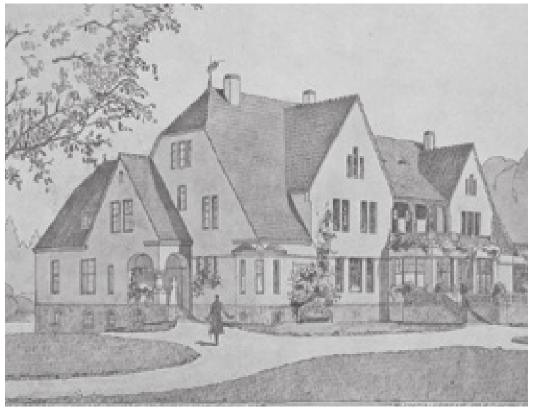
Figure 1. Wilhelm Roessler, Guido Bertschy, René Hoerschelmann, Barthold Hammer. Lielbāta manor house. Perspective of the main façade. 1907. From Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst in den Ostseeprovinzen, Riga: Architektenverein zu Riga, 1908, p. 114.

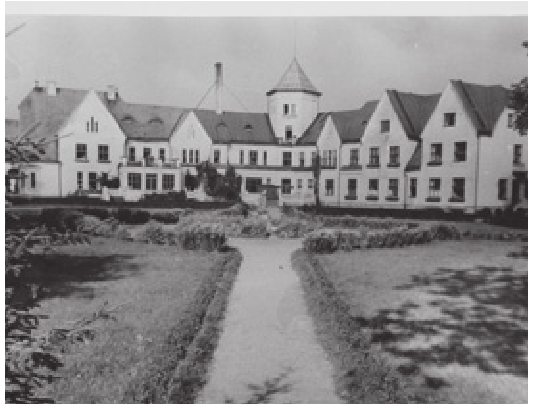
Figure 2. Jānis Gailis, Jānis Rengarts, Oskars Bergs. Sanatorium Saulkalne after the reconstruction of Lielbāta manor house. 1928–1930, 1934, 1939. Photograph circa late 1930s. From Pauls Stradiņš Museum for the History of Medicine, inv. no. F 31183-2.

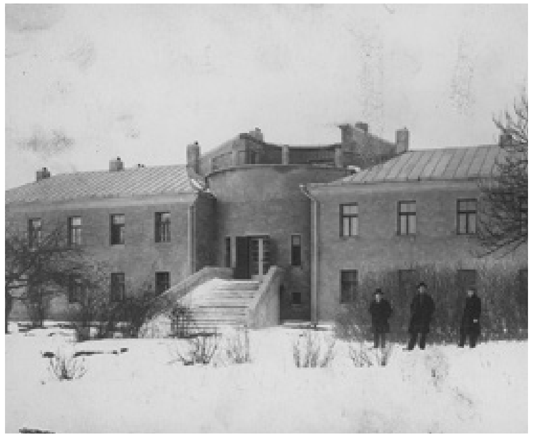
Figure 3. Ernests Štālbergs. Southeast façade of Sanatorium Talija. 1927. Photograph 1927. From Latvian State Archive of Audiovisual Documents, no. A84-058.

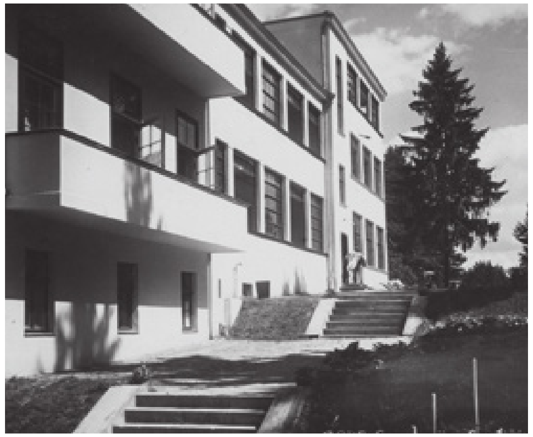
Figure 5. Kārlis Bikše. Sanatorium Saulstari. South façade. View from the west. 1928–1930. Photograph circa 1930s. From Latvian Museum of Architecture, inv. no. B5-13(1).

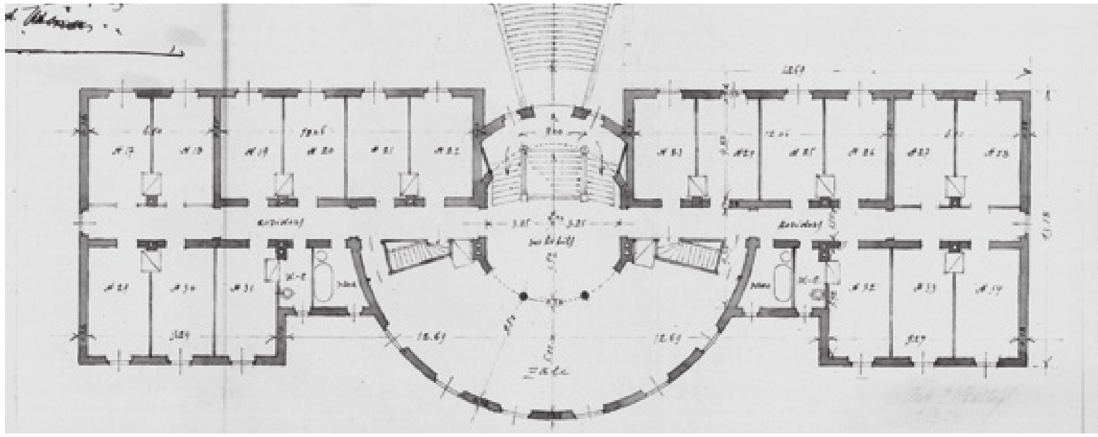
Figure 4. Ernests Štālbergs. Construction design of Sanatorium Talija. First-floor layout. 1925. From Latvian State Historical Archive, coll. 6343, reg. 10, file 28, p. 2.

The sanatorium building was typically designed according to the sanitary corridor-type plan: all premises were adjacent to a long, end-to-end corridor crossing the entire structure. Patients' rooms were located on the warmer south side emphasised with vast glazing, verandas, open loggias or balconies, but medical offices were situated on the north side. Climatotherapy, i.e. healing with sunlight and fresh air, was especially important. Therefore, additional light and air was brought into the premises through large windows, glass partition screens, overhead or second light windows.

Architects paid particular attention to the interior of the sanatorium. Public spaces such as rest halls and dining halls were splendid, designed to match the overall architectural style of the building: for example, they could be modern, even futuristic or supplemented with different spatial effects. High-quality interiors which reflected progressive ideas in furniture design were equally important.

Despite diverse stylistic trends, modernism prevailed in interwar sanatorium architecture because it could provide a rational and convenient spatial structure for a healthcare institution. Two renowned modernist sanatoriums – Sanatorium Zonnestraal (Jan Duiker, Bernard Bijvoet, 1925–1931) in the Netherlands and Paimio Sanatorium (Alvar Aalto, 1928–1933) in Finland – changed the course of sanatorium architecture and now are on the UNESCO tentative list. Both implemented new ideas concerning health, patient care, therapy, socializing, hygiene and the aesthetics of light.

Modernist Sanatoriums in Latvia

Due to widespread damage in Latvia caused by World War I, only nine new sanatorium buildings could emerge during the period of independence (1918–1940). Because of limited resources, already existing buildings were used in most cases, adapted to function as sanatoriums. Therefore only a few new buildings could be completed by the mid-1920s. More active construction resumed gradually, along with the improvement of the economic condition, in the 1930s. As a result of land reform, most of Latvia's sanatoriums were located in former manor houses.

Buildings adapted for healthcare were rarely fully reconstructed. Most often an upper structure, balconies, extensions in the form of terraces and verandas were added to the existing building volume. Sometimes a typical sanatorium structure – an open-air pavilion for climatotherapy – was added to the park. However, the layout and interior were almost always changed, replacing lavish manorial furniture with practical and simple furnishings in line with sanitary standards.

An interesting exception is a full reconstruction of the former Lielbāta manor house (Wilhelm Roessler, Guido Bertschy, René Hoerschelmann, Barthold Hammer, 1907–1912) to establish the new Sanatorium Saulkalne. The newly built extension (Jānis Gailis, 1928–1930 and Oskars Bergs, 1939) resembles the manor house forms and is a compositional mirror image of the original building; it shows the architects' wish to adjust to the historical substance, which was rarely the case (Figures 1 and 2).

The Sanatorium Talija rest facility (Ernests Štālbergs, 1924–1927) in Ropaži was the first mostly new-built sanatorium in the Republic of Latvia and a total reconstruction of the former Iļķene manor house. The new building had a symmetrical, rectangular volume with a massive, cylindrical protrusion toward both sides in the centre. This protrusion and markedly simple tectonic forms echo the architecture of ancient Rome, but the geometricity and lack of decor demonstrate modern architectural impulses. The solemn mood was enhanced with a terrace and monumental staircase facing the river from which most of the holidaymakers arrived (Figure 3).

The corridor-type plan was rational and symmetrical with an emphasized, especially solemn semicircular hall in the centre of the building on both storeys – the dining hall on the ground floor and the rest hall on the first floor (Figure 4). This idea of a semicircular motif for this function would be later repeated in a few sanatorium projects designed by young architects: students in the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Latvia (UL), where assistant professor Ernests Štālbergs (1883–1958) led an architectural workshop based on ideas rooted in rational architecture. The closest surroundings of the sanatorium were organized in regular forms. A walkway from the river, a fountain and geometrized flower beds were all located on the same symmetrical axis.

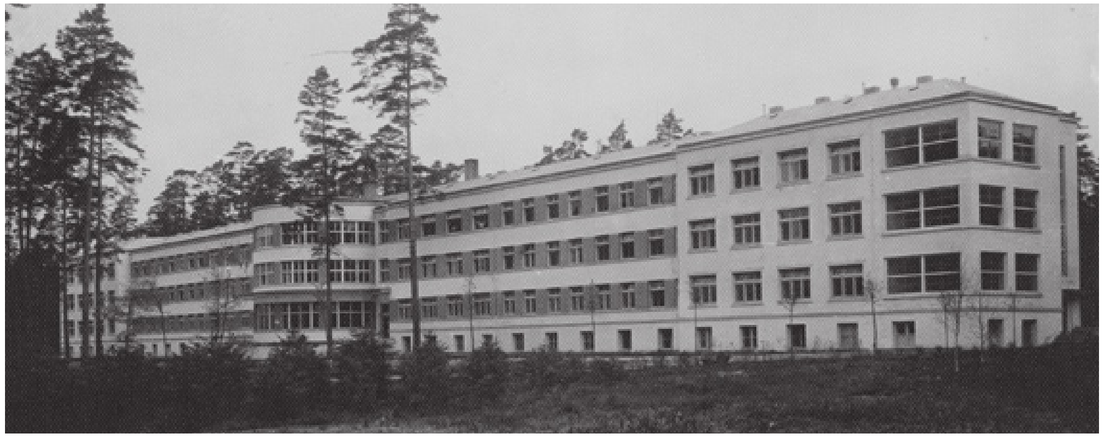

Figure 6a. Aleksandrs Klinklāvs, Ansis Kalniņš. Tērvete Sanatorium. South façade. 1930–1932. Photographs circa 1930s. From Pauls Stradiņš Museum for the History of Medicine, inv. no. 44147-2 Ff 5485-2.

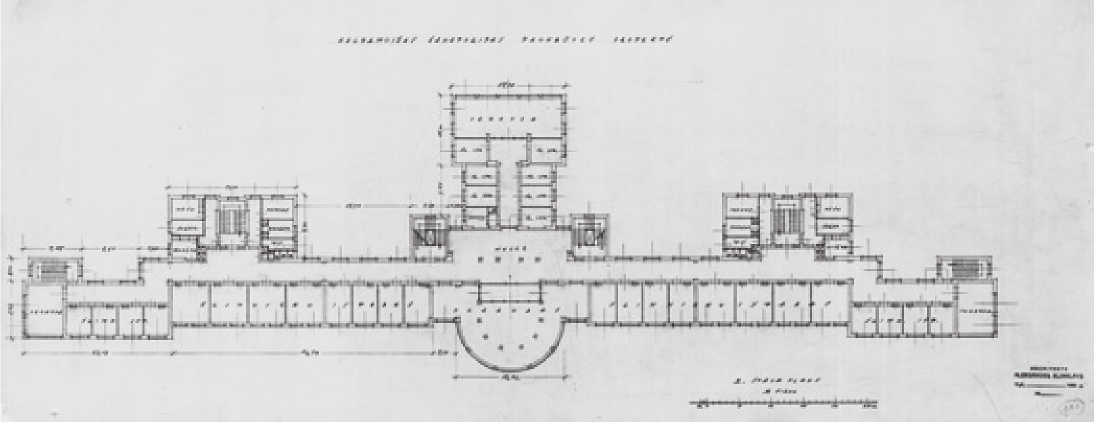

Figure 6b. Aleksandrs Klinklāvs, Ansis Kalniņš. Tērvete sanatorium. Second-floor layout. 1930. From Latvian State Historical Archive, coll. 4712, reg. 7, file 371, p. 111.

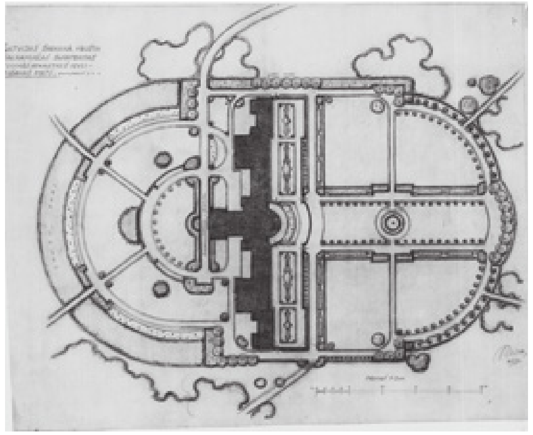

Figure 7. Andrejs Zeidaks. Tērvete Sanatorium. Park design and territory layout. 1932. From Latvian State Historical Archive, coll. 4712, reg. 7, file 371, p. 7.

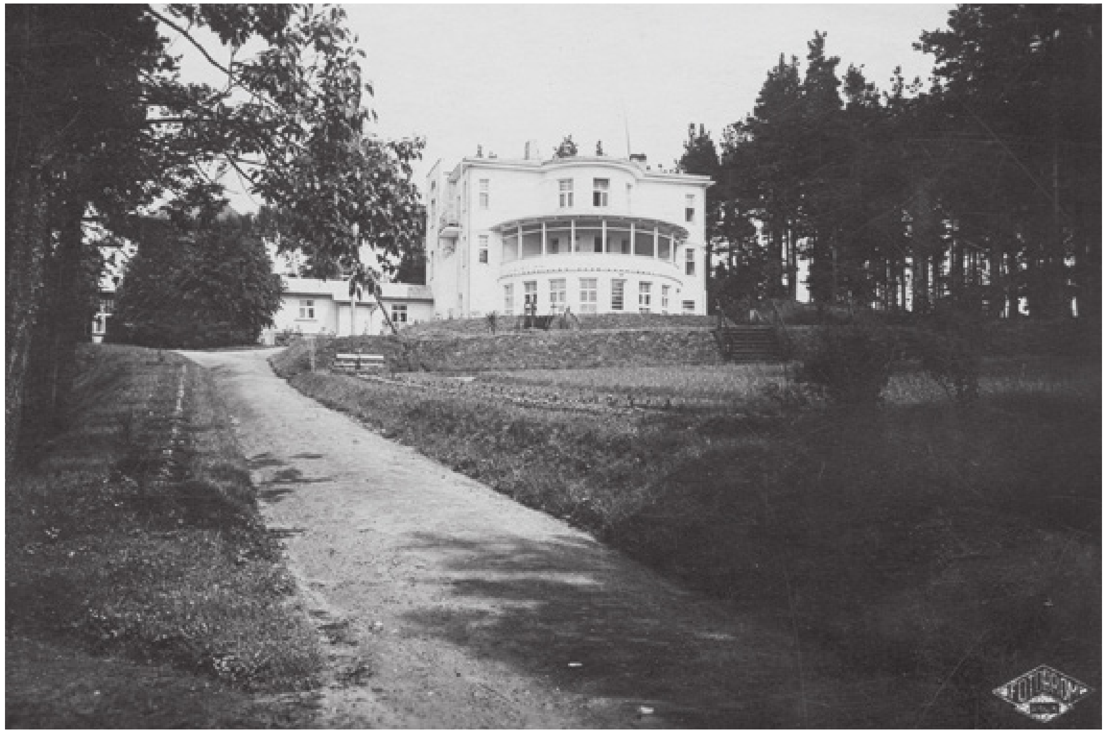

Figure 8. Alfrēds Birkhāns. Soldiers' Sanatorium in Cēsis. 1930–1932. View from the southeast. Photograph circa late 1930s. From Latvian War Museum, inv. No. 4-551-FTp.

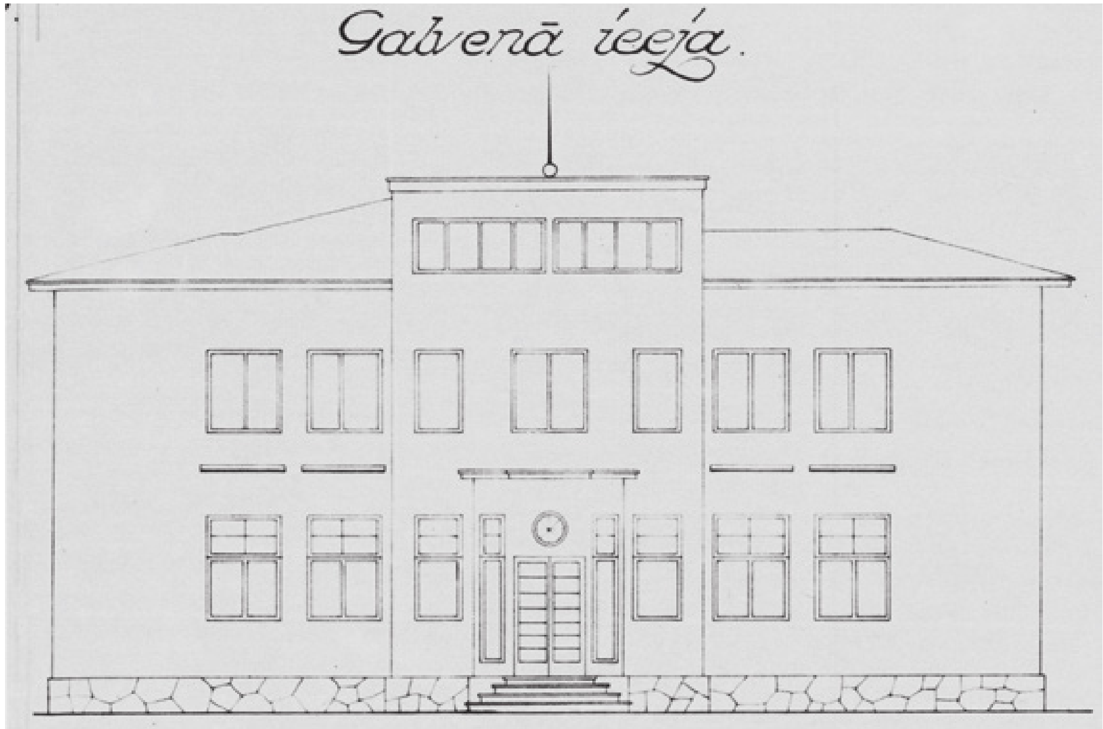

Figure 9. Georgs Makovskis. Latvian Railwaymen's Society Rest House. Construction design. Main entrance in southwest façade. 1931. From Latvian State Historical Archive, coll. 6343, reg. 14, file 88, p. 10.

The Biķernieki Sanatorium in Riga (Kārlis Bikše, 1926–1931), for pulmonary tuberculosis, was a simple, modern, rationally planned two-storey building with markedly horizontal rows of window openings. On the east side, it was complemented with an open, two-storey wooden extension for climatotherapy. The sanatorium's main façade was symmetrical. An angular, art deco gable with a vertical accent highlighted the central symmetrical axis and main entrance portal. Angular decor also appeared on other buildings of the complex, as well as in the interior.

Sanatorium Saulstari (Kārlis Bikše, 1928–1930) in Ogre is an outstanding example of functionalism in Latvia's architectural history. The sanatorium building is one of a few designed strictly asymmetrically, its complex composition of volumes well adapted to the hilly terrain. The structure manifests expressive means typical of functionalism: arrangement of cube-shaped building volumes, flat roofs, massive balconies and terraces, large glazed areas in horizontal rows contrasted with vertical window openings (Figure 5). The south façade was glazed on all floors – in accord with basic principles of sanatorium architecture – and complemented with two balconies. However, we can't see any clear references to manorial architecture in the structure of the building.

Only the interior of the sanatorium's rest salon could be somehow more connected to tradition. It was painted in a deep colour and complemented with a golden ornament that referenced the name of the institution – *saulstari* meaning 'sunbeams' (the same as Zonnestraal in the Netherlands) – and the furniture was quite conservative. Close to the sanatorium there was also a terraced park (in keeping with the modernist idea of parks) and a landscape park further in the forest.

Tērvete Sanatorium (Aleksandrs Klinklāvs, Ansis Kalniņš, 1930–1932), for pulmonary tuberculosis, was the most ambitious and modern new-built sanatorium in interwar Latvia. The monumental horizontally extended building could accommodate 250 patients. The south façade is smooth and has an impressive semicircular protrusion, as seen in Sanatorium Talija, while the north façade is tectonically emphasized and, especially in views from both ends of the building, shows a rich spatial composition. Both architects of the sanatorium were graduates of the Faculty of Architecture at UL; in fact, Aleksandrs Klinklāvs (1899–1982) was Štālbergs's best student. The building's clearly divided volumes reveal influences of modern western European architectural examples.[3] This is seen not just in its adherence to the functionalist canon – the horizontal composition of volumes, their functionality, and the expressive rows of large windows – but also in the building's modern technical solution: ferroconcrete construction (Figures 6a and 6b).

However, the differences between the sanatorium's garden and main façade, its symmetrical façade composition and corridor-type plan, as well as its side avant-corps and the semicircular protrusion (behind which the largest public spaces were located) facing the symmetrical garden, resemble in a peculiar way the nearby early 19th century neoclassical manor houses of Zemgale,[4] featuring a similar spatial structure and landscaping (Figure 7). The building is in excellent harmony with the surroundings – the symmetrical park designed by Andrejs Zeidaks (1874–1964), as well as the pine forest, river and ancient castle mound nearby – which is similar to tendencies in northern European modern architecture. Tērvete Sanatorium and especially its modern interior is the single example from interwar Latvia of architects' paying close attention to the smallest details, caring for the well-being of patients and the security of staff, and approximating the world's top-level achievements in sanatorium architecture and design.

Soldiers' Sanatorium in Cēsis, configured in 1930 in a national romanticist summer cottage, was complemented with an almost autonomous modern extension (Alfrēds Birkhāns, 1930–1932). This cube-shaped building complied with the style of functionalism, however, symmetry was still strongly observed in the façades and partly in the plan. Typical functionalist traits were also present, like the square-shaped façade composition, a rectangular gable raised over the cornice and console-type balconies. In a manner similar to the Talija and Tērvete sanatoriums, the building's southeast façade was accentuated with a semicircular structure highlighted by the rhythm of the glazing and open-loggia supports (Figure 8). Surroundings of the sanatorium were quite hilly, however, the new structure was successfully placed in the natural terrain, which enabled the use of a modern terraced park.

The construction design of the Railwaymen's Rest Sanatorium in Bulduri (Georgs Makovskis, 1931–1934) complied with functionalism, however, the realised version differed from initial plans and was complemented with neoclassical decor, thus acquiring a more eclectic image. Despite the functionalist building design, a central symmetrical axis is utilized in the facade composition and building plan (Figure 9). The adjoining territory of the sanatorium was complemented by a regularly organized park including greenery, walking trails, a fountain and tennis courts.

A very simple design for the Teachers' Sickness Insurance Fund Sanatorium in Ķemeri (Pēteris Bērzkalns, Ansis Kalniņš, 1934), including markedly horizontal rows of window openings and rational positioning of blocks facing different directions, wasn't implemented, but a geometric garden was planned around it, and it also included the old sanatorium building, a summer cottage. The authors were two young architects who had completed their education in the Faculty of Architecture at UL.

Natural terrain was used successfully in the children's Sanatorium Gaujaslīči (Ernests Štālbergs, 1936–1939) in Cēsis, achieving a rich, asymmetrical but clear composition of volumes: two rectangular blocks of different heights perpendicular to each other. The building had simple, reserved construction forms whose architectonic expression was created by the use of natural, modest materials of finish: wood and plastering (Figures 10a, 10b and 10c). The location of blocks was well considered, allowing comparison of the architect's solution with the trend in northern European modern architecture to develop rationality in close connection with nature.

All premises of the sanatorium were very simple but keenly adapted to the expressiveness of the whole; strikingly rational solutions. Despite the emphasized naturalness of the complex, there was a regular, geometric garden with one symmetrical axis designed (Elfrīda Legzdiņa, 1939) around the asymmetrical building.

Sanatorium Rāzna (Aleksandrs Klinklāvs, 1937–1942), for pulmonary tuberculosis, became the last mostly 'new-built' project of this kind to be implemented in interwar Latvia. It was arranged in a fully reconstructed, previously unfinished artists' rest-house building envisaged by the noble Kierbedź family. The new design included the construction of a lantern tower and the third overground storey as well as arrangement of spacious verandas on both upper floors (Figure 11). The architect matched the overall look of the sanatorium to functionalist ideas by utilising a geometric lantern tower, pronouncedly flat roofing, vast glazing in verandas on the upper floors, an emphasized staircase volume with vertical glazing, and the glass composition of the entrance area; everything epitomised the style. However, the layout of the building as well as the composition of most of facades is symmetrical.

A presentable style of architecture from the second half of the 1930s can be seen in the decorative granite framing of the sanatorium's entrance portal as well as the granite staircase. But retained elements peculiar to regional architecture are evident in its lower ground floor and tower buttresses of split rubble, akin to the nearby Lūznava manor (Stanisław Kierbedź, 1905–1911).

References to Manorial Architecture

At the time, sanatoriums were often called 'palaces of health' in the local Latvian press,[5] describing people's perception of these ambitious, outstanding and technologically advanced buildings situated in picturesque landscapes and, this time, meant for patients and not for the rich or the noble.

Although almost all new-built sanatoriums of interwar Latvia are close in style to functionalism,[6] in most cases they have retained symmetry of volumes, façades and sometimes even plans – which is not typical of modern architecture. In combination with different design solutions for main and garden façades, as well as semicircular protrusions, lavish interior public spaces and regular parks, this creates an original reference to Latvia's manorial architecture. One can conclude that these manorial buildings – their planning and design traditions, as well as their location in the landscape, prevailing in Latvia's rural cultural environment for centuries – had a far-reaching influence on the functionalist architecture of sanatoriums of the time, which was also closely related to the natural environment.

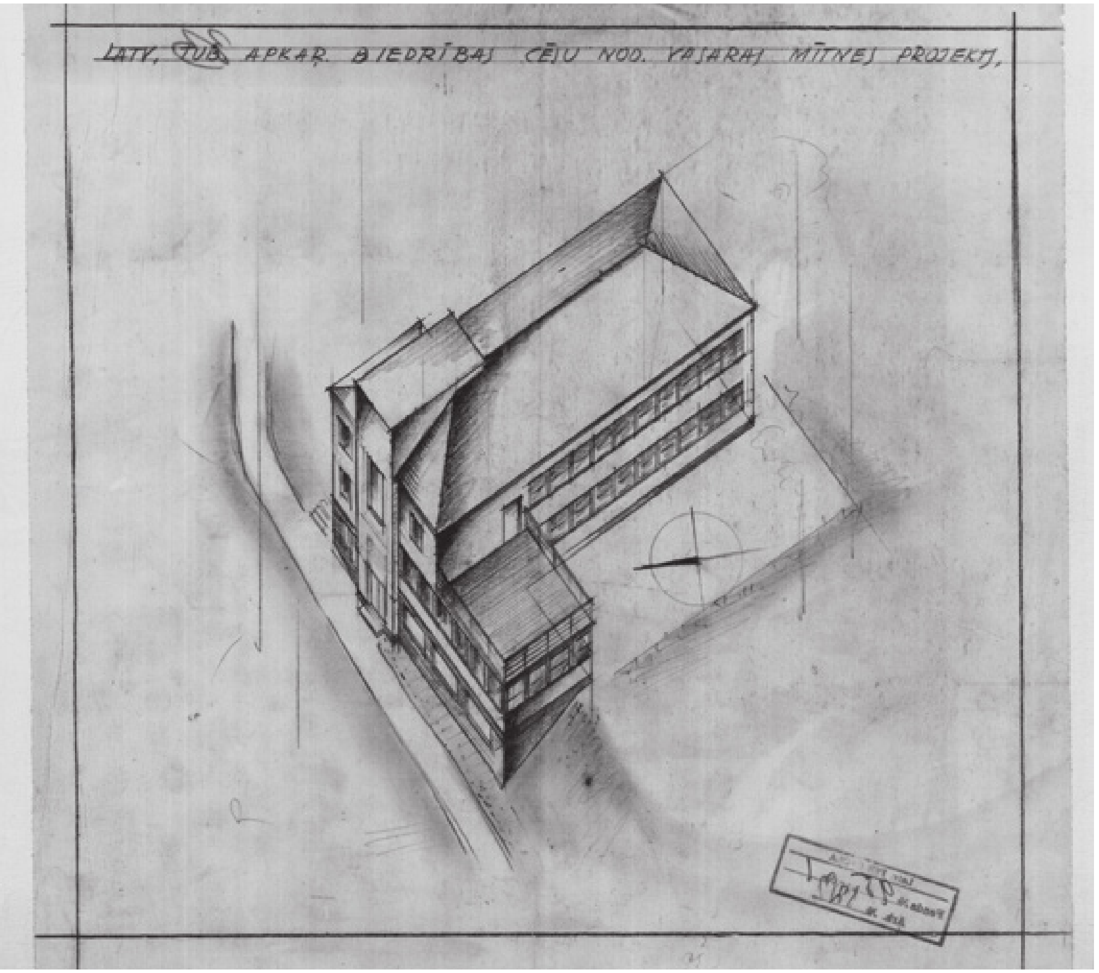
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Figure 10a: Ernests Štālbergs. Sanatorium Gaujaslīči. Construction design. Perspectival bird's eye view. 1937. From Latvian State Archive, coll. 95, reg. 1, file 123, p. 33.

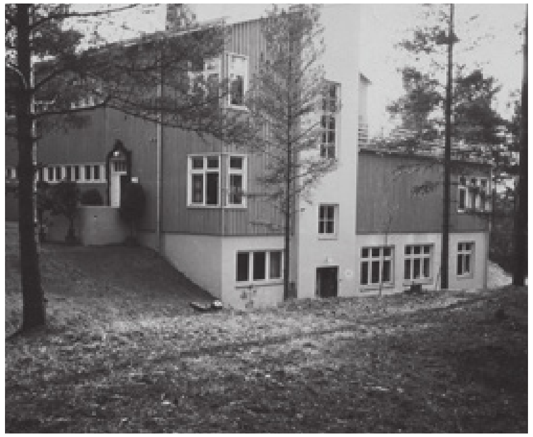

Figure 10b Ernests Štālbergs. Sanatorium Gaujaslīči. 1936–1939. View from the north. Photograph Ernests Štālbergs, 1939. From Latvian State Archive, coll. 95, reg. 1, file 127, p. 8.

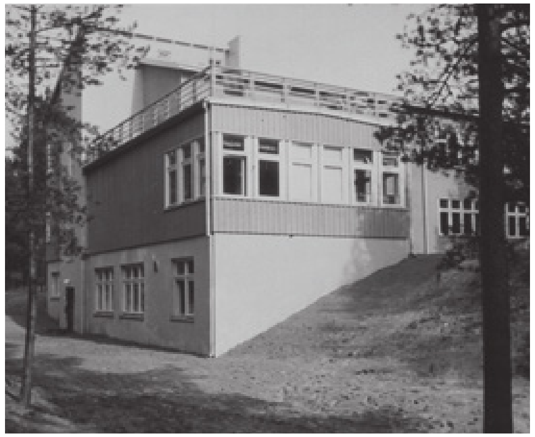

Figure 10c: Ernests Štālbergs. Sanatorium Gaujaslīči. 1936–1939. View from the southwest. Photograph Ernests Štālbergs, 1939. From Latvian State Archive, coll. 95, reg. 1, file 127, p. 9.

For example, the structure of Tērvete Sanatorium clearly shows the influence of the nearby classical manor house in Mežotne (Giacomo Quarenghi, Johann Georg Adam Berlitz, 1798–1802) (Figure 12). The same spatial composition was used – a symmetrical rectangular block with an imposing semicircular protrusion in the centre of the garden façade and two smaller rectangular avant-corps at both ends of the building, as well as a semicircular hall (or circular, as in Mežotne) in the centre of the building. Even the position of the building according to cardinal directions is the same (although patient wards facing directly south caused overheating problems in warmer months). However, a symmetrical garden around the edifice shows borrowing from manorial regular parks of the 17th and 18th centuries such as the garden, commissioned by Peter I, in Alexander's Heights[7] near Riga (designed by Jean-Baptiste Le Blond).

The peculiarities of the sanatorium building type, mentioned at the beginning, allowed Latvian architects to easily link it to their experience with local manorial architecture. They could use the same principles to situate the building in a picturesque landscape according to cardinal directions, use the symmetry of the facade and even the plan to emphasize the main central hall on all storeys and design a regular park around the building. However, the sanatorium was still a very rational and well-considered building. It should also be noted that strong academic traditions prevailed in the Latvian architectural milieu[8] and caused the dominance of these rather conservative architectonic solutions in sanatorium architecture of the time.

The manor house as an archetype of the public building was regarded as important in the architecture of schools and local council houses, but this continuity was not yet recognised in sanatorium buildings, especially modernist ones. Therefore, Latvian sanatorium architecture reveals a local modernist approach not typical of sanatorium examples in other countries. In the rest of the Baltics, land reforms, although carried out under similar circumstances, did not influence modernist sanatorium architecture so directly, and it seems that their architectonic expression is much closer to the functionalist stylistic canon.

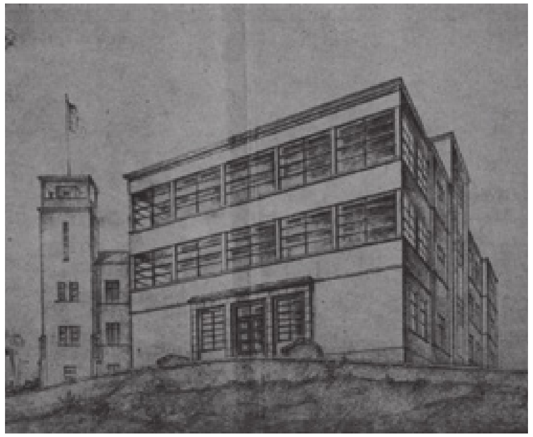

Figure 11. Aleksandrs Klinklāvs. Sanatorium Rāzna. Main entrance perspective. 1937. From 'Slimo kasu dzīve' in Slimo Kasu Vēstnesis, no. 5, 1937, p. 298.

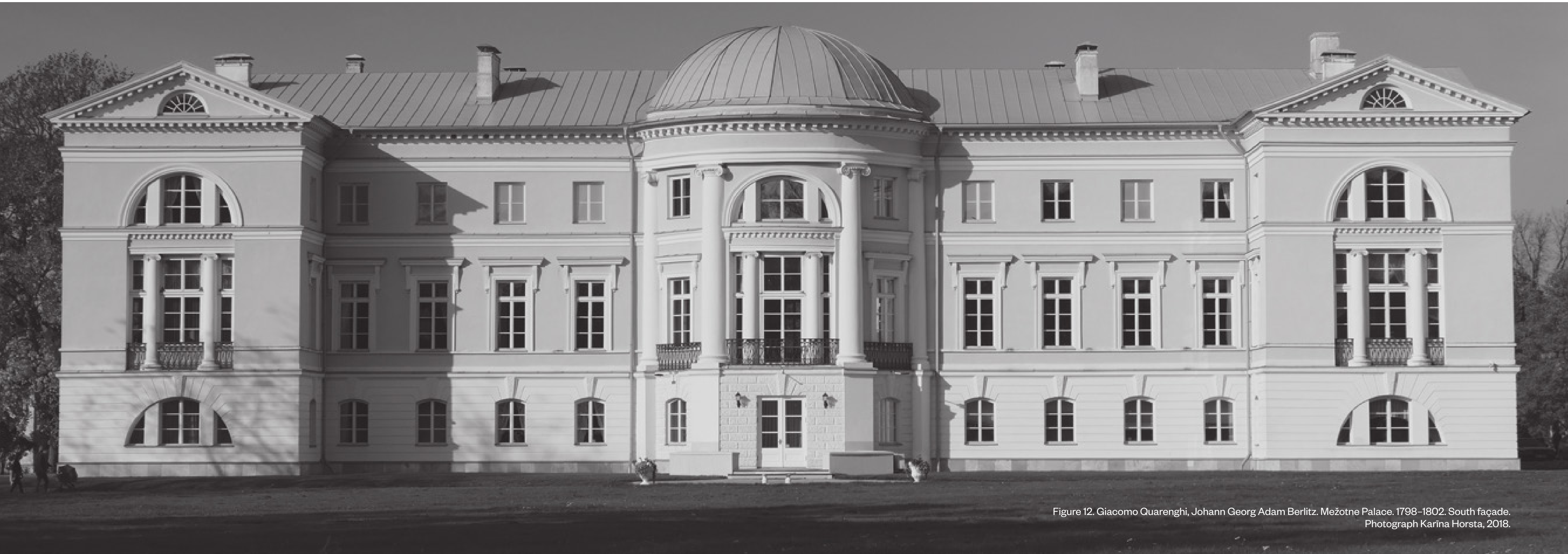

Figure 12. Giacomo Quarenghi, Johann Georg Adam Berlitz. Mežotne Palace. 1798–1802. South façade. Photograph Karīna Horsta, 2018.

Endnotes

[1] Karīna Horsta, *Sanatoriju arhitektūra Latvijā: 1918–1940* [Sanatorium Architecture in Latvia: 1918–1940] (Rīga: Latvijas Mākslas akadēmijas Mākslas vēstures institūts; Mākslas vēstures pētījumu atbalsta fonds [Institute of Art History of the Latvian Academy of Art; Art History Research Support Foundation], 2018).

[2] Stephen Grabow and Kent Spreckelmeyer, *The Architecture of Use: Aesthetics and Function in Architectural Design* (New York: Routledge, 2015) p. 35.

[3] As can be seen in construction design documents, Klinklāvs was aware of the design of the Beaujon Hospital in Clichy, France, designed by French architect Jean Walter (1883–1957). Klinklāvs was directly inspired by the layout and entrance part of the northern façade of the hospital, regardless of the fact that it was built after the Tērvete Sanatorium – only in 1933–1935.

[4] Zemgale is a historic region that lies in the central southern part of Latvia.

[5] 'Baltā veselības pils, ko cēlusi latvju tauta,' [White Palace of Health, built by the Latvian People] *Atpūta*, no. 403 (1932) pp. 16–17; 'Pils Tērvetes priežu mežā,' [Palace in Tērvete Pine Forest] *Brīvā Zeme*, no. 142 (29 June 1939) p. 9; 'Sanatorijas "Rāznas pils" izbūves priekšdarbi,' [Preparations of the Construction of the Sanatorium Rāzna Palace] *Slimo Kasu Vēstnesis*, no. 5 (1937) p. 296.

[6] The only example of a historicist sanatorium at the time was the children's Sanatorium Mālkalne in Ogre (Konstantīns Pēkšēns, 1926–1927).

[7] In the 19th century a mental hospital was founded there.

[8] Even the so-called 'modernist' architectural workshop in the Faculty of Architecture at UL led by Ernests Štālbergs and his assistant Kārlis Bikše contributed to this unique blend of modern and classical architecture.

Czech Modern Architecture and the Long Shadow of Karel Teige

Vendula Hnídková

The early 1920s were turbulent years in Czechoslovakia. Establishing the independent republic on a national basis inflicted a permanent scar on its newly proclaimed identity, caused immediate conflicts with neighbouring countries and, moreover, instigated fundamental tensions between its numerous minorities. This dynamic development in politics was vividly reflected in visual culture. Parallel to the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic some Czech architects and designers manifested victorious achievements of the historical moment in their artistic output. It was a newly gained patriotism expressed through architectural means. Yet, decades later these artistic endeavours from the early 1920s were perceived through a lens of a cultural distaste; lacking any critical distance or any aim of contextual interpretation. The negative attitude toward the National style was deeply rooted in the original statements of the respected theorist Karel Teige (1900–1951).

The National style was a product of its period. Its ideological intentions were shaped by the long tradition of the Czech national movement dating back to the 19th century that formed a significant part of the DNA of the Czech mentality that might still be perceived even today. The National style was literally created by architect Pavel Janák, the renowned Czech architect who significantly shaped the local urban landscape for the first half of the 20th century. Janák was one of Otto Wagner's students at the Academy in Vienna who originated from the Czech lands. Both before and after World War I, Pavel Janák was a prolific spokesperson for the modern movement and is considered the leading theoretician of architectural Cubism and the National style. His personal involvement in creating a new style appropriate to the independent republic also explains one of its names, 'Rondocubism', which links post-war architecture with the pre-war Cubist period of which Janák was a chief protagonist. Although I do need to add that Rondocubism is only one from a whole group of some 12 or 15 names given to this artistic phenomenon of the 1920s.

During the last year of World War I, Pavel Janák had already outlined a program of post-war recovery in the field of architecture and design. In his essay 'Ve třetině cesty' [In a Third of the Way] published in 1918, Janák summarized architectural development in the 20th century up to that point and defined the ultimate target of shaping a national art. According to Janák, architects are

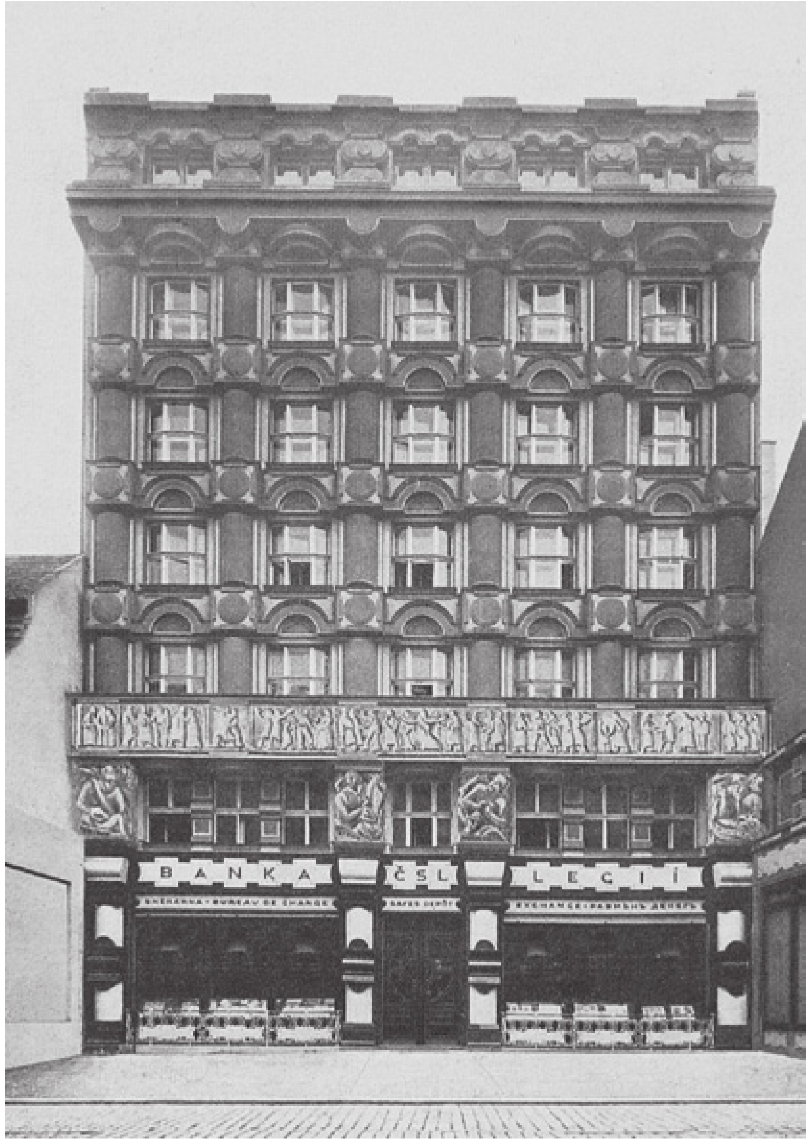

Figure 1. Josef Gočár, Bank of Czechoslovak Legions Headquarter, Prague. From *Zdeněk Wirth, Antonín Matějček, Česká architektura 1800–1920* (Praha: Jan Štenc, 1922).

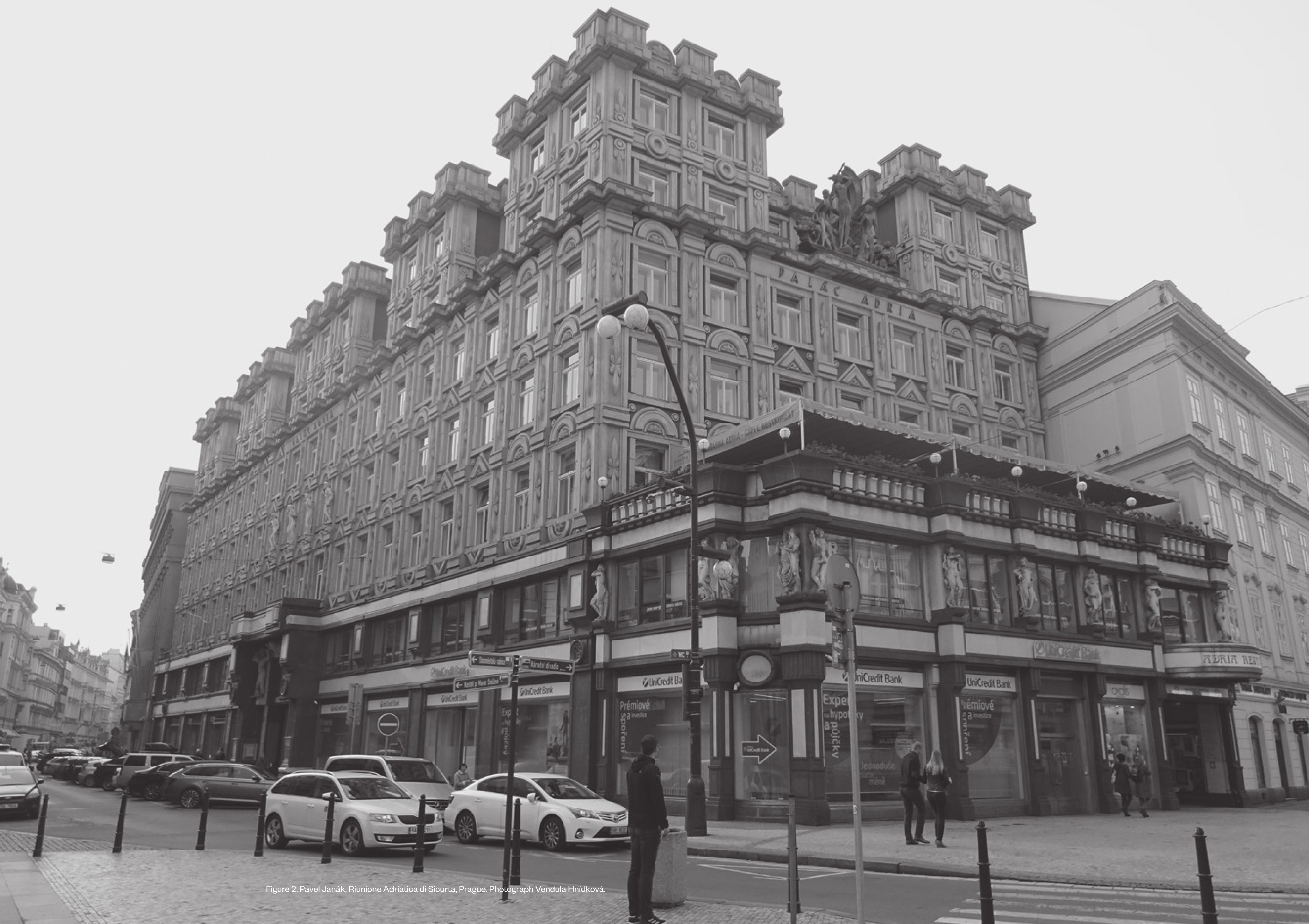
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Figure 2. Pavel Janák, Riunione Adriatica di Sicurta, Prague. Photograph Vendula Hnídková.

obliged to consider the social needs of the nation, local conditions and usefulness. Fulfilling these particular demands would eventually transform architecture 'from a pure art into a national art.'[1] In another article 'Národní věc a čeští architekti' [National Issue and Czech Architects] also from 1918, Janák formulated a new objective, namely for architecture to penetrate into 'national life, into national ideals'.[2]

Janák's opinions found enthusiastic reception among his friends, especially those associated with 'Svaz československého díla' (SČSD; a parallel to the German Werkbund) and the Academy of Applied Arts in Prague where Janák even became rector in the 1920s.

The National style is symptomatic of a search for inspiration in the legacy of Czech culture, especially in folk art. A positive appropriation of the vernacular tradition became a kind of mass phenomenon after the foundation of Czechoslovakia, but the artists who developed the National style found yet more support in the work of influential art historian Zdeněk Wirth. In his essays Wirth appreciated the political importance of the rural class in the 19th century when they, in his opinion, contributed to a significant 'segment of the national democratic society'.[3]

Furthermore, Wirth celebrated folk culture in terms that can also be applied to National style. 'We can see a large supply of elements and motifs, the distinctive way of their stylisation, amazing colour sense, but moving in a poor and typographically limited number of tones, a practical, even natural ability showing the application of ornamental decoration and, at the same time, a naïve conception everywhere where high principles of artistic composition and creation of forms are concerned.'[4]

And how did Janák and his friends translate theory into architectural practice? The National style is usually characterised by robust volumes and rich decoration of surfaces, all underlined by intense and contrasting colours. The most important public buildings are even decorated with a rich variety of sculptures. Although the ornamentation is an overwhelming feature and an eye-catching phenomenon, National style architecture is often derived not only from vernacular sources but also from historical styles, which is a fact that the architects never admitted.

As a typical example of the National style, the Palace Adria in Prague incorporates all the controversies related not only to the decorative solution of the building, but also to the nationalist ideology that the style manifested, which we are not able to decode today purely on aesthetic grounds.

The full name of the structure is Riunine Adriatica di Sicurtà referring to an Italian insurance company operating in the post-Habsburg monarchy. For the Prague headquarters the company first commissioned an esteemed architect, Josef Zasche, who was a Czechoslovak citizen but of German nationality. His artistic expression, associated with his German origin, proved to be too problematic a factor and it was met with radical public opposition.

After an intense media campaign launched by several Czech cultural associations, the insurance company reconsidered appointing Zasche. Instead, the financial institution announced a competition by invitation for prominent and exclusively Czech architects. These selected architects were asked to redesign the exterior of the building which proved to be a troublesome issue in the public space of central Prague. [5] The eventual winner of the competition was Pavel Janák.

In his design Janák conceived a true monument in terms of its meaning and its scale in the urban context. His concept solves the large volume of the structure by alternating advancing and receding vertical masses. Janák highlighted the Italian origin of the insurance company by utilising Italian-like turrets with flat tops and battlements on their perimeters. The facade was covered with plastic ornaments in the form of triangles, circles and arcs, and was painted in a combination of dark red and a shade of white which are the Czech national colours. The decorative system was completed by displaying dozens of sculptures by the most renowned Czech sculptors of the day.

After all the public pressures, Janák's design, apparently attempting to emulate the eclectic architecture of the 19th century, was more acceptable than the project by Josef Zasche, the Czechoslovak architect of German nationality.

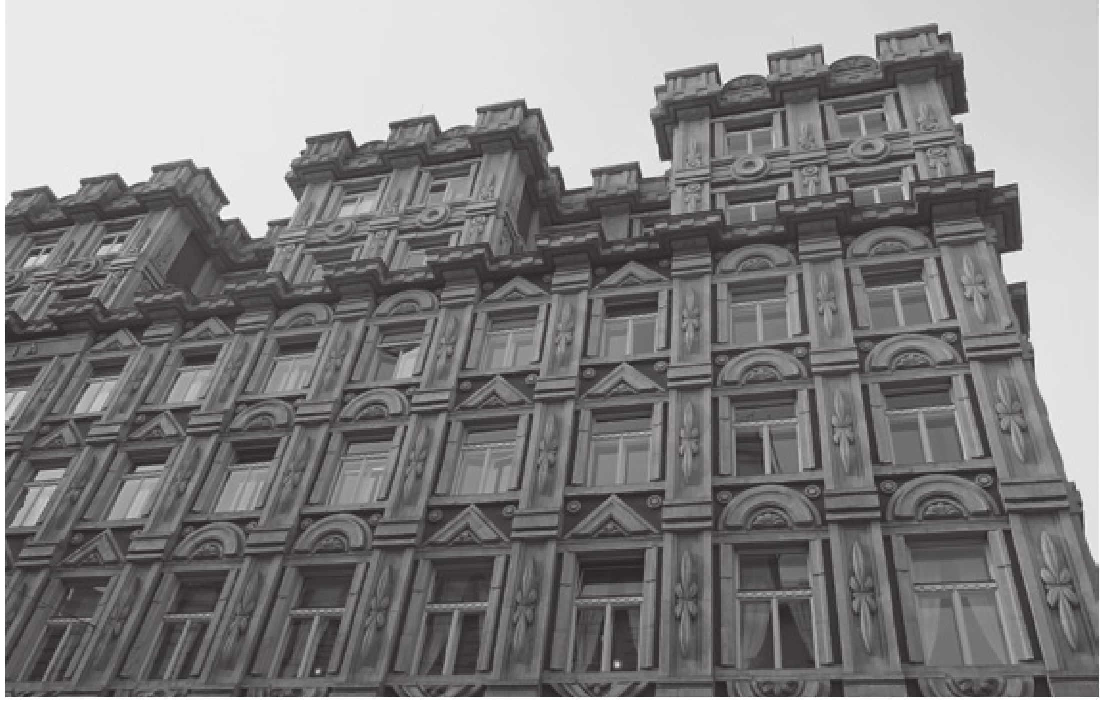

Figure 3. Pavel Janák, Riunione Adriatica di Sicurta, Prague. Photograph Vendula Hnídková.

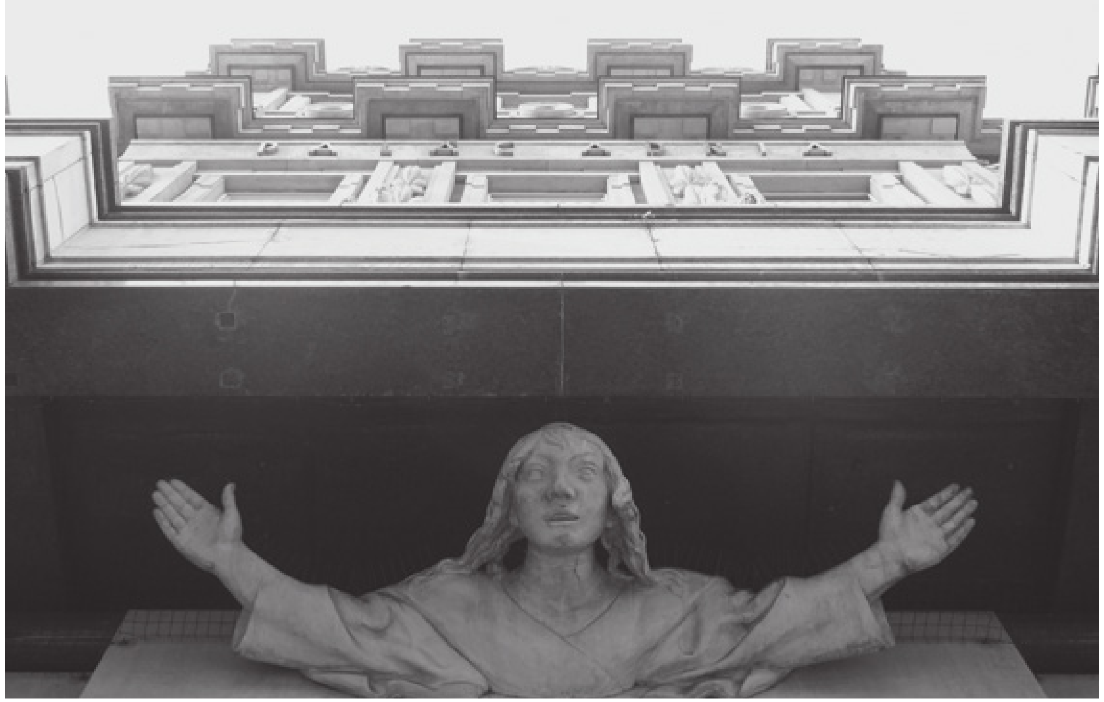

Figure 4. Pavel Janák, Riunione Adriatica di Sicurta, Prague. Photograph Vendula Hnídková.

Even before its completion in 1925 the structure was ridiculed by many foreign members of the avant-garde movement. Le Corbusier, when visiting Prague in the 1920s, stared at 'a new building of a fortress character with relief decorations, showing how the local official architecture still continues in an outdated and progress-denying spirit.'[6] The Dutch architect, artist and theorist Theo van Doesburg marked the palace as 'an example of decadence'.[7]

Czech critics also started to approach the concept of a Czech character in art from openly negative positions. The National style was now reviled as a false ideological construct and its chief enemy was a Czech member of the international network of the avant-garde, Karel Teige. He crucified the insurance company headquarters with following words: 'Janák's palace Riunione Adriatica will remain the most characteristic and most convicting proof of the delusion of this nationally decorative school. A building overladen with decorations, which as a matter of fact has no national individuality and originality in itself, but is rather an utterly historical construction through its whole spirit: some hideous and monstrous Miramare, equipped with odd battlements, which looks like a box of chocolates or an inlaid case from afar.'[8]

Karel Teige's rejection of the National style was based not only on aesthetic principles nor only on rejection of a nationalist position but primarily on ethical reasons. Incorporation of all decorative elements was for Teige a pure waste of manpower and material and in this sense rendered such architecture utterly old-fashioned.

In 1933, in a rigidly prescriptive chart, Teige classified the main international and local trends in modern architecture. His approach was that of a scientist. In the chart he addressed various architects and their work and labelled them as more or less progressive as if there was only one appropriate and approved way of designing buildings.[9]

At the same time, in his classic work *Moderní architektura v Československu* (1930), Teige described the historical development of Czech architecture and, in a sense, his critical attitudes established a lasting monopoly on the 'correct' interpretation. Teige's imperative statements and evaluation had an impact not only on his contemporaries but proved to be influential for many coming decades of Czech historiography. He defined a narrative that was appropriated by generations of Czech art historians.

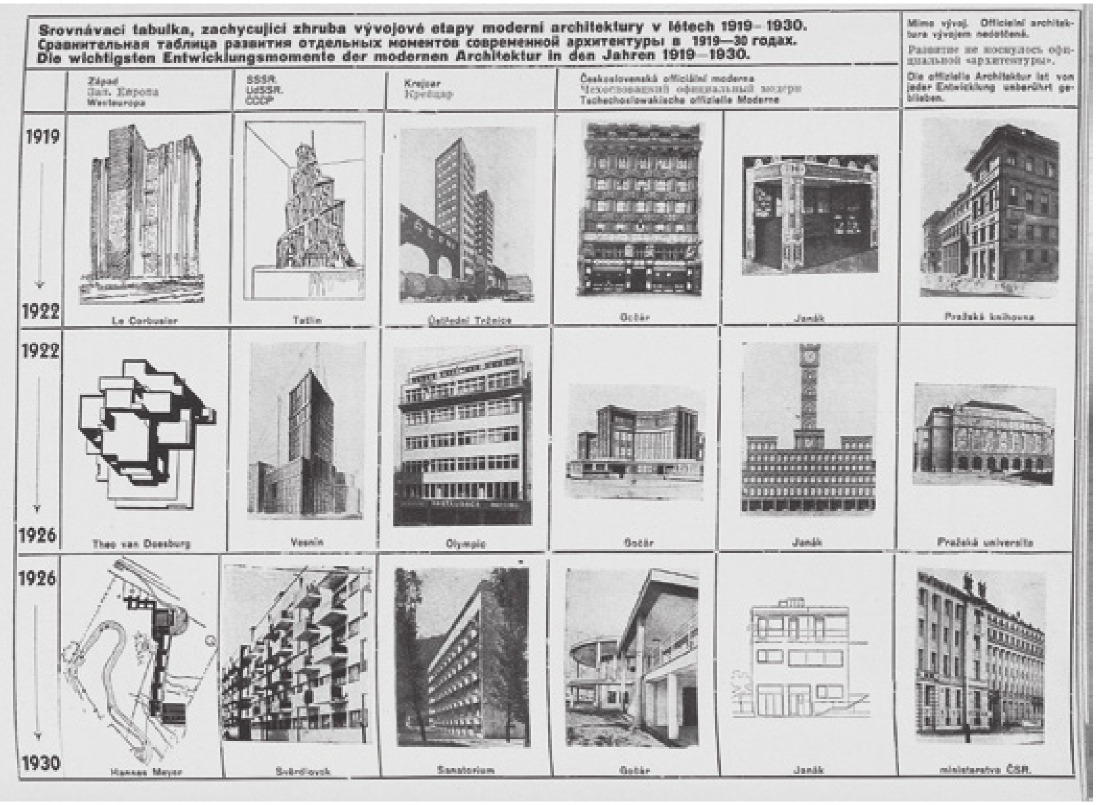
Srovnávací tabulka, zachycující zhruba vývojové etapy moderní architektury v létech 1919–1930.
Сравнительная таблица развития отдельных моментов современной архитектуры в 1919—30 годах.
Die wichtigsten Entwicklungsmomente der modernen Architektur in den Jahren 1919–1930.
Mimo vývoj. Officielní architektura vývojem nedotčená.
Развитие не коснулось официальной «архитектуры».
Die offizielle Architektur ist von jeder Entwicklung unberührt geblieben.
Západ
Зап. Европа
Westeuropa
SSSR.
UdSSR.
СССР
Krejcar
Крейцар
Československá officiální moderna
Чехословацкий официальный модерн
Tschechoslowakische offizielle Moderne
1919
1922
1926
1930
Le Corbusier
Tatlin
Úřední Tržnice
Gočár
Janák
Pražská knihovna
Theo van Doesburg
Vesnin
Olympic
Gočár
Janák
Pražská universita
Hannes Meyer
Svěrdlovsk
Sanatorium
Gočár
Janák
ministerstvo ČSR.

Figure 5. Karel Teige, Comparative Chart of Modern Architecture Development, 1919–1930 From *Karel Teige, Práce Jaromíra Krejcara: monografie staveb a projektů* (Praha: V. Petr, 1933) p. 22.

Endnotes

[1] Pavel Janák, 'Ve třetině cesty' [In a Third of the Way], *Volné směry* 19 (1918) pp. 218–226.

[2] Pavel Janák, 'Národní věc a čeští architekti' [National Issue and Czech Architects], *Národ* 2 (1918) pp. 295, 305–306.

[3] Zdeněk Wirth, *Dědina* (Praha: Vesmír, 1925) p. 15.

[4] Zdeněk Wirth, *Dědina* (Praha: Vesmír, 1925) p. 10.

[5] Vendula Hnídková, *Národní styl. Kultura a politika.* [National Style. Arts and Politics] (Praha: Vysoká škola uměleckoprůmyslová, 2013) pp. 129–133, 181–183.

[6] Jan Sokol, *Moje plány. Paměti architekta*, (Praha: Triáda), p. 105.

[7] Theo van Doesburg, Über Europäische Architektur. *Gesammelte Aufsätze aus Het Bouwbedrijf 1924–1931* (Basel, Berlin, Boston: Birkhäuser, 1990) p. 118.

[8] Karel Teige, *MSA 2. Moderní architektura v Československu* (Praha: Odeon, 1930) p. 105.

[9] Karel Teige, *Práce Jaromíra Krejcara: monografie staveb a projektů* (Praha: V. Petr, 1933) p. 22.

Rationalism and Fascism: The Italian Case

Serena De Dominicis

Introduced in Italy around 1926, ten years after the rise of rationalist architecture in northern Europe, Italian Rationalism coincided with the two decades of the fascist regime. The relationship with contemporary national art and culture, mainly the Novecento style and the Mussolinian vision, only partially highlights its characteristics. Italian Rationalist architecture definitely ranges between European modernism and classical tradition.[1]

The new architecture appealed to logic and rationality while maintaining a certain continuity with tradition, and sought to mediate between the Novecento style and the dynamic thrust of Futurism. Sensitive to European movements, this group rejected the classical designers and principles of the *littorio* style advocated by Marcello Piacentini, the architect of the regime. He mixed classicism with monumentality and innovative elements borrowed above all from Secessionism, adopting an opportunistic but not conservative attitude. Piacentini himself also adopted some ideas from Rationalism, creating a hybrid style.

The activities of Group 7[2] and then of MIAR (Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale – Italian Movement for Rational Architecture) took place between 1926 and 1931. Initially supported by Benito Mussolini, the Rationalists, who also intended to offer a form of architecture that reflected fascist principles, were then opposed. On the occasion of the second *Italian Exhibition of Rational Architecture* in 1931, the Duce expressed his solidarity with the young architects who criticized traditional architecture in the 'Panel of horrors' composed by Pietro Maria Bardi that included some of Piacentini's works. Perhaps they were too naive to realize what fascism really was in Mussolini's intentions. The simplified neoclassicism of Marcello Piacentini, judged more appropriate for the purposes of the regime, was chosen instead.

Therefore, fascism conditioned the development of Italian Rationalism which was not unharmed by a certain compromise with the Novecento style and the *littorio* style. Unlike what happened in Russia or in Nazi Germany, in Italy fascism did not strictly dictate requirements for a regime art, although the Duce's judgment was binding. According to Bruno Zevi, the Italian Rationalist movement was not pent-up by fascism but by a disease that affected fascism itself, which was 'the transformative malpractice that in architecture had its main exponent in Marcello Piacentini'.[3]

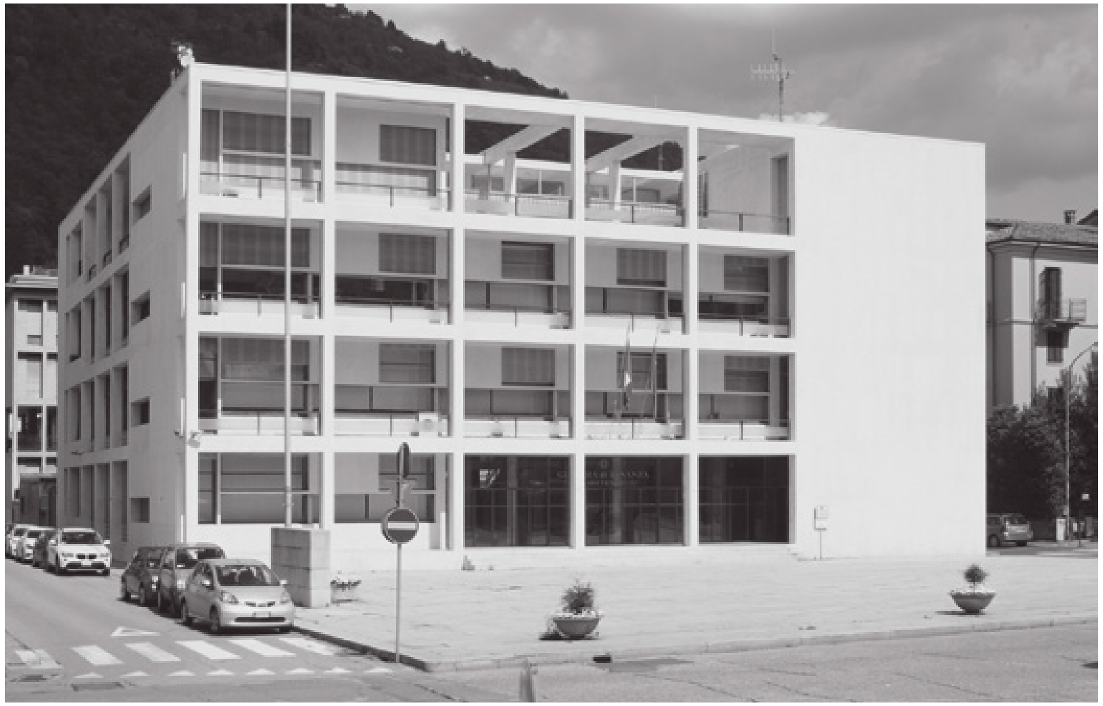

Figure 1. Giuseppe Terragni, Casa del Fascio (Fascist Party headquarters), Como 1936. Photograph Camilla Borghese.

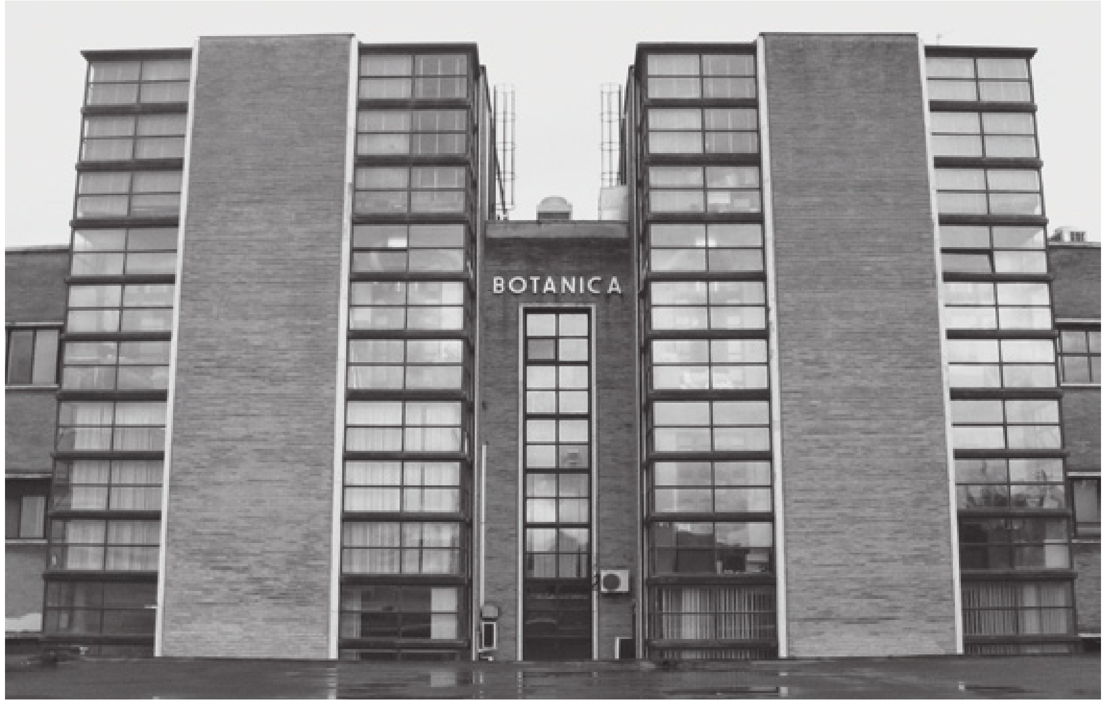

Figure 2. Giuseppe Capponi, Institute of Botany and Pharmacological Chemistry, University City La Sapienza, Rome, 1932–35. Courtesy University La Sapienza, Rome. Photograph Stefania Sepulcri.

Two main tendencies marked Italian architecture of the time, both characterized by reference to classical tradition. The first one is embodied in the simplified and monumental neoclassicism of Piacentini, dedicated to an indulgent rhetorical cooperation with the demands of the regime. The other is devoted to an ideal classicism and more related to the functionality of European modernism. If the first one interprets classicism in purely formal terms, the other takes it as a 'spiritual quality'.[4] The Casa del Fascio (the Fascist Party headquarters in Como) is a good example of the latter (Figure 1). Designed by Giuseppe Terragni, overtly fascist and definitely not exempted from professional compromises, this building is considered a masterpiece of Italian Rationalism.

Apparently, the architect adopts the purism of Le Corbusier, but in reality, his approach refuses the standard of the *façade libre* and digs the surfaces seeking a balance of fullness and emptiness by utilising light reinforced cement pilasters and beams. The building opposes the official monumentalism of the regime and seeks a consistent contribution to the history of the city that becomes itself the scene of the layering of history. It is another way of interpreting the relation with history and mankind, seeking a 'human scale'. Terragni creates a courtyard building with square floor like the blocks of Como, a city founded by the Romans. But as for the east-west set-up and the typology, Casa del Fascio is also a three-aisled building that interacts with historic monuments, with Giuseppe Cusi's neoclassic theatre and the Dome.

The two elements peculiar to Italian Rationalism as described by the German architect Fritz Neumeyer are: attention to history and interpretation of architecture as a narrative.[5] This reminds us of Giulio Carlo Argan, a well-known art historian, who considered architectural Rationalism as a critical analysis of tradition that aimed to track its authentic fundamentals and to recover its essential values.[6] The issue, in his opinion, leads back to a confrontation between idealistic classicism and academic classicism. The architect Giuseppe Pagano, in particular, focused on the subject in an editorial published in the magazine *Casabella* – of which he was editor – in January 1941. Here he openly criticized the 'false interpretation of traditions and of Roman civilisation based on formal and scholastic imitations'.[7]

The difference between the two trends is not always so clear. The University City La Sapienza, built in Rome between 1932 and 1935 based on Marcello Piacentini's plan, embodies this dualism.[8] The basic idea was to create a structure consistent with European Rationalism while welcoming inspirations coming from the United States.[9] The aim was essentially to adapt the architectural trends of colleges to the Italian tradition. Integrating the building volumes in the urban space, considering the implementation of green areas, arranging the buildings harmoniously but not symmetrically and providing meeting spaces in order to promote communal living were some focal points of the project. While recalling the ancient concept of the agora, the University City remains, however, irrelevant in the surrounding urban fabric.

The plan is developed into the so-called Latin cross, where the various cement buildings are balanced although they are not identical. The monumental entrance precedes a wide drive that ends in a square – that includes Arturo Martini's statue of the Minerva – facing the rector's office. Following the guidelines of magnificence, grandeur and reference to ancient Rome, the campus designed by Piacentini expresses the *littorio* style but is contradicted by solutions introduced by some of the nine architects selected by Piacentini himself who were not from his circle. Each one, furthermore, thought in their own way that they were the messengers of a so-called 'fascist culture'. Piacentini requested that the young designers avoid international trends and use traditional materials including bricks and travertine in order to recall the Roman Imperial style thereby accommodating the policies of the regime. But despite his rules some designers used the recommended materials primarily as cladding, thus creating some innovative buildings.

For example, Giuseppe Capponi's Institute of Botany and Pharmacological Chemistry (1932–35)[10] is set apart from Piacentinian neoclassicism and therefore from any stylistic formal bond with the antique (Figure 2). Capponi found inspiration beyond the Alps, especially regarding the choice of clinker bricks for cladding. The building was tiled in Litoceramika widely used in Germany and the Netherlands. With its industrial form of architecture, it was quite uncommon in Rome. Capponi attempted to strike an admirable balance between fullness and emptiness. He opted

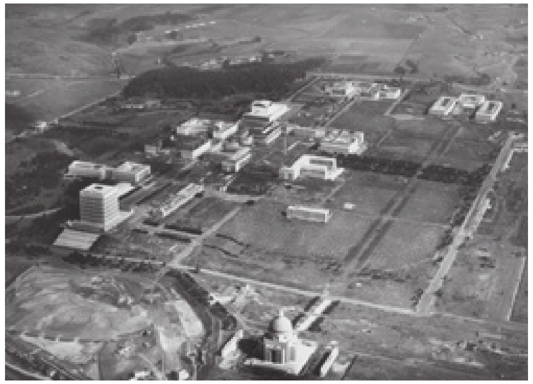

Figure 3. The EUR district aerial view, Rome, 1953.

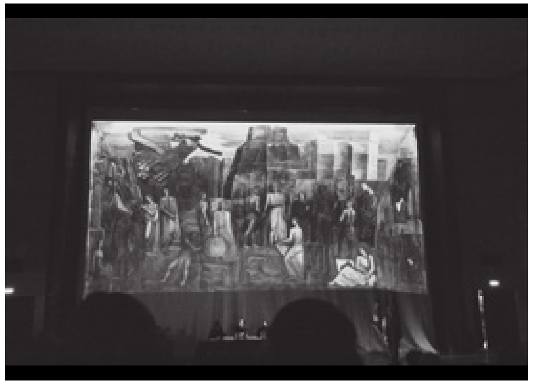

Figure 4. Mario Sironi, *L'Italia tra le Arti e le Scienze* (Italy among the Arts and Sciences), (fresco, 1935), after the 'de-fascistisation' in the 1950s. Auditorium, University City La Sapienza, Rome. Courtesy University La Sapienza, Rome. Photograph Stefania Sepulcri.

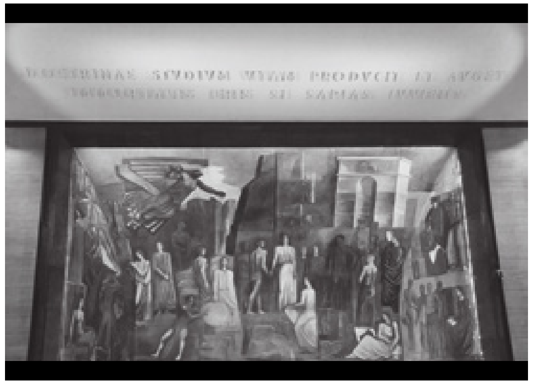

Figure 5. Mario Sironi, *L'Italia tra le Arti e le Scienze* (Italy among the Arts and Sciences), (fresco, 1935), after the recent philological restoration. Auditorium, University City La Sapienza, Rome. Courtesy University La Sapienza, Rome. Photograph Stefania Sepulcri.

Figure 6. Exhibition view of *Post Zang Tumb Tuuum. Art Life Politics: Italia 1918–1943*, 18 February – 25 June 2018, Fondazione Prada, Milan. From left to right: Massimo Campigli, I costruttori, 1928; Fortunato Depero, La rissa, 1926; Fortunato Depero, Guerra-Festa, 1925. Courtesy Fondazione Prada. Photograph Delfino Sisto Legnani and Marco Cappelletti.

Figure 7. Exhibition view of *Post Zang Tumb Tuuum. Art Life Politics: Italia 1918–1943*, 18 February – 25 June 2018, Fondazione Prada, Milan. In the foreground: Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini, *Tappeto per Casa Manusardi*, 1935; Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini, T*avolo basso per casa Manusardi*, 1935. Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini, Sedie per Casa Manusardi, 1935. Courtesy Fondazione Prada. Photograph Delfino Sisto Legnani and Marco Cappelletti.

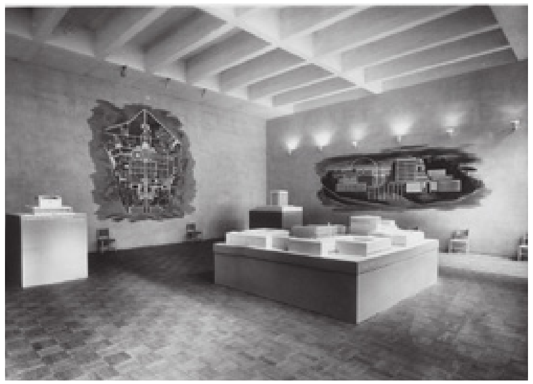

Figure 8. Models designed for the Rome International Exposition, exhibited at the 7th Triennale di Milano, 1940. Section 1: the *E42*, Olimpiade della civiltà in the exhibition of architecture. Archivio fotografico © La Triennale di Milano. Photograph Crimella.

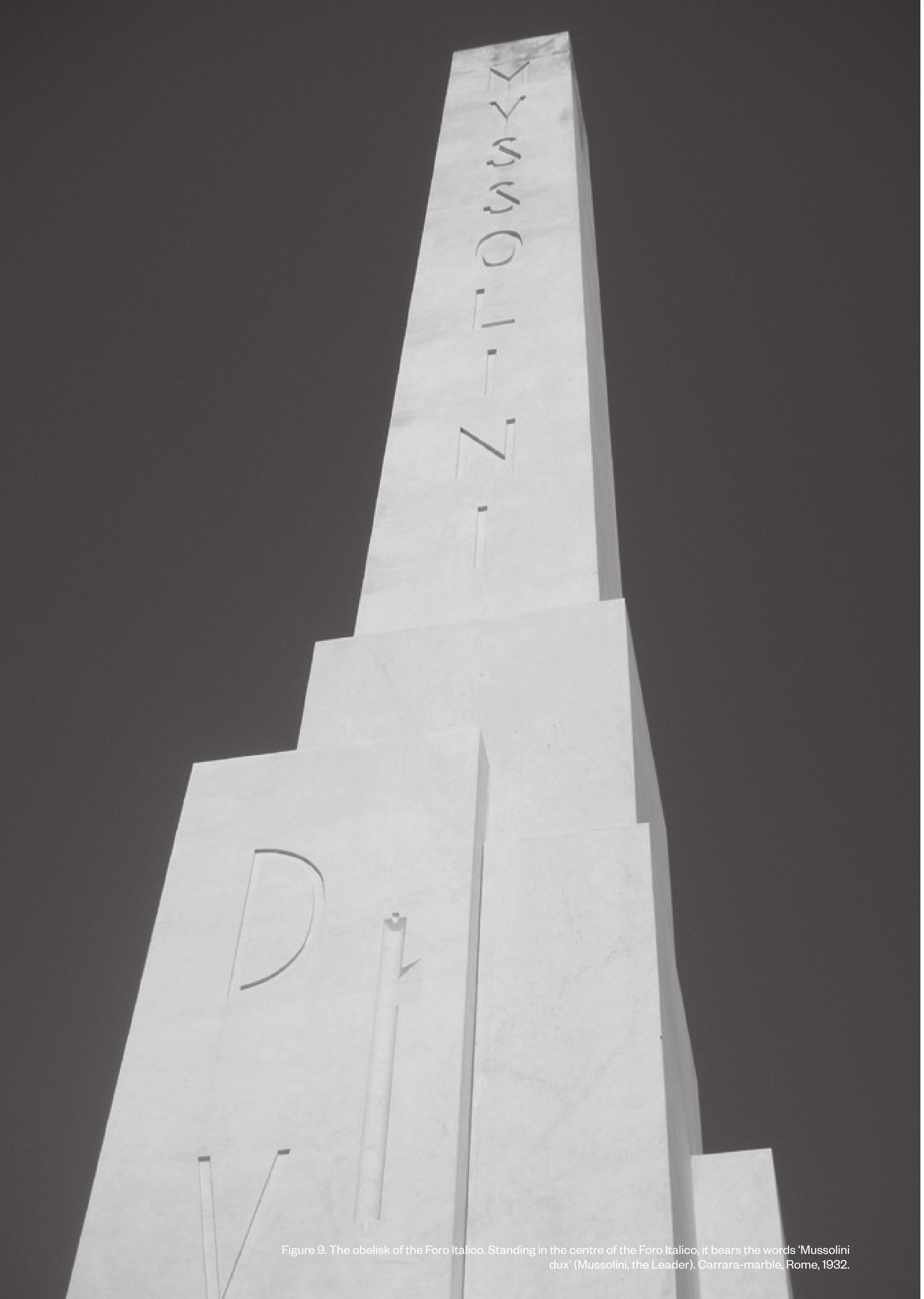

Figure 9. The obelisk of the Foro Italico. Standing in the centre of the Foro Italico, it bears the words ‘Mussolini dux’ (Mussolini, the Leader). Carrara-marble, Rome, 1932.

for ribbon windows, large glazed surfaces and metal outlines for the façade, linking the interior and exterior spaces.[11]

Starting in 1934, Rationalism’s presence began to decline and was overtaken by the *littorio* style, prevalent in public tenders. The PNF (National Fascist Party) insisted on the monumental function of buildings, on the use of stone, on a language that would have an impressive effect on the mind.[12] During this period, Mussolini launched his idea of creating the third Rome, expanding the city towards east up to the Castelli area and west towards Ostia.

New suburbs started to appear. Garbatella and EUR[13] were the first steps to connect Rome and Ostia. The original plan designed in 1937, inspired by classical Roman city planning with a few elements of Rationalism, envisaged a development based on orthogonal axes and solid, square buildings mainly in white marble and travertine bringing us back immediately to antiquity. This style called ‘Metaphysical Rationalism’ in reference to Giorgio de Chirico’s paintings is basically expressing an oversimplified classicism. The building that best symbolizes this architectural model is Palazzo della Civiltà italiana also known as the ‘Square Colosseum’, designed by Ernesto La Padula, Giovanni Guerrini and Mario Romano.

It should be noted that the three architects involved with Piacentini in the EUR project were Rationalists. Nevertheless, they all had to compromise with Piacentini’s neoclassical vision.

Construction was interrupted in 1942 by World War II and resumed in 1951 with implementation of the buildings that were started ten years earlier (Figure 3). A new business and residential district arose thereafter. In the 1960s, EUR has all the features of a modern district, quite different from the monumental and rhetorical modernity imagined by fascism. Today, it appears as a totally different urban reality.

The war represented a sharp cut. When work resumed in the post-war period, most of the buildings manifested political features that were unacceptable in the new democratic era. The same applied to art and decoration. The program coordinated by the painter Cipriano Efisio Oppo remained mostly unrealized. Also, the frescos, mosaics and celebratory sculptures of the Duce and of the Roman world that had been conceived in connection with architectural features were by now out of place – as was, for instance, the massive fresco by Mario Sironi, *L’Italia tra le Arti e le Scienze* (Italy between Art and Science) (1935), in the auditorium of the La Sapienza university campus.[14] It witnesses the union of politics and culture. It was Sironi’s intention that the gigantic mural (more than 90 square meters) embody the values of fascist society and convey a specific ‘lifestyle’. His archaic, monumental, synthetic and austere style attempted a synthesis of modernism and fascism.[15] As an expression of art enslaved to the regime, the partial fresco with dry finishes was remodelled in 1950 and partly covered, first with wallpaper, then with layers of colour (Figure 4). The restoration aimed at weakening the stylistic matrix of the work in order to cleanse it of fascist aspects – to ‘de-fascistise’ it – by softening its features, modifying the hues and concealing the symbols of the regime (the eagle, the *littorio* bundle, the date of the fascist era and the leader riding over a triumphal arch). Oddly enough it was Piacentini, with whom Sironi had so often collaborated in the past, who hired the authors of the censorship.[16]

Condemned to oblivion for a long time, this artwork has recently been recovered by a philological restoration that brought back ‘an extremely important figurative document regarding Mario Sironi’s production, the history of the University campus, and more broadly, Italian interwar visual arts’[17] (Figure 5). The restoration is part of a broader campaign of revaluation and recovery of artistic production during the two decades of fascist rule, and therefore part of a new phase of discussion. Specifically, this restoration was launched according to the principle of freedom of expression and the law on copyright. To sum up, we could say that it emphasizes the fresco’s artistic value to the detriment of its political relevance. The is an example of a democratic approach devoid of ideological superstructures that attempt to objectively reread the complex cultural landscape of the time.

In the vibrant interwar cultural climate, tradition and the avant-garde coexisted. At that time, there was no shortage of different voices that opposed the pervasive rhetoric of the regime. As the Novecento group advocated the return to a Renaissance tradition, the first nucleus of the Scuola Romana (that consisted of Mario Mafai, Antonietta Raphaël and Scipione Bonichi), for example, opposed an interesting mix of baroque painting and transalpine expressionism introduced by Raphaël.

Inaugurated in February 2018, the exhibition *Post Zang Tumb Tuuum. Art Life Politics: Italia 1918–1943*[18] offers a good basis for deepening the link between politics and culture. It explores the fields of art and culture in the interwar period, reconstructing social and political contexts in which the artworks were created, displayed and interpreted. The curatorial approach openly focuses on the interdependence of sociopolitical context and artistic research. The exhibition design, which might at first appear obsolete, is specially made to recreate the original conditions of public and private shows in order to investigate the concept of the exhibition as a symbolic form (Figures 6 and 7). Many documents of that time are displayed as original artefacts including publications and objects related to artists' studios and private collections, Italian art (also art from abroad), architectural designs and plans, and city planning. The exhibition includes the *Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista* (Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution) (1932) and the major design for the *E42* project (Figure 8). The role of art and architecture in the reconfiguration of Italian cultural identity is one of the most interesting points investigated. In particular, the *Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista* is considered as a powerful propaganda tool for the regime. Conceived as a synthesis of instances of modernity and references to Roman history, it was the culmination of a strategy of aestheticising politics. This approach underlines 'how the exhibition of national products and images – even in international settings – was used by the fascist regime as a flexible, adaptable, modern and practical means for reshaping Italian people and molding their experience of the world',[19] as declared by the organizers. It reveals how subtle and ambiguous the policies of the regime were.

Mussolini sought to transmit the spirit of fascism, and the corresponding lifestyle, even through art. He tried to obtain consent by giving visibility to artists, flattering them with prizes and awards, asking for their involvement in order to create a functional collective image for his regime, at least until 1937 when the anti-Semitic campaign began. He always avoided defining the ideological system in an unequivocal way. This attitude allowed intellectuals some autonomy in participation with or critique of the regime. However, in 1940 Giuseppe Pagano (who later perished in the concentration camp of Mauthausen) declared: 'the thought of the fascist State regarding contemporary art is not known precisely or sufficiently clearly'.[20] On one hand, this ambiguity functioned to build consensus; on the other, it was a consequence of the cult of individual creativity that Mussolini stood for. Maybe it was a structural feature of fascism that it was a complex entity in which various positions coexisted. Indeed, it is not without reason that it is described by some historians as an anomalous dictatorship, an 'imperfect totalitarianism'.[21]

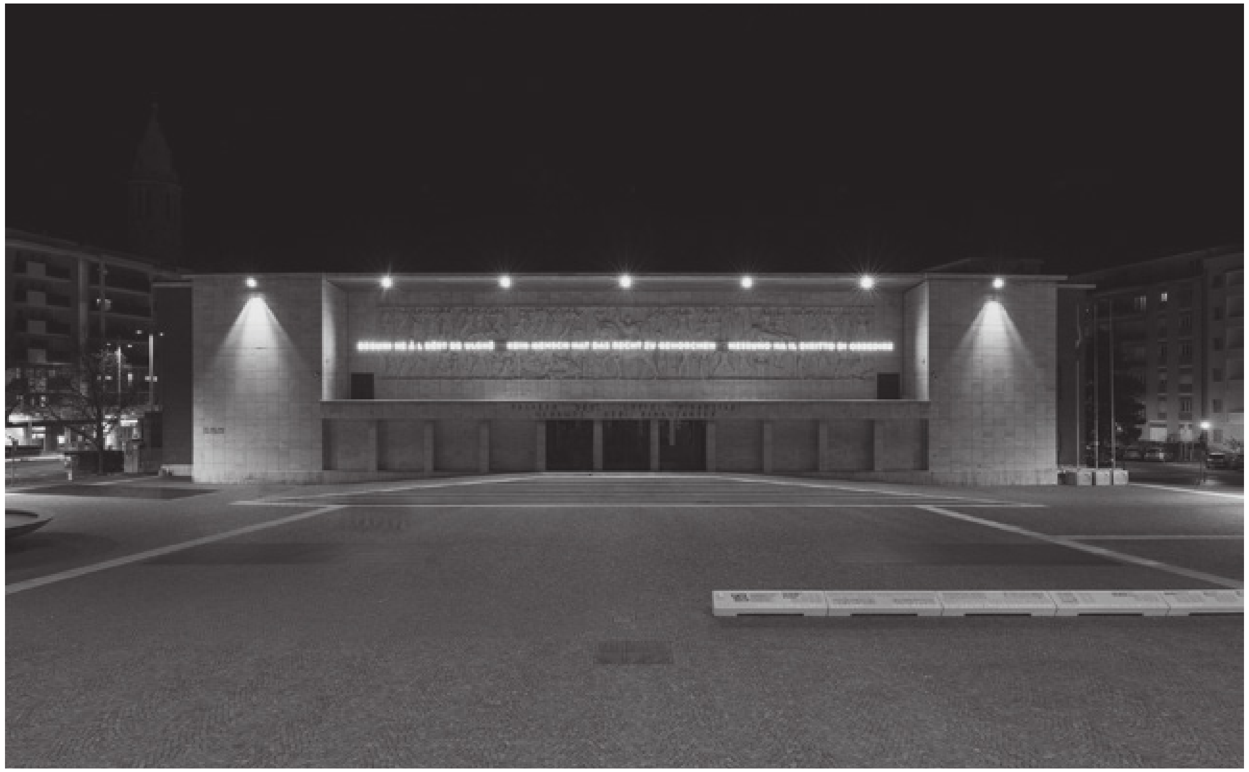

Figure 10. The LED-illuminated installation by Arnold Holzknecht and Michele Bernardi, Palazzo degli Uffici finanziari, Bolzano, 2017. Courtesy the artists. Photograph Laura Egger.

What about the public perception of the debate between architecture and memory today?

Vittorio Vidotto, curator of the recent exhibition *Esposizione Universale Roma. Una città nuova dal fascismo agli anni '60* (A New City from Fascism to the 1960s)[22] points out that the EUR case accompanies and exemplifies the historical judgment of fascism and of its political and cultural message inseparably linked with the totalitarian nature of the regime. Around 1945, EUR had been described as 'a monument to national silliness',[23] however lately there is a general reassessment of the technical and aesthetic aspects.[24] It is most likely due to the historical gap and also to the end of the big narrations that the ideological aspect of these places has been weakened. And now it is quite hard to perceive in the original spot of EUR a monument celebrating fascism, as Vidotto wrote.[25]

In 2004 the Palazzo della Civiltà italiana was declared site of 'cultural interest' by the Italian government. In 2010 it was partially renovated and five years later the fashion house Fendi moved its headquarters there.

Interest in the relationship between the historical, cultural and architectural heritage of the fascist era is far from over. In the last fifteen years the revaluation of Piacentini's neoclassicism has reopened the debate, extending it to politics, culture and public opinion. In 2006, Adachiara Zevi (architect and daughter of Bruno Zevi), in disagreement with the curator Francesco Bonami, urged against mixing 'fascist architecture and architecture built throughout fascism'.[26] Such confusion arose because 'despite the official style, fascism tolerated at least until 1937 the use of other languages'.[27] And she added 'that is why Terragni, an authentic fascist, realized a modern, dynamic, genuine and human-scale architecture that is, therefore, *anti*-fascist.'[28] The architect Ernesto Nathan Rogers had already expressed such distinctions in 1962.[29] He recalled that in 1937 various rationalists had realized that it was impossible to put together a human-based architecture with the fascism of the superhuman.

In 2015, while Laura Boldrini, the former President of the Chamber of Deputies, was encouraging removal of the word 'Dux' from the obelisk of the Foro Italico (Figure 9), Vidotto was inaugurating the aforementioned *E42* exhibition. A couple of years later, RAI (Italy's national public broadcasting network) presented a program about fascist architecture with great success: 1,499,000 viewers and a 6.26% share.[30] Almost in the meantime, the renowned daily newspaper *Sole24Ore* launched a survey about public perception of a dispute arising from an article published on the website of the magazine *The New Yorker*. In her article, Ruth Ben-Ghiat, professor of history and Italian studies at New York University, queried the persistence of fascist symbols in Italy (monuments, inscriptions and architectural works) and introduced the historical topic regarding the memory of fascism.[31]

The readers of *Sole24Ore* seemed to reject an ideological reading that would not produce objective visions. For many people, the Italian Rationalist style represented one of the highest points of national architecture of the 1900s, and that was enough. It was not perceived as an expression of the fascist regime but as a development of European modernism. Therefore, the need to separate the concept of fascism from that of Rationalist architecture prevailed, even if the difference noted by Zevi was not always clear to the public.

Another point raised in *Sole24Ore* was the difference between commemorative monuments and works of civil architecture – because most buildings still standing today have above all an urban-architectural value and function. Among the comments, was the idea that handing down artistic and cultural heritage is different from defending moral heritage. We cannot delete history falling headlong upon architecture or art, someone wrote. On the contrary, keeping alive the memory of twenty years of history, which has led us to where we are today, could be a good way of not forgetting and of avoiding repeating the same mistakes.

Immediately after the war, the proposal to demolish the obelisk of the Foro Italico fell on deaf ears, officially for economic reasons. The topic reappeared during the organization of the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome and on that occasion a mosaic that featured the oath of allegiance to fascism was cancelled. Hence, an effort was made to cautiously remove as many explicit symbols as possible of the glorification of the regime but not of its memory. Such a notion was also pursued afterwards; as a result obelisks, inscriptions and fasces still exist today mixed with other symbols of the long history of this country where their presence is almost unnoticed in everyday life.

Nevertheless, with the awareness of a difference between memory and nostalgic celebration, the problem of dealing with an odd issue persists. Collective memory is especially important in this historical moment in which we are witnessing the return of right-wing groups that are ready to revive symbols and dangerous, buried rhetorical ideas. The question is: can those symbols can really be ideologically restored? Can they actually resume their active role in propaganda? Historian Emilio Gentile suggests that Mussolini wanted to create an efficient system of symbols with a religious value ('fascist mysticism') in order to strengthen his power. His objective was made possible due to the lack of a secular-state symbolic scheme, something that politicians had never thought of imposing until then.[32] Therefore, it would be necessary to work on the symbolic system, on awareness of it and on transmission of its images. We must not succumb to the liberation anxiety that occurs through removal (or destruction) of diffusion media and not through elimination of images in the social imaginary. The iconoclastic result is a clear surrendering to symbolic power so as to lead to a dangerous acceptance of violence as the only possible way out.

Finally, in this respect, I would like to borrow a smart approach from the world of art. It comes from a permanent installation by Michele Bernardi and Arnold Holzknecht related to the argumentative massive bas-relief of Benito Mussolini on horseback carved by Hans Piffrader on the façade of the former Fascist Party headquarters in Bolzano (Figure 10). Instead of covering or disguising it, the two artists designed an LED-illuminated installation that opens a dialogue with the original monument, defying its size and rhetorical content. A quote by Hannah Arendt – 'Nobody has the right to obey' – duly projected in the three local languages – German, Italian and Ladin – is superimposed upon the frieze bearing the fascist slogan 'Believe, Obey, Fight'. Conceptual dissonance is emphasised by pitting the lightness of the illumination against the heaviness of the marble. This powerful artwork, which is an alternative to the concepts of both destroying and preserving, completely transforms a celebratory frieze into a place of meditation: it definitely represents an interesting case of 'resemanticization' that requires us to confront our history.

Endnotes

[1] This paper addresses the relationship between fascism and Rationalism focusing in particular on the interpretation of classicism and on the relationship between architecture and memory. Instead, it does not debate the presence of vernacular tradition – as varied as the regions of Italy – that inspired both modern and reactionary construction practices. The vernacular has also been a pervasive theme of Rationalist architects. In this regard, I recommend some articles published in *Domus* magazine in the early 1930s and Giuseppe Pagano, *Architettura rurale in Italia* (Milan: Hoepli, 1936). I would also suggest the most recent essay by Michelangelo Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy* (Toronto and Buffalo: The University of Toronto Press, 2010).

[2] Group 7 was founded on the initiative of young graduates: Carlo Enrico Rava (son of a fascist hierarch), Luigi Figini, Guido Frette, Sebastiano Larco, Gino Pollini, Giuseppe Terragni and Ubaldo Castagnoli, then replaced by Adalberto Libera. With regards to the disputes between the two movements, see Cesare De Seta, 'La cultura e l'architettura fra le due guerre: continuità e discontinuità,' *L'architettura in Italia (1919–1943)*, edited by Silvia Danesi and Lucio Patetta (Milan: Clupguide, 1972) p. 17.

[3] Bruno Zevi, *Storia dell'architettura moderna. Vol. 1: Da William Morris ad Alvar Aalto: la ricerca spazio-temporale* (Turin: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi, 2004) p. 185.

[4] Alberto Clementi, 'Razionalismo e Novecento nell'opera di Giuseppe Capponi. La figura di Capponi nella cultura architettonica degli anni '30,' *Rassegna dell'Istituto di Architettura e Urbanistica* 29–30 (May–December 1974) pp. 7–26 (p. 11).

[5] Federica Visconti, 'Architettura e ragione. Intervista a Fritz Neumeyer,' *Il razionalismo italiano. Storia, città, ragione*, edited by Federica Visconti (Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2013) pp. 19–27.

[6] Giulio Carlo Argan, 'Introduzione a Wright,' in *Metron* 18 (1947) pp. 9–24.

[7] Giuseppe Pagano, 'Potremo salvarci dalle false tradizioni e dalle ossessioni monumentali?' in *Casabella* 157 (January 1941) pp. 2–7; republished in Giuseppe Pagano, *Architettura e città durante il fascismo*, edited by Cesare De Seta (Milan: Jaca Book, 2008) p. 56.

[8] For more on this issue, see Paolo Portoghesi, 'La Città Universitaria di Roma, le due modernità si conciliano: tre anni d'oro dell'architettura italiana del Novecento/The University City of Rome. Reconciliation between two modernities: the three golden years of 20th-century Italian architecture,' in *Disegnare/Drawing* 52 (June 2016) pp. 12–23; and Carlo Melograni, *Architettura italiana sotto il fascismo: l'orgoglio della modestia contro la retorica monumentale* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2009).

[9] Bartolomeo Azzaro, *La Città Universitaria della Sapienza di Roma e le sedi esterne 1907–1932* (Rome: Gangemi, 2013) pp. 13–15.

[10] Clementi, p. 21.

[11] Azzaro, pp. 21–22.

[12] Emilio Gentile, *Il culto del littorio. La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista* (Milan: Laterza, 1998) p. 239.

[13] This is the acronym for Universal Exposition Rome of 1942. The *E42* project was supposed to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the march into Rome.

[14] See Eliana Billi and Laura D'Agostino, editors, *Sironi svelato. Il restauro del murale della Sapienza* (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2017) and Emilio Gentile, *L'Italia tra le Arti e le Scienze di Mario Sironi: Miti grandiosi e giganteschi rivolgimenti* (Milan: Editori Laterza, 2014).

[15] See Emily Braun, *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[16] Notice that Piacentini and Sironi both come from the artistic group Novecento, founded in Milan in 1922 by the Jewish art critic Margherita Sarfatti, who was very close to Mussolini. The Novecento movement enhanced the civil value of art to the detriment of any decorativism. Art and architecture were without doubt tied to each other and shared the same will of bringing back antique myths. A return to order was demanded and the experimentation of Rationalism was refused, even though Novecento shared the revival flow suggested by the Modern movement. In architecture, it searched for the purity of the lines of classicism in opposition to the neo-Renaissance and neo-Gothic or Liberty eclecticism.

[17] *Il murale di Mario Sironi L'Italia tra le Arti e le Scienze nell'Aula magna della Sapienza*, restoration data tab https://www.uniroma1.it/sites/default/files/field_file_allegati/03_scheda_sironi_il_restauro.pdf (accessed 25 October 2018).

[18] The exhibition's title borrows from Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's onomatopoeic war poem *Zang Tumb Tuuum* written after the battle of Adrianople (1912). Curated by Germano Celant, the exhibition was conceived for the spaces of Fondazione Prada in Milan (18 February – 25 June 2018). For more, see the exhibition catalogue *Post Zang Tumb Tuuum. Art Life Politics: Italia 1918–1943*, edited by Germano Celant (Milan: Hoepli, 2018).

[19] See the exhibition press release, pp. 1–3 (p. 2).

[20] Giuseppe Pagano, 'Urgenza di parlar chiaro,' Costruzioni-Casabella 146 (February 1940), republished in Giuseppe Pagano, *Architettura e città durante il fascismo*, p. 55.

[21] Many important studies have characterised fascism as an incomplete totalitarianism. Nevertheless, this is a controversial topic. See, for example, Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (London: Penguin Classics 1951); Renzo De Felice, *Le interpretazioni del fascismo* (Rome-Bari: Editori Laterza, 1969); Alexander De Grand, 'Cracks in Facade: The Failure of fascist Totalitarianism in Italy 1935-39', *European History Quarterly* 21 (October 1991).

[22] *Esposizione Universale Roma. Una città nuova dal fascismo agli anni '60,* Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome (12 March – 14 June 2015).

[23] Luigi Squarzina used this phrase in his play in three acts *L'Esposizione Universale*, 1945–1948.

[24] In the 1950s and 1960s, the EUR was perceived as a sinister place. Some of the greatest filmmakers of that time, such as Federico Fellini, Michelangelo Antonioni, Pier Paolo Pasolini and Dino Risi, for example, depicted it in a negative way.

[25] See Vittorio Vidotto, *Esposizione Universale Roma. Una città nuova dal fascismo agli anni '60* (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2015).

[26] Adachiara Zevi, 'Architettura fascista e architettura sotto il fascismo,' *Il riformista* (26 September, 2006). https://ytali.com/2017/10/19/architettura-fascista-e-architettura-sotto-il-fascismo/ (accessed 24 October 2018).

[27] Zevi.

[28] Zevi.

[29] Ernesto Nathan Rogers, 'Testimonianza sugli architetti del ventennio,' *Casabella Continuità* 268 (October 1962) pp. 1–9.

[30] The episode *Le Tracce del Ventennio* was broadcast as a part of the historian Paolo Mieli's program La Grande Storia,' 28 December 2017, RAI 3. http://www.ufficiostampa.rai.it/dl/UfficioStampa/Articoli/ASCOLTI-TV-GIOVEDI-28-DICEMBRE--dc58882a-ff49-4930-a65e-771dac0e46ce.html (accessed 24 October 2018).

[31] *Ruth* Ben-Ghiat, 'Why are so many fascist monuments still standing in Italy?' The New Yorker (5 October 2017). https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/why-are-so-many-fascist-monuments-still-standing-in-italy (accessed 24 October 2018).

[32] Emilio Gentile, p. 45.

Session II

Multiple Modernities / Modernisms

The universality of the modernist canon has been the focus of intense debate in recent years, giving rise to a wider, deeper and more critical understanding of the variety of modernist architecture around the world. Moving beyond the out-dated concept of (developed) centre versus (undeveloped) periphery, modernism in territories formerly considered peripheral needs to be re-conceptualised. This raises questions of uniqueness, authenticity – especially in relation to canonical objects and movements – and the values ascribed to ideological legacies. This session deals with theories and examples that question the modernist canon and its value in the context of contemporary academia and society more broadly.

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100 Years of Bauhaus and the Three Lives of Things

Ines Weizman

In 2019 the founding of the Bauhaus School in Weimar 100 years ago will be celebrated internationally. The range of celebrations was affirmed in 2015 by the German Bundestag's decision asserting, 'the Bauhaus anniversary is to be a national event of international radiance.' To that end, the government allocated a sum of nearly 70 million euros for the anniversary program as well as for building extensions and new development in the Weimar, Dessau, and Berlin bases of the Bauhaus. Yet while politicians praise the Bauhaus as being 'Germany's most successful cultural export', its history includes less positive connotations, for it is not only the history of an institution that fought its way through a reformed, democratic Weimar Republic, against the pressures of conservative and right-wing tendencies, but also a history of (inner) migration, exile, and fleeing brought on by Hitler's rise to power and the shutdown of the Bauhaus in 1933. Protagonists, artworks, products, and documents ascribed to the Bauhaus were forced underground or scattered across the globe; meanwhile, buildings were built over, deconstructed, or demolished. Some artists and architects founded or reoriented schools in the West and East: Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, László Moholy-Nagy at the New Bauhaus in Chicago, Josef and Annie Albers at Black Mountain College and Max Bill at the Hochschule für Gestaltung, Ulm. Or they tested their practices and curricula in the Soviet Union, Africa or Latin America against their respective native orthodoxies by opening a space for free thinking and imagination.[1] However, even in these new approaches they met restrictions. The path of the Bauhaus became divided, losing its contours as well as its historiographers.

Reflections on the art and architecture school founded in April 1919 – only some hundred meters away from the very same place where in that year the Weimar national assembly was established – lead not only to the works and ideas of the Bauhaus which were developed in the original Weimar, Dessau, and Berlin locations, but also to the bumpy path of a history in which the avant-garde and politically engaged educational centre would be, in different ways, construed, praised, but also discredited and persecuted.

The call for an international celebration of the Bauhaus also promotes the further development, migration, and reception of the institution within its historical context, keeping in mind and investigating the implications of the time's political regime. In this sense, the range of festivities surrounding the Bauhaus, that both nationally and internationally have already found formats and even some rather bold interpretations and associations, offer an opportunity to use the perspective of a 100-year history as a self-affirmation about the inheritance of modernism.[2] The contemporary appraisal of early modernism – at the dawn of the 21st century when new experimental fields of digital production and form grew – is surely only partially a result of historical analysis or cultural-political cues. There is much more that suggests the 'revival' of the Bauhaus is a result of grappling with the legacy of modernism, in that some original works remain preserved and presented (e.g. in museums, archives, or as memorials), while other specimens are proliferated as copies or further developed, reflected on, beloved, and ultimately received. The search for precedent (from today's perspective) is equally as fascinating as the search for posterity and subsequent administrators of the historical Bauhaus. Together the creators and their trustees were taken, along with their documents and objects, on internationally flung paths that often lead to unclear tenures. The history of migration is therefore also the history of objects that, through new uses, holders, trustees, licensing agreements, legal disputes, development of new products, and in light of new research and discovery of unknown works, are constantly repositioned and appropriated. Today, in the internationally celebrated Bauhaus-year, 30 years after the end of the German Democratic Republic, we have an opportunity to historiographically find a connection – in the finely woven network of objects, ideas, and histories – that truly binds the World Cultural Heritage Sites, and in which the legacy is engaged not only during the anniversary but in the ever-coming future.

The end of the GDR and the subsequent German reunification were tied to the opening of archives, private collections, and stocks as well as new opportunities to access objects and sources in the GDR Bauhaus locations in Weimar and Dessau, and in West Berlin's Bauhaus Archive. Looking back on these 100 years of Bauhaus thus entails the collective reprocessing of this history which made a plethora of new relationships among historical classifications, new fields of design in the arts, and historiographical studies possible. In hindsight, the expiration of copyrights on works attributed to the Bauhaus can delineate the 100-year history in 'three lives', as I will illustrate in this text.[3]

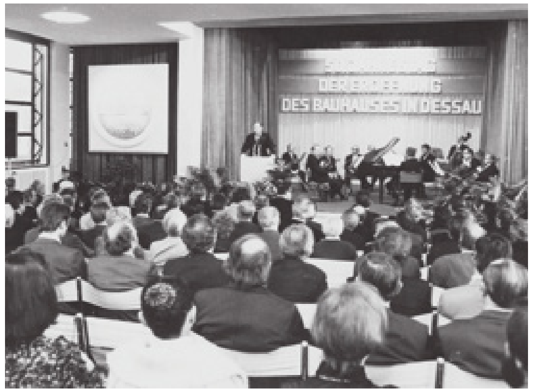

Figure 1. Ceremony of the Reopening of the Bauhaus building Dessau at the 50th anniversary of the Bauhaus, December 4, 1976. Image: Archiv der Moderne / Universitätsarchiv Bauhaus-Universität Weimar.

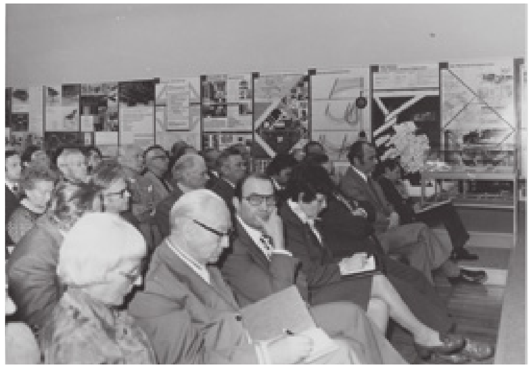

Figure 2. Impressions of the first Bauhaus colloquium in Weimar, October 27-29, 1976. Image: Archiv der Moderne / Universitätsarchiv Bauhaus-Universität Weimar.

The First Life

In 1919 Walter Gropius, the founding director of the Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar, called together a group of international avant-garde artists and, later, architects, for an ambitious experiment: establishing an educational centre based on the principle of the Gesamtkunstwerk, or total artwork, that in its manifesto declared architecture to be the 'goal of all creative activities.' But in Weimar an education in architecture could hardly be realized, because already in 1925 the Bauhaus was forced to leave Weimar due to the newly elected conservative-nationalist federal state government which was sceptical of the universalistic and social-utopic ideals that pervaded the school. In 1932 they were forced to close the school in Dessau under the pressure of the ever-growing influence of the National Socialist Party. In this period of existential insecurity, the school had to continuously adapt to new circumstances; it was constantly called upon to reflect on its conceptual foundation and to position itself politically. It was against such adversity that the last attempt to revive the school, in Berlin in 1933 by Mies van de Rohe, failed. With the rise to power of Hitler's regime, many members and advocates of the Bauhaus, whose work was labelled 'degenerate art', felt forced out of Germany. After the war they could only slowly begin to pick up where they left off, since the Bauhaus and its ideology were interpreted differently in West and East Germany.

The Second Life

In West Germany, it is not until the 1950s and '60s that Bauhaus historiography finds significant material record in the founding of the Ulm School of Design in 1953, by Max Bill, Otl Aicher, and Inge Aicher-Scholl, the opening ceremony of which included a speech given by Walter Gropius. The consolidation of resources collected over years from donations and inheritances in art historian and curator Hans Maria Wingler's book *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago* helped associate artists of the Bauhaus with their works. This work took the form of an institution in 1960 with the founding of the Bauhaus Archive in Darmstadt. A building designed by Walter Gropius for this purpose would ultimately be built in West Berlin in 1979. In contrast, an open discussion of Bauhaus history as such was not possible in the GDR due to the suspicious gaze of cultural bureaucrats until the mid-1970s. The first GDR head of state, Walter Ulbricht, was publicly outspoken against the Bauhaus. The avant-garde and free thought that drove students of the Bauhaus, as well as the fact that too many protagonists of the school, including its two directors, sit in the capitalist West, and its third director, Hannes Meyer, returned from the Soviet Union and Mexico – yet unrehabilitated and staying in Switzerland – made it impossible for representatives of the state's ideology to incorporate the Bauhaus. It was only under the new leadership that presided over the renovation and reopening of the Bauhaus building in Dessau in 1976, that an in-depth investigation of Bauhaus history was possible, albeit short of comprehensive, with the rare exception of a personnel exchange across Eastern Bloc borders.

It is perhaps little-known that the reconstruction of the Bauhaus building in Dessau was an initiative overwhelmingly planned and executed by architects and professors of the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, which in turn led to the establishment of the International Bauhaus Colloquium in 1976. The reopening of the Bauhaus building in Dessau and the subsequent invitation of international guests from the East and West to Dessau and Weimar marked an important moment in the open discussion (that has since grown) of the reception of the Bauhaus in what was once the GDR (Figures 1 and 2). At each of these congresses in Weimar every three or four years, lectures and demonstrations by researchers, architects, and previous members of the Bauhaus tested what was allowed to be said in those political atmospheres and presented what was known of the remaining objects and people of the Bauhaus as well as initiatives for collections and monuments.

In 2016 as director of the Bauhaus Institute of History and Theory of Architecture and Planning, I also decided to continue the tradition of the colloquia and to plan the 2016 event both as an opportunity to reflect on new methods of Bauhaus historiography and the history of the conference itself. Precisely forty years after its inauguration in Weimar, and just prior to the 100th anniversary of the Bauhaus, the International Bauhaus-Kolloquium titled Dust and Data defined itself as a historiographical institution–a barometer within a changing political and cultural landscape. On its occasion, together with Norbert Korrek and Christiane Wolf, and in collaboration with students at the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar and the Centre for Documentary Architecture I curated an exhibition on the history of the Bauhaus colloquia at the HAB Weimar. In 2019, as part of the XIV. International Bauhaus-Kolloquium, together with graphic designer Moritz Ebeling, I developed this exhibition, which contained statistics, photographs, and film interviews, as a website and an online database: https://https://bau-haus-kolloquium.de/archiv/.

The collapse of the GDR and the reunification of Germany opened new possibilities in the research of Bauhaus history. The historical Bauhaus became an important contact point on which a reunited Germany could base its profile and present itself. The political map of history will reveal itself once again when in 2019, in Germany, three new Bauhaus structures are opened in Weimar, Dessau, and Berlin. Today, the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, is located in the historic building complex built in 1904–11 by Henry van de Velde for the Grand Ducal Saxon School of Applied Arts and the Grand Ducal School of Arts and Crafts, in which the Staatliche Bauhaus was active from 1919–25.[4] As a university it is beholden to the location and the inheritance of ideals of the Bauhaus. While the three leading cultural institutions, the Klassik Stiftung Weimar, the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, and the Bauhaus Archive Berlin, serve different functions with their extensive collections, each is primed to exhibit them within their new buildings and extensions. Among the new buildings are the new Bauhaus Museum in Weimar by Heike Hanada, the Bauhaus Museum Dessau by addenda architects (González Hinz Zabala), and the Bauhaus Archive in Berlin by Staab Architekten.

The Third Life

As shown above in the short riff on Bauhaus history, many facts and insights remain to be derived through research into the historical school and its subsequent institutions; even in the 21st century it will be a challenge to reproduce the Bauhaus and its international historical impact. The digital era makes it possible to record and preserve art, design, and architectural history anew. New technologies in detection, such as 3D-scanning, photogrammetric analysis, remote sensing, and drones, can perceive what the naked eye (or a normal camera) never could, and enable new approaches to material objects and architecture. New recording and documentation techniques can be joined nearly seamlessly with methods of production and reproduction of objects, whether they be artworks, construction components, or architecture. This raises questions regarding authenticity, authorship, and copyright but also of revision and appropriation of history through new uses and ideas.

Thus, there was a collective sigh of relief throughout the museum world at the end of 2013 when the Bauhaus master Oskar Schlemmer's copyright expired seventy years after his death. For years, collectors, art dealers, and auctioneers shied away from exhibiting, selling, or auctioning works by Schlemmer. The artist famous for the *Triadic Ballet* could not be the subject of a retrospective because Oskar Schlemmer's successors and his wife fought over the rights of ownership and handling of his inheritance. Only after expiration of the copyright could the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart show the comprehensive retrospective *Oskar Schlemmer: Visions of a New World*. This example suggests that many works remain inaccessible to the public, not because they are undiscovered or missing, but because families and private collectors keep them hidden. So, if previously it was the ideological interpretation or the impossibility of research over Cold War borders that hindered a comprehensive understanding of Bauhaus history, then here it is the works kept in the dark, those in their 'second life', that obscure the history of modernism. It is only in the third life of things, when works are freed of their authors and trustees, when they become public domain, that they are free for new perceptions, inspirations, and new developments.

My reading of the 'three lives of modernism' – that lead to the methods of 'documentary architecture' and that have been explored since 2015 at the Centre for Documentary Architecture (CDA)[5] – in some ways originated in my research and engagement with the Josephine Baker House designed in 1928 by the Viennese architect Adolf Loos.

The Architectural Re-Enactment of the Josephine Baker House by Adolf Loos

This project was a response to a 2008 invitation by Ai Weiwei to be one of the 100 architects who would each design a 1,000 square metre villa for a new settlement in Ordos/Inner Mongolia. The house that Adolf Loos designed for the African-American dancer Josephine Baker in 1928 was never realized. The year of the Ordos invitation was significant in that it fell precisely seventy-five years after the death of the author in 1933, and thus outside of the period of the design's copyright protection which extends a legal lifetime or seventy-five years beyond an author's death. My aim was to reflect upon the notions of 'original' and 'copy' and on the nature of copyright. The proposal sought to be a gesture of critique, rather than a wilful participation in a project so obviously problematic. I first sent the local contractors a Chinese translation of Loos's original drawings which I had obtained from the Adolf Loos Archive at the Albertina Museum in Vienna; later, I prepared elaborate blueprints and spatial studies with detailed references to the work of Loos (Figures 3, 4 and 5). This provocation, thankfully never realized, lead to teaching and research projects that I have continued since then. Investigating the architectural copy as a media form opened a pathway to thinking about architectural history in relation to law, conservation and copyright, raising questions about authenticity and identity.[6]

The project for Ordos – temporarily titled *Chinese Whispers* – also inspired me to try to reconstruct the nature of communication between the architect and the dancer. It has been always an understudied biographical footnote that Loos suffered from a progressive loss of hearing, beginning in his childhood, that resulted in almost complete deafness at the end of his life. By the time he met Baker in Paris circa 1927, he could not have heard her music. It was fascinating to revisit the work of the architect considering this condition, and to investigate how he used architecture as an extension of his hearing devices – prosthetic apparatuses at an environmental scale.[7]

If Loos had been able to realize the Josephine Baker House in Paris, he would have, without a doubt, referred to some of the design elements and an acoustic catalogue of materials which we explored when revisiting his so-called 'Wohnungswanderungen' (apartment walks) in Vienna. Benefiting from new technical possibilities for capturing and reproducing elements of Loos's architecture, we visited several of his villas and produced photogrammetric reproductions of architectural fragments. Later, we 3D-printed them and presented them through an exhibition in Weimar, and they will also be used for further research and exploration.[8]

Investigating Loos's death in 1933, I reframed my research project again, this time as part of a complicated history of the whereabouts and ownership of his archive. Legal title to his inheritance can never be fully solved, as the year of his death coincided with the rise of the National Socialist regime in Europe, and many of his family members, clients, and friends fled Austria before legal decisions about the estate could be made. With their departure, many of the objects of his archive (his drawings, models, and correspondence) and the inhabitant-owners of his buildings were set into a long and painful history of displacement and exile. Themes of copyright and ownership resurfaced, revealing a complex set of characters and objects in different political contexts that I sketched out on a 15-metre-long wall at the 2012 Venice Architecture Biennale in the installation *Repeat Yourself: Loos and the Culture of the Copy* and elsewhere as 'the three lives of modernism.'[9] The main idea was to think through the evolution of a work of art across three main legal periods: the first being the coincidence of the life of the work with the life of the author; the second being the legal lifetime describing the seventy or seventy-five years covering the post-death period of protection according to international copyright conventions (thanks to today's medical advancements, this could be extended); and the third being the era after which the architectural object has become part of the public domain.

One destination of exile for the collaborators and clients of Loos was Palestine, where I discovered many buildings designed by his associates in the late 1930s. These structures were dislocated objects of architecture, representations of mimetic practices of copying and transfiguration, as ideas were propelled across borders and along the multi-directional trajectories of exile.[10] Through a series of 'object biographies' of buildings by Loos, the research project also captured conditions of transformation and changing ownership. Architectural details and fragments appeared to contain the seeds to understanding some of the 'deep memories' of a building. But they also opened new perspectives on the trajectories of exile, as these were not simply unidirectional (as the Ordos project tried to explore when asked to 'export' an architectural idea) but rather pointed to their place of origin.

In that sense the history of the Bauhaus and the history of international modernism can be revisited afresh through a renewed engagement with a history which, upon closer investigation, proves less explored than established architectural readings might suggest. Hence, the preservation of material history has to be synchronized and documented with similar methods of preservation of architectural history.

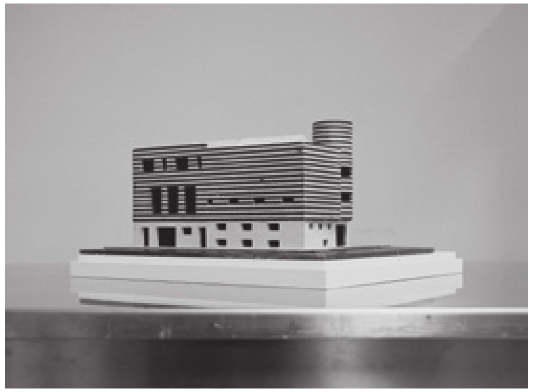

Figure 3. Photograph by Armin Linke of Model House Baker (front) by Adolf Loos, 1928 as part of the Architectural Reenactment of House Baker by Ines Weizman for Ordos 100, 2008. Photograph Armin Linke.

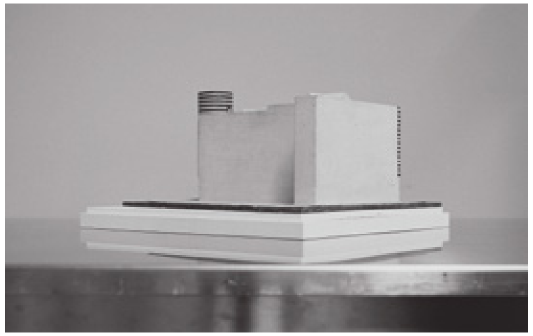

Figure 4. Photograph by Armin Linke of Model House Baker (rear) by Adolf Loos, 1928 as part of the Architectural Reenactment of House Baker by Ines Weizman for Ordos 100, 2008. Photograph Armin Linke.

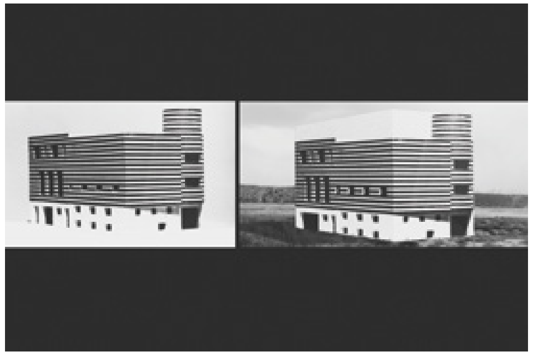

Figure 5. Ines Weizman, Collage of Architectural Reenactment of House Baker for Ordos 100, 2008, Photograph Ines Weizman.

Endnotes

[1] Ines Weizman, editor, *Dust and Data: Traces of the Bauhaus across 100 Years* (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2019).

[2] Already in 2014, the architect Rem Koolhaas as curator of the International Architecture Biennale in Venice gave exhibiting nations the assignment of reflecting on the year 1914 and the impact, in their respective historical contexts, of World War I on their architectural history. The context of the 'Bauhaus-year 2019' is, I would argue, founded in a similar way.

[3] Regarding my concept of the three lives of modernism see also: Ines Weizman, 'The Three Lives of Modern Architecture: Wills, Copyrights and their Violations,' *Place and Displacement: Exhibiting Architecture*, edited by Thordis Arrhenius, Mari Lending, Wallis Miller and Jérémie Michael McGowan (Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2014), pp. 183–96; and Ines Weizman, 'Fahrenheit 2400°: The Second Life of Luis Barragán,' *The Proposal*, edited by Jill Magid (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016) pp. 136–48.

[4] The over-150-year-long history of today's Bauhaus-Universität ranges from the preceding institutions of the Weimar Bauhaus as well as its unquestionable successors in the late Weimar Republic, the school under National Socialism up through the post-war period, through its central role in construction in the GDR, up to reunification and its development to date.

[5] The CDA is an interdisciplinary project that explores buildings as documents and built environments as archives in which history is inscribed. It is composed of architects, filmmakers, artists, historians and theorists who undertake a number of collective and individual research projects in contested areas or historical periods where architecture could be used as a registrar of political relations and transformations. Our analysis is centred on architecture's materiality and it is undertaken in relation to other archives, plans, drawings, photography, literature, film and social media and is mobilized by digital research techniques. CDA projects include, but are not limited to, publications, exhibitions, installations, films, new media projects and public programs. In September 2019, the Centre for Documentary Architecture in collaboration with the White City Center will present this research in the exhibition *The Matter of Data: Tracing the Materiality of Bauhaus Modernism* at the new Bauhaus Museum Weimar and at the White City Center, Tel Aviv. www.documentary-architecture.org

[6] Ines Weizman, 'Architecture and copyright: rights of authors and things in the age of digital reproduction,' *Terms of Appropriation: Modern Architecture and Global Exchange*, edited by Amanda Reeser Lawrence and Ana Miljački (London: Routledge, 2017) pp. 141–159.

[7] Ines Weizman, 'Tuning into the void. The Aurality of Adolf Loos's Architecture,' *Harvard Design Magazine* 38 (Spring/Summer 2014) pp. 8–16.

[8] Ines Weizman, 'Architecture's Internal Exile. Experiments in Digital Documentation of Adolf Loos's Vienna Houses,' *Architecture and Freedom: Searching for Agency in a Changing World* (Chichester, UK: Wiley, 2018) pp. 32–39.

[9] Ines Weizman, 'The Three Lives of Modern Architecture: Wills, Copyrights and their Violations,' *Place and Displacement: Exhibiting Architecture*, edited by Thordis Arrhenius, Mari Lending, Wallis Miller and Jérémie Michael McGowan (Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2014) pp. 183–196.

[10] Ines Weizman, 'Archives Fever. Adolf Loos in Palestine,' *The Transfer of Modernity – Architectural Modernism in Palestine 1923–1948*, edited by Jörg Stabenow and Ronny Schüler (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2019) pp. 33–47.

Modernist Krakow

Michał Wiśniewski

The urban space of Krakow is rarely seen as connected with modernism. Its image is usually perceived through the lens of rich historical heritage that dominates the medieval city centre and the Kazimierz district. In fact, this image is far from reality. Today's Krakow was built mainly during the 20th century when the small and economically weak border-fortress city was transformed into one of the largest administration and industrial centres of Poland. The beginning of this transformation had already occurred before World War I and continued during the interwar period when Krakow became the capital city of the Krakow Voivodeship – one of the regions of the Second Polish Republic.

During the 19th century, the urban development of Krakow was weak and limited. In 1850, three years after railways arrived in Krakow, Austrian authorities decided to turn the city into a military fortress. Due to its military function, the heavily fortified city of Krakow occupied only a very small area of about 5.77 square kilometres until 1910 and had almost 100,000 citizens, and was for many years the most densely populated city in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[1] Yet despite its limited spatial development at that time, Krakow played the unique role of virtual capital city of a non-existent country. Already during the first half of the 19th century, Krakow became a centre of cultural and social life for the aristocratic elites of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[2] The 1867 political reforms in Austria and especially the new autonomic status of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (a northern part of the Habsburg Monarchy occupied mainly by Poles and Ukrainians) allowed the enlargement of local self-governmental power of the at both regional and municipal levels. Krakow, the second largest city of Galicia after Lviv, utilized this new political situation to invest in modernization marked by new facilities for cultural and educational services. New public edifices like the first Polish National Museum founded in the historic building of the Cloth Hall, the City Theatre, new university and school buildings, and new hospitals made the city attractive to the Polish gentry, helping to attract new private investments and to develop local construction and architecture markets.

At the turn of the 20th century, Krakow authorities also launched many new public investments in city infrastructure to develop gasworks, to establish waterworks and the power plant, and to extend the tramline network. The most ambitious goals were presented and mainly achieved after 1904 when the visionary local politician Dr. Juliusz Leo became the mayor of Krakow.[3] According to one of his ideas, the development of the city was supposed to rely on industries connected to a system of river canals planned by Austro-Hungarian Empire authorities to link the Danube, Oder, Vistula and Dniester rivers. In this plan, Krakow, strategically located just 10 kilometres from the border with the Russian Empire, was seen as an important river port and shipyard. Despite the cancellation of this project after the outbreak of World War I, by 1907 the city saw the beginning of long-term construction of the new Vistula river embankments, a large-scale industry-oriented project.[4]

The new projects initiated in the early years of the 20th century opened the space for discussion of an urban plan for so-called Greater Krakow. In 1910, due to permission of Austrian military authorities as well as decisions of the Galician Parliament, the city could be amalgamated with several neighbouring villages. The process of city expansion continued until 1915 when Krakow was merged with the neighbouring city of Podgórze. At that time the city had about 180,000 citizens in an area of 46.9 square kilometres.[5]

By 1910 local authorities of Krakow organised, for the first time in Polish history, a competition for a modern urban master-plan which was won by a group of five locally based architects: Władysław Ekielski, Tadeusz Stryjeński, Józef Czajkowski, Ludwik Wojtyczko and Kazimierz Wyczyński[6] who proposed future city development organised according to the then popular garden-city ideas of Ebenezer Howard. British urban planning was very influential among Polish architects in the early 20th century. Howard came to Krakow in 1912 to attend an Esperanto language conference. He also visited the Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors in Garden Settings, which took place Krakow that year to present and popularize new ideas for the city's development.[7] This was one of the very first large-scale Polish architectural exhibitions and was organised by the Association for Polish Applied Arts, the leading Polish arts and crafts organisation which had existed in Krakow since 1901.[8] Once in Krakow, Howard delivered a lecture naming it a 'garden city' because of its organic development. It should be emphasized that among the designers of exhibition pavilions were Józef Czajkowski and Ludwik Wojtyczko, who were also among the authors of the winning entry for the new master-plan for Krakow. The pavilions represented cottage architecture designed according to the shape of the Polish-gentry manor house.[9] This romantic archetype of Polish culture, depicted in Adam Mickiewicz's iconic 1834 novel *Pan Tadeusz*, was transformed almost a century later into a new architectural form designed to change the future urban landscape of Polish cities by proposing better living conditions while also making a clear political statement. The Krakow exhibition of 1912 proposed the manor-house aesthetic as a new form of national style.

This new idea summarized the almost two-decades-long discussion dedicated to national forms in Polish architecture in which Krakow's milieu of architects and intellectuals played a most important role. The modern discourse about national style in Polish architecture began at the end of the 19th century with the idea of the so-called Zakopane style, a vernacular-oriented aesthetic inspired by the arts and crafts of the mountainous Podhale region.[10] It was later developed because of growing interest in ethnography and ongoing research orchestrated by the already mentioned Association for Polish Applied Arts.

During the 1912 Krakow exhibition, the vernacular approach of artists and architects who represented this organisation was linked with the powerful symbol of the manor house and with clear ambitions for the city's transformation and modernisation. During the period after this event until the outbreak of World War II, this aesthetic was extremely popular throughout Poland, becoming one of the crucial symbols of national culture which was supposed to be modernist yet rooted in national myths. Not many years later, during the interwar period, the designers of Krakow's 1912 exhibition pavilions – Józef Czajkowski, Wacław Krzyżanowski, Franciszek Mączyński, Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz and Ludwik Wojtyczko – also became very influential, this time not only in Krakow but in the newly reborn Polish state.

Regarding the future careers of this group's members, Józef Czajkowski's is most striking. In the early 1920s he was invited to be a professor at the Art Academy in Warsaw.[11] Together with other artists and architects from Krakow, he transformed this school into a new centre for Polish art. In 1925 Czajkowski along with colleagues from the Krakow Workshops – the new organisation established in 1913 because of the enlargement of the Association for Polish Applied Art – designed the Polish Pavilion presented at the Paris Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes.[12] This building represented the modern, cubist-oriented version of the Polish manor house and was awarded the Grand Prix of the Paris exhibition. Moreover, Polish artists who presented there won more than 150 medals and awards.[13]

The Polish presentation in Paris, which was dominated by Krakow artists, was one of the biggest international successes of Polish culture in the interwar period. The meaning of this success shaped the architecture of Poland and of Krakow at that time in many ways. The expressionistic architecture of Polish art deco, which was soon identified as the Krakow School, together with the already mentioned manor-house aesthetic became one of the most important ways of interpreting the national style in Poland and was highly promoted by state institutions.[14] The already mentioned group of architects who started their careers in Krakow at the beginning of the 20th century played a crucial role in establishing a symbolic, unifying discourse in the arts at a national level.

It should be emphasized that some of them had military experience during World War I and political connections soon after. Just before the outbreak of the war, Krakow was considered one of the most important centres of the political life of non-existent Poland. Among the political leaders who lived in Krakow at that time was Józef Piłsudski who in 1914 formed the first unit of the Polish Legions. On the day the war started, the Legions, among the first units collaborating with the Austrian army, crossed the Russian border. In 1916 there were about 16,500 soldiers in the Polish Legions, almost 130 of whom had artistic or architectural background. Some of them, like the former painter Edward Rydz-Śmigły or the former architect Kazimierz Sosnkowski, soon afterward became the most important politicians and military officers of the Second Polish Republic.[15] Due to this unexpected connection, Krakow-based artists would play a crucial role in Polish culture and architecture soon after the war was over.

During the interwar period, the places connected to the history of the Polish Legions became new symbols of the Second Polish Republic. This was the case with the Legions' barracks that were organised just before the war's outbreak in the still existing pavilions of the 1912 architecture exhibition. The symbolic meaning of the place where Józef Piłsudski initiated the fight for the independence of Poland was extremely important for Krakow's development, making it a kind of national shrine. The city's leaders understood this symbolic connotation and decided to use this place and its vicinity for the establishment of a metropolitan quartier marked with new public buildings built for the university, for culture and for sport.

Before the outbreak of World War I, Krakow saw the beginning of its urban transformation. Despite the economic turbulence of the early 1920s, the ambitious project of city expansion continued, managed by the urban planner Jan Rakowicz, an author of the 1910 competition entry that won the second prize.[16] However, the full completion of his vision, which was also influenced by the garden city movement, was in many ways prevented by the new economic conditions. The most important achievement was the establishment of the Three Poets Avenue (Aleje Trzech Wieszczów), a monumental axis that stretched through the western part of the city along the former Austrian fortification. This new boulevard was designed to house public edifices as well as housing districts. Its main urban idea was to create the new, second city bypass. In many ways it followed the 19th century concept of the Vienna Ringstrasse but it benefited from different architectural aesthetics and other building technologies.[17]

The most important element of this approximately 3-kilometre-long urban composition was its middle part. Named Adam Mickiewicz Avenue it was supposed to contain new metropolitan buildings and functions. One of the very first projects for this area was prepared by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz to house the National Museum.[18] The neo-classicist plan of the so-called Monument to Freedom proposed to build a triumphal arch on the axis of Wolska street just next to Adam Mickiewicz Avenue, turning the place where Józef Piłsudski's soldiers marched in August of 1914 into a national symbol. On the both sides of the arch new museum pavilions were planned.

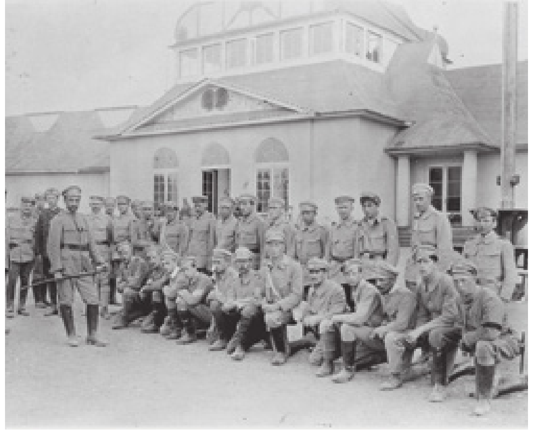

Figure 1. Soldiers of the Polish Legions at the front of the former Main Pavilion of the Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors in Garden Settings, 1914. Built in 1912, Józef Czajkowski, Ludwik Wojtyczko. (National Digital Archive: 1-H-156-1)

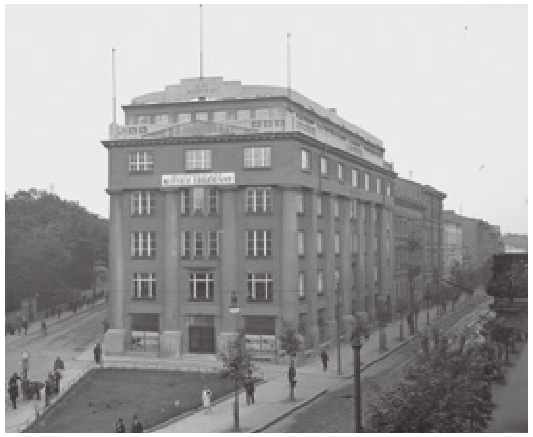

Figure 2. Department Store Bazar Polski S.A. Spójnia Budowlana Stryjeński, Mączyński, Korn, 1920–1922. (National Digital Archive: 1-K-1038-3)

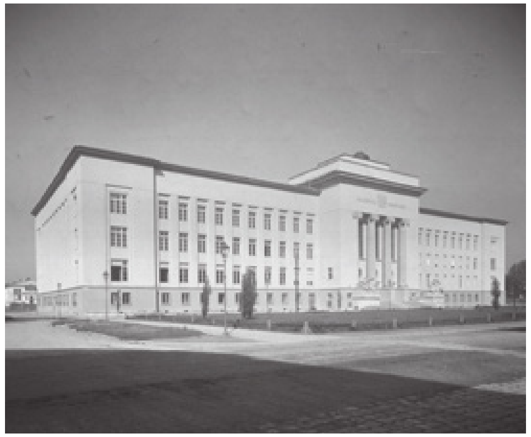

Figure 3. Academy of Mining, Sławomir Nałęcz-Odrzywolski, Wacław Krzyżanowski, 1923–1935. (National Digital Archive: 1-N-3124-1)

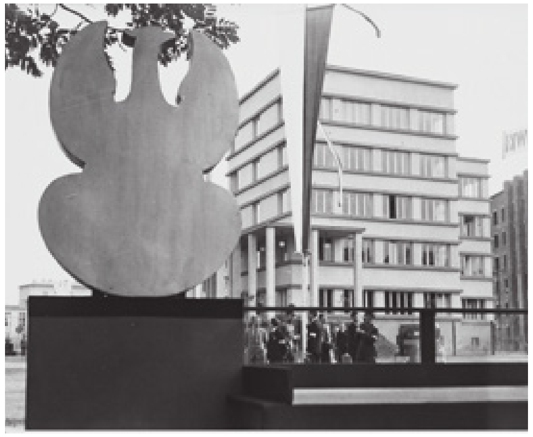

Figure 4. The Marshall Józef Piłsudskiego House, Adolf Szyszko-Bohsz, Stefan Strojek, 1931–1934. (National Digital Archive: 1-P-1610-13)

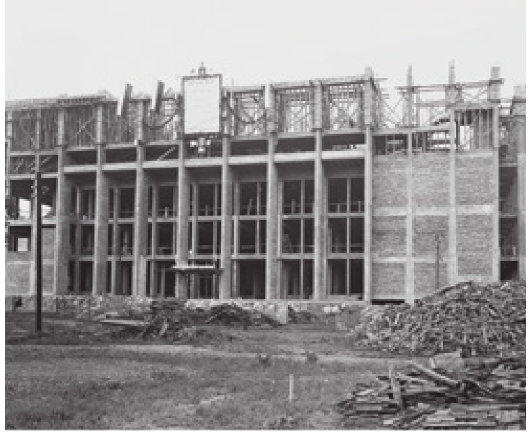

Figure 5. The National Museum in Krakow, Czesław Boratyński, Edward Kreisler, Bolesław Schmidt, supervised by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, 1934–1939. (National Digital Archive: 1-K-67)

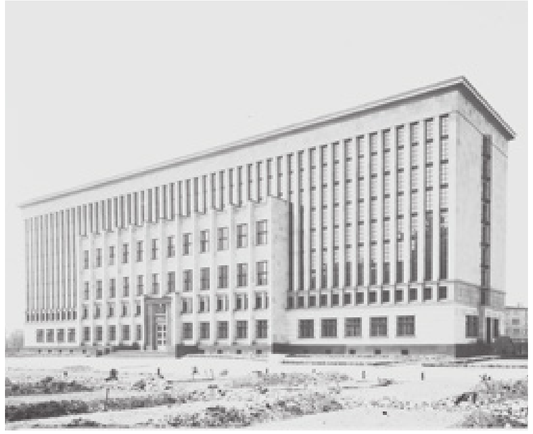

Figure 6. The Jagiellonian Library, Wacław Krzyżanowski, 1929–1939. (National Digital Archive: 1-N-3052-2).

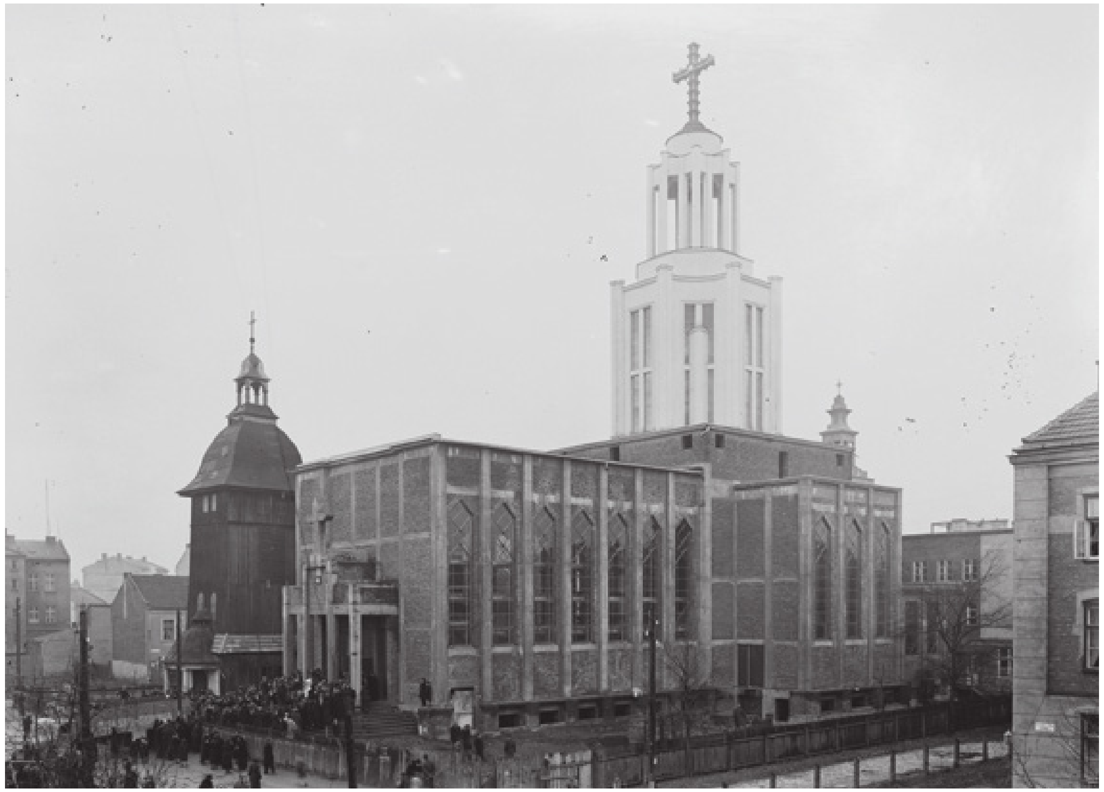

Figure 7. St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, Wacław Krzyżanowski, 1931–1938. (National Digital Archive: 1-R-502-11)

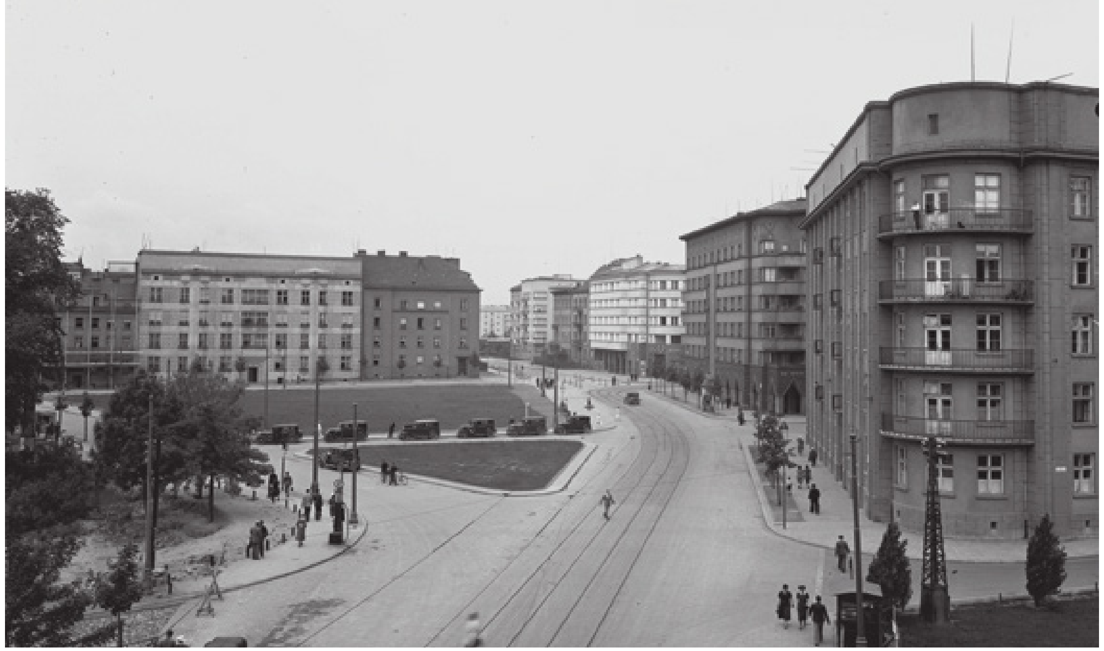

Figure 8. Inwalidów Square in 1938. On the left, Jagiellonan University Professors' House, Ludwik Wojtyczko, Stefan Żeleński, Piotr Jurkiewicz, 1924–1928. (National Digital Archive: 1-R-502-11)

This ambitious project was never completed. The construction of the National Museum was launched in 1934 according to a smaller plan. Finally the decision was taken to build one monumental building on the northern side of the mentioned axis. The new project was chosen in a competition won by Janusz Juraszyński, Juliusz Dumnicki and Bolesław Szmidt, three architects from Warsaw. Their winning entry represented a link between simplicity and monumentality, so typical of the 1930s. The project was finally executed by Edward Kreisler and Czesław Boratyński, two architects working for the municipality, and supervised by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, a prominent monument restorer and long-term Head of Krakow's Art Academy.[19]

During the years of World War I, Szyszko-Bohusz, an ambitious graduate of the Sankt Petersburg Academy, served as a soldier of the Polish Legions. By 1916 he was nominated to continue an ongoing restoration work at the Wawel Castle.[20] During the second half of the 19th century the historical residence of the Polish kings was turned into military barracks for the Austrian army. In 1905 the city of Krakow bought the ruined castle and started long-term restoration.[21] Before the outbreak of the World War I the new roof of the castle was completed and the Renaissance courtyard was restored. Upon becoming the head of castle restoration, Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz dealt with the need for the interior design and restoration and for general renovation of the outer courtyard. His work at the castle started with an archaeological survey which uncovered the oldest pre-Romanesque remains. He also initiated the renovation of the interior. Using historical 16th and 17th century tapestries, paintings and furniture as well as designing new ceilings and floors he created a scenography presenting a possible layout and detailing of the castle's interiors during its golden era. Besides the interiors, in 1919 he proposed a total restructuring of the outer courtyard into the form of a national Pantheon, a monumental space for big public gatherings and Masses. A lack of financial resources impeded this idea, the completion of which became possible as late as 1939. Though the outer courtyard of the castle was kept unchanged, Szyszko-Bohusz implemented some smaller architectural changes and improvements to the castle layout, usually following modern ideas.

World War I contributed to the demolition and destruction of many historical buildings all over the territory of the Second Polish Republic. Szyszko-Bohusz's design for the Wawel Castle renovation played a very important role in the discussion concerning monument conservation in interwar Poland. At the same time, he was practicing as an architect designing new, mainly public buildings. In the early 1920s his projects utilized a neo-classical approach responding to the new state's need for architecture that could represent its strength and power, a situation that created a space and a need for classicist-oriented monumentality. In Krakow this phenomenon is widely represented by a group of mainly bank buildings. The most iconic example is the headquarters of the Post Saving Bank which was built at Wielopole 19-21 Str. in 1922–1925,[22] and the building for employees of that institution which was completed two years later at Zyblikiewicza 5 Str., both designed by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz.[23] A monumental Corinthian colonnade surrounds the edifice of the bank, the scale of which represented a completely new era in Krakow's architecture at that time. On the other hand the building was constructed using reinforced concrete and in many ways introduced new and up-to-date technologies.

Among similar classicist projects is the new headquarters of the Bank of Poland which was completed in the years 1921–1924 according to a design by Kazimierz Wyczyński and Teodor Hoffmann.[24] Another example is the Industrial and Agriculture Stock Exchange 'Gródek' built by Ludwik Wojtyczko and Rajmund Meus in 1926.[25] Despite its classicist decoration this very building represented another new phenomenon in Krakow's architecture, being the first almost high-rise construction built in the historic city centre. The combination of modern design and technology with nation-oriented decoration is highly visible in few other Krakow's buildings of this time, for example, the first modern department store, Bazar Polski S.A., designed between 1920 and 1922 by Spójnia Budowlana Mączyński, Stryjeński, Korn. Located at Wielopole 1 Str. and situated adjacent to the medieval core of the city, it presented a very modern interior layout. It could also advertise itself as one of the very first buildings in the city with a flat roof and a terrace. On the other hand the building was ornamented with manor-house-like columns.[26]

All of the already mentioned projects were built in the centre of the city by the early 1920s. At that time the historical, medieval core was still the main centre for business and social life. The completion of the new metropolitan area along Three Poets Avenue was already initiated but awaiting completion. Among the first buildings built in this part of the city was the Academy of Mining, a new technical university established in 1913 and developed during the interwar period to advance the industrialisation of Poland. The main centre of heavy industry in interwar Poland was located in the region of Upper Silesia just 70 kilometres from Krakow. Before 1918 the region was a part of the German Empire. After the war it was divided between the Weimar Republic and the Second Polish Republic. The intellectual elites of Krakow recognised the close proximity of Upper Silesia as an opportunity, leading to the city's investing in the new Academy of Mining and in the Silesian Seminary (1928), a new institution for educating Roman Catholic clergy for the newly established Katowice Diocese. Another Silesia-oriented investment in the city was the Silesian House (1937), a modern dormitory built for students from the Upper Silesia region.[27]

Built between 1923 and 1935 according to plans by Sławomir Nałęcz-Odrzywolski and Wacław Krzyżanowski, the Academy of Mining was among the biggest public edifices completed in the city during the interwar period and one of the highlights of Adam Mickiewicz Avenue.[28] Like the already mentioned bank buildings, it represented a classicist approach. The main façade of the building is dominated by a central pavilion with a monumental colonnade. The internal foyer in many ways resembles the Renaissance courtyard of Wawel Castle.

This type of aesthetic was popular in Krakow until the late 1920s. The second decade of independence in Poland started with the devastating outcomes of the international crisis which stopped the construction market in the city for a few years. New investments that appeared in the city a few years later represented a new philosophy and approach. The late 1920s and early 1930s brought the first examples of modernism to the city. One of the very first examples in the vicinity of Adam Mickiewicz Avenue was the already mentioned Silesian Seminary designed by Franciszek Mączyński and Zygmunt Gawlik, completed in 1928.[29] Though the layout of this building is still closely connected with the 19th century tradition, the architects decided to use some new elements like flat roofs and bay windows.

The most interesting example of modern design in this part of the city is the Marshall Józef Piłsudski House.[30] The first part of this building was inaugurated in 1934 on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I and was built on the former site of barracks for the Polish Legions. The building was designed by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz and Stefan Strojek in a shape accommodating big public gatherings in its inner courtyard. The building was supposed to have a symmetrical composition, but also ribbon-like windows and flat roofs. In general it was planned as a modern version of the altar of the nation. Only a part of it was finally completed and today the initial project is not easy to understand.

The building was designed to house Piłsudski's museum and scouting organisation facilities. Nearby, two years earlier, the Municipality of Krakow inaugurated the modernist Tourist House, a hostel-like facility for hosting school children visiting from all over the country.[31] Designed by Edward Kreisler the building, with a large-scale terrace on its roof, was among the most interesting modern projects in the city. Further to the west there was also one of the main sport centres with a modern swimming-pool complex and athletics stadiums that was completed in 1937 according to a design by Marcin Bukowski.[32]

The cultural, leisure and sport functions mixed with nationalistic symbolism were strongly represented in new architecture built in the western part of the city during the interwar period. All of the mentioned buildings were located along the Błonia, a big meadow in the vicinity of the city centre, just next to Adam Mickiewicz Avenue. By 1823 the landscape of the Błonia was dominated by Kościuszko Mound (Kopiec Kościuszki), an artificial hill shaped in the form of a pagan shrine. This unique construction was built to celebrate Tadeusz Kościuszko, Polish and American general who initiated the first national uprising of Poles in 1794. In 1934 a decision was made to build another mound more than 2 kilometres away, this time to celebrate Józef Piłsudski. The mound was completed three years later becoming one more important national symbol in Krakow's west end. The Piłsudski Mound inauguration took place two years after his death and his spectacular funeral and burial in the mausoleum designed in 1937 by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz in one of the crypts of Wawel Cathedral.[33]

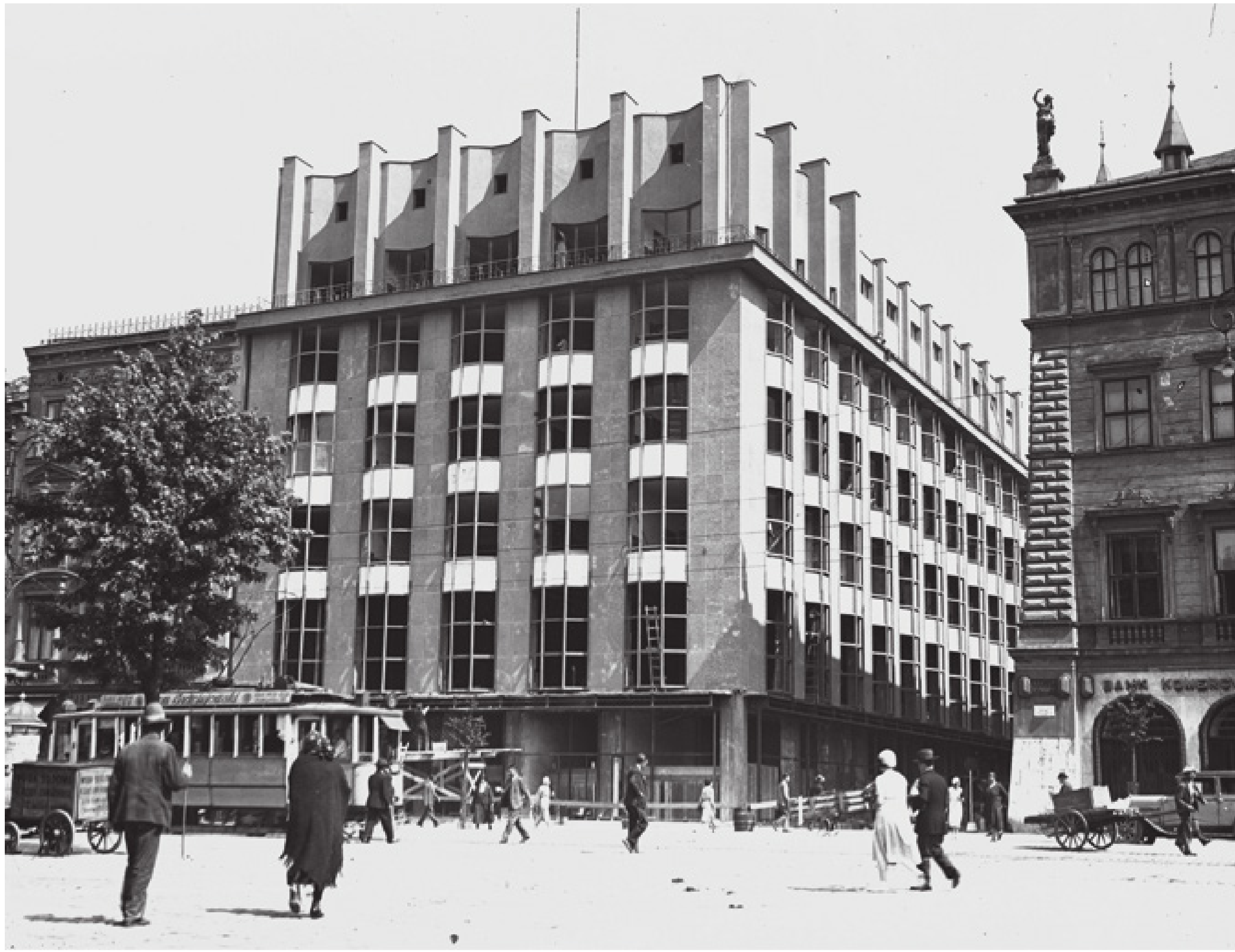

Figure 9. The Phoenix Insurance Company House, Adlof Szyszko-Bohusz, 1928–1932. (National Digital Archive: 1-U-2586-2)

At the same time, Adam Mickiewicz Avenue saw construction of one more public building, the new Jagiellonian Library, which was built between the National Museum and the Academy of Mining. The design was chosen in a competition won by Wacław Krzyżanowski. This time the main author of the Academy of Mining proposed a new modern approach. Initially he had planned to combine the modern tower building of the library with expressionistic decorations. Completed in 1939 the Jagiellonian Library can be considered Krakow's best example of modern design linked with the search for the monumentality.[34] The sandstone and black marble cladding of the library façade presents one more very important element of Krakow's architecture of this era: the use of traditional materials and decorative quotation from the local architectural tradition in the context of modern design. This particular attribute of local architecture is quite visible in the Krakow's church buildings of that time. Due to city expansion during the interwar period, Krakow also saw new projects prepared for the Roman Catholic Church and institutions. Besides the already mentioned Silesian Seminary the most intriguing example was the Church of St. Stanislaus Kostka completed in 1938 in Dębniki district according to yet another design by Wacław Krzyżanowski. This monumental church with reinforced concrete construction was dominated by a tall Perretian tower-like dome. Simple, but full of expressionistic elements, the building was skilfully decorated with stone and metalwork.[35]

This kind of approach was also highly visible in housing architecture of interwar Krakow. Until 1939 the population of Krakow grew steadily reaching 257,000 just before the outbreak of World War II. City expansion produced strong pressure for new housing architecture. As a result, pre-World War I concepts of the garden city filled with villas were realized only at a small scale in a few garden districts. The majority of the city's housing architecture was developed according to the urban pattern of regular blocks filled with tenement houses. In the conditions of interwar Krakow this 19th century concept was modified in a few ways. Krakow's tenements of this era were bigger, usually four or five storeys high. In some cases they were built as bigger entities formed with a few buildings. The most important change came from the fact that back houses were not allowed to be built anymore. According to this change new housing blocks were equipped with semi-private gardens. In the early 1920s such architecture was following the historicist aesthetic. The already mentioned success of the Polish art during the Paris 1925 exhibition opened space for art-deco-like forms. During the 1930s the majority of projects demonstrated the growing interest in modernism.

It must be emphasized that the avant-garde, left-wing modernism which was so strong and important in Warsaw at that time almost never appeared in Krakow. During the 1930s the city of Krakow saw the construction of its first social housing designed according to modern concepts. The most interesting example is the group of apartment buildings designed in 1930–1933 by the Warsaw-based architect Roman Piotrowski for the site at Fałata 9-14 Str.[36] Some investments of this type were launched and promoted by the Municipality of Krakow, which was the case for the large scale gallery block competed in 1930 at Stefan Bobrowski 8-10 Str. in the industrial east-end district of Grzegórzki with an innovative design by Maksymilian Silberstein. These modernist-oriented housing buildings were completed mainly on the outskirts of the city.

In the more central and prominent districts, modern forms in Krakow housing architecture were important mainly as a new type of decoration.[37] This phenomenon is quite evident in the architecture of Inwalidów Square, a new important space located next to Adam Mickiewicz Avenue where, between 1925 and 1929, Wacław Nowakowski designed a building for the Administration Officers Pensions Company (Zakład Ubezpieczeń Pracowników Umysłowych), a large-scale tenement with expressionistic decoration.[38] One year earlier in the same area, the team of Ludwik Wojtyczko, Stefan Żeleński and Piotr Jurkiewicz built the house for Jagiellonian University professors.[39] Both buildings represented the best of the city's examples of the so-called Krakow School, the Polish version of art deco which was accelerated due to the success of the Polish Pavilion presented at the 1925 Paris exhibition. The symmetrical composition of the main façade of the Jagiellonian University professors' house was combined with crystal-like bay windows and graffito decorations filled with vernacular motifs composed in a cubistic manner. In 1930 the same team of architects designed one more Jagiellonian University building. The site located at the corner of Łobzowska Str. and Juliusz Słowacki Avenue was filled with a modern

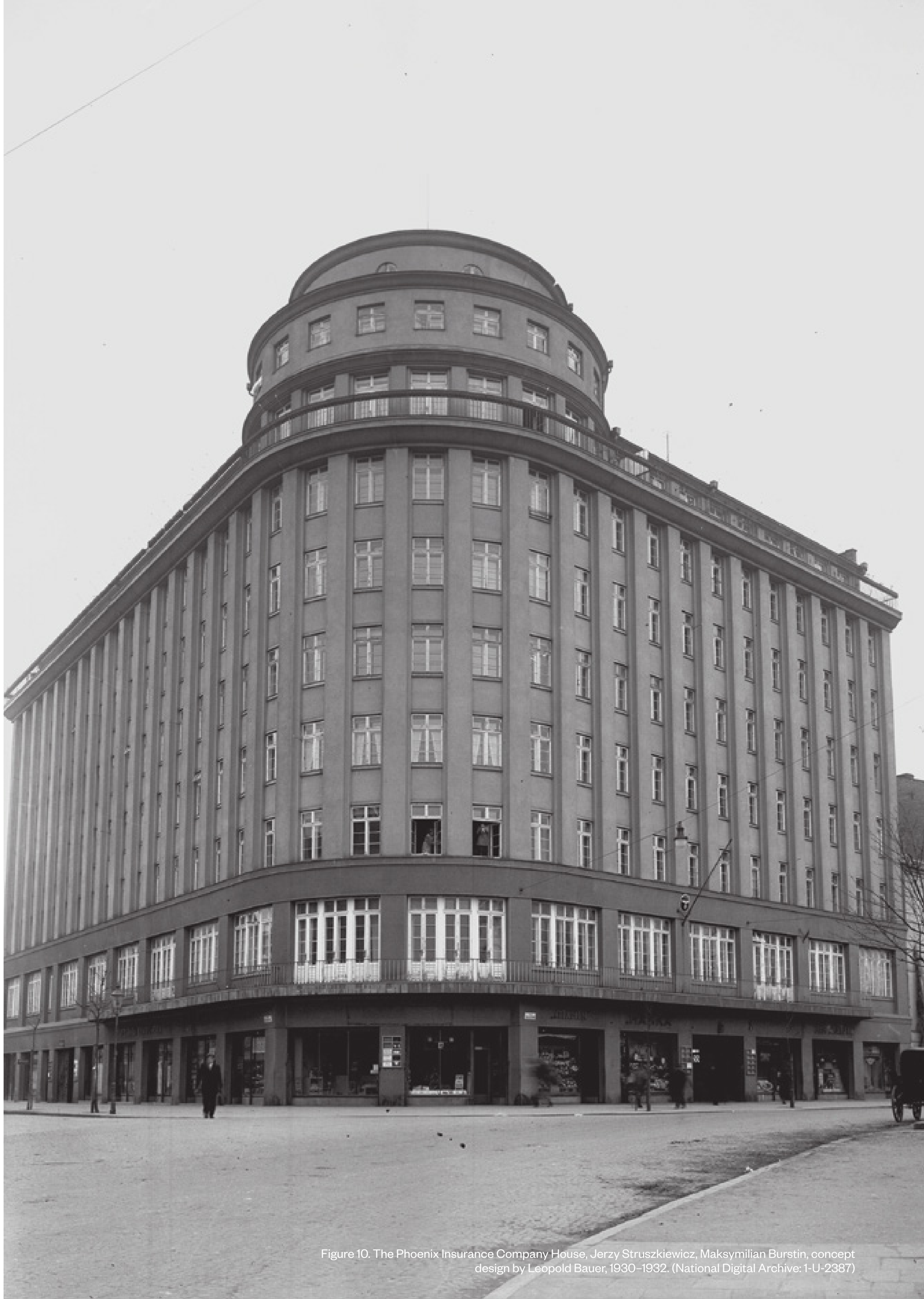

Figure 10. The Phoenix Insurance Company House, Jerzy Struszkiewicz, Maksymilian Burstin, concept design by Leopold Bauer, 1930–1932. (National Digital Archive: 1-U-2387)

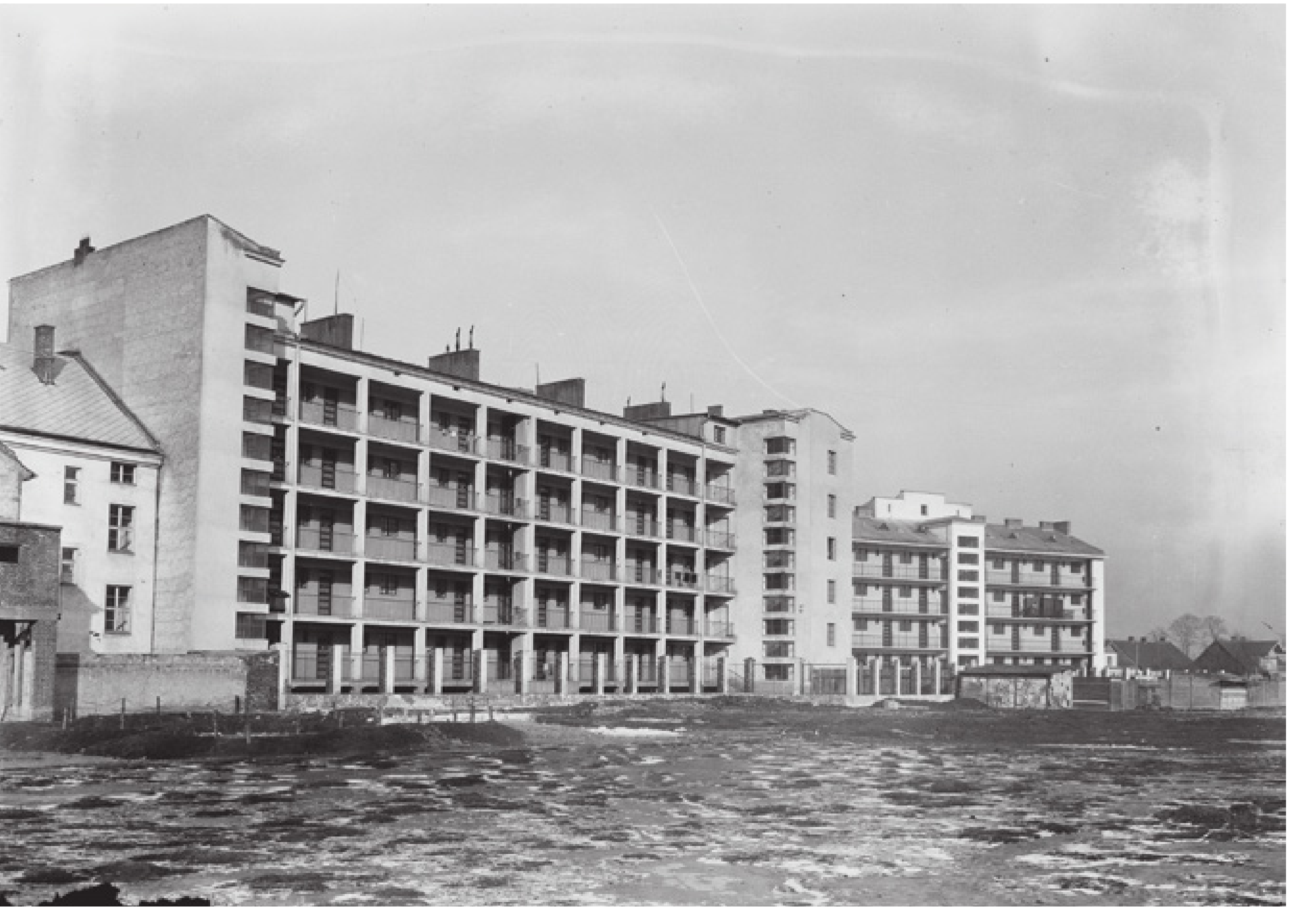

Figure 11. Communal Residential House, Maksymilian Silberstein, 1929–1930 (National Digital Archive: 1-U-2548)

tenement that included cubist decorations made of black glazed terracotta.[40] All of the mentioned buildings were designed and built with modern technologies while also using rich decoration based on modern forms and motifs.

The most striking example of the Krakow mode of using modern forms in relation to tenement housing can be seen in the apartment building completed in 1932 for Vienna's Phoenix Insurance Company. Austrian companies were still active in various Central European countries during the interwar period and in the 1920s the Phoenix Insurance Company decided to invest in Krakow housing and service buildings located in the very centre of the city. The first Phoenix building was planned for Krakow's Main Square. The design of the large modern tenement was prepared by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz who proposed to ornament the building with neo-baroque decorations. The initial plan was cancelled and the architect was invited to prepare another one. Within four years Szyszko-Bohusz designed a few different plans for this building, playing with various historical aesthetics. Finally he built a modern building with tall bay windows and decoration limited to the abstract sculpture on the parapet wall.[41]

Once built, the structure met with many controversies and protests against modern architecture in a historical environment. The populace of Krakow was not yet prepared for modern architecture – or at least not prepared for modern forms in the historic city centre. Modernism was much better received in new neighbourhoods. Due to the commercial success of its investment the Phoenix Insurance Company decided to invest in two more buildings soon after the first one was completed. The second Phoenix Insurance Company building was located at Basztowa 13-15 Str. outside the medieval core of the city. The design concept was prepared by the Viennese architect Leopold Bauer and later developed by the local company of Jerzy Struszkiewicz and Maksymilian Burstin.[42] Completed in 1932 it was one of the city's first tall buildings presenting a modern interpretation of the tenement house.

Three years later another tall apartment building was completed in Krakow, this time at Szczepański Square 5 in the city centre. The Communal Saving Bank of Krakow District (Komunalna Kasa Oszczędności Powiatu Krakowskiego) was built by Fryderyk Tadanier and Stefan Strojek, two younger disciples of Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz.[43] They proposed a skyscraper with a flat roof and ribbon windows in a corner of the medieval square dominated by historicist and art nouveau architecture. Built in violation of local law, it brought many controversies and also became a symbol of a new era in Krakow architecture.

Just before the outbreak of World War II, Polish architecture faced rapid development marked by many new investments. At that time Krakow architecture was already dominated by a younger generation of designers, many of them from Jewish families and society which at that time represented almost 25 percent of the city's population. The significance of this group of younger designers was demonstrated by the activity of Alfred Düntuch and Stefan Landsberger, two young Krakow-based architects. During the 1930s they completed several, mainly luxurious tenement houses that featured a very elegant version of modernism. Some of them were built on St. Krzyża and St. Marka Str. on the last big empty site in the historic city centre. These modern buildings were decorated with baroque-like portals and shields.[44] Düntuch and Landsberger's projects represented the local identity of Krakow's interwar architectural practice which was interested in modernism but mainly as decoration that could be merged with some elements of the local tradition.

In 1937 the Municipality of Krakow prepared the long-term development programme, a part of which was dedicated to urban planning. The new urban masterplan of the modern metropolis was prepared by Kazimierz Dziewoński, a young urban planner from Warsaw.[45] The new programme proposed a modern scheme for the city, using zoning and restructuring the transportation system. A very prosperous era in Krakow's development ended with the outbreak of the World War II which shattered visions of Krakow becoming a regional hub. Although this era was just two decades long and was full of political and economic turbulence, it saw the city to transform into a modern organism. The architecture and urban achievements of that time constitute the space and structure of a large part of today's Krakow.

Endnotes

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Ankara: Between the Modern and the Contemporary

Bilge İmamoğlu

The modern heritage of Ankara occupies significant portions of both the overall modern history of architecture and urbanism in Turkey and of the whole history and identity of the city. Especially lately one can say that Ankara is keeping all scholars of modern architecture and urbanism quite busy considering the number of events and publications that present and discuss issues related to its modern heritage; the conference *Modernism for the Future* in Kaunas is actually the fifth forum this year in which I have spoken about modern architectural heritage or related topics. These events and publications are greeted by warm, welcoming audiences and it is possible to say that there is ongoing demand for discussion of why and how we should conserve our modern heritage both in academia and more popular contexts.

However, I must also immediately add, this is not so because we are doing a good job of conserving modern heritage; in fact, quite the opposite. The situation is actually comparable to a joke that was popular some time ago, though I am not able to locate the original reference presently, where the author was listing names of all the people who received Nobel and other prizes for their efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, and then concluded that since there are so many people trying to bring peace to the Middle East, it must be the most peaceful place on earth. The situation for the modern architectural heritage in Ankara is analogous. Buildings and sites in Ankara that date back to the early 20th century, when the city was being developed at a grand scale as the new capital of a young Republic of Turkey, are now being lost at an enhanced speed; the despair of those who care for them, and the indifference of those who do not, both occur at an alarming level. And so arises the large number of occasions where concerned people are eager to discuss heritage, collective memory and all related issues. We carry on and, indeed, we should continue using every opportunity to remind the people of Ankara of what has really been lost and what that loss really means each time some iconic or important building of the modern heritage is traded off for decisions and urban policies that do not assess conservation as a viable option.

Here is just a short list that one could quickly cite of some important buildings widely known as iconic examples of modern architectural heritage and that were lost just in the last few years. Two of the most important buildings that are related to the industrial heritage of the city of Ankara, the gasworks factory and the water filtering facilities that were built in 1929 and 1936, were completely demolished in 2017 and 2013 respectively (Figure 1). The İller (Municipalities) Bank building, designed by one of the most prominent architects of the time, Seyfi Arkan, and built in 1937 was actually listed as one the twenty most important buildings of the 20th century architecture in Turkey in a study conducted by the Chamber of Architects of Turkey with the collaboration of numerous scholars and architects[1] and it was demolished in 2017 after a long, controversial campaign to discredit the building exhaustively run by the local authorities (Figure 2). The Etibank building (by Vedat Özsan, Tuğrul Devres and Yılmaz Tuncer, 1956), Kumrular housing (by Gazanfer Beken and Orhan Bozkurt, 1956, Figure 3) and the Court of Accounts building (by Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa, 1978) were all considered noteworthy examples of post-war international modernism in Ankara and were demolished in 2013, 2017 and 2016 respectively. There are many more buildings officially considered to be at risk by the Turkish branch of Docomomo (The International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement) and the Chamber of Architects.

Those who try to generate awareness frequently point out that the identity of Ankara and its significance within the broader collective memory is very much tied to what this city meant for the whole republican revolution, especially in the period from the early 1920s to the late 1930s, which is usually referred as the 'early republican period'. And therefore it follows that all sites and buildings dating back to that period are the material conveyors that connect future generations to recent stages of the nation's history. Such observations have to be made repeatedly simply because the average citizen seems to have already lost connection to the memory of past identity, as can be observed in the very public indifference regarding recently lost buildings. This loss of connection is no doubt a huge problem, yet one can also claim that it can be interpreted as a sign that some other potentially problematic condition is avoided (if something necessarily desirable has not happened): that Ankara does not suffer from what would be expected from a city with such a short history and that is stuffed with so much important symbolic meaning. It could have been frozen in a cast of heroic monumentality or faded away with an inexhaustible nostalgic sigh. For surely no one within the debate is claiming that Ankara is a model of urban beauty. Yet it is also seen as fortunate that she is not frozen in her golden age either, that she

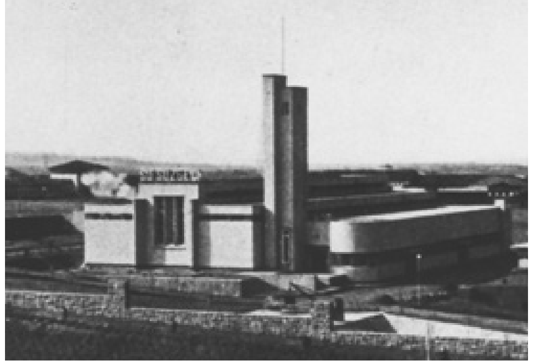


Figure 1. Water filtering facilities, designed by Hochtief Company and built in 1936. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

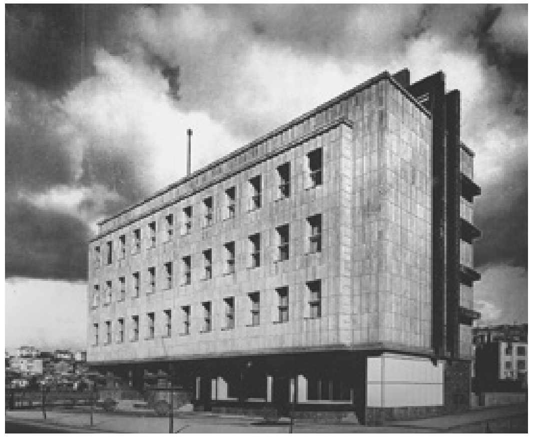


Figure 2. İller (Municipalities) Bank Building, Seyfi Arkan, 1937. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

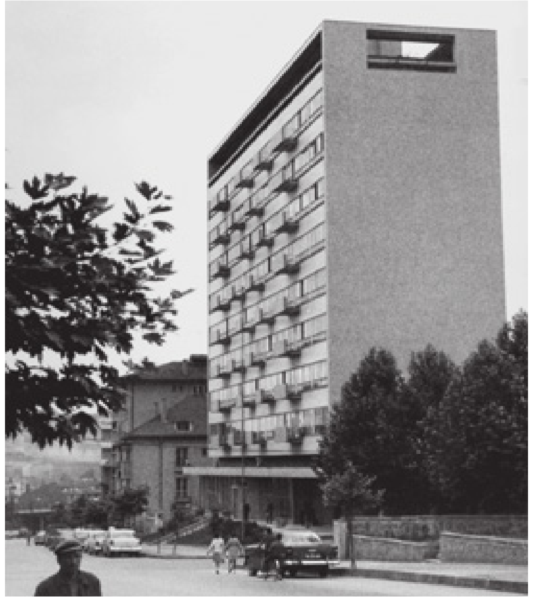


Figure 3. Kumrular housing, Gazanfer Beken and Orhan Bozkurt, 1956. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

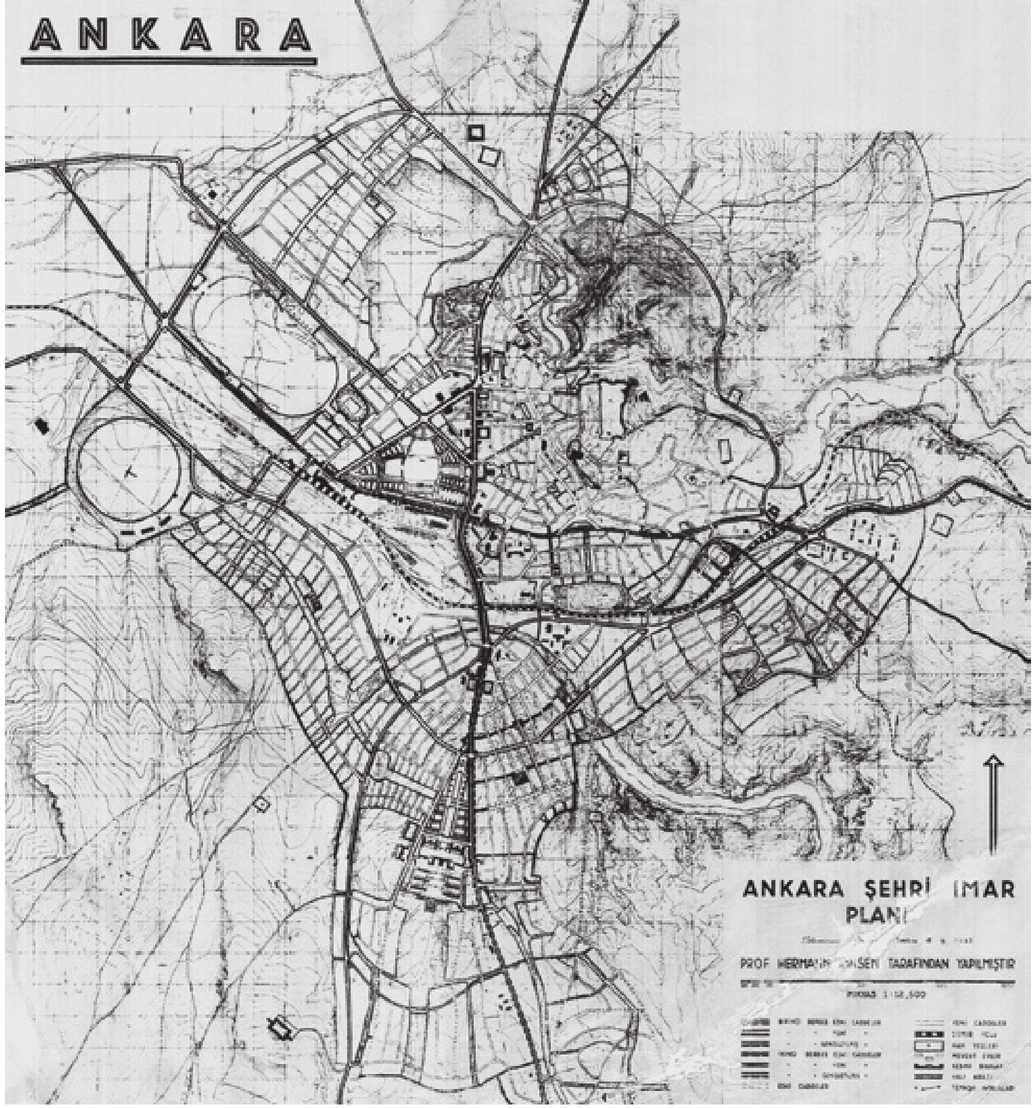


Figure 4. The 'Jansen Plan' for Ankara, Hermann Jansen, 1932. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

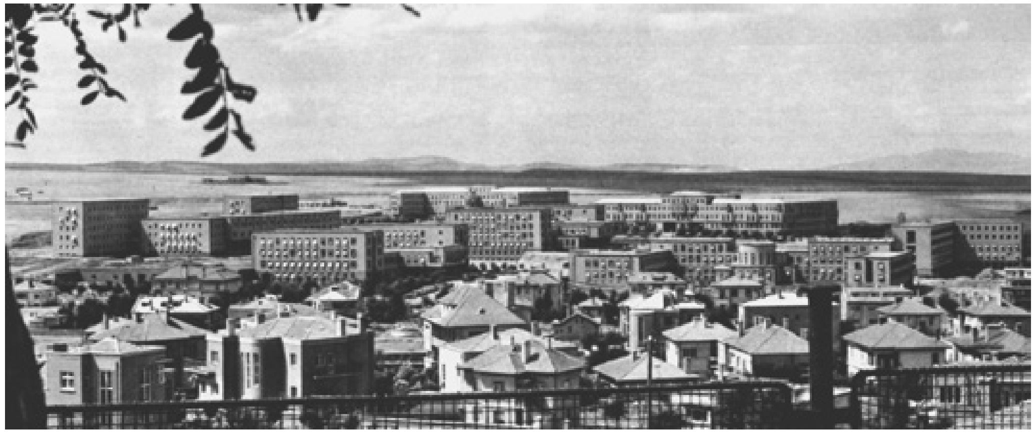


Figure 5. Yeni Şehir (New Town) area with the administrative centre, 1930s. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

has moved on; just maybe in a way that is a bit too disorienting, a bit too fast.

Ankara is one of the earlier examples of the 20th century practice of building new, designed capital cities. In that sense it belongs to the same group as Canberra, Brasilia and Islamabad. Many scholars who compare these cases emphasize that they all share the condition of being not only new cities, but more importantly, alternatives to old primary centres.[2] They all exhibit an aspiration to distance the new administration from a troubled past, which in many cases is a colonial one, both symbolically and physically; one can easily observe that all these new seats of power are located inland, as opposed to the older ones in each corresponding country, which were actually port cities that any sort of imperial impetus could easily plug in. It is Canberra against Sydney or Melbourne; Brasilia against Rio or Sao Paula; Islamabad against Karachi; and, in our case, Ankara against İstanbul.

When the Ottoman Empire came out on the losing side of World War I, a large-scale invasion of the Turkish motherland followed the peace agreement. A national resistance was quickly organized led by eminent officers of the Ottoman Army under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk and after the three-year War of Independence the Republic of Turkey was born. The republic was proclaimed by the 'Ankara Government' – the government of the resistance, which was seated in this city as a matter of circumstances of the ongoing war. The city was logistically well-situated and had railroad connection as well as a supportive community. But beyond any material reasoning, the decision to make the city a permanent capital was a very neat political statement clearly showing that ideologically the republic wished to begin with a clean slate. Ankara provided republicans the ethos of newness that they wanted. The republican narrative about Ankara, that examination of early documents from the 1930s to 1950s reveals, is very much built upon that ethos in which the modern achievements of the republic as reflected in the urban spaces of Ankara is contrasted with the neglect that the Ottomans imposed on the city as well as any place within the country outside of İstanbul. This is, as one would expect, a narrative with a propagandist nature. It is quite true that, on the one hand, when the national resistance settled in Ankara, as a small town of some 20,000 people it was in a fairly miserable state. However, that was not typical for the town; in its history Ankara had seen much better days. It had been an important part of the Hittite and Phrygian kingdoms and the capital city of the province of Galatia during the Roman period. Its importance continued after the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor by the Seljuks. One can say that the Ottoman conquest of important cities to the West such as Bursa, İzmir and finally İstanbul brought about a decline in Ankara's importance. Yet locally it was still significant; as we can see, the railroad was extended to Ankara even though it is not directly on the Bagdad line.

Nevertheless, 20th century observers witnessed a drop in the city's prosperity. For one thing, the commercial value of Ankara's historically famous *sof* (camlet) fabric, produced from the Ankara goat's mohair, was increasingly in decline thanks to stiff competition that Western industrial fabrics introduced, and secondly, in 1916 the city suffered from a serious fire that lasted for three days, ruining around 1,900 buildings.

Thus Ankara was a poor town of 20,000 people when the Republic of Turkey decided to make it its capital – yet the population was four times that number just a decade ago. Therefore it is safe to say that Ankara had the potential to become a major town again. And indeed it grew fast; as a matter of fact it grew much faster than predicted in the first plan by the German planner Hermann Jansen in 1928. His plan spanned 50 years, with an eventual population of 300,000; yet halfway through, in 1955, the population had already reached 450,000 and a new plan had to be prepared by Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel. This also did not stand long and Ankara saw two more planning periods. One can easily observe that the swift and unforeseen growth of the city has created many problems – illegal or poorly planned housing solutions being just one of them – which extend into the present urban condition.

In the present day, as a city of 5.5 million people, Ankara has all sorts of issues that many developing, contemporary metropolises have, which are also almost never harmless for conservation practices or for sustainability of collective memory through urban spaces. Ankara, like any other metropolitan area in contemporary Turkey, has a strong construction industry and a lively real-estate environment that is encouraged by political powers at all costs, even when laws or common sense dictate otherwise. The local government has been run for a very long time by a conservative party which does not hide how resistant it is to any idea of modern heritage. The conservatives' distance, or even hostility at times, is a rather straightforward political position that can always be easily predicted, if not always that easily reasoned with. Yet, one can assert that until very recently a similar course was followed by liberal critics of the city, and of republican architectural and urban culture in general, which made it very difficult to defend modern heritage against destructive urban/political currents. The liberal intelligentsia who published their views of Ankara through the national press that is based in İstanbul, as well as the international scholarly approach to the architectural and urban history of the city[3] agreed with the conservatives in seeing the city not through what it generates in the form of urban life but as what it is assigned to represent in form of ideology; for many, Ankara was already reduced to be merely a stage on which (republican) state ideology has been propagated and nothing more than a monumental empty sign, decades before the series of aforementioned demolitions began.

Actually, the new capital Ankara was synchronically an experimentation ground, the showcase and the leading model in the search for the new republican urban space. Therefore, it is natural that the architectural and urban artefacts from the early republican period of the city provide a quite efficient reading if one wishes to study architecture as a concrete materialization of ideology. Alternatively, I would also like to propose that such readings, though certainly appreciated, may also tend to do the history of the city injustice in the ways that they excessively and exclusively dwell on the issue of identity politics and reduce architecture to a reductively isolated function of representation. One should hesitate aligning early republican architectural culture with only the representation of identity, simply because such a perspective does not recount the variety and diversity of components that make up the modernization program of the late Ottomans and early republicans. I believe one can observe that the very problematic state that the modern heritage of Ankara is in right now is related to the fact that it has often been treated that way. I will try to present here a limited number of examples among many in an effort to provide a glimpse of the larger picture.

Ankara was the capital, the new administrative centre, so priority was naturally given to the administrative component in the modern building program. The initial plans (Figure 4) indicated a completely new development for this, which also served as a measure to conserve the historic town and the citadel. The old town was in and around the citadel to the North, and the New Town (Yeni Şehir – the New Town was actually the name of the new development), including the new administrative centre and the housing that it required, was developed to the south. A boulevard connecting the two was planned as the major spine spanning the city macroform, with major commercial and cultural functions attached to it. The railroad station was already situated to the southwest before the plan, while the area between it and the old city was planned as a vast, major recreational area with large parks and sports facilities, etc. The administrative centre was, for its time, grand and prestigious (Figure 5). But administrative reform was not only about providing the new state with a new seat of power; it was also building up a modern system of public services such as large-scale public transportation and communication. Accordingly one should observe that smaller instalments of related state public service institutions were also important parts of the modernization narrative scattered around in urban spaces, first in Ankara and eventually throughout the country (Figure 6).

A very good place to read the modernization narrative through the urban spaces of Ankara would be the boulevard, the main axis that connects the old and new towns. Again, to be brief, one can list just some of the buildings here from the late 1920s to late 1930s: on the south end, close to the ministry of health is the Public Hygiene Institute (Figure 7) which is a brand new institution for the Republic of Turkey; moving on to the north is the Girls' Institute (Figure 8), again a new educational institution designed exclusively to compensate the age-old neglect of education of the nation's young females. Just next to it is another high school for girls, together with a mixed school in close proximity to the old town. Next is the Turkish Aviation Institute and the Aviation School. This institute had plane factories in Ankara and Eskişehir and a wind tunnel to be used for research purposes in the design of planes in Ankara. Further north are two important cultural buildings, the Ethnography Museum and the performance hall and library for the People's House; these two buildings are actually earlier than the first plan. Then on Banks Street we have the headquarters of banks that invest heavily in large scale industrial projects in the absence of a significant capitalist class. İşbank, for instance, takes on buying out rich coal mines in the north coast and modernizing mining activities, among many other tasks. In a few years, more specialized banks will assume the role of the industrial entrepreneur, Etibank in mining and Sumerbank in textiles. The latter builds numerous quite large textile factories in cities around central Anatolia, all

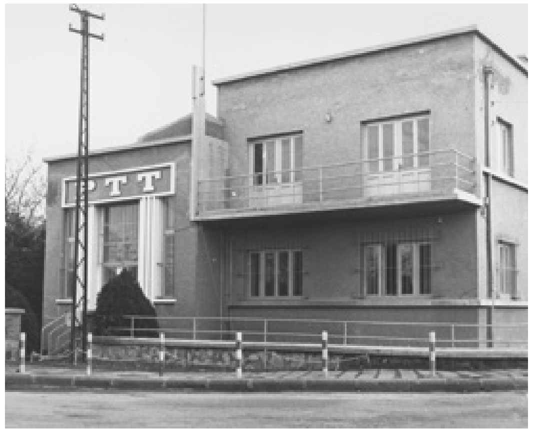


Figure 6. A typical PTT (Postal, Telegram and Telephone Services Department, Ministry of Public Works) building in Ankara, designed by the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public Works, 1930s. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

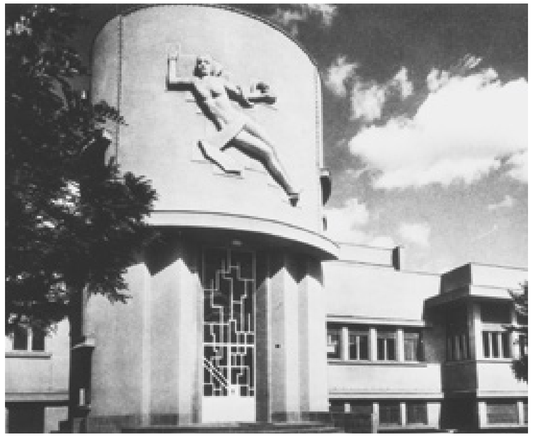


Figure 7. Public Hygiene Institute, Thedor Jost, 1932. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

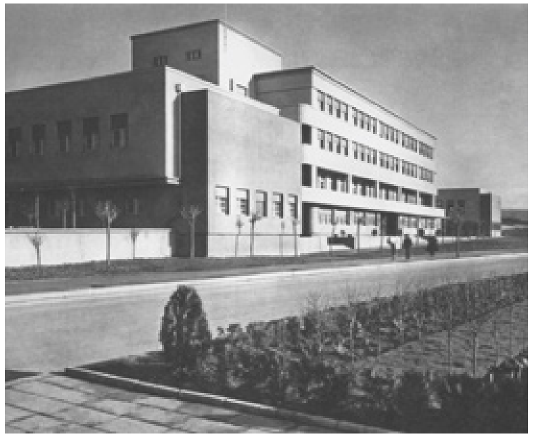


Figure 8. İsmet İnönü Girls' Institute, Ernst Egli, 1930. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

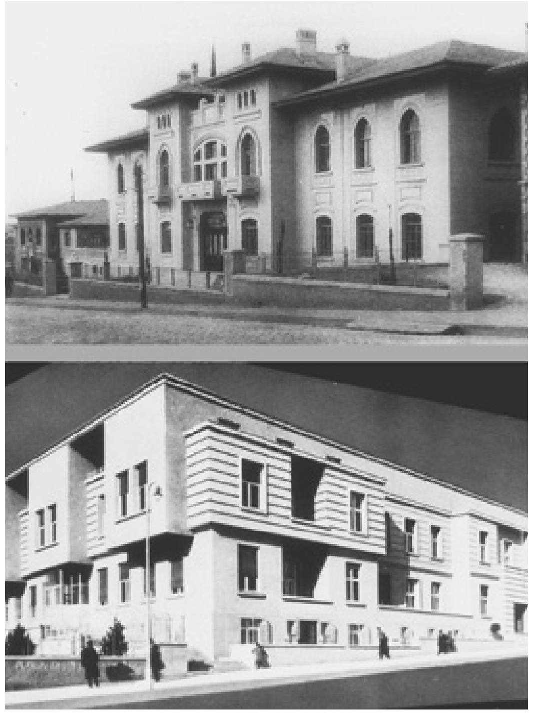


Figure 9. Court of Accounts building as designed by Nazım Bey in 1925 (top) and transformed by Ernst Egli in 1930 (bottom). Both images: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

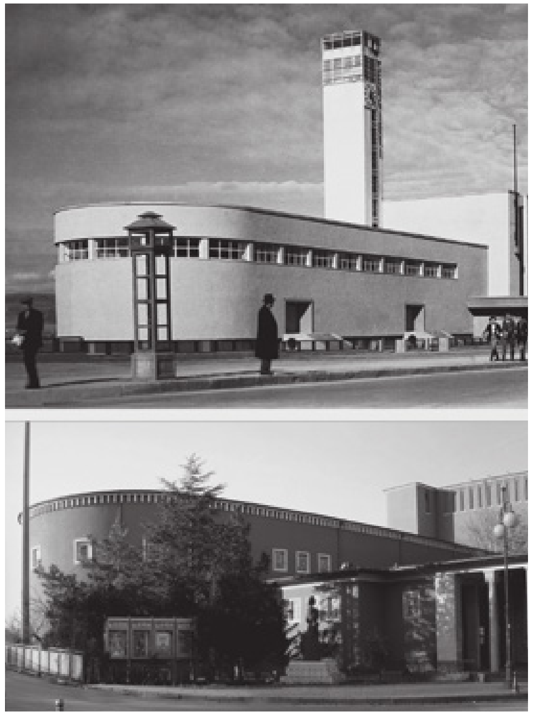


Figure 10. Exhibition House as designed by Şevki Balmumcu in 1933 (top) and transformed into the Opera House by Paul Bonatz in 1948 (bottom). Both images: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

outside metropolitan and relatively industrialized centres such as İstanbul and İzmir.

What has to be emphasized here is the totality of the program in which these buildings should be read, and when we read them – not just look at the specifics of their architectural styles or expressions – the narrative that they provide is one of an economic and cultural rebalancing and a redistribution of the nation's resources and the productive dynamics into which those resources are poured. The narrative is more about the institutions and the people, their engagement and their motives. The structures themselves are eventually figures in conveying the narrative of the overall collective memory, even if the people, institutions and all their motives are gone. What the architecture itself represents in this narrative, though reasonably essential for us as architects and architectural historians, has not helped us much in our efforts to actually, physically conserve them.

I mentioned earlier that raising awareness of the cause of conservation is hard in Ankara, because the ordinary citizen has lost contact with the narrative of the past. At this point I should add that maybe it is also because architectural historians are narrating it poorly. There should be more effort made to underline the fact that the city's, and the republic's, modern program was *not* built upon a fixation on what is modern and what is not; but was an ongoing search for the contemporary. A series of architectural approaches, sometimes in quite contrasting tones, replaced each other. It is quite interesting to observe how in 1930 a European architect, Ernst Egli, was asked to modernise a building (the first building for the Court of Accounts) designed by a Turkish architect (Nazım Bey) and built just five years ago, by stripping off its historicist decoration to replace it with an abstract and geometrically pure modern look (Figure 9), while in 1948 another European architect was commissioned to renovate a building that was designed in a strikingly pure modernist sense (Exhibition House by Şevki Balmumcu, 1933) by covering the whole building with historicist decoration and neo-Ottoman architectural elements (Figure 10). The interesting fact is that in both cases, and each time any similar transformation was applied, it was done with an assertion that the older one was out of date and required updating according to what contemporary civilizations were up to. And all through this time the city continued to generate an urban experience of its own with a vocabulary that is not only visual. I believe it is safe to simply assert that it went fine for quite some time. Nevertheless one could say that Ankara lost it; whatever it was that it achieved on its own since 1920 – and after that, the modern heritage as well as the modern narrative itself – is seen to be at great risk.

Here is one final example to illustrate how Ankara has lost – and this is not a building that has been demolished. This illustrative case is the series of buildings that İş Bank, the single most important economic enterprise that dates back to the very first years of the republic, has built as its own headquarters. The first İş Bank headquarters was designed by Gulio Mongeri, an important architect of late-Ottoman İstanbul who had numerous buildings in both cities, and was built in 1929 in Ankara near the old town (Figure 11). It was designed with a neoclassical approach within the trend of neo-Ottoman revivalism which was common both in the last decades of the empire and first decade of the republic. A new headquarters was built in 1977 near the new town and along an axis that was vitalised especially after the Uybadin-Yücel plan (Figure 12). It was designed by Ayhan Böke and Yılmaz Sargın, two architects who were employed by the design and construction office of the bank, in a strong modernist expression with a sort of neo-brutalist approach that was common for some time in Turkey. Many would agree that it is still the most beautiful tall building in the city. The next headquarters for the bank was built in 2000, and this is the concrete case illustrating why Ankara lost it: it is *not* because of the building or because of its architecture. The building, which stays more or less within the common contemporary approach to high-rise office buildings, is designed by Tekeli-Sisa, a partnership that has consistently spanned a good part of the second half of the 20th century; another building of their design is mentioned above as one of the recent losses of modern heritage in Ankara. The point of the argument here is very much visible in the larger context of the building: *it is in İstanbul*. This bank, which is one of the most important and vast economic entities that the Turkish Republic has created (and located in Ankara), moved its headquarters to İstanbul in the year 2000. It is not the cause obviously, but is a sign that the republican mission of Ankara has been reversed and that İstanbul has again become a massively heavy primate city. That is one of the reasons why Ankara is now experiencing an ambiguous identity crisis that can be observed in numerous large-scale building projects undertaken by local or central governments in the city where the rush to replace modern heritage with a retro-fantasy of the contemporary seems to be all there is.

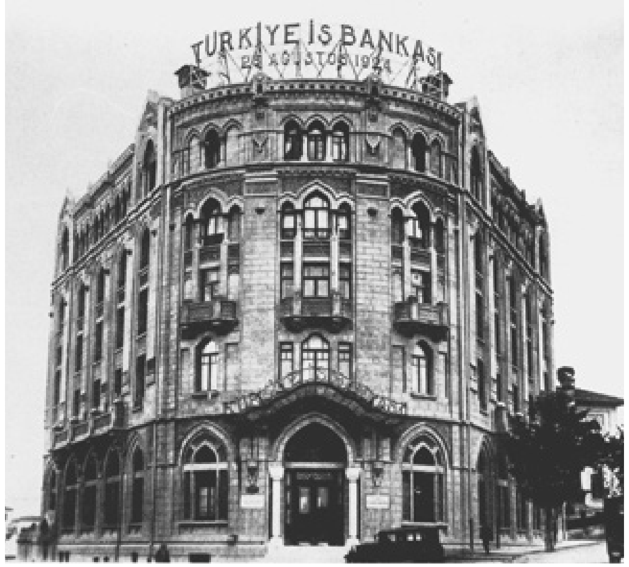


Figure 11. The first İş Bank headquarters, Gulio Mongeri, 1929. The date captioned on the building (26 August 1924) is the date the bank was founded. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

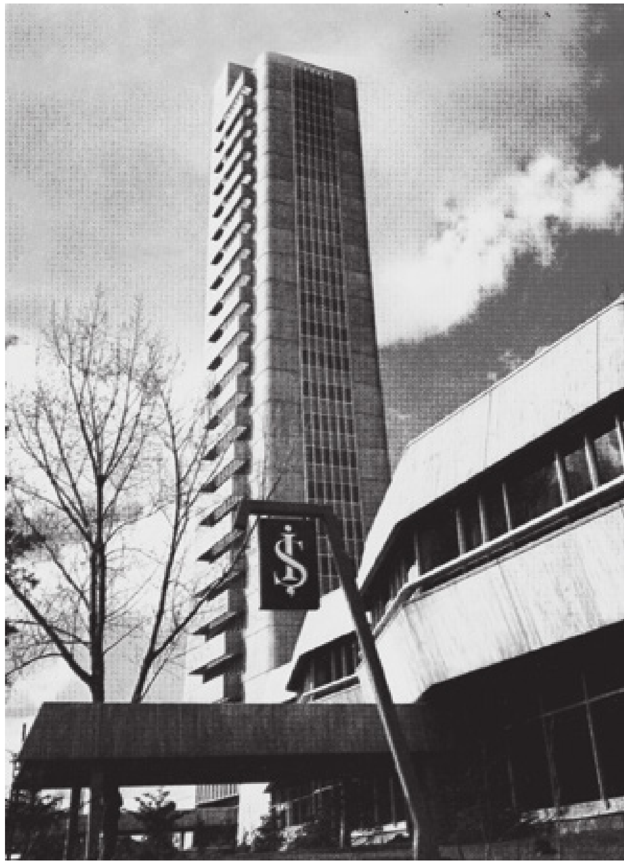


Figure 12. The second İş Bank headquarters, Ayhan Böke and Yılmaz Sargın, 1977. Image: METU Faculty of Architecture Archive.

Endnotes

[1] For the full list, see: http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=8&RecID=195 (accessed 28 October 2018).

[2] See, for instance: Baykan Günay, 'Our Generation of Planners, the Hopes, the Fears, the Facts: Case Study Ankara,' *Scupad SS* 20th Anniversary Congress, Salzburg (6–9 May 1988).

[3] In the present literature on Turkish modernization, especially within the field of architectural history regarding the early republican period, the dominant scholarly approach can be summarized through what can justifiably be named as 'the nation building paradigm'. I am here referring to the title of Sibel Bozdoğan's book published in 2001, which is one of the very few broad and detailed studies on the subject to be published for an international audience. The basis of the common approach as exemplified in this important book is that modernization in non-Western countries was not derived from societal developments like the developments of 19th century Europe, but was brought about either by colonial governments or by modernizing elites, thus it could not transform into critical and liberating social practices and remained authoritarian. This approach is applied to the architectural culture in Turkey in the ways architecture reflected the identity politics of nationalism in its discourse and transferred it to the masses. Accordingly it is argued that the modernizing elites of the Republic of Turkey, instrumentalised a constructed nationality and a nationalist ideology in the project of transforming the Ottoman social structure based on traditional religious identifications to the social structure of a modern and secular nation state in the Western sense, and practices such as modern architecture and urbanism were their representational tools. See: Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001).

Reports of Modern Building Reach Us: Modernism and the Serried Array

Mark Crinson

The implications of the ethic of internationalism – its hopes, its failures, its various forms – for modern architecture have long been set aside by architectural historians. In a book published in 2017 – *Rebuilding Babel: Modern Architecture and Internationalism* – I tried to revive interest in this relationship, arguing both for its centrality to modernism and for its relevance for the present day. As the title indicates, the myth of the Tower of Babel was, I argued, both a promise and a warning for modernism. It was the first part of the myth that drew modernists – the ideal of community based on a common language and on working together towards a common end. The second part – the fall, the dispersal, the babble of many tongues – was the warning. Because modernism positioned itself on the side of the first, for good reason it rarely explicitly evoked the kind of all-too-obviously architectural problem that would lead to the second. Modernism's own demise as a coherent movement came at the same time as the internationalist ideals of the first part of the Babel myth seemed to have become discredited or hollowed out; a world all too plainly broken into three parts, three differentiated worlds in which claims of universalism (of which modernist architecture was all too fond) were transparently self-interested. And for that reason it was important in the book to reassert the many kinds of internationalism that were related to modernism. Perhaps perversely, then, in this essay I want to address just one of these, seemingly the best-known form of internationalism, which is the internationalism of the multiplied nation state. This will be done using some familiar material, but I hope to cast this in a new light. At the very least I hope to make problematic the idea of national forms of modernism, which is still too easily resorted to as if it offered unproblematic alternatives to a modernism caricatured as homogeneous, globalised and otherwise immune to the local.

There was a formula for collective national architectural identities, and this appeared in its most assertive form in international expositions towards the end of the 19th century. We can call this formula the serried array or rank (Figure 1). The nations of the world, or those allowed to claim that status, were invited to build their self-images in the form of temporary pavilions, to be grouped in a concourse of nations somewhere prominent but not too central to the exposition site. The famous *Rue des Nations* at the 1900 International Exposition in Paris was exemplary.[1] Two rows of pavilions were situated on a stretch of prime riverside on the Left Bank of the Seine, a little upstream from the main exposition site. In one contemporary image the whole riverside scene is invested with festive swagger: bunting flapping, a busy crowd of assorted rivercraft, and above and on the bank a jostling yet orderly range of towers, spirelets, domes, crockets and gable ends (Figure 2). And yet, despite the many national flags, it would be wrong to call this a display of nationalism because, rather than a set of exclusive identities, it imagines a kind of utopia of varied but equivalent identities, a multiplied nation state amicability; coexistence and diversity. The very proximity of the pavilions, their sharing of air and water space, sets aside the most fractious of nation state issues, that of the sovereign territory and its controlled border.

The unity of nations seemingly embodied by these rows of cheek-by-jowl pavilions represents a very particular kind of internationalist order – of certain modes of diplomacy, of the free-trade rhetoric of the powerful, of the inviolability of empires, and so on – but it is also a spatial and architectural strategy in which the supposed ubiquity of the nation state is demonstrated to have both unity and difference; the similarity of members of a genus, the variety of different species. Each pavilion was freestanding and designed regardless of, and under no necessity to know, what would be beside it. And their different styles spoke a reductive semiotic: if the pavilion had a polychrome arch and a flattish dome it must be Turkey; squatter Byzantine domes and brick and stone striations, it must be Greece; Tudor oriels and doubled chimneys, it must be Great Britain; while if it looked like a miniature Escorial then of course it must be Spain. In the space of the serried array, all geographic distance was compacted, made uniform: Italy stood beside Turkey, beside the United States, then Austria, and behind them were lined up Portugal, Peru, Persia, and Finland. And in the serried array's version of time, all history was immediately accessible, certain moments were nationally privileged, and yet the modern was never (or not yet) to be unambiguously avowed. There is a coexistent contemporaneity of the past.

Strangely unnoticed, however, amid the swirl and the flutter and the happy babble, was the arcade running along the riverside and connecting the pavilions at first storey height. It is seemingly relentless, seemingly without centre; an arched undergirding mostly indifferent to what is above it. We can see the kind of desired subjectivity that is projected here, and there is nothing particularly subtle about it, like most such devices in these expositions; it's just that it is quiet and almost unnoticeable beneath all the frantic national signalling above. The arcade and its walkway gave access to the pavilions while they showed the serried world to be made of aspects or equivalents. The visitor who strode the arcaded international walkway connected nations and yet herself existed between them, outside symbolic codes. The array's alignment, and the walkway, were devices that allowed variety while controlling its splintering effects. If centrality was apparently dispersed, the peripheral was cast beyond sight; it must be inferred by absence. To put it differently, the international arcade as the form taken by official, exhibitionary internationalism functioned at a higher molar level to re-unify the molecular nationalisms that threatened dispersal; latent fragmentation was displayed only to have it re-contained in the same architectural order: the nation state was seen to forever exist within the state of the nations. Of course, the serried array was barely an illusion of equality and, as always, it's important to know how such rhetoric was managed and contested. Some nations, notably the USA, originally placed on the second rank, felt they deserved a place on the front rank, campaigned in the French press, and were eventually found a place as a result of other nations being shuffled close together (this created a gap between Austria and Turkey).[2] Some pavilions, notably the Finnish and the Boer, became sites of protest for those supporting these nascent nations in the face of their Russian and British oppressors.

If the relationship between national expression and international politics is clear in the serried array, then, given its significance as a figure, however illusory (or perhaps because it was illusory), we must see if it can be detected elsewhere. As the spatio-diplomatic system of the international exposition, I want to propose that the serried array was both the precondition and the limiting frame for modernist architecture and its relationship to politics and nation state identity in the 1920s. Of course, it was exactly in the unmoored eclecticism and the instrumental use of history of examples like the *Rue des Nations*, that modernism found ready targets. But this was always an easy piece of rhetoric. What I am concerned with is something more profound, the kind of deeper links that are too easily disavowed by such rhetoric. The serried array provided an architectural format but also what we might call

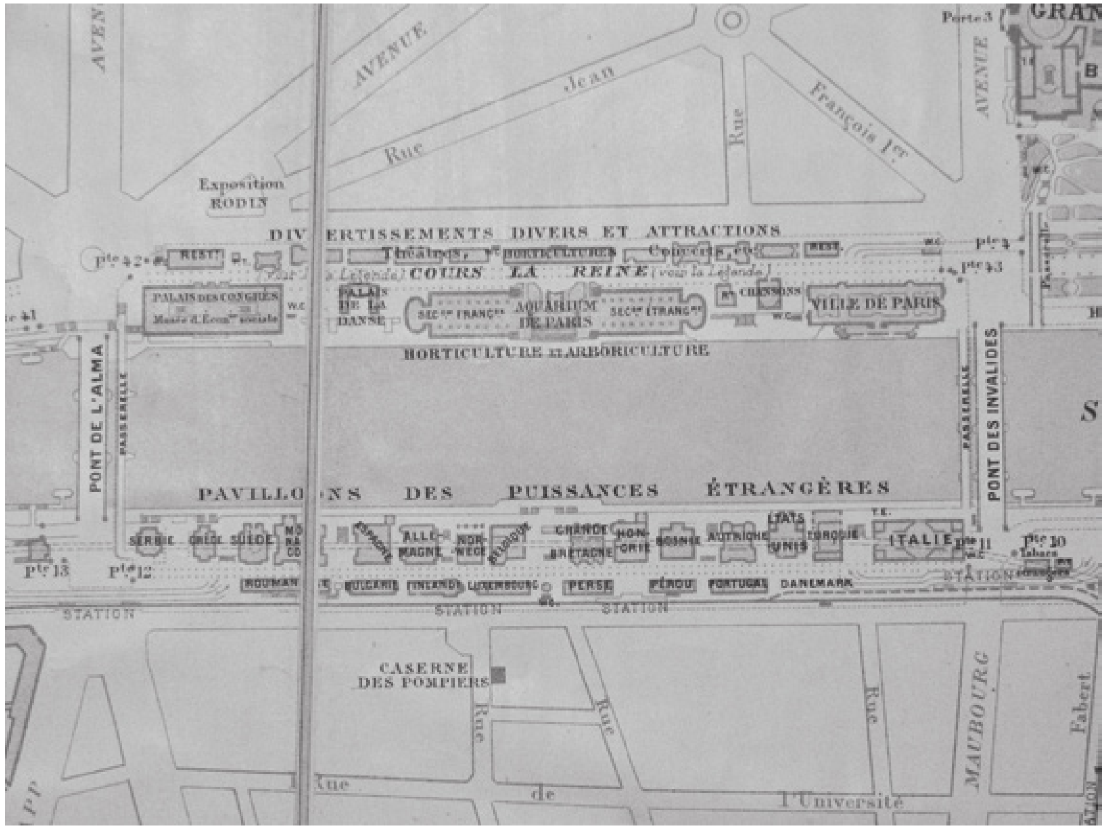


Figure 1. The exhibition site of the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle (the *Rue des Nations* is south of the Pont de l'Alma). *Plan pratique de l'Exposition universelle de 1900*, (Paris: H. Lokay, 1900).

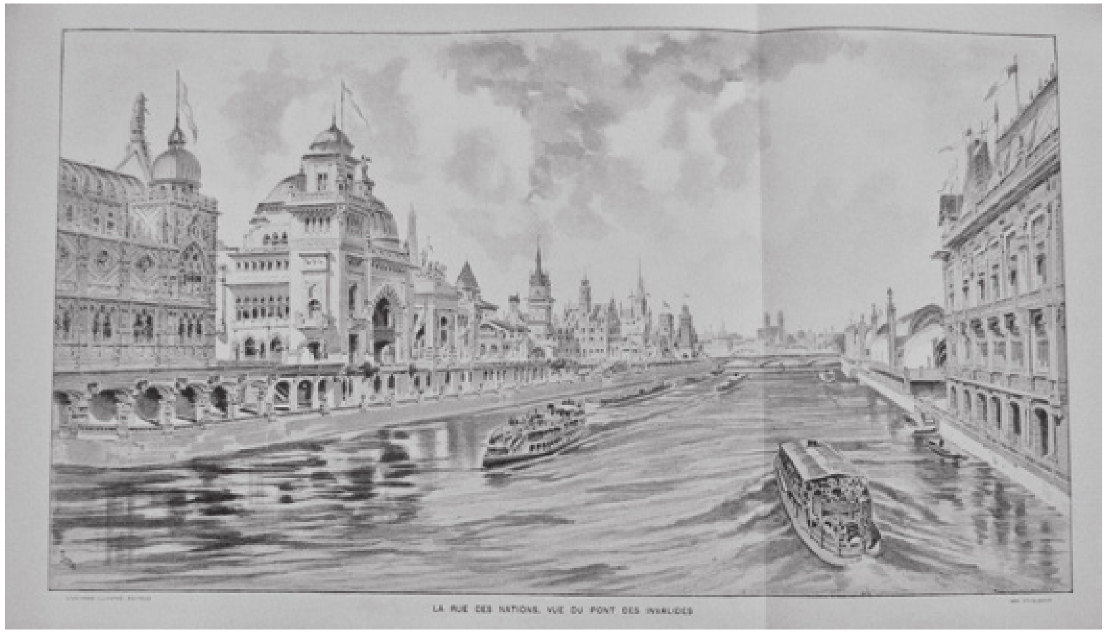

LA RUE DES NATIONS, VUE DU PONT DES INVALIDES

Figure 2. The *Rue des Nations*. Illustration from *Le Petit Journal* (29 April 1900).

a 'fantasy-structure' or a prototypical matrix which, 'reinvested with new and unexpected content',[3] transferred its logic and its dynamics into the new international order after the apocalypse of World War I and the loss of pre-war aristocratic-bohemian cosmopolitanism. Against the context of new transnational forces, particularly anti-colonial movements and communism (each with their own forms of internationalism), the fantasy developed its own permutations as the nation-against-nation conflict of the war was re-arrayed. (There is also a form of shame which could be linked to this, to be found in the allegorical inadequacy of the imagined community caught between the national and the international. It lacks wholeness, it has been defeated too often, it can never establish its borders, its hybridity is undeniable, it has some dark past that may never be resolved. Most of all, there was the lurking fear that some Other has more unity, more significance, and thus the ever-present sense of the nation as peripheral. Identity is inherently related to inadequacy; it harbours shame because it fails.)[4]

This is a big frame of reference and 'fantasy-structure' may seem an unlikely Freudian claim about it. Fredric Jameson tells us how it can be useful:

> [we can] understand its various uses and investments as a process of appropriation and reappropriation, as a structure which, produced by the accidents of a certain history, can be alienated and pressed into the service of a quite different one, reinvested with new and unexpected content, and adapted to unsuspected ideological functions which return upon the older psychic material to re- or overdetermine it in its turn as a kind of retroactive effect.[5]

Understanding, then, how the serried array was both 'alienated' and 'pressed into… service' by modernism enables us to think of it as a structure that has a history, 'the story of the logical permutations of a given fantasy-structure, as well as of its approaches to its own closure and internal limits'.[6] So a fantasy-structure such as the serried array can underlie any outward marks of difference and can continue as those marks transmute.

The crucial scenario for all this in the post-war period was the international dispensation represented by the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations. Modernists were clearly fascinated by the opportunities opened up by the second of these, so much so that there was often a sense of entitlement; that modernism was inherently the expression of the internationalist ideals of the post-war settlement. But if so, then how could the task of manifesting national identity – so necessary to the League of Nations' understanding of peaceful coexistence – be part of an aesthetics of abstraction, of design ostensibly derived from the logic of technology and function? But before discussing modernist forms of the serried array, some sense of the newly charged situation of the League of Nations is required. Four points need to be underlined:

1. The first concerns the national mytheme, and how that was defined for the League. The national unit was understood here in terms that were swathed in Romantic mythologization. This followed with the appointed expert advisors: anthropologists, for instance, advised the League to define national entities on the basis of folklore, custom and vernacular buildings, all supposed measures of an elemental, even atavistic unity.[7] Architecture was embedded as a trace element, as objective evidence of *völkisch* character.

2. Under Woodrow Wilson's influence the formation of the League seemed to place sovereign self-determination first, with internationalism only as a secondary effect of that. Both were to be overseen by the neutral organisations and policy machinery of the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919). The assumptions and perspective here strictly concerned Europe. Although sovereignty would break up defeated empires, it would not be considered with victor empires, so the national mytheme in these circumstances was deemed insufficiently developed to claim sovereignty.[8]

3. The problem of the organisation of the League followed from this, and especially the internal relationships between executive, representatives, technical bodies, and bureaucracy. These also extended to the Assembly.[9] And in this organisation there were architectural and spatial issues. How was internationalism to be manifested among this collection of national representatives? How were they even to be placed in a room, around a table (Figure 3)? Who would be included, who excluded? Here the Versailles problem of international war and pariah states, the serried array as an issue of seating, was still apparent, reinvested in the League.

4. Finally, bureaucracy. Although the eventually built Palace of the League of Nations was swaggeringly imperial in tone, it was actually the housing of bureaucracy – starting with the International Labour Organisation building – that dominated the later architecture of world governance (Figures 4 and 5). The result, whether in the future United Nations building in New York, the UNESCO building in Paris, or even the replacement International Labour Organisation building in Geneva, are beehives and temples of bureaucratic labour, the peace barracks of the world, and as such the necessary complement of the serried array.

This much is probably obvious: that the serried array, regarded as the way things are rightfully, the way they naturally are, continued after the war in the apparently new international dispensation of the League of Nations. Then surely, one might object, this idea of national identity was entirely different from the modern movement as it emerged into coherence in the 1920s.[10] Yet I want to suggest that the serried array was transferred into modernism, if in a shifted form, without the same version of historical time and certainly without its surface effects of eclectic national identities, but with a very similar sense of national representativeness and of a collapsed geographical space.

The links between the new modernist institutions and the League of Nations were close. When the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) formed in 1928 it was directly in response to the result of the Palace of League of Nations competition by which Le Corbusier felt, with some justification, that he had been wrongfully denied by a technicality and that his modernism was both symbolically and formally internationalist and therefore the rightful embodiment of the League. After a brief period wavering between Comintern and League of Nations models of internationalism, CIAM opted for the latter. Like the League and later the United Nations, CIAM considered using an international language;[11] it devised international committees, some involving members of the League's International Labour Organisation; and it wanted to aim these internal bodies at the medieval tower of the nation state (as in the 'battle plan' that Le Corbusier sketched at CIAM's first congress) (Figure 6). And in following the League, and with its own elite group controlling policies and protocols, CIAM was also obsessed with representativeness, with building delegate membership from a range of countries. But this was clearly just as false a representativeness as at the League; it was just enough representativeness to appear to offer a conspectus. For instance, although 24 'international' architects signed CIAM's first public statement, the La Sarraz Declaration, eight of them were Swiss and all of them were west European. Similarly, of the 33 cities considered for the Athens Charter in 1933, only two were outside Euro-America.[12] These are serried arrays or ranks, pretending at internationalism while in fact limiting it to what Le Corbusier called the 'machine civilisation' of the temperate regions.[13]

The more we look the more we see the serried array in modernism, and we see it at first in nominal forms, then using pared down national stereotypes. For the first, for instance, in the manuals or training books in modernist recognition and emulation that proliferate around modern architecture, we can see the exemplification and reiteration of its necessary appearance, of its apparent utter difference from the eclectic flurry of the *Rue des Nations*. But we can also see the serried array; indeed it could be said that the central trope of this new hybrid genre of book is its repetition of images and its appearance of comprehensiveness. In Walter Gropius's *Internationale Architektur* (1925) this is tentative and inconsistent – the naming of country of origin under examples of some architects' work. But such arrays become more assertive with the rapidly assumed maturation of the modern movement. They are there in Ludwig Hilberseimer's *Internationale neue Baukunst* (1927), in the three volumes of *Neues Bauen in der Welt* (1930) put together by El Lissitzky, Richard Neutra and Robert Ginsburger, and in Alfred Roth's *The New Architecture* (1940).

This nominal form of the serried array can be seen in a little more detail in Alberto Sartoris's *Gli elementi dell'architettura razionale* (1932). It was because of its 687 illustrations and its geographic coverage of 29 countries across four continents, from Albania to Uruguay, that Sartoris's book claimed its credibility (Figure 7). This was a parallel universe, a 'psychic topology' of a world crossing both the old and the new national boundaries, exerting its new model of architectural energy with modernism as the principal agent of history.[14] Hermetic and consistent with itself, this was a world in which modern architecture reigned over all: black and white buildings dominated the middle ground of photographs; roofs were everywhere flat; landscape and plants tamely

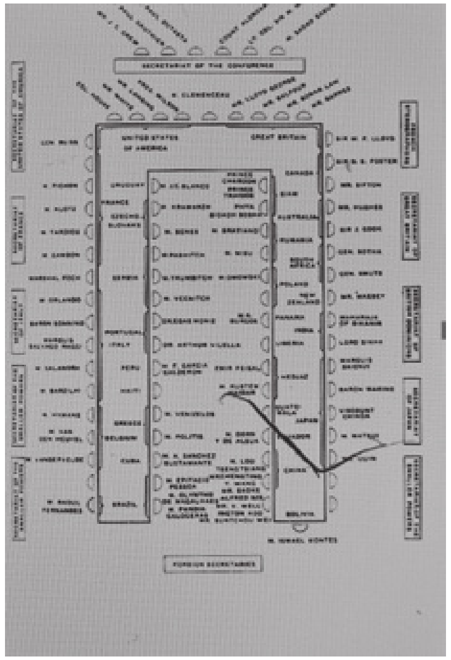


Figure 3. Seating arrangements for the plenary of the Paris Peace Conference (1919). From Charles T. Thompson, *The Peace Day Conference Day by Day* (New York: Brentano's, 1920).

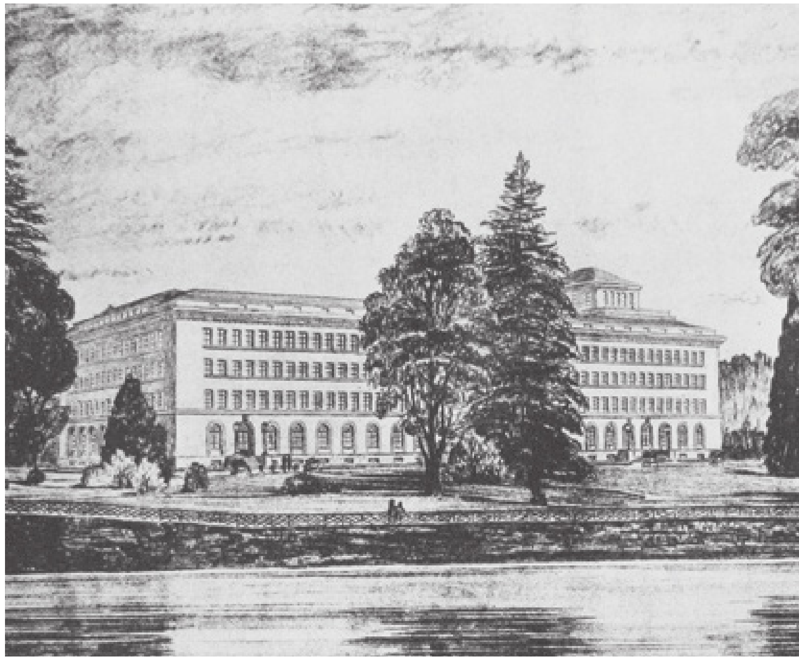


Figure 4. The International Labour Organization building (architect – Georges Épitaux), Geneva (1923–36). From Paul Budry and Georges Épitaux, *L'Edifice du bureau international du travail à Genève* (Geneva: Sadag, 1927).

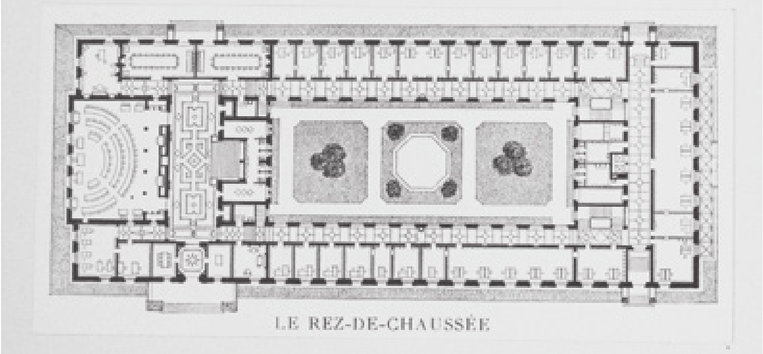


Figure 5. Ground floor plan of the International Labour Organization building (architect – Georges Épitaux), Geneva (1923–36). From Paul Budry and Georges Épitaux, *L'Edifice du bureau international du travail à Genève* (Geneva: Sadag, 1927).

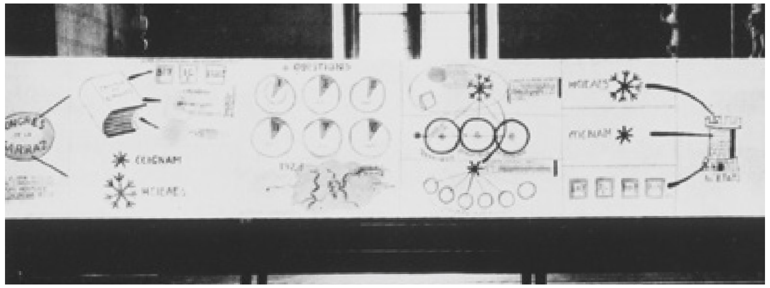
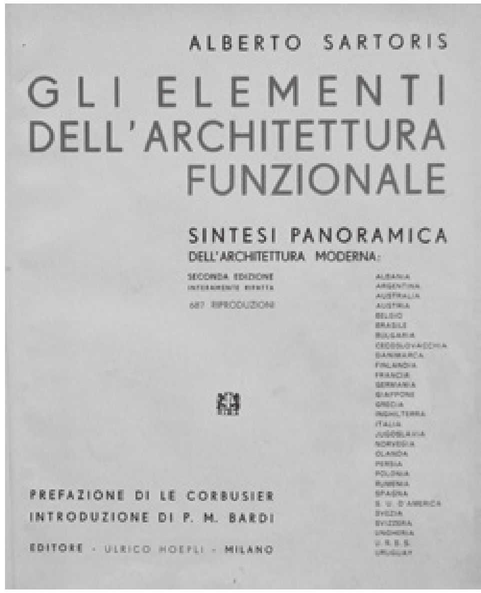


Figure 6. Le Corbusier. 'Battle plan' diagram presented to the first CIAM congress (1928). FLC/ADAGP, Paris, and DACS, London.



ALBERTO SARTORIS

GLI ELEMENTI
DELL'ARCHITETTURA
FUNZIONALE

SINTESI PANORAMICA
DELL'ARCHITETTURA MODERNA:

SECONDA EDIZIONE
INTERAMENTE RIFATTA

687 RIPRODUZIONI

ALBANIA
ARGENTINA
AUSTRALIA
AUSTRIA
BELGIO
BRASILE
BULGARIA
CECOSLOVACCHIA
DANIMARCA
FINLANDIA
FRANCIA
GERMANIA
GIAPPONE
GRECIA
INGHILTERRA
ITALIA
JUGOSLAVIA
NORVEGIA
OLANDA
PERSIA
POLONIA
RUMENIA
SPAGNA
S. U. D'AMERICA
SVEZIA
SVIZZERA
UNGHERIA
U. R. S. S.
URUGUAY

PREFAZIONE DI LE CORBUSIER
INTRODUZIONE DI P. M. BARDI

EDITORE - ULRICO HOEPLI - MILANO

Figure 7. Title page from Alberto Sartoris, *Gli elementi dell'architettura razionale* (Milan: Hoepli, 1935).

subsidiary; chairs, tables, operating theatres, restaurants, classrooms, factory floors, changing rooms, all awaited human users (Figure 8). This was more than a matter of photographic convention; 'synthetic panorama' was Sartoris's apt term because there was nothing else in this scoping, worlding action than the modern and what was glimpsed through the modern.[15] And along with this was a parade of representativeness – each of the 29 countries' names prominently displayed as a header. It is as if the regularity and conformity of page design and photographic convention has taken over the role of the international arcade, the walkway undergirding the pavilions of the *Rue des Nations*, while representativeness has been reduced to its most nominal form. But what, one might wonder, became of modernist fragmentation in all this: of montage, collage, the bombardment of sensations, the divided subject? What was modernist architecture doing with these nationalist-internationalist rubrics that was still modernist? This was modernism as only one of the Tower of Babel's two aspects: the community effort of building, or at least the image of it, without the shattering effects of babble and dispersal.

Contemporary with Sartoris's book there was that other famous panorama of modern architecture, *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* at the Museum of Modern Art, New York (and its book, *The International Style*). Here, modern architecture claimed its place in the world because the authority of inevitability was bestowed on the curators' more formalist interests. Again a global commonality of form was summoned up, with its own innate and serial logic (Figure 9). Betraying mere variations as it was encountered across human societies, this style achieved its authority because, like one of General Pitt-Rivers' unilineal series of spears found across the world, like the typological displays in evolutionary sequence at the Smithsonian Museum in Washington DC, it was understood as a ubiquitous anthropological and functional entity (Figure 10).[16] In the International Style every architectural thing testified to borderless transnational ideals free of specific historic or geographic constraints. Everything within its frame was thus defined as volume and space; everything was light-filled, reflective and smooth; everything was flat-roofed, white, cubic and asymmetrical. The placeless, historyless materials of steel, concrete and glass abounded. And these claims were only reinforced as this limited set of qualities was repeated. Uniformity of style equalled the rationality that brooked no borders. 'The contemporary style', wrote the curators, 'which exists throughout the world, is unified and inclusive, not fragmentary and contradictory.'[17] 'From Vienna, from Helsingfors and from Tokyo', Philip Johnson wrote, 'reports of modern building reach us.'[18]

These were ferociously curated worlds. Photographs used by MoMA adhered rigidly to a conception of the modern building as a singular and separate entity, abstracted and independent of its setting, whether urban or rural. Viewers were not to consider specificities of site, qualities of climate, effects of terrain. It is was if everything that had epitomised the *Rue des Nations* had been washed out of the world of the exhibition. The International Style was not to engage with these matters because they were simply too specific, too conditional, too local, too much either of the transient present or the clamorous past. In fact both distance and time were treated as transcribed and highly abstracted forms of the serried array. The International Style, it was asserted, spread globally like an evolutionary sequence out of time: a unilineal series, a typology of typologies, regardless of borders, without peripheries and seemingly without cultural specificity.[19] In this architecture of 'mankind as a whole' there were only mere variations as formal resemblances were encountered across human societies. All such modern buildings exemplified the genus 'International Style', all were symptoms or expressions of a universal aesthetic of contemporary form, of an international allegory without apparent politics, a utopia. And that meant, according to this overt logic (but not according to its real centre of power), a modernism without centre or periphery; a modernism the same in Switzerland as in Egypt, in New Zealand as in India. Instead of dialogue with the local there was a serial, monologic iteration in which the reduced signs of the nation state were, as with Sartoris, the serried array of names. But these should not be downplayed. The international required the national entities that made it up; without them it might be seen as a local and culturally specific phenomenon; by registering them, its own overarching nature, its completion, was assured. So, it followed, the peripheral could not exist; like the international arcade, the centre was everywhere.

It needs underlining, however contradictory it might seem, that this tendency in modernism merely to signal the nation within a larger international unity was tenuous and brief. Its effects were far-reaching and far-spreading, but within

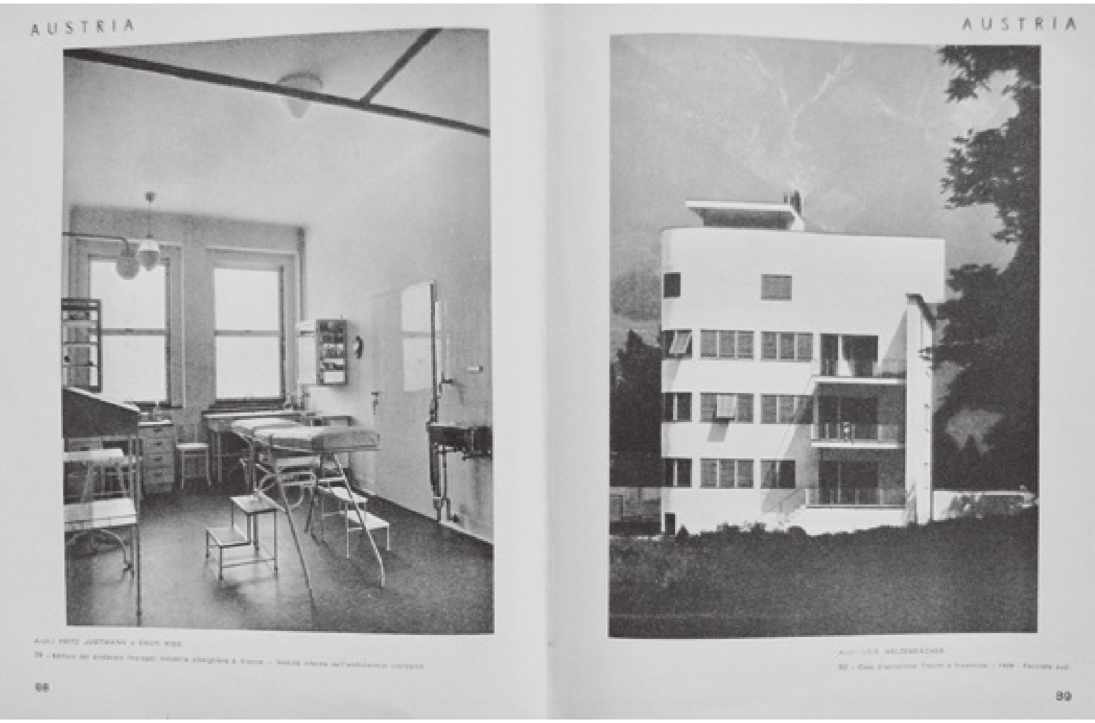


Figure 8. Double page spread from Alberto Sartoris, *Gli elementi dell'architettura razionale* (Milan: Hoepli, 1935).

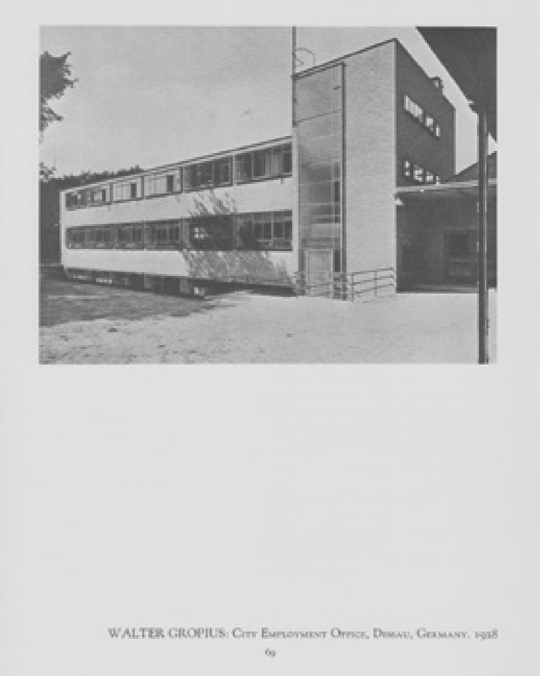

WALTER GROPIUS: City Employment Office, Dessau, Germany. 1928
69

Figure 9. Walter Gropius. City Employment Office, Dessau (1928). From Museum of Modern Art, *Modern Architecture – International Exhibition* (New York: MoMA, 1932).

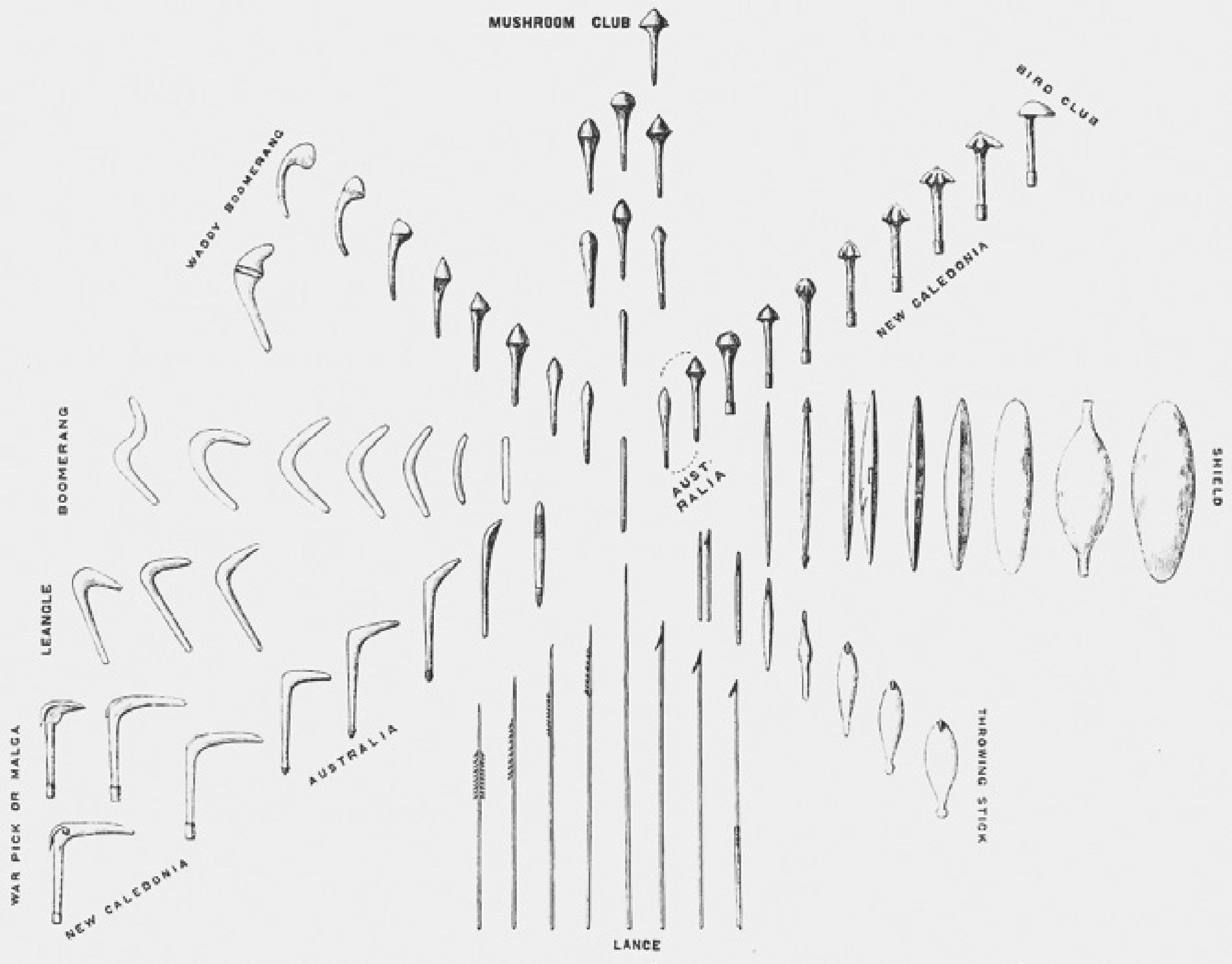


Figure 10. Hypothetical 'derivation from a single form'. From A.H.L.F. Pitt-Rivers, *The Evolution of Culture and other essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906).

five years, in the MoMA case, its curators had exerted a kind of mutation of the phenomenon. In their hands it became an ascendant regionalist modernism and within a few more years MoMA was curating *Brazil Builds* (1943), *America Builds* (1944), and publishing *Switzerland Builds* (1950) and *Italy Builds* (1954). The International Style was nationalised in these productions, given a compensatory local expression. But again, the peripheral was inconceivable. A unity had become a spectrum; the serried array returned to physical form but now with certain familiar features. The inaugural example, from MoMA's 1937 exhibition *Modern Architecture in England*, was English modernism, named a 'localised variant' of the International Style.[20] While English modernism can transcend its 'dull, foggy climate' – after all, to be modernist it has to – it now also expresses its 'romantic' and 'picturesque' self through the 'bold use of curved forms' (Figure 11). An inability to be properly international – there were only two English examples in the 1932 exhibition – was remade as a virtue. A larger granularity of variant was now admitted. England had the picturesque in its DNA, in its supposed deep tradition of attachment to climate and land, therefore English modernism is picturesque.

Such regionalism, for that is what it would be called, was premised on an idea of culture as the lived experience of the dominant culture. The character of the nation, purveyed as the psyche and the soil (even when your name was Berthold Lubetkin or Walter Gropius), was structured into an international intelligibility. Dissent was made to disappear, papered over by this virtual authenticity. It was regionalist modernism, and it would inform later notions of critical regionalism. But wasn't this an overt return to stereotyped national identities of the serried array?

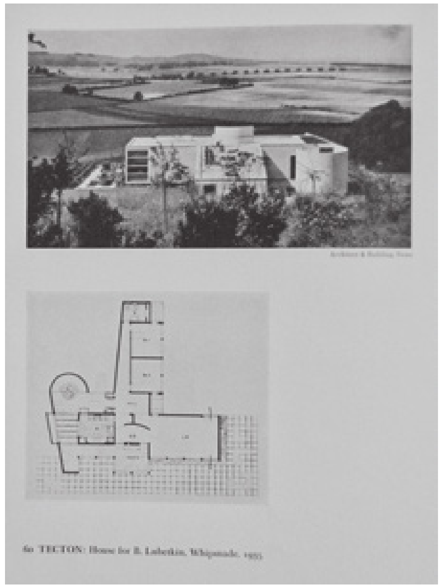


Figure 11. Lubetkin and Tecton. House for Berthold Lubetkin, Whipsnade (1935). From Museum of Modern Art, *Modern Architecture in England* (New York: MoMA, 1937).

Endnotes

[1] Another example is the embassy quarter in major cities. This was given ideal form in Hendrik Christian Andersen and Ernest Hébard's World Centre (1913): see Hendrik Christian Andersen and Ernest Hébard, *Creation of a World Centre for Communications* (Paris: no publisher, 1913).

[2] Richard D. Mandell, *Paris 1900 – The Great World's Fair* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967) pp. 55–56.

[3] Fredric Jameson, *Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) p. 11.

[4] Fredric Jameson, *The Ancients and the Moderns – On the Historicity of Forms* (London and New York: Verso, 2015) p. 197.

[5] Jameson, Fables, pp. 10–11.

[6] Ibid., p. 11.

[7] Marcel Mauss, *Techniques, Technology and Civilisation* (New York and Oxford: Durkheim Press/Berghahn Books, 2006) pp. 43–47. Mauss was critical of this, arguing instead that civilisation was an inherently international phenomenon.

[8] See Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Other binding media are also explored – hence the League's, and later the United Nations', interest in Esperanto: Mark Crinson, *Rebuilding Babel: Modern Architecture and Internationalism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017) p. 25.

[9] Pedersen, *The Guardians*, p. 7. The balance here was between the supposedly neutral bureaucracy and the serried ranks of national interests.

[10] The international expositions clearly entranced modernists like Pevsner, Hitchcock and Giedion, but they focused on iron structures and technology, turning their faces away from signs of national identity.

[11] Richard Dupierreux, head of the League-of-Nations-created International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (which later became UNESCO), attended the first CIAM congress and argued for the use of Esperanto.

[12] While membership gradually widened in the 1930s and certainly did represent colonial areas as well as Brazil and Japan by 1936, it only really opened up to non-Euro-Americans in the 1940s.

[13] Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City* (London: Faber & Faber, 1933) p. 194.

[14] The term is borrowed from Jameson, *Fables*, p. 103.

[15] The subtitle to Sartoris's 1935 edition is *Sintesi panoramica dell'architettura moderna.*

[16] George W. Stocking Jr., 'The Spaces of Cultural Representation, circa 1887 and 1969: Reflections on Museum Arrangement and Anthropological Theory in the Boasian and Evolutionary Tradition,' *The Architecture of Science*, edited by Peter Galison and Emily Thompson (Cambridge, Mass and London: MIT Press, 1999) pp. 167–68.

[17] H.-R. Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style* (1932) reprinted (New York: Norton, 1995) p. 19.

[18] Philip Johnson writing in December 1930, as quoted in Terence Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: MoMA, 1992) p. 42.

[19 Compare this with A.H.K.L.F. Pitt-Rivers, 'Typological museums, as exemplified by the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, and his provincial museum at Farnham, Dorset,' *Journal of the Society of Arts* 40 (1891) pp. 115–22 (p. 116).

[20] H.-R. Hitchcock, 'Modern Architecture in England', in MoMA, *Modern Architecture in England* (New York: MoMA, 1937) p. 31. I argue elsewhere that there were actually signs of this localisation in the 1932 exhibition, even if inadvertent: Crinson, *Rebuilding*, pp. 148–53.

Session III

Historic Urban Landscapes of Modernism as UNESCO World Heritage Sites

After years of comparative neglect, modernism is starting to feature more prominetly on the UNESCO World Heritage List. This session will examine how 20th century heritage is represented, what gaps have already been filled, and what still remains underrepresented. Speakers will discuss whether the recognition of modern, 20th century urban landscapes on the World Heritage List encourages a re-evaluation of acknowledged concepts such as outstanding universal value, authenticity or integrity. Contributions to this session should serve as a stimulus for those preparing nomination dossiers for future inscriptions to the Word Heritage List.

Vaidas Petrulis

Edward Denison

Michael Turner

Sharon Golan Yaron

Fernando Espinosa de los Monteros Rosillo

Modernism, HUL and the Age of the Anthropocene

Edward Denison

A Sense of Perspective

At the dawn of the third millennium, we are living in an age of rapid and unprecedented change, the destabilising effects of which are felt not only in the daily lives of the 7.6 billion humans that now populate this planet, but also in the myriad systems that have sustained life on earth for over four billion years. The speed, depth and scope of change might appear overwhelming, but if we fail to grasp its significance and respond proportionately, we face the threat of losing not merely our collective heritage but also the cultural and natural systems on which these essential assets depend.

The tipping point was the 20th century – modernism's century – which bore witness to the first ever human-induced change on a planetary scale and laid the ground for the urbanisation of our species within the first decade of the 21st century.[1] Modernism's instrumental role in effecting this change, resonated with the clarion call of modernisation that rang out ever more loudly and widely across the globe after World War II. The modern city, planned and built to accommodate the proliferation of our species, exemplifies this process of change and has in turn assumed its place in the wider landscape of urban heritage with the comparatively recent global acceptance of modernism's contribution to humankind's collective heritage.

The 21st century will, however, bear witness to humankind's success or failure to manage the consequences of this planetary change. For those engaged in the built environment professions broadly, or the heritage sector more specifically, the stakes could not be higher. Over the last hundred years, modernity has precipitated a more than quadrupling of the human population, the urbanisation of our species and the globalisation of human cultures. For the heritage industry, established in the 20th century on principles from the 19th century, the scale and pace of change in the 21st century highlights the urgent need to devise new methods and approaches that move beyond the industry's Eurocentric foundations and begin to confront the planetary challenges that will decide our fate as a global species.

The consequences of human-induced change over the last century are beginning to reveal their

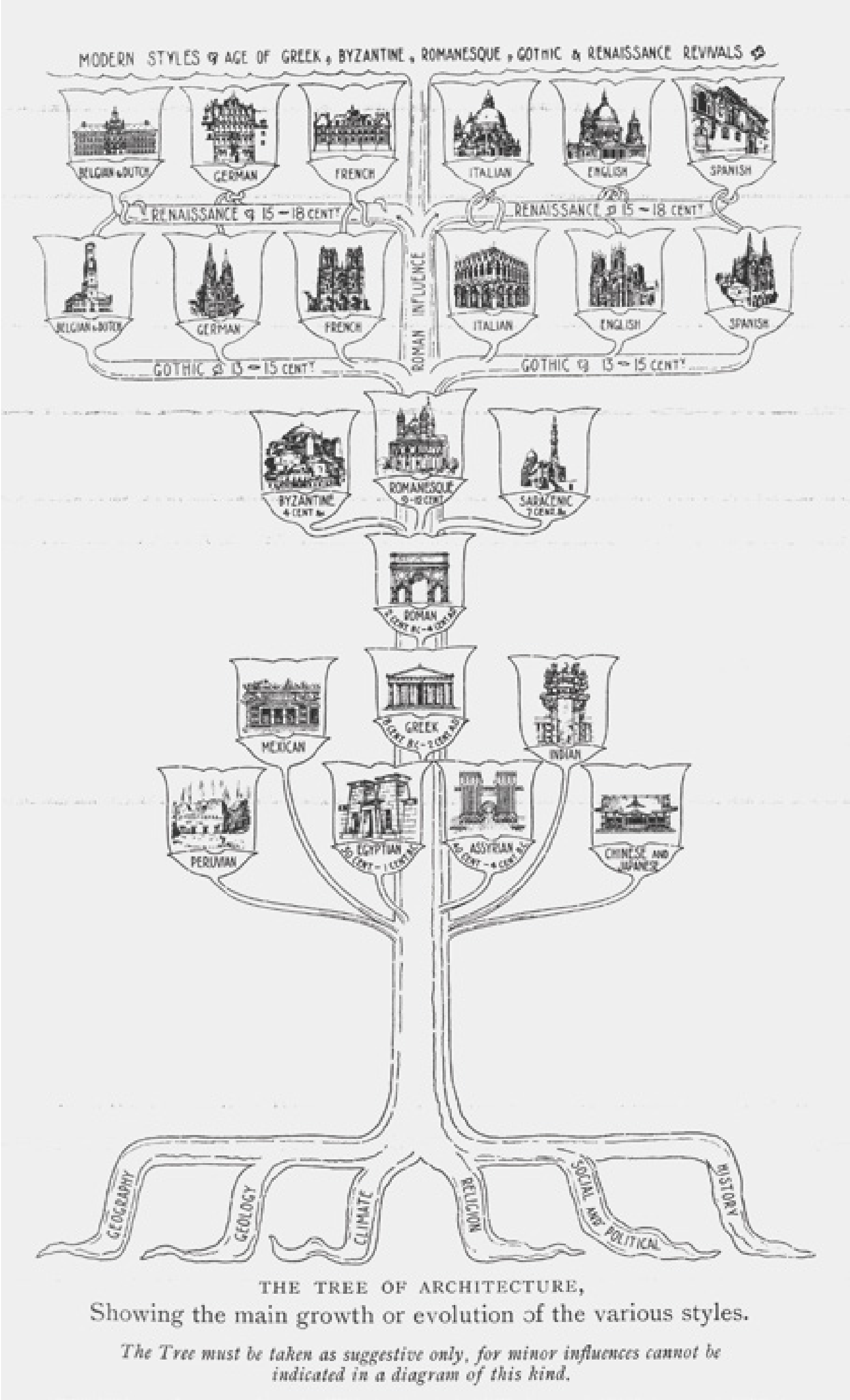

MODERN STYLES ❦ AGE OF GREEK, BYZANTINE, ROMANESQUE, GOTHIC & RENAISSANCE REVIVALS ❦
BELGIAN & DUTCH
GERMAN
FRENCH
ITALIAN
ENGLISH
SPANISH
RENAISSANCE ❦ 15 – 18 CENTY
RENAISSANCE ❦ 15 – 18 CENTY
BELGIAN & DUTCH
GERMAN
FRENCH
ROMAN INFLUENCE
ITALIAN
ENGLISH
SPANISH
GOTHIC ❦ 13 – 15 CENTY
GOTHIC ❦ 13 – 15 CENTY
BYZANTINE 4 CENT
ROMANESQUE 9-12 CENT
SARACENIC 7 CENT
ROMAN
MEXICAN
GREEK
INDIAN
PERUVIAN
EGYPTIAN
ASSYRIAN
CHINESE AND JAPANESE
GEOGRAPHY
GEOLOGY
CLIMATE
RELIGION
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
HISTORY
THE TREE OF ARCHITECTURE,
Showing the main growth or evolution of the various styles.
The Tree must be taken as suggestive only, for minor influences cannot be indicated in a diagram of this kind.

Figure 1. The 'Tree of Architecture', first published in 1905 in the 5th Edition of Sir Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture*. © RIBA Collections

profound and destabilising effect on the world. From climate change to the urbanisation of our species, the evidence of humankind's planetary impact in the modern era has precipitated an entirely new geological epoch: the Anthropocene. As the agreed nomenclature of this new epoch suggests, the principal characteristic of this departure from the Holocene, which lasted twelve thousand years, is an age defined by the human species and its collective bearing on the planet it has come to dominate.

This paper explores the modern heritage industry and the prevailing problems and challenges it faces in the 21st century, making a case in support of the need for new approaches to urban heritage that adequately and effectively respond to the challenges of this new geological age. With modern heritage as its principal subject and frame of reference, and in keeping with the most progressive approaches to urban heritage, this paper advocates a planetary perspective and the need to adopt an inclusive, integrated and comprehensive approach to heritage in the Anthropocene.

Architectural Heritage and the Other

Since the signing of the *Venice Charter* in 1964, the institutionalisation and phenomenal growth of the heritage industry has had a profound and positive impact on our understanding and handling of the world's heritage assets. However, more than half a century later, the founding principles, definitions and recommendations have had equally profound unintended consequences that future heritage professionals need to resolve. These can be seen as a reflection, perhaps inevitably, of the industry's western (and predominantly male) origins and are evidenced most clearly in a phenomenon here described as 'othering' – where the voice of the 'other' is muted by a dominant master narrative.

The cultural and geographical foundations on which the international heritage industry was built are reflected in the title of the *Venice Charter*. Of the 23 signatories responsible for drafting the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments*, 21 were male, 19 were European, three were American, and one was from North Africa (Tunisia). None were from Asia, Oceania or Sub-Saharan Africa. The inherent Eurocentrism of the modern heritage industry's founding fathers (literally) was further entrenched in the 1972 World Heritage Convention following UNESCO's *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* held in the European capital of Paris in the same year.

The Eurocentrism that imbued 20th century claims to internationalism was not confined to the embryonic heritage industry. In architecture, modernism's claims to a universal internationalism was strengthened by the seminal exhibition, *Modern Architecture: International Exhibitio*n, at New York's Museum of Modern Art in early 1932 and reinforced by the accompanying publications: an eponymous exhibition catalogue and *The International Style* by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson. The all-male exhibition committee selected works from an all-male cast of architects drawn exclusively from Europe and North America. Of the 70 sites that Hitchcock and Johnson included in their published survey, all except one were from Europe or the United States of America: an Electrical Laboratory (1929) in Japan designed by Yamada Mamoru for the Ministry of Public Works.[2] Although it made it into this exclusive Western club, this building in Osaka did not escape being wrongly attributed to Tokyo.[3] Just one photograph was used to illustrate Mamoru's design, compared with the 132 other plans and photographs of mostly European buildings that furnished the book and constructed the powerfully persuasive white-cube aesthetic of this new 'international' style.

It is important perhaps at this point to emphasise that this is not about undermining or eroding the significance of these celebrated works or their subjects, but to challenge their claims of universality or internationalism and to consider the consequences of both their origins and the pre-eminence they have enjoyed for nearly a century. The narrative constructed around modernism and its urban and architectural production as a result of publications, exhibitions and subsequent uncritical and restricted professional and academic enquiry, has had a profound and constraining effect on the architectural and cultural historiography of the modern era. This problem is highlighted in the context of the art of the 'other' by the art historian, Professor Partha Mitter, who cites as an example the influential book *Art Since*

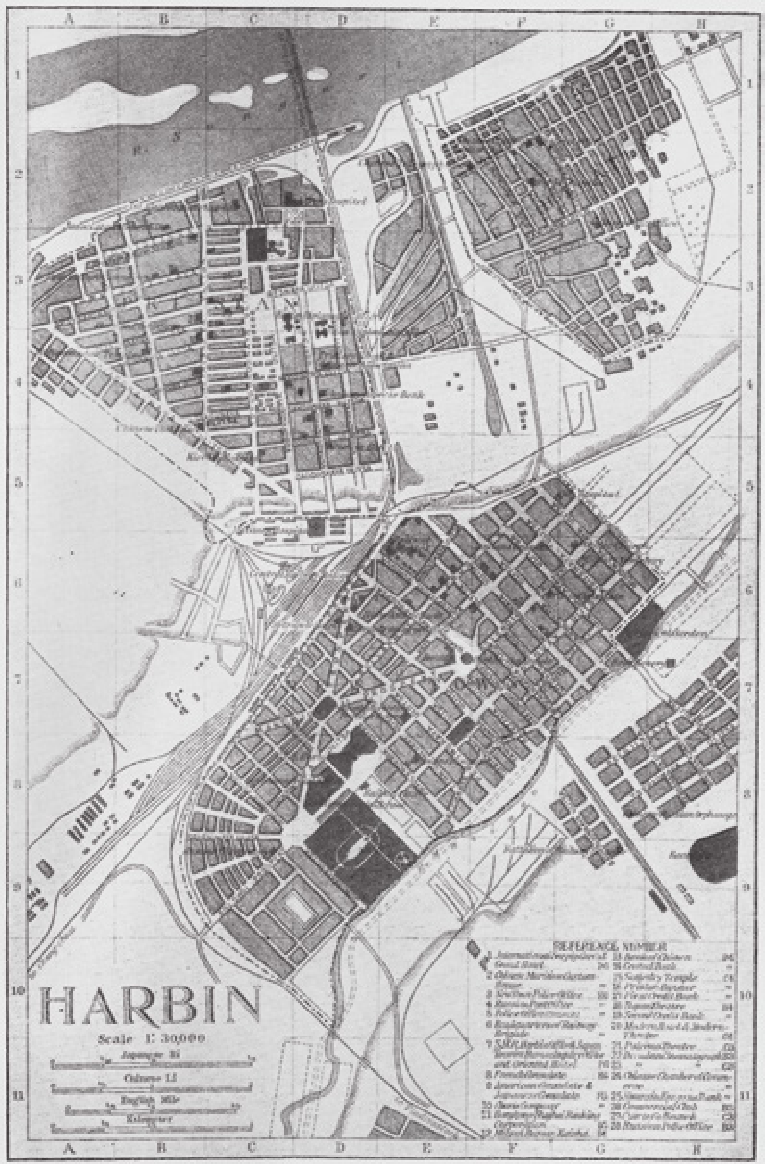


Figure 2. The Russian urban plan for Harbin, a city created at the end of the 19th century by the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, 'one of the greatest arteries of traffic the world has ever seen [and] one of the chief factors in shifting the centre of gravity of the world's trade,' and today boasting a population over 10 million. (Archibald R. Colquhoun, *China in Transformation*, Harper & Bros, London, 1898, pp. 327–28.)

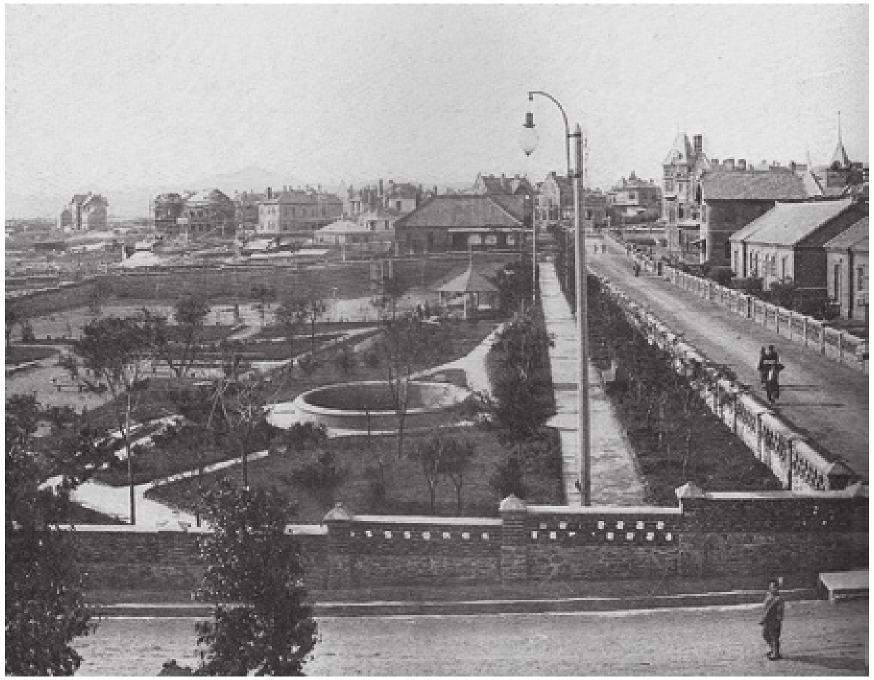


Figure 3. The new Russian port city of Dalny (meaning 'far place' in Russian) on the Chinese coast, described in 1904 as 'A "boom" town without any reason for a "boom",' and a century later a city with a population of over 6 million. (H.J.Whigham, *Manchuria and Korea*, Isbister & Co., 1904, p. 8.)

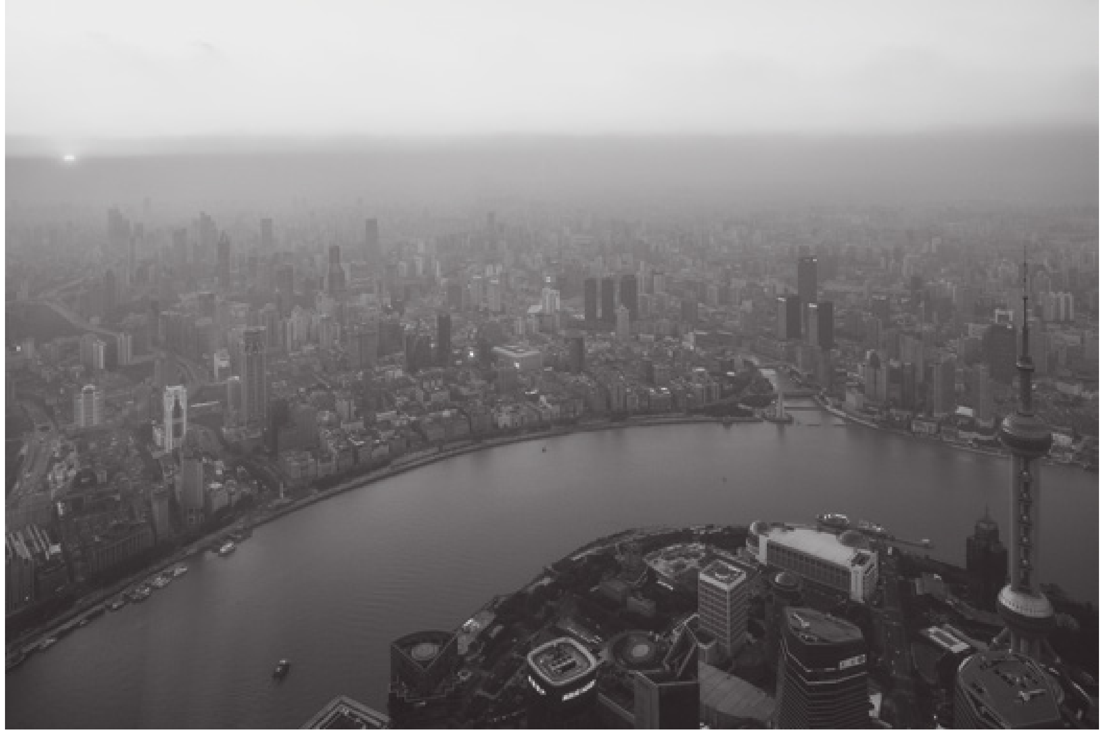


Figure 4. The vast urban landscape of Shanghai, a modern city par excellence and home to over 25 million people. Circled is the former Joint Savings Society Building (1934) designed by the Hungarian architect, Laszlo Hudec, and the tallest building in China until the 1980s. Photograph Edward Denison

1900 (Foster et al., 2004): 'None of this would be problematic,' he argues, 'if the title of the book were, for instance, *Western Avant-Garde Art since 1900* or *Western Art since 1900*.'[4]

Claims to universality, consciously or otherwise, by European authors have had a muffling effect on others, resulting not only in muting the acknowledgement or narration of other histories, but also, importantly, undermining how we understand our own histories through a lack of comparison or recognition of interconnectedness. Such examples are commonplace in Western academia. In architecture, William Curtis's excellent and seminal book, *Modern Architecture Since 1900* (Curtis, 1982), while laudable in its attempt to provide a genuinely global outlook, makes no reference to China before 1949 and little mention of India or sub-Saharan Africa, regions that collectively comprise over half the world's population and which experienced very significant encounters with modern architecture.

No single architectural image reflects this condition more succinctly than the 'Tree of Architecture' in Sir Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture* (Figure 1).[5] Published in 1896, it has since been among the most important, if not *the* most important, texts for many students of architecture and architectural history around the world. Growing straight and tall, the *Tree of Architecture's* robust trunk unambiguously represents the genealogy of the profession, rising up from the fertile sources of Greece and Rome through the Romanesque before blossoming into a thick canopy that blooms with the fruits of different styles of European building. Much of the rest of the world is represented by lesser fruit that hang singularly from the comparatively lean lower branches. Except for Egypt, the entire continent of Africa does not even feature – a landmass with more human genetic diversity than the rest of the world combined, yet no legitimate claim to architecture. This 19th century image should be as shocking to architectural historians as the racist literary and graphic depictions of colonial subjects are to modern historians of literature and art, but it is not.

This may seem trivial or perhaps even an unfair revisionist interpretation of a well-intended illustrative model of architectural historiography drawn at the time the profession was finding its feet in the 19th century. However, significance here lies not in what was done by our forebears in their time, but in the impact their work has had on later generations, whose uncritical response (until comparatively recently) to foundational prejudices has compounded rather than amended institutional bias.

Sir Banister Fletcher's seminal tome has been extensively revised through repeated attempts to keep it up to date, but in the 21st century a complete overhaul was deemed necessary to make it fit for purpose in a global age. The initial structure of this proposed revision divided the last millennia into three temporally arbitrary periods within which the old stereotypes that were instilled by the founding author in the 19th century prevailed. For example, in the chapter covering *1400–1830*, Europe was allocated 81,000 words, while China was given 8,500 and the continent of Africa was given 5,000. In the next chapter, *1830–1914*, China and Africa fared little better, with 4,000 and 5,000 words each respectively compared with Europe's 44,000 words. In the modern era, from *1914–Present*, Africa again, by now a continent comprising 54 countries and 1.2 billion people, was given just 5,000 words, while Europe enjoyed over ten times the space (52,500 words) in which to narrate its history. Only with the interventions of Professor Murray Fraser from The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, who was appointed editor later, have these early disparities been partially redressed.

Professor Fraser's interventions notwithstanding, if one's reaction to this might be to consider it a comparatively insignificant matter confined to the equally insignificant field of architectural history, it proves this paper's central thesis. The writing of history *is* a reflection of as much as it is a contribution to society and the latent cultural prejudice therein. The architectural history narrated by Banister Fletcher might have been aimed at architects and historians, but the underlying message reaches a far wider audience, some of whom are willing to spend tens of millions of dollars and exercise huge national resources in pursuit of its central doctrine – namely giving real cultural meaning and value to artefacts, buildings, monuments, ensembles and, increasingly, entire cities, based on assessments whose basis relies on the historical record, irrespective of whether or not this record is stuck on repeat. For proof, one needs look no further than UNESCO's World

Heritage List, which, since its inception in 1978, has unwittingly become a global inventory of cultural prejudice.

The World Heritage List's Eurocentrism has long been the cause of concern within and beyond the cultural sector, leading to the launch of various initiatives aimed at redressing the growing imbalance between not only the types of sites, but also their geographical distribution. Following a study conducted by ICOMOS from 1987–1993 that revealed 'Europe, historic towns and religious monuments, Christianity, historical periods and "elitist" architecture (in relation to vernacular) were all over-represented on the World Heritage List,'[6] UNESCO initiated the Global Strategy in 1994. However, despite these efforts, a quarter of a century on, the List remains critically imbalanced.

For a nominated site to be inscribed on the List, it must be deemed to possess 'outstanding value to humanity ... irrespective of the territory on which they are located.' If this were true, heritage professionals and the global public should be troubled by the fact that in 2018, Europe possesses exactly half of all UNESCO's cultural World Heritage Sites (422 of 845). More troubling still is the fact that Italy (49) and Germany (42) possess more cultural sites than the 54 countries that comprise the entire continent of Africa (88). Or, to put it another way, sub-Saharan Africa with its exceptional climatic, geological and ethnic range has just three more cultural sites than Italy. Much could be read into these facts, but what they reveal is the consequence of decades of bias cumulatively constructed through research, policy-making, and the writing of rules, regulations and historical narratives that favour the author and discriminate against others. This creates a self-fulfilling cycle that ingrains and instils profound and deep-rooted prejudices that prevent a fair representation of global history and culture, and undermine our ability to construct new knowledge.

The issue here is a question of power – a classic case of the victor's narrative. Modern architectural history, like the global heritage industry, is a product of the West, which enjoyed a pre-eminent position when these institutions were being established. This reality is what has motivated my research into the Eritrean capital of Asmara (which has since been inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List for its modernist architecture), architectural modernity in China, and Japanese imperialism in Manchuria. Following the publication of *Ultra-Modernism: Architecture and Modernity in Manchuria* (HKUP, 2017), I was asked to explain this in a piece for the *RIBA Journal,* in which I attempted to summarise the over-arching position:

History is a record of power. The 20th century – modernism's century – was dominated by 'the West'; its 'official' history bearing testimony to the west's dominance of 'others'. Modernist architectural history is a canon constructed by, for and of the West. This has major consequences for architectural encounters with modernity outside the West, which are routinely overlooked or possess an assumed inferiority; a postulation asserted through inauthenticity, belatedness, diluteness and remoteness, geographically, intellectually, and even racially.[7]

Multiple Modernities

Much is now being done to redress the historical and historiographical imbalances that have characterised architectural history since its inception as a formal academic discipline, along with its associated industries, which includes the heritage sector. This positive trend will only increase as the geo-political (and consequently intellectual) influence of the West recedes, revealing rich and fertile territories once concealed below the high-water mark of Western hegemony up to the late 20th century. Different disciplines have responded to this new terrain in different ways and with varying degrees of enthusiasm over recent decades. The vanguard has been the social sciences, which have helped fashion this new landscape as much as they have profited from the opportunities it has presented. In the Preface to the 1998 summer edition of *Daedalus* the *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* titled 'Early Modernities', the editor noted that 'It is a fact that Asia, like Africa and Latin America, figures less in major scholarly tomes than do either Europe or North America.'[8] This seemingly obvious and innocuous statement of fact cast a spotlight on a fundamental problem in the arts, humanities and social sciences that, for architecture and heritage, remains as accurate now as it was a century ago.

One of the reasons why both modern architectural historiography and modern heritage have been framed largely by Western values and perspectives is that their foundation coincided with an era dominated by the prevailing and persuasive assumption that modernisation and Westernisation could be equated. Two years after the publication of 'Early Modernities', the 2000 winter edition of *Daedalus* was titled 'Multiple Modernities,' in which the architect of this nascent theory, the Israeli sociologist, Shmuel Eisenstadt, wrote: 'One of the most important implications of the term "multiple modernities" is that modernity and Westernization are not identical; Western patterns of modernity are not the only "authentic" modernities.'[9] Advocating a more pluralistic approach to modernity and thereby stripping the West of its monopoly appears simple, but it has been quietly ground-breaking, especially in architecture, architectural historiography and in the field of cultural heritage, despite the built environment disciplines lagging years behind related disciplines.

Eisenstadt's theory is one of several attempts at the construction of a theoretical framework challenging the master narratives established in the last century that are proving redundant in this century. Theories advocating a more plural approach to the historiography of modernity, whether multiple, alternative, indigenous, colonial, etc., are gaining increasing approbation in architectural studies as more research is done that exposes the architectural experiences of countries beyond the Western gaze. In 2009, for example, *Multiple Modernities in Muslim Societies* edited by Modjtaba Sadria won the Aga Khan Award for Architecture (I.B. Tauris, 2009). In 2015, the publication of *African Modernism* claimed defiantly that 'Europe can no longer claim exclusive rights to modernity.'[10]

However, there is a still a long way to go and many people would argue the pace of change is too slow. In 2012, the Singaporean architect, William Lim, used the published proceedings of a 2011 conference in Singapore titled *Non-West Modernist Past* to claim that 'Western mainstream literature on modern architecture and urbanism continues with its Eurocentric universality and dominance. Even significant contributors of the "non-West" are considered peripheral and ignored.'[11] What is important here, as the voice of former others increasingly gets heard, is the need, as Jyoti Hosagrahar emphasises in *Indigenous Modernities*, 'not merely to celebrate and give voice to minority discourses and knowledges in order to include them in their subordinate positions in existing privileged accounts of modernity, but to question the master narrative.'[12]

It might take a generation before 'other' histories become sufficiently numerous and articulate as to change the master narrative, but there is no question that this is underway and that, consequently, 'studies of the future are likely to take into greater account societies and religions, traditions and practices still too little known today, concealed from the West by many factors.'[13] For architecture and modern urban heritage, this is both exciting and vitally important, since our lack of knowledge and awareness of some of the world's largest and most rapidly changing cities is not only precipitating the damage, destruction and loss of significant buildings and historic urban environments through the absence of proper research and reliable information, but it also impairs our ability to encourage positive urban change through new and creative responses founded on or enabled by informed management, policy-making, new approaches and innovative design interventions.

Modern Heritage and the Modern City

The modern city, born or nurtured in the 20th century, will play a vital role in heritage research and practice in the 21st century. In little over a hundred years, the modern city has played an instrumental role in the near fivefold increase in the total human population from 1.6 billion people in 1900 to 7.6 billion today. The modern city is even more closely aligned to the fivefold increase in the human urban population since the end of World War II, which has risen from 751 million in 1950 to 4.2 billion in 2018, resulting in the urbanisation of our species around 2007.[14] In China, entirely new cities that were created at the turn of the 20th century, such as Dalian and Harbin that were products of the Trans-Siberian Railway, are now home to over 6 and 10 million people respectively (Figures 2 & 3). Earlier trade routes led to the prising open of Shanghai by the British in 1842, which today is a city of over 24 million people (Figure 4). The small island that at the same time became a British colony of Hong Kong is now home to over 7 million people. The nearby former treaty port of Canton, now better known as Guangzhou, today has 14.5 million residents, but more remarkable is the new city of Shenzhen that the Chinese built between Guangzhou and Hong Kong. From agricultural land in the 1980s, Shenzhen has grown to become a city of 12.5 million, making it larger than any European or North American. In less than 30 years Shenzhen has become larger than any city in the West, yet our theories or urbanism, architecture and conservation remain based largely on Western precepts.

While the growth of Asian cities has been exceptional throughout the latter half of the 20th century, this unprecedented growth is likely to be outstripped by that of African cities in the 21st century. According to research published in the *Financial Times* in 2018, the pace of expansion of African cities will exceed by some distance those in other continents over the next two decades.[15] The 1.5 million population of the Ugandan capital, Kampala, is expected to grow by nearly 140% in the next decade and a half. Upon independence in 1962, it was home to just 60,000 people. In neighbouring Kenya, the population of the capital Nairobi has increased tenfold since independence in 1962 to exceed 3 million in 2018 (Figure 5). The capital of Burkina Faso, Ouagadougou, which in 2018 has a population of 2.2 million, is expected to rise by 115%, while Tanzania's coastal city of Dar es Salaam will grow by 120% from the current 4.4 million. Kinshasa, capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo, already has a resident population of over 10 million, making it the largest French-speaking city in the world. While Asia and Africa continue to transform our perceptions and experiences of the modern city, these 21st century metropolises feature comparatively little in scholarly research, reminding us of Graubard's cautionary comment about studies of the future needing to take into greater account subjects that have been and continue to be concealed from the West.

The modern city is not only substantially larger, more varied and more complex than its predecessors, it is also increasingly the home of a new kind of human culture in which the former attributes that once defined different human groups up until the 20th century, such as birth place, language, religion, nationhood, and customs, become assimilated, reconstituted and reimagined. Often framed as a defining characteristic of globalisation, this phenomenon might take longer to realise than the 21st century, but there can be no doubting or resisting its inevitability.

A global human culture is not to be confused with a single homogenous culture. This was the central thesis of 20th century modernisation theory, which 'took for granted that modernization would lead to "homogenization",' wherein 'cultural diversity could not possibly survive.'[16] Just as 'studies of modernization assumed that the project of modernity would exhibit hegemonic and homogenizing tendencies, and that it would not only continue in the West but spread and prevail throughout the world … The reality proved to be radically different.'[17] As Eisenstadt and Schluchter contend, 'The actual developments did not bear out the assumption of convergence, not even in the West.'[18] As long as culture is constantly changing, a homogenous human culture is impossible, but it does pose some important questions for cultural heritage and the built environment in the future. As modern cities of the 20th century are being recognised for their outstanding universal value, what will be the cultural value or contribution to humanity of the 21st century city with its tens of millions of residents? Which millennial cities will follow Brasilia, Tel Aviv, Le Havre, Rabat and Asmara onto the World Heritage List and in what ways will such a global list even be relevant in a future of 12 billion human inhabitants?

If urban heritage is to have any relevance in the modern metropolis, it must adapt to the rapidly changing circumstances in which cities and their human populations will exist in the third millennium. The problem for now, as Professor Mike Turner of Bezalel Academy states, is that 'we are using 19th century tools to deal with 21st century problems.'[19] The most challenging of these will be achieving sustainable development. 'The real nemesis of the modern economy,' argues Yuval Noah Hariri, 'is ecological collapse.'[20] Without a functioning planet, matters of cultural or natural heritage or the modern city are entirely irrelevant. The fourth and final part of this essay briefly examines the role that the heritage industry can play in ensuring the survival not only of our species, but also the planet.

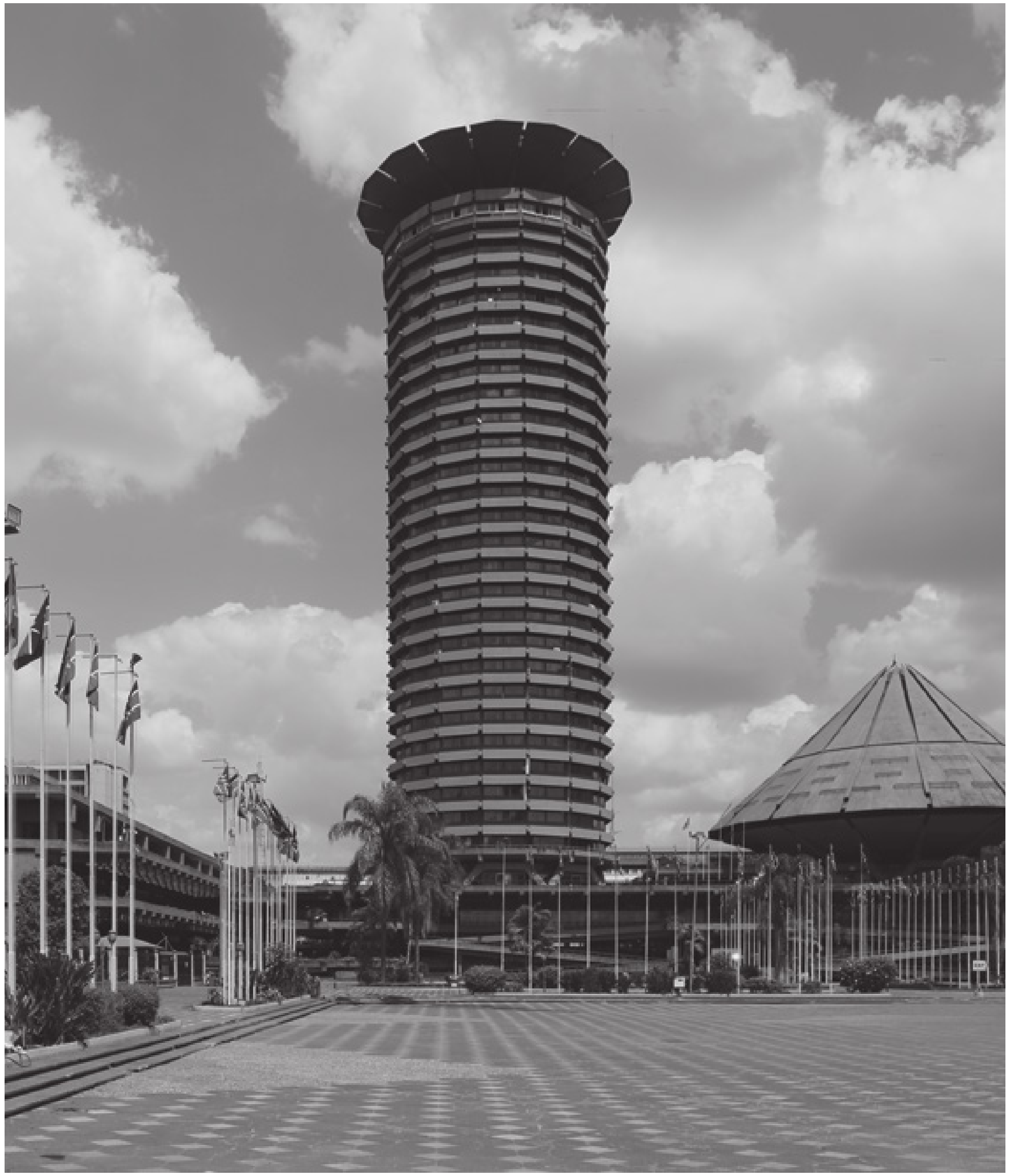


Figure 5. The 105-metre-high Kenyatta International Convention Centre in Nairobi (1973), designed by David Mutiso and Karl Henrik Nøstvik, which became a powerful architectural symbol of Kenyan independence and an icon of a burgeoning capital. Photograph Edward Denison

The Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) Approach

Cities are going to be key to humankind's future, whether that is one of success or failure. Not only are more than half of our species residing in cities, but more than half of all greenhouse gases are produced by or in cities, with the significant majority of these being produced by the construction industry and by existing buildings. Our ability to survive beyond the 21st century will rest with our cities. According to the United Nations, 'As the world continues to urbanize, sustainable development depends increasingly on the successful management of urban growth … Sustainable urbanization is key to successful development.'[21] While the global community struggles to establish universal agreements on mitigating humankind's impact on the planet through initiatives such as the Paris Agreement, the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals, and UN-Habitat's *New Urban Agenda*, the gaze of the World Heritage Convention remains largely focussed on the past. The conceptual framework of the Convention, as it is currently written, recognizes cities not as complex living, thriving, or declining entities, but as collections of individual architectural objects or ensembles, monuments, historic centres or relics. Such an antiquated approach to recognising the value and true character of cities, especially modern cities in the age of the Anthropocene, hinders our collective ability to muster the necessary resources required to understand the problems and implement the necessary changes to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

The only attempt so far to recognise cities as whole and complex entities is the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) published in 2011. HUL is a response to the prevailing limitations of the World Heritage Convention and to the negative experiences of rapid development that so many cities, especially outside the West, have encountered in recent decades. The HUL approach looks beyond the conventional urban object, whether monument, building or ensemble, and instead sees 'an urban area as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, including the broader urban context and its geographical setting.'[22] This shifts the 'emphasis from architectural monuments towards a broader recognition of the importance of the social, cultural and economic processes in the conservation of urban values.' It also addresses the urgent ecological crisis by seeking to 'better integrate and frame urban heritage conservation strategies within the larger goals of overall sustainable development.'[23] Furthermore, it recognises the complexity of the city in the 21st century, advocating a 'comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes within an overall sustainable development framework.'[24]

Where there currently exists a lack of guidance and leadership in the heritage industry in response to the challenges presented by the Anthropocene, HUL provides an opportunity and a framework for an integrated approach that is not only compatible with the UN's Sustainable Development Goal No. 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) and UN-Habitat's *New Urban Agenda*, but which is also actively in partnership with them. UNESCO's World Heritage Centre recognises this by stating: 'Having one foot on the Sustainable Development Goal, Target 11.4, and the other on the New Urban Agenda (UN-Habitat), the UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation, addresses relevant urban issues for historic urban areas. The interlinkages to the Sustainable Development Goals, the New Urban Agenda (UN-Habitat) and the UNESCO's Culture Conventions are critical.'[25] However, HUL's dormancy since 2011 and the subsequent failure to ratify and implement the HUL Recommendation are evidence of the challenges faced by those seeking change. All the while our cities continue to grow unsustainably, heritage is placed under impossible pressure or lost, and we add exponentially to the underlying ecological crisis.

A more integrated and holistic approach to cities and to heritage studies more broadly is needed if the planetary challenges of the new millennium are to be met successfully, a scenario that resonates with both the theory of multiple modernities and the HUL approach. Just as the current experiences of modernity, which include climate change, oceanic pollution, and mass migration, pay no heed to national boundaries or cultural identity, the heritage sector must continue to embrace a more equitable planetary outlook and cast off its inherited cultural, disciplinary and professional prejudices. Only then can it make a meaningful contribution to the urban challenges of the 21st century and beyond.

Conclusion

The impotence of the heritage sector in the face of the planetary scale of 21st century challenges needs urgent attention if we are to successfully intervene in safeguarding existing and future attributes that define the urban heritage of the recent past and of the future. As this paper has attempted to point out, the root of some of these problems extends to the origins of the industry and, much like the modern city, is the product of uniquely 20th century experiences and conditions that have resulted in unintended consequences, the escalation of which now requires urgent attention. For the heritage industry and the modern city in particular, the HUL approach offers a new methodology and framework for not only dealing with the city in the new millennium, but also aligning it with other emergent or existing strategies, such as the UN's Sustainable Development Goals and UN-Habitat's *New Urban Agenda*. With the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change issuing an urgent warning in October 2018 that there remain just 15 years in which very substantial efforts must be made to keep global temperature rises beneath the less catastrophic level of 1.5 °C, there could not be a greater need for urgency. The heritage industry, not famed for its progressive outlook or embrace of rapid and radical change, must act fast if it is to have any relevance in the 21st century. For those engaged in the built environment professions in the Anthropocenic Age, the choice is stark: '… they must choose to either continue contributing to the problem or instead to dedicate themselves to finding novel ways of adaptation.'[26] Is the heritage industry going to continue being part of the problem or instead be part of the solution? Either way, time is running out.

Endnotes

[1] In Lithuania, this occurred around 1970.

[2] The exhibition also included the Star Bar in Kyoto, designed by Isaburo Ueno.

[3] Quoted by Ken Oshima on 3 November 2018 at 'A World of Architectural History' conference, The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL.

[4] Partha Mitter, 'Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery,' *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 90, no. 4 (2008) p. 531.

[5] The original version of the 'Tree of Architecture' shown here appeared in the 5th edition in 1905, while a second updated version was produced for the 6th edition in 1921, prepared by Banister Fletcher's son, also named Banister Fletcher, and his wife, who went unacknowledged as a co-author. The two versions are broadly similar, although the latter incorporates the United States of America crowning the tree's canopy and removes the word 'political' from the 'political and social' root.

[6] https://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/#efforts

[7] Edward Denison, 'Modernity in Manchuria,' *The RIBA Journal*, vol. 124, no. 12 (2017) p. 45.

[8] Stephen Graubard, 'Preface to the Issue "Early Modernities",' *Daedalus*, vol. 127, no. 3 (1998) p. vi.

[9] Shmuel Eisenstadt, 'Multiple Modernities,' *Daedalus*, vol. 129, no. 1, *Multiple Modernities* (2000) p. 3.

[10] Manuel Herz, *African Modernism* (Zurich: Park Books, 2015) p. 4.

[11] William Lim, 'Resetting the Modernist Past,' *Non-West Modernist Past: On Architecture & Modernities*, edited by William Lim and Jiat-Hwee Chang (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2012) p. 2.

[12] Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (London: Routledge, 2005) p. 6.

[13] Stephen Graubard, 'Preface to the Issue "Early Modernities",' *Daedalus*, vol. 127, no. 3 (1998) p. vii.

[14] UN, 2018 *Revisions*.

[15] 'African cities surge to top of global growth league,' *Financial Times*, 11 November 2018. https://www.ft.com/content/9d457d54-b272-11e8-8d14-6f049d06439c

[16] Stephen Graubard, 'Preface to the Issue "Multiple Modernities",' *Daedalus*, vol. 129, no. 1 (2000) p. x.

[17] Shmuel Eisenstadt and Wolfgang Schluchter, 'Introduction: Paths to Early Modernities – A Comparative View,' *Daedalus*, vol. 127, no. 3 (1998) p. 4.

[18] Shmuel Eisenstadt and Wolfgang Schluchter, 'Introduction: Paths to Early Modernities – A Comparative View,' *Daedalus*, vol. 127, no. 3 (1998) p. 4.

[19] Mike Turner, *Modernism for the Future*, Kaunas conference, September 2018.

[20] Yuval Noah Hariri, *Homo Deus* (London: Harvill Secker) p. 249.

[21] The United Nations, *UN World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision*.

[22] UNESCO. *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL), 10 November 2011.

[23] UNESCO. *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL), 10 November 2011.

[24] UNESCO. *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL), 10 November 2011.

[25] https://whc.unesco.org/fr/hul/

[26] Nicholas Korody, 'Architecture of the Anthropocene, Part 1,' *Archinet*, 29 September 2014. https://archinect.com/features/article/109656462/architecture-of-the-anthropocene-part-1

Landscapes of Modernism on the UNESCO WHL

Michael Turner

The world wars of the 20th century generated social, political and economic upheavals that were reflected in the planning and architecture of the period. The period before the Great War was characterized by reactions to the industrial revolution and to the arts and crafts and garden city movements. This was accompanied by Futurist reactions during the first decades of the century. Futurism was an artistic and social movement that originated in Italy in the early 20th century. It emphasized speed, technology, youth and violence, and objects such as the car, the airplane and the industrial city.

Immediately after the Great War, the liberal zeitgeist of the Weimar Republic formed the background for the Bauhaus school between 1919 and 1933 when it finally closed under the Nazi regime, with its emigrants spreading the Bauhausian approach to the rest of the world. While the modern movement evolved from the arts and crafts of the Bauhaus school, it was also part of the political movement in the arts and literature as developed by the Futurists from the beginning of the 20th century. It strengthened the concepts of universality based on the Trotskyite internationalist and cosmopolitan art movements (Frampton, 1982). The influences of these 14 years were to affect the global thinking of art and architecture under the umbrella of modernism. The Bauhaus centenary of 2019 should be used to celebrate and revitalize these activities.

The IV International Congress of Modern Architecture, which took as its theme 'The Functional City', focused on urbanism and concluded the proceedings with the 1933 Charter of Athens by taking a stand regarding contemporary architecture and heritage. The subparagraph on the Legacy of History recommended that:

65. Fine architecture, whether individual buildings or groups of buildings, should be protected from demolition.

66. The grounds for the preservation of buildings should be that they express an earlier culture and that their retention is in the public interest.

67. But their preservation should not entail that people are obliged to live in insalubrious conditions.

68. If their present location obstructs development, radical measures may be called for, such as altering major circulation routes or even shifting existing central districts – something usually considered impossible. (Author's italics)

69. The demolition of slums surrounding historic monuments provides an opportunity to create new open spaces.

70. The re-use of past styles of building for new structures in historic areas under the pretext of aesthetics has disastrous consequences. The continuance or the introduction of such habits in any form should not be tolerated (International Congress for Modern Architecture – CIAM, 1973).

World War II left cities devastated: from Coventry to Manila, from Nagasaki to Le Havre and Warsaw to Dresden. Their rebuilding was effectively a result of sociopolitical attitudes. On one hand, the reconstructions of Warsaw and Dresden, and on the other, the total renewal of Manila and Nagasaki, were tempered with other solutions for the ruins of Coventry Cathedral and the urban form of the city of Le Havre.

Reactions were not slow in coming. The French Malraux Act of 1962 introduced *secteurs sauvegardés* within which historic fabric was not only protected but also enhanced (Kain and Phillips, 1978). In the UK, following the introduction of the Civic Amenities Act in 1967, four demonstration conservation studies were prepared for Chichester, York, Bath and Chester and were a mindset change for approaching urban heritage.

In parallel, texts relating to heritage conservation became critical for the appreciation of the historic fabric of the city, from the Athens Charters between the wars to the texts of the 1970s in the wake of the 1972 United Nations Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment. The European Architectural Heritage Year of 1975 was a turning point in the appreciation of modern heritage: 'It should be noted that integrated conservation does not rule out the introduction of modern architecture into areas containing old buildings provided that the existing context, proportions, forms, sizes and scale are fully respected and traditional materials are used' (Congress on the European Architectural Heritage, 1975). However it was not till 1988 that DOCOMOMO was established as an NGO at TU/Eindhoven placing modern heritage fairly and squarely in the mainstream (Casciato and D'Orgeix, 2012).

The 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage has provided a platform for consistent evaluation and monitoring of heritage globally and was faced in 1984 with the considerations of urban heritage in general and modern heritage in particular. Following the conclusions of the Meeting of Experts to Consult on Historic Towns which met in Paris from 5 to 7 September 1984 organized by ICOMOS, the Committee at its 8th session (Buenos Aires, 1984) adopted the text included in the subsequent version of the Operational Guidelines:

Groups of urban buildings eligible for inscription on the World Heritage List fall into three main categories, namely:

(i) **Towns no longer inhabited ...**

(ii) **Inhabited historic towns ...**

(iii) **New towns of the 20th century** which paradoxically have something in common with both the aforementioned categories: while their original urban organization is clearly recognizable and their authenticity is undeniable, their future is unclear because their development is largely uncontrollable.

It is difficult to assess the quality of new towns of the 20th century. History alone will tell which of them will best serve as examples of contemporary town planning. *The examination of the file on these towns should be deferred until all the traditional historic towns, which represent the most vulnerable part of the heritage of mankind, have been entered on the World Heritage List.*

To accommodate the inscription of Brasilia, the last sentence was changed in 1987 (author's italics) to read: *The examination of the files on these towns should be deferred, save under exceptional circumstances.* The full text included a further paragraph 30:

Under present conditions, preference should be given to the inscription in the World Heritage List of small or medium-sized urban areas which are in a position to manage any potential growth, rather than the great metropolises, on which sufficiently complete information and documentation cannot readily be provided that would serve as a satisfactory basis for their inscription in their entirety.

The first inscription of modern heritage was in 1984 with the works of Antoni Gaudi and the first urban inscription was in 1987 with the listing of Brasilia. By the end of 1999 there were a total of 8 properties in this category.

In the ICOMOS report on the World Heritage gap analysis (ICOMOS, 2004), modern heritage was categorized as:

- Buildings, works of art, industrial properties, from late 19th century onwards;

- Towns, urban or rural areas that date from late 19th century onwards;

- Cultural landscapes and similar from late 19th century onwards;

It further identified a special category relating to the period of 'globalisation' since the World War I, entitled 'modern world'. This divided the periods from World War I to World War II (Modern Movement in art and architecture) and the Post-War era and Cold War (Industrial and Technical Revolutions, Space Travel) together with the identification of Cultural Diversity and Globalisation.

Moreover, the report also noted that at the time there were 15 modern heritage inscriptions and that 'the figure for modern heritage is certainly low and unrepresentative of this significant component of the world cultural heritage'. With its prioritization by the World Heritage Committee of under-represented categories, the number jumped to a total of 24 properties by 2006 and currently stands at 46 properties for 2019 – see Annex 1. Over 80% of these properties are inscribed under criteria (ii) and (iv) (37 and 39 respectively), while 40% (18) are inscribed under criterion (i) and 10% each for criteria (iii) and (vi) (5 and 5 respectively).

The debate on the high-rise developments around the Historic Centre of Vienna which triggered the Vienna Memorandum (World Heritage Centre, 2005) addressed the issues of World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture and management of the Historic Urban Landscape, effectively moving from the debate on monuments to include living cities. The Memorandum was criticized by monument preservationists insofar as it was perceived as an open cheque for redevelopment proposals, quoting paragraph 21 that reflected the Athens Charter and determined that 'contemporary architecture and preservation of the historic urban landscape should avoid all forms of pseudo-historical design, as they constitute a denial of both the historical and the contemporary alike. One historical view should not supplant others, as history must remain readable, while continuity of culture through quality interventions is the ultimate goal.' The defense being that paragraph 26 underlined that 'special care should be taken to ensure that the development of contemporary architecture in World Heritage cities is complementary to values of the historic urban landscape and remains within limits in order not to compromise the historic nature of the city.' There was an avoidance of the term 'modern' and a preference for the word 'contemporary'.

The last paragraph of the Memorandum called for the possibility of 'formulating a new recommendation to complement and update the existing ones on the subject of historic urban landscapes, with special reference to the contextualization of contemporary architecture which should be submitted, at a future date, to the General Conference of UNESCO.'

Two concepts were subsequently engaged, the first based on a landscape approach as stated by Carl Sauer and expanded in the writings of J.B. Jackson:

... the works of man express themselves in the cultural landscape; there may be a succession of these landscapes with a succession of cultures;

... they are derived in each case from the natural landscape, man expressing his place in nature as a distinct agent of modification ... (Sauer, 1963).

This layering and continuity was underscored in Ian McHarg's seminal book *Design with Nature* (McHarg, 1969) by 'synthesizing ecological wisdom in informing landscape planning and design and presenting a methodology and process for prescribing compatible solutions for new development'.

The second was a defining of the urban landscape, sourcing the 1976 UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas, Nairobi (UNESCO, 1976) and the 1987 ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, Washington (ICOMOS, 1987). The European Urban Landscape Partnership sums up the texts:

The urban landscape comprises the sum total of the unbuilt land within and around our cities.

The urban buildings and structures define the matrix of public/private open spaces that form the urban landscape and its setting and context.

With the formulation of the new recommendation from 2005 until 2011, there were many experts' meetings, and countless articles, oscillating between the urban landscape being a designated category to the term recognized as an approach. Mention should be made of the EU HerO (Heritage as Opportunity) network during this period (2008–2011), aimed at developing integrated and innovative management strategies for historic urban landscapes. Their main objective was facilitating the right balance between the preservation of built cultural heritage and the sustainable, future-proof socio-economic development of historic towns in order to strengthen their attractiveness and competitiveness. The integrative approach was best developed in the management handbook (City of Regensburg, 2011).

Finally, the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape addresses perceived threats to the values of urban heritage. The Historic Urban Landscape being the 'urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of *historic centre* or *ensemble* to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting' (UNESCO, 2011). This wider context includes notably the site's natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity. The basis of the Recommendation was to encourage a more integrative approach, linking other mechanisms such as the ICCROM Territorial Studies initiative of the 1990s and the UNESCO Strategy of Culture for Sustainable Development (Cameron, 2006). This approach was emphasized in paragraph 22:

Conservation of urban heritage should be integrated into general policy planning and practices and those related to the broader urban context. Policies should provide mechanisms for balancing conservation and sustainability in the short and long terms. Special emphasis should be placed on the harmonious integration of contemporary interventions into the historic urban fabric.

A new taxonomy was needed to address the urban context and setting especially in redefining the values of modern heritage which the current texts of the Operational Guidelines did not elaborate (UNESCO, 2016). Since then there has been an effort to reposition urban heritage based on texts of the past decade. The three categories of urban heritage put forward in a 2015 study are (Turner, et al., 2015):

(i) **Urban archaeology/remnant:** a site that provides exceptional evidence of the past, within living cities or a site that illuminates our knowledge of urbanism;

(ii) **Urban area/fragment:** a site that, by its very nature, has developed and will continue to evolve under the influences of cultural, social, economic and environmental changes, either as a singular component or a layered history;

(iii) **Urban form:** a site that demonstrates planning or design concepts that have shaped and organized the city and remain evident.

There are two typologies of urban areas/fragments. The first being urban areas that are products of a *specific period, function or culture* which has been well preserved and has remained largely intact as subsequent developments proceed. The second are urban areas that have *evolved on a layered footprint and have preserved structures typical of the successive stages in their history* overlapping until modern times. This will include, inter alia, cities that are complex multi-layered settlements often delimited by structures of different periods, whether existing or destroyed, representing socio-historical urban patterns evolved through the centuries.

Restorations of the Royal Crescent after the 1942 Baedeker Bombings in Bath responded to the architecture of a specific period and function, and similar approaches will be needed in managing change in urban complexes such as the Berlin Modernism Housing Estates or the White City of Tel Aviv. The opportunities for contemporary design relates solely to the areas evolving on a layered footprint, and their continuing values.

Urban forms of the 19th and 20th centuries extend from the industrial revolution and their tied communities to the garden city movement and the modernist forms of the West and the socialist forms of the East. Brasilia was laid out along a 'monumental east-west axis, crossed by a north-south axis curved to follow the topography as a transportation thoroughfare and was inscribed in 1987 as a definitive example of 20th century modernist urbanism.'[1]

White City of Tel-Aviv – the Modern Movement[2] was 'constructed from the early 1930s until the 1950s, based on the urban plan by Sir Patrick Geddes, reflecting modern organic planning principles. The buildings were designed by architects who were trained in Europe where they practiced their profession before emigrating. They created an outstanding architectural ensemble of the Modern Movement in a new cultural context.' Rabat, the Modern Capital and Historic City[3] was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 2012 as a 'witness to a capital city conceived at the time of the Protectorate, at the beginning of the 20th century. The project successfully adapts modernist town planning and architectural values within the context of the Maghreb'.

All three of these urban examples of the 20th century, the ex nihilo of Brasilia, the organic planning of Tel Aviv and the symbiotic urbanism of Rabat, demonstrate the need to differentiate between urban and architectural values and their implication in contemporary design.

On the original list of attributes from paragraph 82 of the Operational Guidelines were 'form and design, materials and workmanship' reflecting the Venice Charter thinking of the time and most relevant for modern architecture. Le Corbusier's five points of architecture must surely serve as the building attributes (LeCorbusier, 1931) – 1, the free ground plan; 2, the pilotis; 3, the free façade; 4, the horizontal windows and 5, the roof garden. These attributes embody the machine aesthetics and functionality, allowing for interpretation and adaptation to climatic conditions in different regions.

More detailed analysis is needed in applying the attributes for modern *urban* heritage focusing on use and function, mass and scale, colour and texture, grain and vegetation, views and spatial patterns, flora and fauna, context and setting, and spirit and feeling.

Paragraph 83 of the Operational Guidelines notes that 'attributes such as spirit and feeling ... are important indicators of character and sense of place ...', and the considerations of the totality of the Modern Movement are essential in understanding the form and soul of the city – and are essential in the Historic Urban Landscape approach.

In applying the urban conditions of authenticity and integrity we need to determine the attributes that carry the values of a property with reference to their *quality* concerning a given statement of significance. The question of authenticity may be expressed in the following terms: 'Is the property really what its given statement of significance claims is to be?' This may be summed up as authenticating the value.

Integrity relates to the attributes that carry the values of a property and refers to their *quantity* with respect to a 'whole'. The question of integrity can be expressed in the following terms: 'Is there enough left of the property so that we can understand and appreciate its character and meaning?' According to paragraph 88 of the Operational Guidelines it is the measure of wholeness which 'includes all elements necessary to express its value and is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance'. Furthermore, paragraph 89 determines that the 'relationships and dynamic functions present in cultural landscapes, historic towns or other living properties essential to their distinctive character should also be maintained.' A permanent sidenote indicates that 'examples of the application of the conditions of integrity to properties nominated under criteria (i) – (vi) are under development,' [sic] indicating the complexities and uncertainties of these conditions especially with relationship to 'living properties'.

By 'extending the "historic centre" or "ensemble" to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting' we encompass the buffer zone being an area surrounding the nominated property which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its use and development to give *an added layer of protection.* This should include the immediate setting of the nominated property, important views and other areas or attributes that are functionally important as a support to the property and its protection. Compatible sustainable development is vital in these areas in such a way that there is a mutual financial benefit in the added socio-cultural values of the historic centre and that the socio-economic growth that can assist in managing the city in a holistic manner.

There is a certain amount of confusion and overlap in the definitions of 'setting' and 'context' and it may be useful to consider these terms as pertaining to the world of literature. Setting is *where and when* the narrative takes place initiating the main backdrop and mood for a story and context is the *situation or circumstances* in which the events occur, characterizing the situation within which something exists or happens. The text or speech that comes immediately before and after a particular phrase or piece of text helps to explain its meaning. Although the 2005 ICOMOS Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas defined setting as 'the immediate and extended environment that is part of, or contributes to, its significance and distinctive character' (ICOMOS, 2005) there is room to adapt this when reconsidering the surrounding context thereby providing meaning to the visual reality.

This necessarily brings us to the definitions of 'synchrony' and 'diachrony' that are two different and complementary viewpoints in linguistic analysis. Ferdinand de Saussure defined the synchronic approach, considering a language at a particular *moment in time without taking its history into account* linking co-existing terms, as perceived by the same collective consciousness. By contrast, a diachronic approach considered the *development and evolution of a language through history* studying the relationships linking successive terms not persuaded by a collective awareness (De Saussure, 1959). Their relevance to heritage and its interpretation is important especially in defining growth and change whereby the synchronic variations, being the 'gradience' of incrementality is contrasted with the 'gradualness' of diachrocic change (Giacalone-Ramat, et al., 2013).

The UN Sustainable Development Goals were prepared between 2011 and 2015 and engage the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape mainly through Goal 11 and Target 11.4 whereby we 'strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable'. The next steps must include the engagement of the UN-Habitat *New Urban Agenda* together with the UNISDR resilient cities campaign (Turner, 2018). Paragraph 10 of the *New Urban Agenda* acknowledges that 'culture and cultural diversity are sources of enrichment for humankind and provide an important contribution to the sustainable development of cities, human settlements and citizens, empowering them to play an active and unique role in development initiatives'. In the section on planning and managing urban spatial development, support is given for the leveraging of cultural heritage for sustainable urban development. Innovative and sustainable adaptive re-use of architectural monuments and sites, with the intention of value creation is encouraged especially relating to urban infill and better use of infrastructure (Habitat III Secretariat, 2017).

Social and physical environments of the living city are dynamic and in constant flux. Architectural preservation needs to be complemented with urban conservation by recognizing changes that are inherent in the city. These changes can create acculturation and syncretistic situations, changing our understanding of Outstanding Universal Value and accepting the creation of new forms and ideas as part of the living city. While these texts relate specifically to the social make-up of the city there is room for its application in the physical sense. The living city is adaptable to new challenges, disasters and opportunities – it thereby is the quintessence of creativity and innovation, many times leaving the past stranded, high and dry. The social transformations of our cities and the intra and inter-migration, as well as the acceptance of cultural diversity brings about an environmental acculturation being:

'A dynamic and multidimensional process of adaptation that occurs when distinct cultures come into sustained contact. It involves different degrees and instances of culture learning and maintenance that are contingent upon individual, group, and environmental factors. Acculturation is dynamic because it is a continuous and fluctuating process and it is multidimensional because it transpires across numerous indices of psycho-social functioning and can result in multiple adaptation outcomes' (Organista, Marin, and Chun, 2009).

Tensions are created between acculturation and particularism, the universal and the vernacular, and the processes of symbiosis and syncretism. Managing these tensions needs mapping the attributes of the spirit of the city and understanding those features and attributes that are adaptive and maladaptive, those that can transcend time and the winds of change.

Concluding thoughts

Modern Heritage, as originally considered in the ICOMOS documents, related to 19th and 20th century heritage, and this definition needs to be reviewed together with a more updated global cultural gap analysis.

The current urban texts on the Historic Urban Landscape and the *New Urban Agenda* place a holistic approach to planning and the integration of heritage in its broadest context. There is a need to develop and strengthen the taxonomy for the conservation of these urban fabrics and forms and to recognize their interpretation and adaptation in the contemporary context and where the values, both tangible and intangible, are in the living city.

Considering modernism and its contribution to cultural heritage, it would be opportune to note that Le Corbusier, in a letter to the editors of *Habinyan,* reacted to the journal's first issue of 1937 dedicated to the International Style housing projects and cooperative apartment buildings in Palestine.

'I am convinced that architecture in Palestine should not be limited solely to the discovery of one kind of formula; rather, one should seek the basic elements leading to architecture which is not only functional but also in keeping with the spirit of time and history. The problems encountered when confronting concrete and iron skeletons demand initiative, modesty and also respect for one's fellow man and for the sacred' (Le Corbusier, *Habinyan #2*, 1937).

Annex I

Modern heritage properties on the World Heritage List as at July 2019 by State Party – based on *World Heritage Papers 5* (World Heritage Centre, 2003)

Argentina, Belgium, France, Germany, India, Japan, Switzerland

1. 2016 – The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement

Australia

2. 2004 – Royal Exhibition Building and Carleton Gardens

3. 2007 – Sydney Opera House

Belgium

4. 2000 – Major Town Houses of Architect Victor Horta, Brussels

5. 2009 – Stoclet House

Brazil

6. 1987 – Brasilia

7. 2016 – Pampulha Modern Ensemble, Brazil

Chile

8. 2003 – Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaiso

China

9. 2007 – Kaiping Diaolou and Villages

Cuba

10. 2005 – Urban Historic Centre of Cienfuegos

Czech Republic

11. 2001 – Tugendhat Villa in Brno

Eritria

12. 2017 – Asmara: A Modernist City of Africa

France

13. 2005 – Le Havre, the City Rebuilt by Auguste Perret

Germany

14. 1990, 1992, 1999 – Palaces and Parks of Potsdam and Berlin

15. 1996 – Bauhaus and its Sites in Weimar and Dessau

16. 1999 – Museumsinsel (Museum Island), Berlin

17. 2001 – Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen

18. 2008 – Berlin Modernism Housing Estates

19. 2011 – Fagus Factory in Alfeld

20. 2015 – Speicherstadt and Kontorhaus District with Chilehaus

Germany/Poland

21. 2004 – Muskauerpark

India

22. 2004 – Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (formerly Victoria Terminus)

23. 2018 – Victorian Gothic and Art Deco Ensembles of Mumbai

Indonesia

24. 2019 - Ombilin Coal Mining Heritage of Sawahlunto

Israel

25. 2003 – White City of Tel-Aviv – the Modern Movement

Italy

26. 2018 – Ivrea, Industrial City of the 20th Century

Italy/Switzerland

27. 2008 – Rhaetian Railway in the Albula Bernina Landscapes

Marshall Islands

28. 2010 – Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site

Mexico

29. 1997 – Hospicio Cabañas, Guadalajara

30. 2004 – Luis Barragán House and Studio

31. 2007 – Central University City Campus of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma De México (Unam)

Morocco

32. 2012 – Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City: a Shared Heritage

Netherlands

33. 2000 – Rietveld Schröderhuis (Rietveld Schröder House)

34. 2014 – Van Nellefabriek

Poland

35. 2006 – Centennial Hall in Wroclaw

Spain

36. 1984, 2005 – Works of Antoni Gaudi

37. 1997 – Palau De La Musica Atalana and Hospital De Pau, Barcelona

Sweden

38. 1994 – Skogskyrkogården

39. 2004 – Varberg Radio Station

Switzerland

40. 2009 – Lachaux-De-Fonds, Watchmaking Town Planning

Ukraine

41. 2011 – Residence of Bukovinian and Dalmatian Metropolit

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

42. 2004 – Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City

43. 2019 - Jodrell Bank Observatory

United States of America

44. 2019 - The 20th-Century Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright

Uruguay

45. 2015 – Ray Bentos Industrial Landscape

Venezuela

46. 2000 – Ciudad Universitaria De Caracas

Endnotes

[1] Inscribed according to criteria (i) and (iv) 1956 urban designs of Lúcio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer, Joaquim Cardozo and landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx.

[2] Inscribed according to criteria (ii) and (iv) 1925 urban design by Patrick Geddes.

[3] Inscribed according to criteria (ii) and (iv) 1912 urban design by Henri Prost and landscape designer Jean-Claude Forestier.

The White City: A UNESCO World Heritage Site in Flux

Sharon Golan Yaron

When approaching Tel Aviv from the highway entrance to the city, one is struck by the wall of skyscrapers surrounded by cranes climbing up the sky. This highway route marks the edge of the giant bath tub which surrounds the heart of Tel Aviv's historic old town that UNESCO named 'White City'. In fact the ten-hectare World Heritage Site is situated right in the city's centre, an area that has been swept by an immense rush of development. Accordingly Tel Aviv defines itself as a 'global city' that never stops, a slogan that is reflected in its gigantic urban development. Tel Aviv is the city where everybody wants to be, whether it's for culture, education or the employment it offers. The city's uniqueness lies in the duality between its existing historic heart and the constantly developing surroundings; between the act of conservation on one hand and, on the other, the granting of new building construction rights on rooftops of historic structures, creating a new layer over the historic one. Here, a unique conservation approach is applied in which the wish to conserve significant historical cultural attributes of the city goes hand in hand with new development, adapting to the contemporary lifestyle of a 'start-up nation'.

Tel Aviv's Modernisms

The modernistic development of the city can be traced to the Garden Plan according to which the city was organized. This idea was proposed in 1925, during the British Mandate, by the Scottish urban planner Sir Patrick Geddes, one of the foremost theorists of the early modern period in Palestine. Geddes, a biologist, sociologist, geographer, philanthropist and pioneering town planner, proposed turning Tel Aviv into a garden city. Through his environmental approach and his insight into the nature of the city as an organism constantly changing in time and space, he developed a plan utilizing small plots of land and free-standing buildings which would let light and air into houses and allow the sea breeze to flow through streets. The road system received a hierarchical structure establishing main traffic axes, residential streets and footpaths.

This visionary plan, developed by Geddes from 1927–29, sets the characteristics of the city, defining the relationship between built structures and their surrounding landscape, and between citizens and their environment. Geddes carefully calculated this relationship as a delicate balance. Tel Aviv is his only large-scale urban realization.

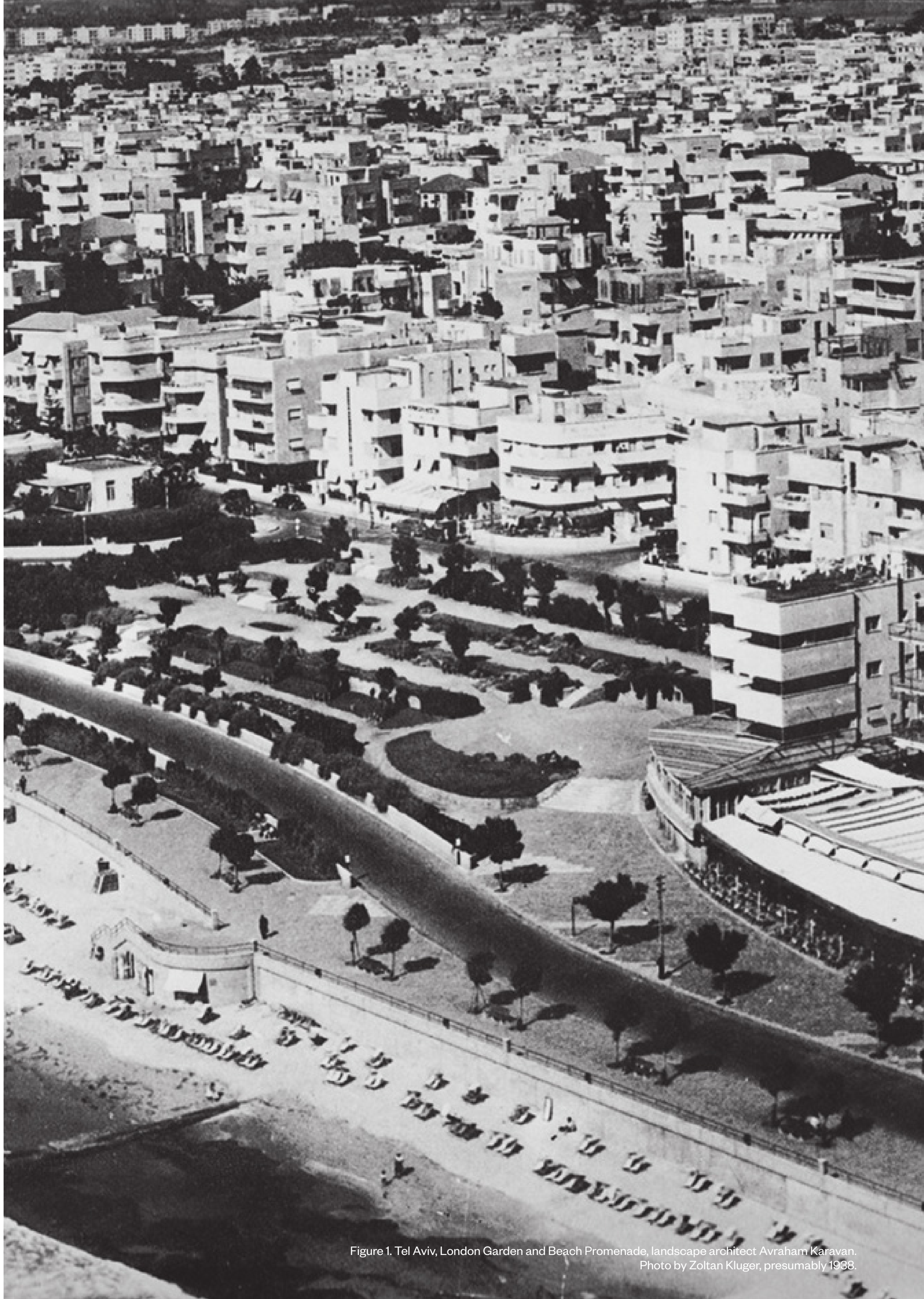


Figure 1. Tel Aviv, London Garden and Beach Promenade, landscape architect Avraham Karavan. Photo by Zoltan Kluger, presumably 1938.

Geddes' original design for Tel Aviv was supposed to be more than just an urban master plan. It was intended as a political, social and cultural tool to help create a 'new Jew' in an ideal habitat. This 'human engineering' was a core part of some Zionist movements. They dreamed of recreating a proud Maccabean nation and believed that this aim could be achieved by resettling emigrants from the confines of Eastern Europe's ghettos in a healthy, verdant garden city, a permaculture vision where the city would provide a healthy environment for its residents while fulfilling their needs both physically and spiritually. Little did all of them know that this new Hebrew city outside the walls of the old port-city of Jaffa would experience massive growth in a short period of time, when a large immigration wave of 250,000 Jewish refugees came from Europe to Palestine after the Nazi regime took power in 1933. Within a few years, Tel Aviv's population tripled, obviating many of Geddes' original designs.

The fourth construction phase in the first modern Hebrew city, which lasted about six years from 1931–37, was the heyday of the International Style and the Bauhaus doctrine. Influenced by inter-war architecture of Europe but creating a new, local architectural language led to a polycentric articulation of modernism that responded to the needs of the society and culture by adjusting the International Style to the local constraints of Levantine climate conditions, harsh sunlight and materials. This style should not be seen as a mere copy of modernist attributes of architecture of the 1930s but rather as a further enriched architectural language influenced by local traditions, giving a particular character to the buildings and to the White City ensemble as a whole.

A paradigm shift, from the eclectic way of building to the modern style, happened through a group of young visionaries who created a vibrant 'urban think-tank' related to local ways of building. This circle of architects called 'CHUG' in Hebrew had evening meetings in the Tel Aviv Café of Boehme Ginati on the beachfront promenade to discuss 'ways and means to increase design standards, by introducing modern construction methods and creating a lively and freethinking building atmosphere that reflects the hitherto customary [architectural] views' (Figure 1). Modern architecture seemed to fulfil ideological, stylistic, and functional criteria to remedy the problems of domestic architecture – while paradoxically the so-called Neues Bauen in 1930s Germany was banned and rejected as 'Jewish-Bolshevist' or 'semi-oriental', as in the case of the Weissenhoff estate in Stuttgart.

This group of architects managed to change the aesthetic perception of local imagery, allowing Zionist ideals to go hand in hand with modern building styles, thus helping create a national identity through modernist buildings that could symbolize the nation's new beginnings. In order to influence public opinion they established the magazine *Habinan Bmizrach Hakrov* to influence public education regarding the modern movement and to promote architectural competitions.

In Tel Aviv a local style of modernism was developed, a fusion both of direct influences of the European modern movement and a rather polycentric adaptation to local needs. By analysing the attributes of the local style, one can trace the development of a local modernist language typical of the White City. The direct attributes or 'copies' of central European doctrine are emphasized in dozens of buildings scattered around the city. The most prominent ones are influenced by Le Corbusier's principles and his 'Five Points of a New Architecture,: (1) pilotis, (2) the free designing of the ground plan, (3) the free design of the façade, allowing the steel frame construction to set the façade free from structural constraints, (4) strip windows (horizontal ribbon windows were often used, giving the city its vertical emphasis), and (5) flat roofs which serve a domestic purpose (used locally for social interactions) (Figure 2).

The second dominant influence is the Bauhaus doctrine. Although only four architects who built directly in Tel Aviv studied at the Bauhaus, their influence on current architectural discourse in Tel Aviv was immense. The third dominant influence is so-called 'streamline' design, as in the work of Erich Mendelsohn, a German architect best known for his 'dynamic functionalism' and its rounded corners.

Perhaps the dominant feature of local adaptation to climate and culture is the relationship of the building to the street. Not only does the building sit as a singular detached monolith on the plot allowing growing vegetation on all of its four sides, based on the garden city plan, but the building also stands in constant dialogue with its surroundings. The raised pilotis house offers a transition from public space through a lush vegetated garden to a semi-public domain.

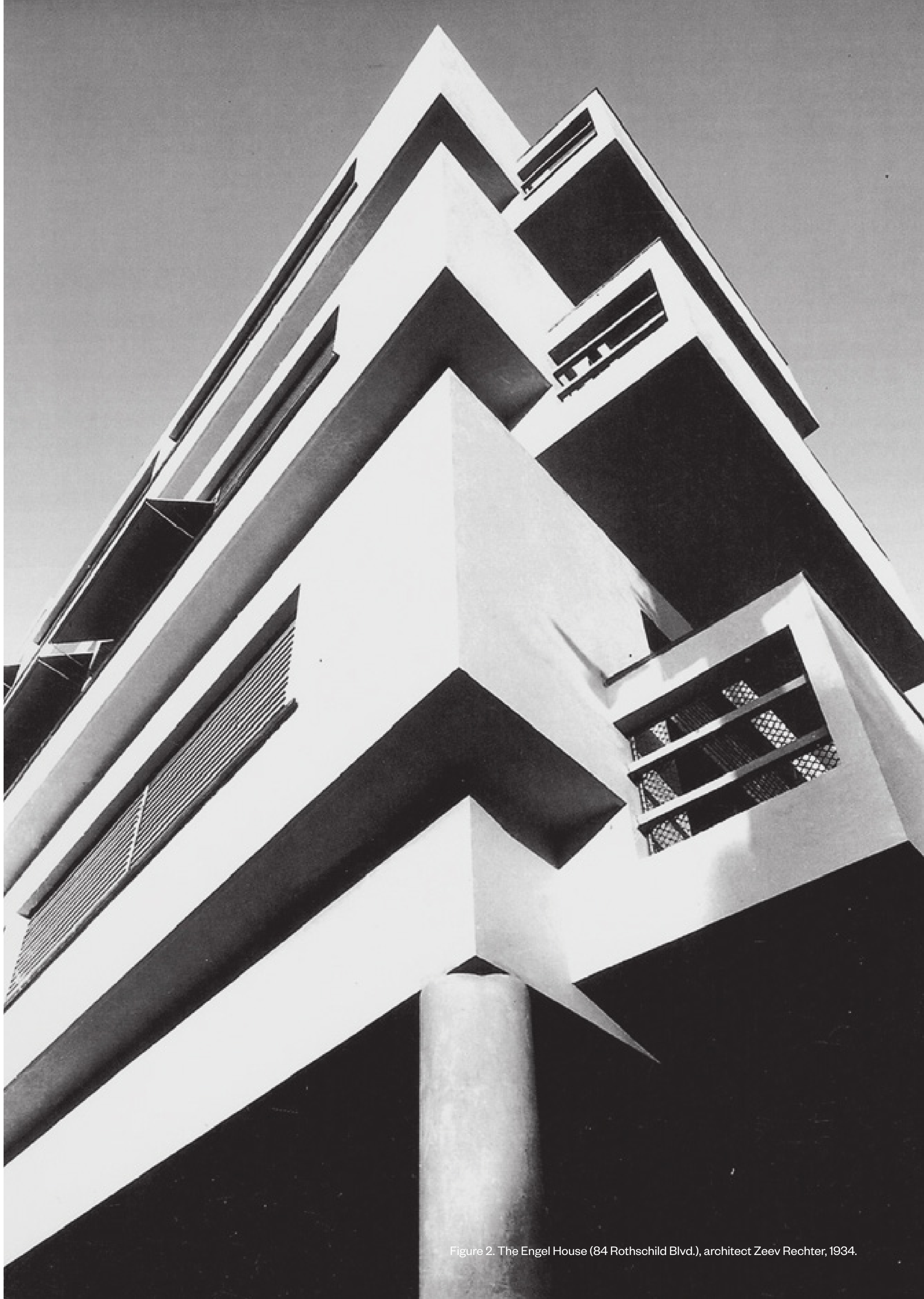


Figure 2. The Engel House (84 Rothschild Blvd.), architect Zeev Rechter, 1934.

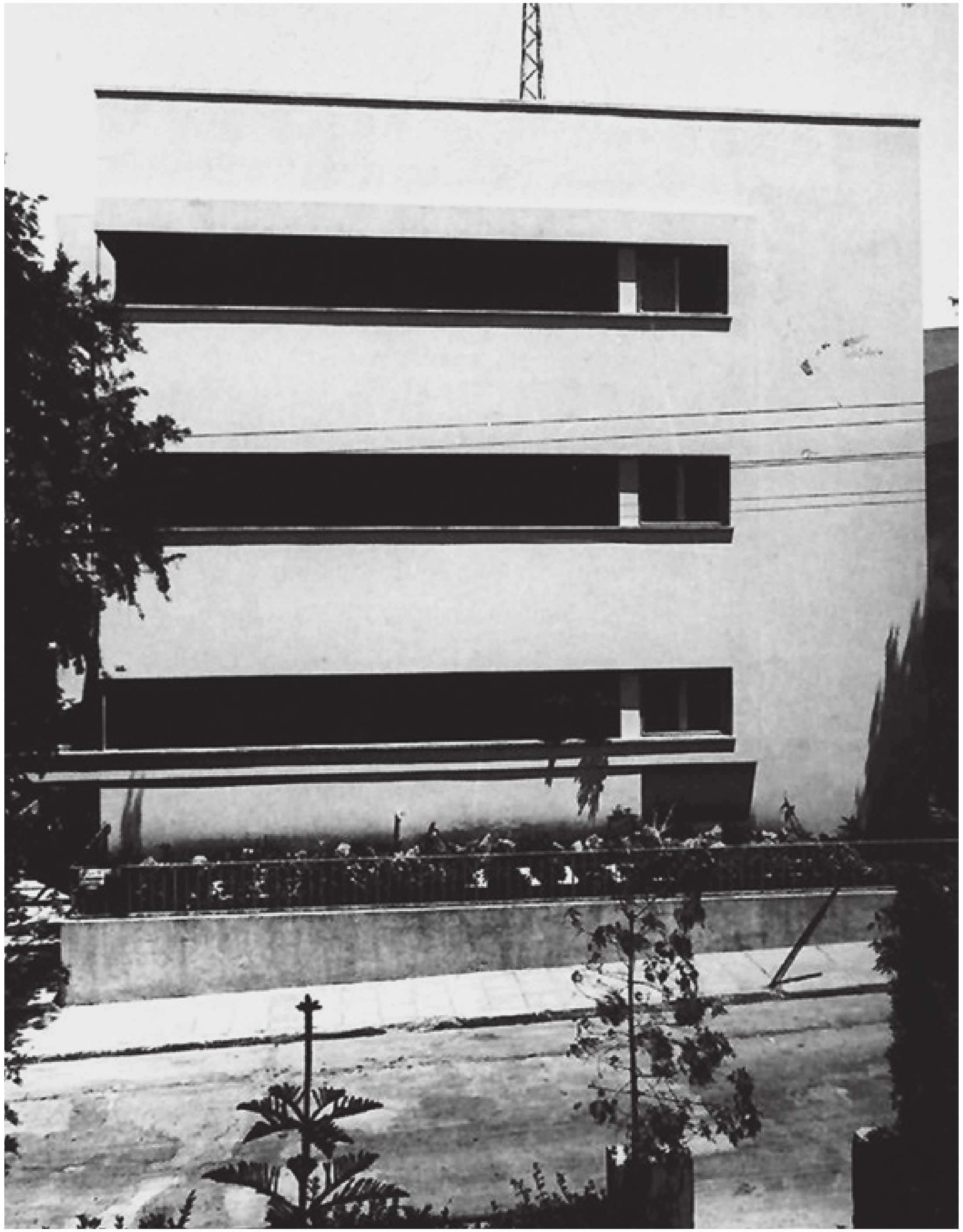


Figure 3. The Max Liebling House (29 Idelson Street), architect Dov Karmi, 1936. Photograph Itzchak Kalter.

Practical Conservation in Tel Aviv Today

In 2003 Tel Aviv was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site due to the outstanding cultural significance of various modernist aspects of its architecture and town planning from the early part of the 20th century. Tel Aviv has what is considered the largest urban concentration of early International Style architecture. There were 3,700 International Style buildings built in Tel Aviv, 1,000 of which were selected for preservation; an additional 180 buildings are under a high degree of protection.

The UNESCO declaration led to the implementation of the Conservation Plan (2650B) to rehabilitate the built fabric of the city. The starting point for creation of the plan was the need for the city to grow while fulfilling its wish to conserve its historical heart. From the establishment of Tel Aviv most buildings have been privately owned, so the plan helps owners afford the conservation of these buildings by granting building rights on rooftops. In practice such rights can add up to three floors, according to criteria of each specific site, thereby covering the financing of the relatively high cost of conservation in Israel. In addition to the obligation for owners to renovate buildings according to conservation regulations, they are also obliged to reinforce buildings against earthquakes and to add a shelter room. As Tel Aviv is located on the African-Syrian rift, it could face massive earthquakes that could destroy many of its buildings. The granting of additional construction rights is contingent on the reinforcement of existing structures, strengthening them for this eventuality. Another reason for reinforcement is the threat of missiles, hence each individual apartment receives an additional reinforced shelter room preferably added in the form of a shaft in the back of the building not visible from the street frontage.

Many balconies in listed buildings were closed in the 1990s enabling additional living space in apartments. When refurbishing according to the conservation plan, all balconies must be opened again with the exception of balconies on the rear façade where a delicate steel and glass enclosure, which keeps the proportion of the masses, is allowed in coordination with the conservation department. Other contemporary lifestyle elements such as elevators can be added to allow accessibility; parking can be added as well, usually underneath the building. Interiors of buildings are not listed under the conservation plan in order to allow adjustment of interiors according to the new needs of dwellers. As the buildings are built with pilotis and no bearing walls this can be easily achieved. The only protected interior areas are the staircase and lobby entrance. As for the 180 buildings with restricted conservation status, a strategy allowing transfer of building rights has been implemented to compensate for the loss of those rights, meaning these rights can be sold to other plots outside the protected zone in order to make the cost of conservation affordable.

When planning additions to buildings, the architect's task is not an easy one, considering the immense importance of proportions in maintaining the architectural integrity of modernist buildings. Some of building extensions add up to three more stories, sometimes doubling the height of the original building. If one was to plan an addition in the style of the original building, the delicate horizontal proportions would get lost. On the other hand, the ability to create differences between the original building and its new addition is restricted. Moreover, if the building addition is to be created in a different style of architecture, the new section would dominate the historical building it is built upon. Since every building in Tel Aviv has a unique character, the original proportions of each building as well as its particular site position must be carefully analysed before understanding the building's essence; this is key for designing any extension.

Tel Aviv, which has the fastest growing population in the OECD, needs to respond to the needs of modern-day Israel. While there are numerous problems with the new urban master plan, it does provide the right answers to today's pressures and requirements. It conserves Geddes' unique ideas and the proportions of the modern city while at the same time allowing renewal and development. The heart of the city is not a museum of architecture but rather a living urban tissue in constant need of development and growth by adapting historical buildings to the needs of contemporary society and its dwellers.

The White City Center

The city has created the White City Center using the Historic Urban Landscape approach to understanding the UNESCO heritage site as an ensemble connected to all layers, taking into consideration the social economic aspects of the growing metropolis. Situated in a listed modernist building in the heart in the city, the Max Liebling House designed by architect Dov Karmi in 1936, the Center is a one-stop shop embodying all aspects of the UNESCO-declared heritage zone of the White City. The Center will house an information space for visitors, a small cafe and shop, a community garden, a research hub, a workshop space, a residency program and a space for changing contemporary exhibitions dealing with aspects of conservation (Figure 3).

While the Liebling House is still under conservation, the Center has launched a project entitled *Open for Renovation* which turns the usually introverted process of conservation into a showcase by having professionals take part in expert seminars in the field of conservation and by inviting the community to experience events and lectures dealing with modernism and heritage, to tour the houses and to observe the process of renovation itself.

The official opening of the White City Center is part of the '100 years of Bauhaus' celebrations in September 2019. The Max Liebling House opening will feature bilateral exhibitions and international events dealing with heritage and urban development, and a professional fellowship program will be inaugurated. The Center aims to fulfil the management plan for a UNESCO World Heritage Site and create awareness of Tel Aviv's urban landscape for generations to come.

Approaches for the Conservation of 20th Century Architectural Heritage (The Madrid Document): A Good Example to be Followed

Fernando Espinosa de los Monteros

The Madrid Document, adopted in Madrid in June 2011 and presented at the Paris ICOMOS General Assembly in 2011, is a first edition, and therefore the beginning of a long process, and that is why my presentation is going to focus on it. The Madrid Document has already been translated into more than 16 languages and has obtained, in a few years, huge international prestige and recognition, being already recommended in many cities all over the world where important 20th century architectural heritage is at risk. By showing great sensitivity and concern for identification, protection, conservation, adaptation and reuse of architectural heritage, it is a good example of sustainable, efficient and profitable performance.

We have to remember that 20th century heritage is probably the most significant and most loved of all our heritage. However, it is often not appreciated and is therefore at risk. That is why, in this paper, we want to present the Madrid Document, explaining its usefulness and meaning, as well as the reasons for its recommendation as an essential document for protection of our 20th century heritage. Is true that this first edition of the Madrid Document was focused only on architecture, and that, after discussions about the feasibility of extending it to other assets of the 20th century such as landscape design, historical gardens, industrial heritage structures, or historic city centres, the ISC20C committee decided to promote a new edition of the document, the 'Madrid-Delhi Document, 2017', that includes all kinds of 20th century cultural heritage.

The Madrid Document began in 2009 as the dream of a group of colleagues who discussed it in Sydney during an unforgettable conference entitled *(Un)Loved Modern* and decided to work on a document to set the criteria for *identification, preservation, intervention* and *management* regarding architectural heritage of the 20th century. Our understanding that it is in many ways a different kind of heritage, with particular features, casuistry and new meanings, made us think that we needed to establish new criteria for it. And this is how a working group of 20 colleagues was formed and two years later, in Madrid in June 2011, presented to an international assembly of more than 300 experts, a draft for discussion: the Madrid Document, 2011. After three days of discussion the Madrid Document was finally approved with the support of Spanish authorities. It was later presented to the General Assembly of ICOMOS in Paris in 2011 and in Florence in 2014, and on both occasions was the subject of resolutions recommending its dissemination and the continuation of the process for its acceptance as a doctrinal text.

Now, seven years later, the reality is that the Madrid Document has been translated into 16 languages – Arab, Basque, Catalan, Chinese, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swedish – and is a document that already applies as a recommendation in many cities all over the world where protecting heritage of the 20th century is a priority.

It is my honour to present the Madrid Document, a text that tries to address three major issues: *Which – Why – How*. All of them are important issues that the Madrid Document aims to resolve by proposing and recommending *criteria for identification, preservation, intervention and management* regarding 20th century architectural heritage.

Which **heritage of the 20th century must we protect?**

The 20th century has left us the youngest heritage of history, *undervalued* and *unknown*, of which just a few well-known architectural examples have been recognized as heritage, while the rest of its good examples have not been considered as important to preserve and are therefore especially vulnerable and at risk, making clear the urgent need to *recover its value and cultural significance*.

This protection can only be conceived from a global perspective, without forgetting the architecture that simply makes up the urban landscape of the city. As stated in Article 1 of the Venice Charter of 1964, 'The modest works that over time have acquired cultural significance are also historical monuments.'

Nor should we forget the purposes of the Convention of World Heritage, which clearly defines the different considerations of 'Cultural Heritage' and from which I would like to highlight:

Cultural Heritage includes the groups of buildings, separate or not, whose architecture and integration unit in the landscape, gives them outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science.

We should remember that, *oblivion*, *indifference* and *intolerance* become the greatest contempt that an enlightened population can bequeath to its history, its roots, and its heritage.

Why **must we employ new approaches to protect the heritage of the 20th century?**

After studying good examples of heritage protection, which we can see by just walking through any of our cities, I am sure that we can feel how the best of them have followed the same process: firstly, fixing the *approaches and processes necessary* in any intervention; secondly, defending *change of use* as a way to recover architectural and cultural significance; and thirdly, highlighting the role played by the *authorities of every country* as main guarantors of *its history*. Each of these good interventions has not only acquired the value of a monument, but has also created economic, social and cultural wealth in the surrounding environment, which guarantees that investing in heritage generates an attractive economic benefit while at the same time making an important contribution to local sociocultural development.

In this sense, and as a good example to be followed, I would like to highlight some of the rights that ICOMOS pursued as an integral part of human rights:

- The right to have the *authentic testimony* of cultural heritage is respected as an expression of cultural identity within humanity.
- The right to a *better understanding* of our heritage and that of others.
- The right to *rational and appropriate use* of heritage.

ICOMOS maintains that all these rights must be respected in order to preserve and enrich the world while preserving its heritage and cultural diversity; this is what the Madrid Document promotes.

In architectural heritage of the 20th century we can easily find the following features that make it essentially different from other types of heritage:

- New and very different uses of modern buildings.
- Flexibility and frequent changes in them.
- Their inevitable extensions.
- Enormous diversity of building materials and problems regarding their maintenance and preservation.
- The close proximity of this heritage in time.

And these are just some of the most obvious aspects that we think make it different from older heritage. New restoration techniques, sustainability considerations, more efficient technologies and many other factors point to a new and different way of looking at 20th century heritage and, of course, to a different way of preserving. This in turn creates the need for establishing new criteria for intervention in architectural heritage of the 20th century, all of them based on already well-known charters, to solve the heritage problems of our era; this is what the Madrid Document recommends.

How **should we protect and intervene in the heritage of the 20th century?**

The good interventions that we can observe around the world are quite diverse, but in all of them there are common priorities, without which we can hardly *respect the value of the site*, and with which *different languages* and *changes of use or extensions*, always respectful, can be introduced without losing cultural significance. These essential aspects are: the intervention *criteria,* the correct *process* for the project, and the author's *sensibility.*

New Criteria

Substitution of materials, adapting to new functions, respect for form, new languages, etc., are just a few of controversial issues that apply in any intervention, and this creates an urgent need for establishing agreed-upon criteria. Here again, the Madrid Document is relevant as an important international contribution to the protection of architectural heritage by establishing approaches to *identification, conservation, intervention and management* regarding 20th century architectural heritage; an essential and much anticipated text.

The Process

The most appropriate proposals, while adding their own modern, technological and sustainable language, also *add value* to a monument without losing that monument's cultural significance. The survival of a monument requires making it compatible with innovation and new use; the alternative to this is its degradation. Any professional work needs to follow a good, essential process that examines all the principal components: site history, pathologies, use, construction techniques, patina, project, work on site, etc., taking the time and teamwork that is necessary to do this thoroughly.

The Sensibility

None of this work is possible without the significant participation of public administration and the experience, education and sensitivity of its professionals in understanding the problems of preserving the heritage of the 20th century. In the final analysis they approve or deny interventions. At the same time it is necessary to allow only those who have the sensibility to understand and love heritage to work in positions related to heritage.

A good example of action taken by local authorities is the approval by the Spanish government's Ministry of Culture of the *National Plan for the Conservation of the 20th Century Heritage*, a document based on the Madrid Document that must now be taken into account in any intervention on a heritage site.

On the other hand, and as one of the best examples of intervention in a 20th century heritage site, we could look the Herzog & De Meuron's extension of the Tate Modern art gallery in London, where they show that special sensibility, where the dialogue between new and old is an example of coexistence; a project utilizing criteria, process and sensibility.

Conclusions

The Madrid Document, prepared by the International Scientific Committee on 20th Century Heritage (ICOMOS), contributes to proper, respectful management of this important cultural heritage. Inspired by ICOMOS chapters and already-accepted international documents, the Madrid Document identifies specific issues related to the conservation of architectural heritage in all its manifestations. It is a document addressed to all those involved in the various processes of heritage conservation, especially architects and government authorities.

I would like to finish by making clear the need to establish the necessary channels that allow a deep open-minded debate between public administration and society in order to guarantee that our cultural heritage is protected and preserved, saving both the work and the historical record in accordance with Article 3 of the Venice Charter of 1964. But, without a doubt, in the end it is we professionals who have to act and I would therefore like to reiterate that, to intervene in our heritage, it is necessary to have *clear criteria,* to follow a *process* and to do it with the necessary *sensibility*.

Annex 1

APPROACHES FOR THE CONSERVATION OF 20th-CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE, MADRID DOCUMENT 2011

Madrid, June 2011

AIM OF THE DOCUMENT

The obligation to conserve the heritage of the 20th century is as important as our duty to conserve the significant heritage of previous eras.

More than ever, the architectural heritage of this century is at risk from a lack of appreciation and care. Some has already been lost and more is in danger. It is a living heritage and it is essential to understand, define, interpret and manage it well for future generations.

The Madrid Document 2011 seeks to contribute to the appropriate and respectful handling of this important period of architectural heritage. While recognising existing heritage conservation documents, the Madrid Document also identifies many of the issues specifically involved in the conservation of architectural heritage. Yet while it specifically applies to architectural heritage in all its forms, many of its concepts may equally apply to other types of 20th-century heritage.

The document is intended for all those involved in heritage conservation processes.

Explanatory notes are incorporated where necessary and a glossary of terms completes the document.

ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE, UNDERSTANDING AND SIGNIFICANCE

Article 1: Identify and assess cultural significance.

1.1: Use accepted heritage identification and assessment criteria.

The identification and assessment of the significance of twentieth-century architectural heritage should use accepted heritage criteria. The architectural heritage of this particular century (including all of its components) is a physical record of its time, place and use. Its cultural significance may rest in its tangible attributes, including physical location, design (for example, colour schemes), construction systems and technical equipment, fabric, aesthetic quality and use, and/or in its intangible values, including historic, social, scientific or spiritual associations, or creative genius.

1.2: Identify and assess the significance of interiors, fittings, associated furniture and art works.

To understand the architectural heritage of the 20th century it is important to identify and assess all components of the heritage site, including interiors, fittings and associated art works.

1.3: Identify and assess the setting and associated landscapes.

To understand the contribution of context to the significance of a heritage site, its associated landscape and setting[1] should be identified and assessed.[2]

For urban settlements, the different planning schemes and concepts relevant for each period and heritage site should be identified and their significance acknowledged.

1.4: Proactively develop inventories of the architectural heritage of the 20th century.

The architectural heritage of the 20th century needs to be proactively identified and assessed through systematic surveys and inventories, thorough research and studies by multidisciplinary teams, with protective conservation measures established by the responsible planning and heritage authorities.

1.5: Use comparative analysis to establish cultural significance.

When assessing the significance of the architectural heritage of the 20th century, comparative heritage sites must be identified and assessed in order to be able to analyse and understand relative significance.

Article 2: Apply appropriate conservation planning methodology.

2.1: Maintain integrity by understanding significance before any intervention.

Adequate research, documentation and analysis of the historic fabric are needed to guide any change or intervention. The integrity of the architectural heritage of the 20th century should not be impacted by unsympathetic interventions. This requires careful assessment of the extent to which the heritage site includes all the components necessary to express its significance and also to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes that contribute to this significance. Adverse impacts of development and/or neglect, including conjecture, should be avoided.

Understanding how cultural significance is manifest in the architectural heritage of the 20th century, and how different attributes, values and components contribute to that significance, is essential in order to make appropriate decisions about its care, and the conservation of its authenticity and integrity. Buildings evolve over time and later alterations may have cultural significance. Different conservation approaches and methods may be necessary within one heritage site. The input of the original designer or builder should always be sought, where relevant.

2.2: Use a methodology that assesses cultural significance and provides policies to retain and respect it, prior to commencing work.

The methodology used to assess the significance of the architectural heritage of the 20th century should follow a culturally appropriate conservation planning approach. This will include comprehensive historical research and significance analysis in the development of policies to conserve, manage and interpret the identified cultural significance. It is essential that such analysis be completed before works start to ensure that specific conservation policies are provided to guide development and change. Conservation Plans should be prepared. Regional heritage charters and site-specific conservation declarations may be developed.[3]

2.3: Establish limits of acceptable change.

For every conservation action, clear policies and guidelines should be established *before* starting any architectural intervention, so as to define the acceptable limits of change. A Conservation Plan should define the significant parts of the heritage site, the areas where interventions are possible, the optimum usage of the site and the conservation measures to be taken. It should consider the specific architectural principles and building technologies used in the 20th century.

2.4: Use interdisciplinary expertise.

Conservation planning requires an interdisciplinary approach, considering all attributes and values of cultural significance. Specialists in modern conservation technology and material sciences may be required to undertake specific research and exchange of knowledge due to the use and proliferation of non-traditional materials and methods in 20th-century architectural heritage.

2.5: Provide for maintenance planning.

It is important to plan for the regular preventive care and maintenance of these architectural heritage sites. Emergency stabilization work may also be required. Continual and appropriate maintenance and periodic inspection is consistently the best conservation action for architectural heritage and reduces long-term repair costs. A Maintenance Plan will assist this process.

2.6: Identify responsible parties for conservation action.

It is important to identify the parties who are to be responsible and accountable for conservation actions for the architectural heritage of the 20th century. These may include, but not be limited to, owners, heritage authorities, communities, local government and occupants.

2.7: Archive records and documentation.

When making changes to 20th-century architectural heritage it is important to produce records of those changes for public archiving. Recording techniques may include photography, measured drawings, oral histories, laser scanning, 3D modeling and sampling, depending on the circumstances. Archival research is an important part of the conservation planning process.

For every intervention, the peculiarities of the heritage site and the measures taken should be documented appropriately. The documentation must record the state before, during and after the intervention. Such documentation should be kept in a secure place and in up-to-date replicable media. It will assist the presentation and interpretation of the site, thereby enhancing its understanding and enjoyment by users and visitors. Information acquired in the investigation of architectural heritage, as well as other inventories and documentation, should be made accessible to interested persons.

Article 3: Research the technical aspects of 20th-century architectural heritage.

3.1: Research and develop specific repair methods appropriate to the unique building materials and construction techniques of the 20th century.

20th-century building materials and construction techniques may often differ from traditional materials and methods of the past. There is a need to research and develop specific repair methods appropriate to unique types of construction. Some aspects of the architectural heritage of the 20th century, especially those created after the middle of the century, may present specific conservation challenges. This may be due to the use of new or experimental materials and construction methods, or simply due to a lack of specific professional experience in its repair. Original/significant materials or details should be recorded if they have to be removed, and representative samples should be stored.

Before any intervention, these materials should be carefully analysed and any visible and non-visible damage identified and understood. Some experimental materials may have a shorter life-span than traditional materials and need to be carefully analysed. Investigations into the condition and deterioration of materials are to be undertaken by suitably qualified professionals using non-destructive and carefully considered non-invasive methods. Limit destructive analysis to the absolute minimum. Careful investigation into the aging of materials of the 20th century will be required.

3.2: The application of standard building codes needs flexible and innovative approaches to ensure appropriate heritage conservation solutions.

The application of standardised building codes (e.g. accessibility requirements, health and safety code requirements, fire-safety requirements, seismic retrofitting, and measures to improve energy efficiency) may need to be flexibly adapted to conserve cultural significance. Thorough analysis and negotiation with the relevant authorities should aim to avoid or minimise any adverse heritage impact. Each case should be judged on its individual merits.[4]

MANAGE CHANGE TO CONSERVE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Article 4: Acknowledge and manage pressures for change, which are constant.

4.1: Whether as a result of human intervention, or environmental conditions, managing change is an essential part of the conservation process to maintain cultural significance, authenticity and integrity.

Conservation of authenticity and integrity is especially important in urban settlements where interventions may be necessary due to changes in everyday use, which may cumulatively impact cultural significance.

Article 5: Manage change sensitively.

5.1: Adopt a cautious approach to change.

Do only as much as much as is necessary and as little as possible. Any intervention should be cautious. The extent and depth of change should be minimised. Use proven methods of repair and avoid treatments that may cause damage to historic materials and cultural significance; repairs should be undertaken using the least invasive means possible. Changes should be as reversible as possible.

Discrete interventions can be introduced that improve the performance and functionality of a heritage site on condition that its cultural significance is not adversely impacted. When change of use is under consideration, care must be taken to find an appropriate reuse that conserves the cultural significance.

5.2: Assess the heritage impacts of proposed changes prior to works commencing and aim to mitigate any adverse impacts.

Before intervening in any heritage site its cultural significance needs to be assessed, and all components should be defined and their relationship and setting understood. The impact of the proposed change on the cultural significance of the heritage site must be thoroughly assessed. The sensitivity to change of every attribute and value must be analysed and its significance accounted for. Adverse impacts need to be avoided or mitigated so that cultural significance is conserved.

Article 6: Ensure a respectful approach to additions and interventions.

6.1: Additions need to respect the cultural significance of the heritage site.

In some cases, an intervention (such as a new addition) may be needed to ensure the sustainability of the heritage site. After careful analysis, new additions should be designed to respect the scale, siting, composition, proportion, structure, materials, texture and colour of the heritage site. These additions should be discernible as new, identifiable upon close inspection, but developed to work in harmony with the existing; complementing not competing.

6.2: New interventions should be designed to take into account the existing character, scale, form, siting, materials, color, patina and detailing.

Careful analysis of surrounding buildings and sympathetic interpretation of their design may assist in providing appropriate design solutions. However, designing in context does not mean imitation.

Article 7: Respect the authenticity and integrity of the heritage site.

7.1: Interventions should enhance and sustain cultural significance.

Significant building elements must be repaired or restored, rather than reconstructed. Stabilising, consolidating and conserving significant elements are preferable to replacing them. Wherever possible, replacement materials should be matched like for like, but marked or dated to distinguish them.

Reconstruction of entirely lost heritage sites or of their important building elements is not an action of conservation and is not recommended. However, limited reconstruction, if supported by documentation, may contribute to the integrity and/or understanding of a heritage site.

7.2: Respect the value of significant layers of change and the patina of age.

The cultural significance of a heritage site as historic testimony is principally based on its original or significant material attributes and/or its intangible values which define its authenticity. However, the cultural significance of an original heritage site or of later interventions does not depend on their age alone. Later changes that have acquired their own cultural significance should be recognised and respected when making conservation decisions.

Age should be discernible through all the interventions and changes that have occurred over time, as well as in their patina. This principle is important for the majority of materials used in the 20th century.

Contents, fixtures and fittings that contribute to cultural significance should always be retained on the heritage site where possible.[5]

ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

Article 8: Give consideration to environmental sustainability.

8.1: Care must be taken to achieve an appropriate balance between environmental sustainability and the conservation of cultural significance.

Pressure for architectural heritage sites to become more energy efficient will increase over time. Cultural significance should not be adversely impacted by energy conservation measures.

Conservation should take into account contemporary approaches to environmental sustainability. Interventions to a heritage site should be executed with sustainable methods and support its development and management.[6] To achieve a practical and balanced solution, consultation with all stakeholders is needed to ensure sustainability of the heritage site. All possible options in terms of intervening, managing and interpreting the heritage site, its wider setting and its cultural significance must be retained for future generations.

INTERPRETATION AND COMMMUNICATION

Article 9: Promote and celebrate 20th-century architectural heritage with the wider community.

9.1: Presentation and Interpretation are essential parts of the *conservation process.*

Publish and distribute 20th-century architectural heritage research and conservation plans and promote events and projects wherever possible among the appropriate professions and broader community.

9.2: Communicate cultural significance broadly.

Engage with key audiences and stakeholders in dialogue that assists in the appreciation and understanding of 20th-century heritage conservation.

9.3: Encourage and support professional educational programs to include 20th-century heritage conservation.

Educational and professional training programs need to include the principles of conservation of 20th-century heritage.[7]

GLOSSARY

Attributes include physical location, design (including colour schemes), construction systems and technical equipment, fabric, aesthetic quality and use.

Authenticity is the quality of a heritage site to express its cultural significance through its material attributes and intangible values in a truthful and credible manner. It depends on the type of cultural heritage site and its cultural context.

Components of a heritage site may include interiors, fittings, associated furniture and art works; setting and landscapes.

Conservation means all the processes of looking after a heritage site so as to retain its cultural significance.

Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and/or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the heritage site itself, its setting, fabric, use, associations, meanings, records, related sites and related objects. Heritage sites may have a range of significances for different individuals or groups.

Intangible values may include historic, social, scientific or spiritual associations, or creative genius.

Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the built heritage, its attributes and values. Examining the conditions of integrity therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property:

a) Includes all components necessary to express its value;

b) Ensures the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance;

c) Suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.

Intervention is change or adaptation including alteration and extension.

Maintenance means the continuous protective care of the fabric and setting of a heritage site, and is to be distinguished from repair.

Reversibility means that an intervention can essentially be undone without causing changes or alterations to the basic historical fabric. In most cases reversibility is not absolute.

CONCLUSIONS

The Madrid Document prepared by the International Scientific Committee on 20th Century Heritage ICOMOS, contributes to the proper and respectful management of this important cultural heritage. Inspired by chapters and already accepted international documents, identifies specific issues related to the conservation of architectural heritage in all its manifestations, is a document addressed to all those involved in the different processes of heritage conservation, although primarily architects and government authorities.

I would like to finish making clear the need to establish the necessary channels, that allow a deep debate between the Public Administration and Society that guarantees our Cultural Heritage's protection and preservation with the necessary open mind, saving both the work and the historical record, as says the Article 3 from the ***Venice Charter*** 1964. But, without a doubt, in the end it is us, the professionals, who have to act and therefore I would like to remember how, to intervene in our heritage, is necessary to have ***a clear criterion, to follow a process and do it with the necessary sensibility***.

Endnotes

[1] Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas, ICOMOS 2005.

[2] Open-air spaces or green areas around and between architectural objects or in urban areas often represent components of an overall composition and of a historically intended spatial perception.

[3] For example, *Texto de Mexico* 2011, Moscow Declaration 2006.

[4] In certain cases, the materials used for built sites of the 20th century have a shorter life span than traditional materials. Lack of conservation action and knowledge of appropriate repair methods based on their material characteristics may mean they need more drastic interventions than traditional materials and they could also require additional intervention in the future.

[5] Their removal is unacceptable unless it is the sole means of ensuring their security and preservation. They should be returned where and when circumstances permit.

[6] United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED): "Brundtland Report". Our Common Future (1987), Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0-19-282080-X.

[7] UIA (international Union of Architects) Architectural Education Commission Reflection Group.

Session IV

Artistic Interpretations of Modernism

This session focuses on practices of experimental heritage protection, with an emphasis on creativity, innovative interventions, and non-traditional solutions. Reinterpretation of historic and cultural values, storytelling, acting, curatorship and a wide range of other cultural practices, represent modernist heritage as a multicultural and dynamic experience. Interpreters of modernism will present examples combining: interactions of interwar European modernism, collective memory, innovative place-making, as well as heritage assets yet to be afforded adequate recognition and protection.

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Why Do We Need to Decentre Modernism? Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery

Partha Mitter

In 2008 I published a paper titled 'Decentring Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery' proposing that recent changes in art history have not led to any substantial improvement in the perception of non-Western avant-garde, which is still dismissed as derivative.[1] I must confess I had dealt entirely with non-Western world in the paper. I did not include the margins within Europe. 'Mea culpa!' But I have a defence. My theoretical proposal was taken up by Russian and East European art historians at St. Petersburg University who were attending a College Art Association conference in the US; they stated: 'this panel takes Partha Mitter's argument in "Decentring Modernism" as a point of departure in order to rethink how art of these regions can be understood in an increasingly global art history.' I would also like to add a personal note here. It is with sadness I learnt of the death of the Polish art historian, Piotr Piotrowski whom I met recently. In 2004, Piotrowski, gently rebuked me: 'Mitter's conclusions concern the new art history [on] the resistance of the colonial world to the dominance of the metropolis ... However he does not mention the tensions internal to the so-called metropolis, which has its own centres and peripheries, where the development of modernism should be decentred.'[2]

I totally agree, but the purpose of my paper is to create a theoretical framework for global 'decentring' of modernist discourse, and of course this includes Eastern Europe. Today I focus on non-Western art, my own field, but I hope my paper will take the discussion forward.

So, let's return to today's talk: why do we need to reimagine modernism from a transcultural perspective? I mention this simply because modernism seems to have become an inclusive global concept today. Indeed much has changed, especially the emergence of artists from the non-Western world. At the endless rounds of international biennales, select artists from the periphery are offered as evidence that the modernist art of the West, and the rest of the world, now share certain common values. Recently, Tate Modern mounted an iconic show that marked a significant departure, a massive retrospective of Ibrahim El-Salahi, the visionary African modernist. Indeed the heterogeneous character of contemporary global art practices has even given rise to anxiety about the end of art history as a grand Hegelian narrative in Hans Belting's influential book *The End of Art History?*[3]

We could therefore say with impunity that the process of dismantling the canon has begun. This is good news. But the bad news is that the change is not only extremely slow, it's also marginal, despite the efforts of a new breed of scholars and curators. Simply put, art history hasn't yet come to terms with global changes.[4]

Therefore, Belting's fear that the canon looks increasingly vulnerable may be somewhat premature. Even today, leading non-Western artists seldom feature in standard art history textbooks. The modernist canon continues to be a closed discourse that tends to erase non-Western art from art history. Witness for instance the standard textbook in the US, *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, published in 2004, one of the most influential works in recent years. The book contains no reference to notable artists living outside Euro-America who have made significant contributions to the global modernity.[5] And yet, there have been significant developments in non-Western art in the 20th century. Many of its artists are engaged in creating vital expressions of cultural resistance to colonial hegemony. The savage, spiky images of the great Mexican primitivist, Wifredo Lam (1902–1982) are totally ignored. The remarkable Indian painter Jamini Roy's (1887–1972), innovative formalism, based upon reimagining the folk art of India, powerfully mediated between the global and the local. He is hardly known in the West.[6]

Such marginalization is usually explained in terms of the 'derivativeness' of non-Western art, a judgment that continues to exert its power in representations of the art of Asia, Africa and Latin America. I want to sound a note of caution: the neglect of regions outside the West is not a conspiracy. It is simply a reflection of a wider epistemic problem: the common practice of identifying Western norms with universal values. Inspired by Immanuel Kant's 'a priori' view of aesthetics, the concept 'art' is often regarded as neutral and disinterested. However, this systematically ignores the implications of race, gender, sexual orientation and class in art history. Therefore, in order to grasp this problem we need to probe more closely the 'universal' nature of the Western canon originating in the Enlightenment.

The deep-seated hierarchy implicit in modernist discourse and its impact on regions of the so-called periphery can only be explained in historical terms. The rise of art history as a discipline went hand in hand with European expansion overseas. The colonial powers sought to impose 'good taste' in the subject nations through academic naturalism and classical standards of taste.

We cannot deny that in the late 19th century, the modernist revolution in the West, spearheaded by the avant-garde, seriously challenged academic art and hardly any part of the globe remained immune to this clarion call. Nonetheless, the discipline of art history has yet to question with any seriousness the implicit acceptance of non-Western modernism as derivative. Two cases highlight the glaring contrast in art historical judgments of 'cultural border crossings' and of the different functions of the role of 'influence': the first is the famous exhibition *'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1985; the second is what I have called the 'Picasso manqué syndrome' about which I will say something shortly. The MoMA exhibition claimed to highlight the formal similarities between ethnographic art and western modernism, for instance describing the 'primitive' motifs in the works of Picasso as a reflection of the accidental 'affinities' between modern and 'tribal' art that transcended time and space. The curators couldn't accept that the artistic 'borrowings' of Picasso from simple 'primitive' cultures could amount to a cultural debt.[7]

My second example is an Indian modernist. Gaganendranath Tagore (1867–1938) was the first Indian to adapt the revolutionary syntax of cubism to produce a series of small jewel-like paintings between the years 1921–1928. Let us take analytical cubism, developed around 1909–1911 by Picasso and Georges Braque that rapidly spread worldwide. With contradictory light sources, the object could be dissolved, thus destroying Renaissance illusionism. Interestingly, artists everywhere were drawn more to cubism's flexible, non-figurative syntax, which could be put to different usage. The formal revolution of analytical cubism was less appealing. The motivation behind a Western expressionist such as Georg Grosz, and the Indian artist Gaganendranath Tagore, was similar: objects could be distorted and fragmented to produce dazzling patterns.[8]

Although these artists shared a formal global language, the specific cultural contexts of Grosz and Gaganendranath were of course very different, as were their artistic objectives. They simply reflected the decontextualising tendency of modernity, shared by both the centre and the periphery: styles past and present could be appropriated to generate strikingly new meanings. Yet, according to the English art historian W.G. Archer, Picasso's use of African sources didn't compromise his integrity as a European artist, while Gaganendranath's use of cubism resulted in the loss of self as a colonial hybrid. Archer in fact reflects the complex discourse of power, authority and hierarchy involved in the assessment of the non-Western avant-garde. I call this the 'Picasso manqué syndrome': successful imitation is a form of aping; imperfect imitation represents a failure of learning.[9]

We *need not* interpret these cross-cultural exchanges of ideas and technology as a product of domination and dependence. Since ancient times, cross-fertilisation of cultures, including artistic styles, has been a fact of history. Modernism in Asia, Africa and Latin America could thus be studied as part of the global process of cultural exchange. So: how can we reconfigure art history for the present century? Let me 'unpack' one of the key concepts in art history: influence. Stylistic influence acquired a special significance for colonial art historians who were obsessed with tracing the Western grammar of non-Western modernisms and ranking them within an imagined world order. Yet influence tends to diminish 'artistic agency' in the production of art. Artists matter more than their sources.[10]

The modernist canon, however, embraces a great deal more. Its linear history constructs a whole world of inclusions and exclusions. This is a long tradition going back to the Renaissance. Giorgio Vasari defined Florence, Rome and Venice as centres of innovation, categorizing other regions of Italy as sites of delayed growth and imitation. Vasari's notion of centre and periphery was taken further by the German art historian, Winckelmann in late 18th century. He took climatic, national and racial differences in art as objective facts. Of course, modernism rebelled against academic art, but despite its revolutionary credentials, it used the 'originary' discourse of the metropolis, to marginalize other modernisms as suffering from a time lag. The centre/periphery relationship is not one of geography but of power and authority, with modernism creating its own tacit exclusions and inclusions.[11]

If we discard style as a meaningful tool, what other categories can we deploy to make sense of the transmission of ideas across cultures that aren't dependent on centre/periphery imbalance? Politically speaking, the rise of BRICS countries and of Asian Tigers, and the shifting balance of power has had a massive impact on the art market. But apart from the geopolitical argument, which is not trivial, are there any intellectual justifications for the centre to recognize the periphery? For that we need to readjust our mindset. Colonial discourse regards cultural intersections as a linear process. If I can give you my favourite analogy: I see this as a waterfall, ideas from the West forever flowing downwards to the rest. But in fact the confluence of multiple cultural streams has been a known fact of history.

Recent critical art histories have offered strategies of empowerment through new readings of modernism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The academic subject visual culture, in particular, seeks to erase the distinction between high art and so-called applied art because it tends to reinforce the global inequality in power relations. Others plead for a more open discourse that would embrace plurality and uneven edges, and for bringing within art history critical voices from the margins. The most exciting aspect of modernisms across the globe is their plurality, heterogeneity and difference. Néstor García Canclini proposes 'multi-temporal heterogeneities', while Gerardo Mosquera opts for the notion of a 'decentralized' international culture. Mosquera argues that the peripheries are emerging as multiple centres of cultural production, even as they strengthen local developments in a constant process of hybridization.[12]

These are persuasive notions, especially the concept of hybridity, but what about those artists in Asia, Africa and Latin America for whom resistance to colonial art has been predicated on an assertion of national identity? How do we judge Diego Rivera, for instance?[13] The notion of 'hybridity' may not apply here and I would propose some other means of studying the historically grounded production and consumption of art. But our first and urgent task is to dismantle the 'teleology' of modernism, and stop viewing Western modernism as a universal category that's beyond time and space. The great achievements of Western modernism can be treated historically within its own set of conventions. That's not to say that its experience has not enriched other traditions. So, without privileging *any* art in particular, not even Western modernism, we may investigate art practices in their social and cultural settings, taking into account the contextual needs peculiar to regional artistic milieus – the local assertions of global concerns.

An inflected narrative of global modernity offers us a possible way of restoring the artist's agency in the context of world colonial order, by analysing art practices as a cultural document that's rooted in its context. Indeed, one serious criticism of 'influence' as an analytical tool is that it views artists as passive agents of transmission, rather than active subjects with the ability to exercise choice. In my own particular field of modernism in India, I have tried to show that its history can be meaningfully charted within the context of nationalist resistance to the British Empire.[14]

Finally, I would like to propose a theoretical framework that I have been developing for some time. I call it the concept of the 'virtual cosmopolis', an imaginary world of cultural transaction. What do I mean by the term, 'virtual cosmopolis'? Let us examine this further. The political theorist Benedict Anderson argues in connection with nationalism that print culture created 'imagined communities' whose members had no direct contact with one another, but shared a common social or intellectual space. What he is referring to in fact is the modern communication revolution in the form of print culture. But I want to apply Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community' to a global situation. European expansion gave rise to a series of colonial port cities whose elites in distant Calcutta, Shanghai, and Buenos Aires became the agents of modernity. The colonial elites communicated between centre and periphery through major hegemonic languages such as English, French and Spanish/Portuguese, and above all through print culture – texts and images that circulated globally. I call this global exchange of knowledge as a form of 'virtual cosmopolitanism.'[15]

We all know what a cosmopolitan is: a cultured, well-travelled individual who is open to world. The virtual cosmopolitan, on the other hand, probably has no means of travelling abroad. Nonetheless, he too is open to global ideas. He/she is an armchair traveller and part of a hybrid, imagined community that exchanges ideas between centre and periphery on the level of the imagination. Of course one can't ignore the problem of power and authority that confers visibility. Nonetheless, asymmetrical geopolitics doesn't preclude the fecund cross-fertilization of ideas. In short, I apply the notion of the 'virtual cosmopolitan' to argue that the reception of Western ideas in the colonized countries was an active process that centred on the agency of the colonized. This process enables us to understand the spread of modernism on the margins.

But what theoretical underpinnings can we deploy to make sense of these cultural exchanges that aren't prejudged by the stigma of derivativeness – the Picasso manqué syndrome? The Russian literary critic, Mikhail Bakhtin coins the term 'dialogic' to describe a continuous dialogue with other works of literature. The process appropriates the texts of others and transforms them according to one's creative intentions. This intertextual process is dynamic, and engaged in endless 're-descriptions' of one's Weltanschauung. The concept that Bakhtin applies to literary texts could be a useful tool for our cross-cultural analysis of visual art. The particular merit of the dialogic method is that it allows for the coexistence of different approaches in a relativist way; it doesn't set up an essentialist hierarchy of ideas and values. This also accords well with hybrid and multifaceted cosmopolitanism, in the sense that the received foreign text, interpreted in the light of one's own text, sets up a dialogic relationship between the global and the vernacular within a cosmopolitan framework. The information and communication revolution enabled intellectuals in the East and the West to discover each other's cultural products, such as art, philosophy, and literature, giving rise to a new global community that engaged in creating the hybrid, multipolar universe of modernity.[16]

Just to remind you, I have been suggesting ways of challenging the dominance of the modernist canon in studying non-Western art. Instead of taking all ideas as emanating from the West, why don't we look at such 'virtual encounters' as a product of reciprocity? We constantly read about westernisation of Asia and Africa, which is part of schoolbook history. But there are indeed many examples of East/West exchanges. I don't have time to elaborate on this but just to touch briefly on one major example: the reception of Indian metaphysics in 19th-century America. The American transcendentalists – Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau – were engaged in creating a new intellectual tradition, based on their reading of Indian sacred texts, the Upanishads and the Bhagvad Gita. It was part of their aim of freeing themselves from the limitations of European positivism. While American philosophers looked to the East, Indian thinkers were turning towards the Enlightenment in the West. To put it in a nutshell, both Indian and American intellectuals were operating in a 'virtual cosmopolis' that generated a mode of 'dialogic conversation' across cultures. Therefore we need to study the reception of Indian philosophy among Americans, *not* in isolation; responses to exogenous ideas by both Americans and Indians were two sides to the same global coin.[17]

To summarise, I have discussed approaches to non-Western modernism from a global perspective, including notions of hybridity and multiple centres of innovation. My main point is: we need to discard the notion of stylistic influence and challenge the asymmetrical relation between centre and periphery. I propose the theory of 'virtual cosmopolis' as a global discourse that helps explain the reception of modernism in the non-West against the background of colonial hegemony. The dialogic process offers a non-hierarchical approach to new ideas, transforming them according one's own contexts. Only with such an art history of the future will painters such as Wifredo Lam or Jamini Roy receive full recognition.

Endnotes

[1] Partha Mitter, 'Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery,' *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 90, no. 1 (2008) pp. 531–574 (pages refer to my lead essay, four responses and my concluding reply).

[2] Piotr Piotrowski, 'From Global to Alter-Globalist Art History,' *Teksy Drugie* 1 (2015), pp. 112–134 (special issue English edition from Centrum Humanistiki Cyfrowej). See also guest author of October 2012, Piotr Piotrowski, who mentions me in his feature 'The Post-communist and the Postcolonial' in http://globalartmuseum.de/site/guest_author/326 (accessed 19 November 2018).

[3] Hans Belting, *The End of the History of Art?* Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987) and *Art History After Modernism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003).

[4] Some of the new writings include Per Bäckström, and Benedikt Hjartarson, editors, *Decentring The Avant-Garde* (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2014); Christian Kravagna, *Transmoderne. Eine Kunstgeschichte des Kontakts*, PoLYpeN b- books, 2017. James Elkins et al, ed. *Art and Globalization*, Pennsylvania University Press, Pennsylvania, 2010 (see especially the critiques of the book). Ebrahim El Salahi: www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/exhibition/ibrahim-el-salahi-visionary-modernist, accessed 19 November 2018.

[5] Hal Foster et al., *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (London, New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004).

[6] On Wifredo Lam, Lowery Stokes Sims, *Wifredo Lam and the International Avant-Garde, 1923–1982* (Austin, TX, 2002). On Roy, Partha Mitter, 'Jamini Roy: Negotiating the Global from a Local Perspective,' *Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics*, edited by Pauline Bachmann, Melanie Klein, Tomoko Mamine and Georg Vasold, (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2017) pp. 195–205.

[7] Catalogue, '*Primitivism' in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* (New York: MoMA, 1985) p. x.

[8] Partha Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-garde* (London: Reaktion Books 2007) pp. 18–27.

[9] William George Archer, quoted in *Triumph of Modernism*, pp. 25–27.

[10] Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention* (New Haven and London, 1985) pp. 58–62.

[11] Giancarla Periti, editor, *Emilia e Marche Nel Renascimento: L'Identita Visiva della 'Periferia'* (Azzano San Paolo: Bolis Edizioni, 2005) Introduction by Pier Luigi De Vecchi and Giancarla Periti, pp. 7–11. See also Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginsberg's 'Centro e periferia,' in *Storia dell' arte italiana: 1* (Turin, 1979) pp. 285–354.

[12] Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, translated by C. Chiappari and S. Lopez (Minneapolis, 1995). Gerardo Mosquera, 'Modernity and Africana: Wifredo Lam on his Island,' in Fondació Joan Miró, cited in L.S. Sims, *Wifredo Lam and the International Avant-Garde*, p. 236.

[13] David Craven, *Diego Rivera: As Epic Modernist* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1997).

[14] Mitter, *Triumph of Modernism*.

[15] Mitter, 'Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery,' *The Art Bulletin*, pp. 541–543.

[16] Mitter, 'Frameworks for Considering Cultural Exchange: The Case of India and America,' in *East-West Interchanges in American Art: A Long and Tumultuous Relationship*, edited by Cynthia Mills et al. (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2012) pp. 26–31.

[17] Ibid.

Dialoghi Urbani – Urban Dialogues

Camilla Borghese

Rethinking and diving again into this piece I worked on a few years ago entitled *Dialoghi Urbani* (Urban Dialogues), I was able to ponder the extremely interesting theme of the *palazzina* from a new perspective. I am referring to the urban and social impact introduced by the diffusion of this dwelling typology, particularly in Rome.

We often talk about the *palazzina romana* as a peculiar typology of the city, and this is not entirely by chance. Following the 1931 Regulatory Plan, which suddenly allowed building of new *palazzine* on areas previously restricted to *villini*, this typology started spreading rapidly during the years that followed. Indeed the *palazzina* was responding to the desires of the middle and high bourgeoisie, often composed of freelance professionals, who were searching for residences capable of responding to the need for comfort, tranquillity and, most of all, intimacy.

I never lived in this type of dwelling, which nowadays constitutes the majority of the urban fabric in my city, Rome. In fact I grew up in the historical centre, which clearly has a completely different layout. To my eyes, a suburb in which you cannot hear, from the very first hours of the day, noise and life in the streets – in the small shops and workshops which offer the possibility of a daily exchange made of neighbourhood life built day by day – is something I consider deeply strange, and this is certainly the main reason why I never loved residential suburbs. To this day, I don't understand them. Moreover, the *palazzina* building type doesn't have street-front shops, but rather a small garden around the perimeter surrounded by a fence. Therefore, thanks to this typology, we have entire neighbourhoods composed of isolated blocks without any formal similarities, where the alignment of the historical urban fabric is lost. Now, habit means a lot, and I would like to stress the fact that I don't wish to live in this kind of neighbourhood, but several people do, and this divergence of opinion initiated an intense debate concerning social matters that continues today.

Nevertheless, the *palazzina*, mainly after World War II, had an enormous diffusion in Rome thanks to the fact that it was easy and fast to build at relatively low cost, and because it guaranteed an immediate profit. Its peculiarity consisted in the fact that it was easily repeatable, and a context like Rome, which was not particularly culturally

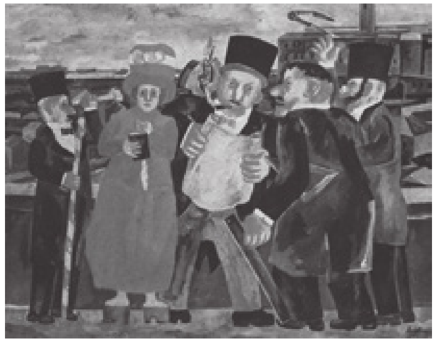

Figure 1. Franz Borghese, *Il piano regolatore*, 1981, oil on canvas, private collection. Photo: Camilla Borghese. Courtesy Studio Franz Borghese.

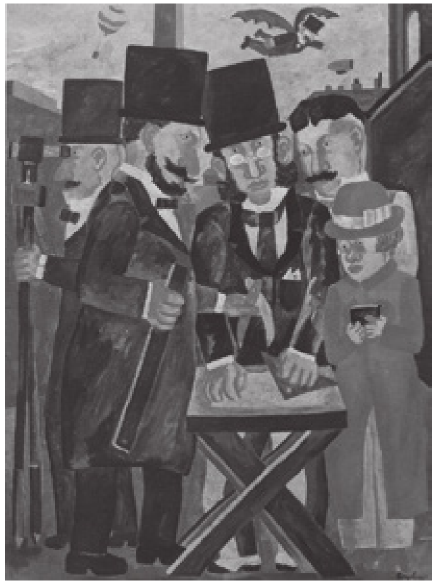

Figure 2. Franz Borghese, *Urbanisti a Piazza Navona*, 1982, oil on canvas, private collection.
Photo: Camilla Borghese. Courtesy Studio Franz Borghese.

attentive to the public good, favoured in those years the spread of the building speculation phenomenon, witnessed also by Italian cinema through numerous movies such as *Le mani sulla Città* by Francesco Rosi (1963) and *Il Boom* by Vittorio de Sica (1963) to mention just two. The painting by the Italian artist Franz Borghese entitled *Il piano regolatore* (1981) (Figure 1) also comes to mind; of course I know this painter quite well, as I am his daughter. Another work by the same painter that I am very fond of is *Urbanisti a Piazza Navona* (1982) (Figure 2). Now I understand why, although not at all interested in architecture, he painted this subject several times starting in the 1970s, as it was a greatly debated topic in those years.

It is intriguing that while these aspects were working in me at an unconscious level, my approach toward this typology was following a completely different path. As a matter of fact, what interested me in the *palazzina* was its plastic and sculptural aspect, its peculiarity of being free on all four sides, with one strongly identifying façade at the front of the building. As a consequence I concentrated my research on the topic of the *palazzina d'autore*, as it introduced a different perspective.

In fact the best architects were testing their skills by experimenting on this subject which was certainly of a smaller scope compared to other larger-scale architectural projects, yet provoked great interest and appreciation in a public that was able to understand the importance of living in a quality *palazzina*. And if the *palazzina* was designed by a fashionable and esteemed architect, this constituted added value. It is not by chance that in August 1932, in Ostia, SIT – Società Immobiliare Tirrena – launched the first competition for fifteen modern *villini* and high-end apartments. One of the winners was a young, successful architect named Adalberto Libera who designed several *palazzine*, among them the two known as type A (Figure 3) and type B (Figure 4) on the Duilio waterfront, which are included in my collection.

Thinking back to the exact moment when, several years ago, the idea for my photographic project arose, two old photos of two magnificent *palazzine* come immediately to my mind. The images I am talking about portray *palazzina* Furmanik on the Lungotevere Flaminio, and *palazzina* Luccichenti at piazza delle Muse, 6. Putting the photos next to one another on that particular day, I observed with fascination that these two facades were at the same time similar and opposite, solid and void, nevertheless both drawing harmoniously horizontal lines on the façade.

Looking closer, there are many similarities between these two *palazzine*, such as the fact that they both have a symmetrical plan with central staircase and two apartments per floor, with a distribution that privileges the living room which faces the main overlook. But while the first one appears as an excavated block, in the second one it appears as if the lightness and the openings towards the exterior, which can be observed also in the details, seem to gain the upper hand. The Furmanik *palazzina* had sliding shutters which enhance perception of contrasts in the main façade (Figure 5); they all disappeared and we can only find some left on the sides, where the depth of the terrace becomes wider.

The idea for this project came about through the simple juxtaposition of these two *palazzine* which, thanks to their formal rigor and harmony, seemed to create an inseparable dialogue to my eyes. In fact, after photographing them I decided to include them in a composition one next to the other. I wanted to compose a single image around and with these two photographs, whereby the horizontal and perpendicular lines would almost fuse and form a single code, with all the variations of the case, in a dialogue of lines and solutions – an urban dialogue.

The starting point for the work seemed easy: all I had to do was proceed with the study of this building typology, defining the time frame and ultimately concentrating on the period from the 1920s to the 1960s. It was winter, a season that brings with it an amazing light and, most of all, leafless trees. As a matter of fact, since I have become an architectural photographer, I do not fancy urban green as I once did, classifying it instead as an irreparable obstacle. I have to admit that until now, I was tempted to tear a branch from a tree only once while I was on a ladder, but I was able to refrain from doing so.

Hence, I navigated traffic in Rome, my car filled with books about the topic, a ladder, a photographic tripod able to reach 3.6 m, and the rest of my equipment. I realized that the *palazzine* were mostly concentrated in the northern districts of Rome such as the Parioli or Nomentano

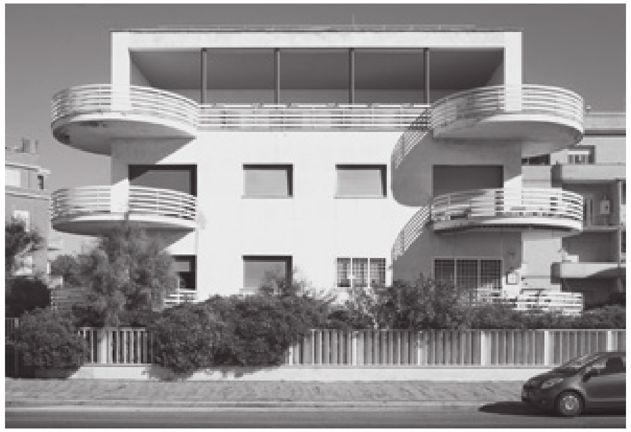

Figure 3. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Villino tipo A, Ostia, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

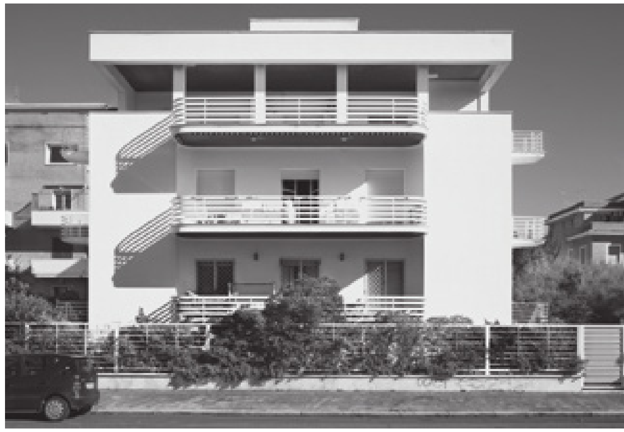

Figure 4. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Villino tipo B, Ostia, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

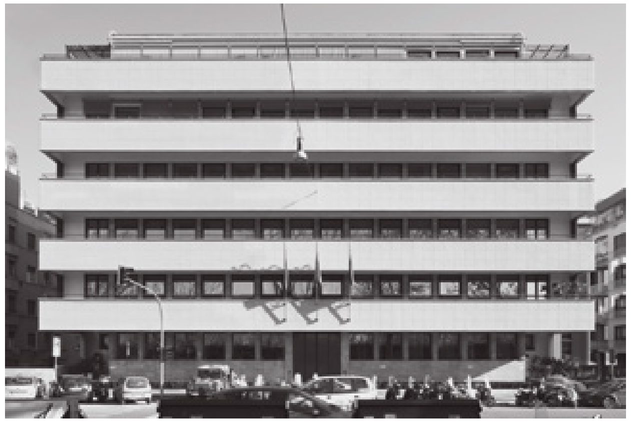

Figure 5. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Palazzina Furmanik, Rome, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

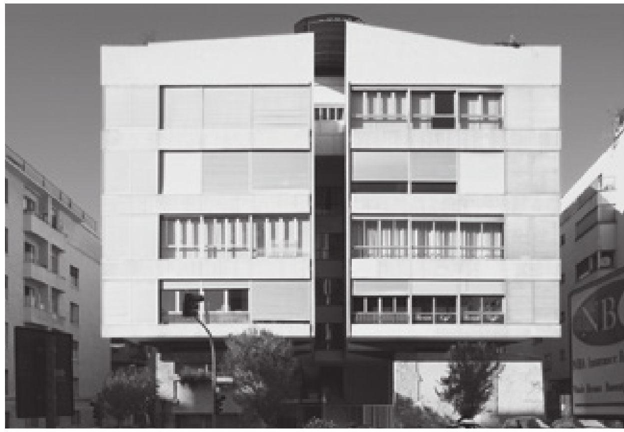

Figure 6. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Casa del Girasole, Rome, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

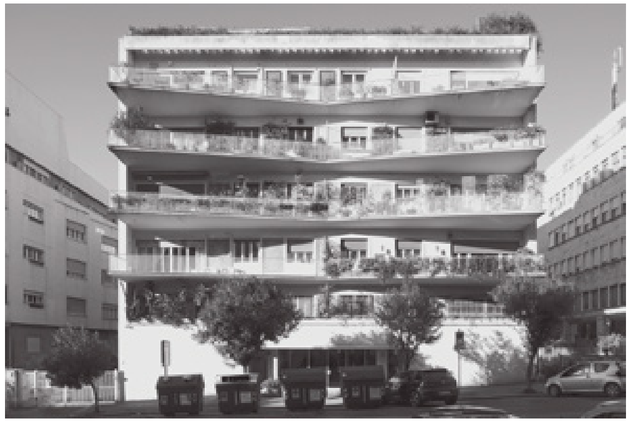

Figure 7. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Palazzina viale B. Buozzi 60, Rome, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

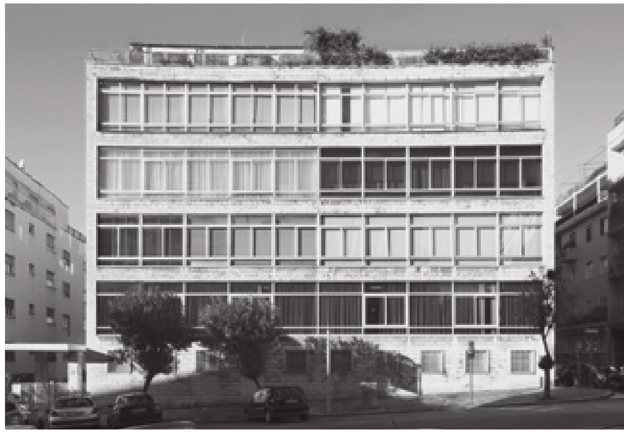

Figure 8. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Palazzina viale B. Buozzi 58, Rome, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

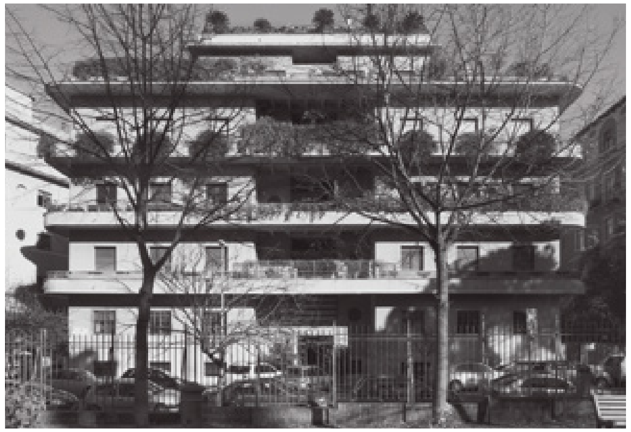

Figure 9. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Palazzina via Bruxelles 47, Rome, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

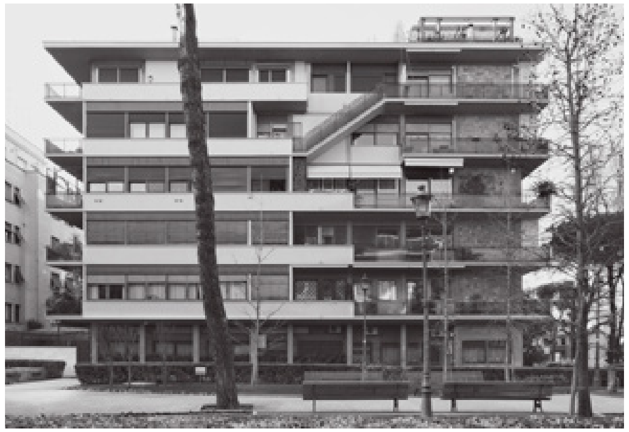

Figure 10. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Largo Messico, Rome, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

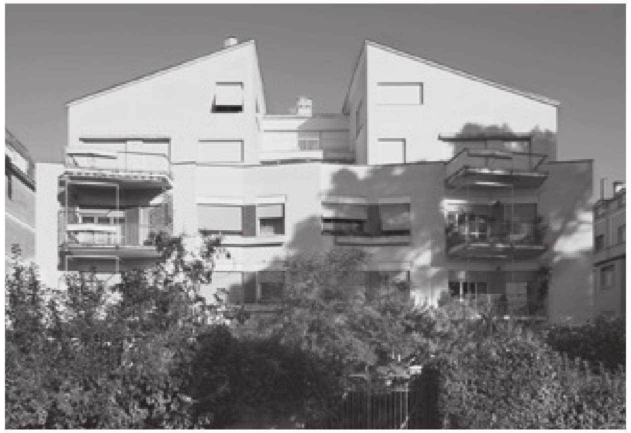

Figure 11. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani* (detail: Palazzina via Armando Spadini, Rome, Italy). Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

neighborhoods, and this was certainly not a coincidence. Since the 1930s the rich bourgeoisie had been moving from buildings located in the historical centre, which many rightly considered unhealthy, toward the northern districts. I understood right away that urban green was not the sole obstacle, in fact the majority of the streets were too narrow to allow for a comprehensive framing of the facades, hence I had to discard several facades from the project. I often returned to the same building several times, in order to define the most suitable time of the day to shoot the photograph. Different weather conditions also had their influence. Sometimes a cloudy sky is better than a sunny day because the latter brings direct light onto the façade – if, of course, the façade is not facing north (which would prevent it from receiving any direct sunlight during winter).

As the days went by, I came to realize that in order to move around the traffic and optimize time, I needed to collect my working notes on a map – and if the map was available online[1] I could use it in real time, a key factor for my movement in city traffic. The map that I created to identify the *palazzine* became an extremely useful working and studying tool. It includes a decennial classification indicated by different pin colours, identification of architects, dates and exact building addresses. For me it was a simple working tool because I marked mainly the *palazzine* I was interested in from a formal point of view. It would be interesting to trace back on the map my willing omissions. Maybe today I would draw the map with some variations!

The nucleus composed of the two *palazzine* with which I started was slowly expanding, generating an interesting dialogue of ideas and careful variations. The so-called Casa del Girasole (Figure 6) by Luigi Moretti, with its vertical crack on the service stairs, over a clear and articulated elevation, constituted a surprising project when it was built in 1950. Also interesting are the two facades after the Casa del Girasole on the same side of the road, that we can see in my composition on the right and the left of the latter. One of them has a rigorously two-dimensional elevation (Figure 7), while the other has a balcony fractured in its middle and jutting out in a double triangular plan (Figure 8).

Sometimes, if I was lucky, I could find a park right in front of the façade. This is the case with the 1935 *palazzina* by Andrea Busiri Vici (Figure 9), one of the few where the presence of vegetation is particularly pleasant from my photographic point of view, as it evokes and amplifies the life of the inhabitants. Another interesting element is the presence of reinforced concrete slabs that are projected beyond the façade plane, forming continuous terraces and marking the horizontal pattern of the façade. In the centre these terraces are partially clad with concrete-framed glass blocks and they extend around the corners. A classical structure is explicit in the symmetry of the plan and in the window façade elements within the recessed central body.

As you can see, cars are part of the urban furniture and because of this I often preferred lifting my point of view a few meters from the road. I believe that cars are one of the worst evils for architectural photography, but maybe in a few years, as we look at these photographs again, we will see them with different eyes.

Compared to some examples from the 1930s and 1940s, we can observe that *palazzine* of the 1950s have a more articulated layout, displaying stairs that change level directly on the façade and the use of mixed materials, as in the Monaco e Luccichenti *palazzina* in Largo Messico (Figure 10), or the notorious *palazzina* Paniconi e Pediconi which faces Villa Balestra in the Parioli neighborhood (Figure 11). The latter has disordered floors recalling the ancient tympanum at the top, as is the case in the Casa del Girasole by Luigi Moretti.

In conclusion, observing the work in its entirety, we can easily see the evolution of this dwelling type during the first half of the 1900s, and we can sometimes be confused by the modernity of some of the adopted solutions which appear to anticipate many aspects of later architecture, evidence of the great experimentation that took place. But looking closer, doesn't this composition of 16 facades (Figure 12) – which are having a conversation among themselves, with the city they are immersed in, and with the time and the life of the people who inhabit and alter them at the same time – seem to want to establish a dialogue even with our conceptual map?

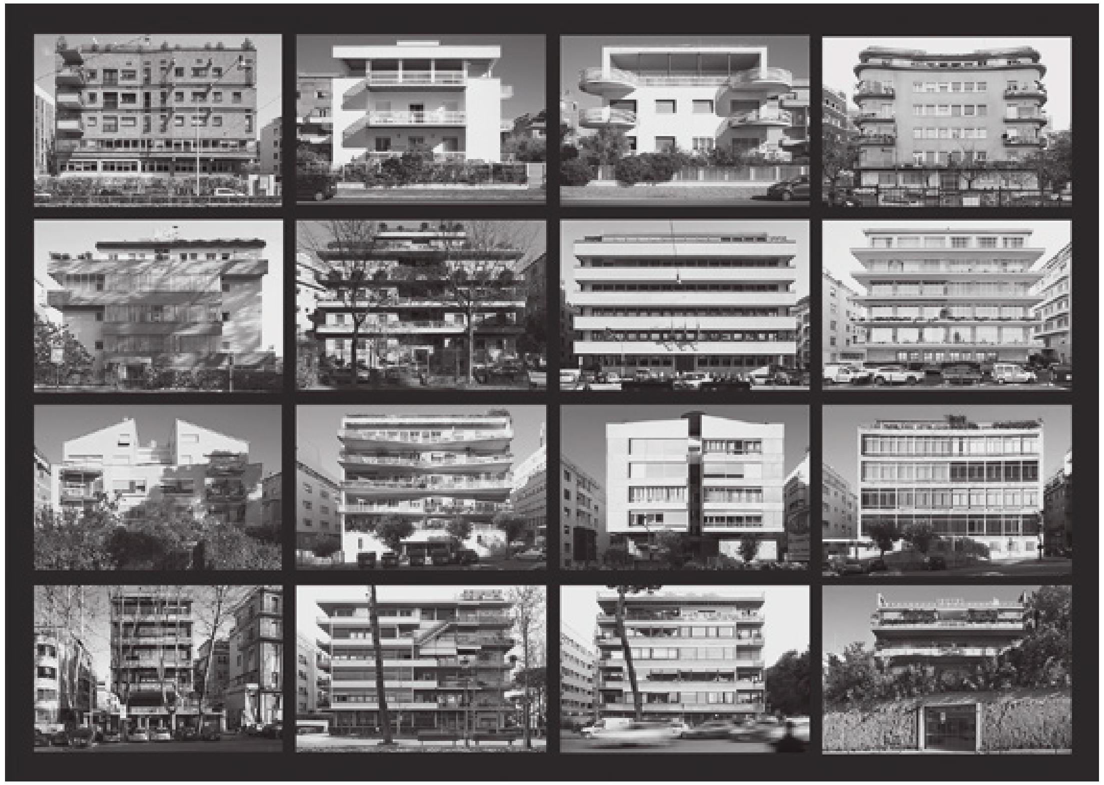

Figure 12. Camilla Borghese, *Dialoghi Urbani*, 2013. Courtesy Camilla Borghese.

Endnote

[1] Link to map: https://bit.ly/2Rpk26c

Unhomeliness: When Architecture is Dysfunctional

Aideen Barry

Hey now, hey now now, sing this corrosion to me[1]

Firstly a confession: I am a goth. Seduced by the popular cultural influence in my teens, I was further hooked on Gothic tropes and intoxicated by Gothic literature and the philosophy of what Freud termed *das unheimliche*.[2] This is evidenced in the aesthetic nature of my early works (Figure 1) in which there are echoes of *Rebecca*[3] and other reflections of the classic idea of Gothic romanticism. This interest further developed to encompass philosophical ideas rather than just aesthetic choices; the gothic for me represents the unseen, what lurks beneath the surface. Of course it helps that we Irish have a (possibly deluded) sense of ownership of the Gothic with indigenous writers producing some of the greatest works of uncanny literature: Edgeworth, Bowen, Sheridan Le Fanu, Stoker; we can also classify Poe as being in the mix since his parents were both Cavan-born. These writers tapped into something that is ever present in the Irish psyche: darkness and destabilising forces, catastrophic thinking and an undercurrent of misery that permeates and contaminates Irish people.

Historically, Ireland has had a long and complex relationship with the idea of 'home', 'home ownership' and 'housekeeping', loaded terms that have bred a complicated view of social planning and have led to dysfunctional and detrimental decisions that have shaped the lived experience for generations. The word *unheimliche* translates directly as 'un-home-liness' and it is this idea that permeates my work. Our own Cassandra[4] and contemporary soothsayer Sinead O'Connor sang it best with her 1994 song 'Famine': she refers to a type of disorder that we suffered following the 1847 famine in which a quarter of our population died and a further quarter was forced off their land and ultimately to emigrate:

The highest statistics of child abuse in the
EEC And we say we're a Christian country
But we've lost contact with our history
See we used to worship God as a mother
We're sufferin from post traumatic stress disorder

Until recently, women who had children outside of marriage were regarded with contempt by a religiously controlled state, and as a result single parents are often still vilified in the media, and in the past their children were removed from them[5] and sold to upstanding Catholic families and

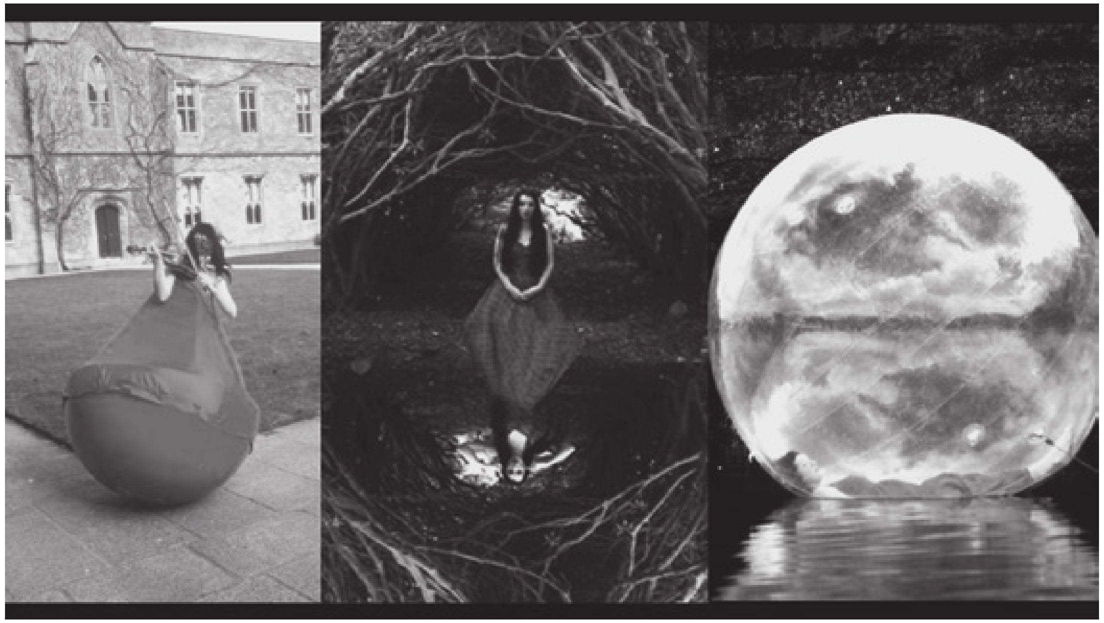

Figure 1. Various works from 2003–2008. From left to right: *Orb*, performance, 2003, Muiscuilt, NUIG, Galway; *Faoi na Mara*, performative video, 2006, duration 2 minutes, dual channel video with sound; *Heteratopic Glitch*, with Anne Ffrench, Kinsale Arts Festival 2008. Photography John Allen. © Aideen Barry & Anne Ffrench 2008, © www.aideenbarry.com

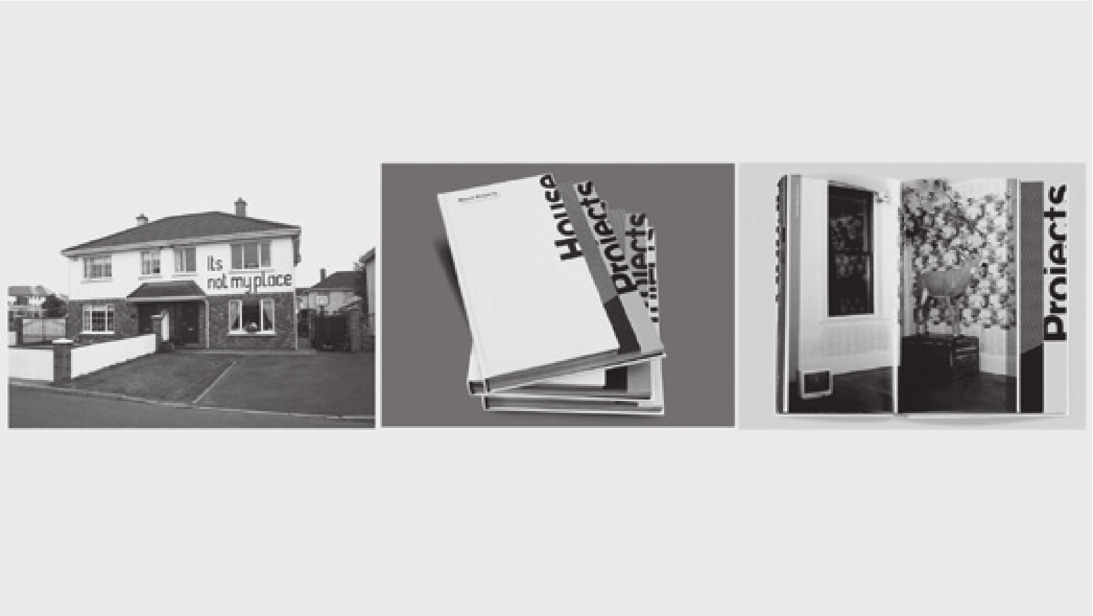

Figure 2. House Projects. Works created during my time living in 'Celtic Tiger suburbia', including 22 River Oaks pictured with *It's not my Place* by Dominic Thorpe, 2006, for the *House Project* publication and series of curated shows in my home and other artists homes, ISBN 978-0-9549844-2. © www.aideenbarry.com

American couples.[6] A particular type of infrastructure was developed to accommodate such abuses, and 'homes' for unmarried mothers were established to carry out such atrocities.

It is the same woman, I know, for she is always creeping, and most women do not creep by daylight.[7]

Like Perkins-Gilman's protagonist in *The Yellow Wallpaper*, women were locked away, prescribed rest cures, and institutionalised in these 'homes'. This was compounded by the denial of bodily autonomy to Irish women with regard to their reproductive health.[8] The female body was a contested site and to be female as an Irish citizen is to not be considered the same as, and often less than, male; the feeling of being Other often compounded by a constitution which enshrines a 'woman's place in the home',[9] setting one's ascribed gender role within an architecture, with implications for the role of women in contemporary Irish society. Ireland has a long and very poor human rights record, especially in relation to women and children, and more broadly, poor standards in social housing and social provision.

In response to our post-traumatic stress disorder, stemming from a post-colonial fear of being driven off our *home*-land, we have tried to emulate a perceived more 'advanced' country: Ireland adopted the American cookie-cutter style of property development, during a massive and unprecedented economic boom period between 1994 and 2007, until its economy collapsed in spectacular fashion. This suburban sprawl resulted in over 600 ghost estates[10] nationwide, with over 250,000 empty homes in various states of construction, abandonment, vacancy and redundancy; these are the contemporary 'houses of Usher'.

In 2000 I found myself a single parent; rearing a child on my own, living on welfare and dependant on state subsidies, in a rural western Ireland village in the midst of this new dysfunctional architecture of 'Celtic Tiger suburbia'.[11] A dysfunctional banking sector coupled with unregulated property development led to the crash of 2007–2010: these properties fell into negative equity with many people losing their homes due to unsustainable mortgage payments and a fall in living standards with many driven into homelessness.

[...] *with the first glimpse of the building, a sense of insufferable gloom pervaded my spirit.*[12]

Poe's protagonist in *The Fall of the House of Usher* hints at the underpinnings of doom within his tale. The house as haunted as the characters within is familiar lore, but for me, what is most tragic of all is that the modern day ghost estates of contemporary post-economic-crash Ireland will never have ghosts, for they will never be lived in, or worse, their inhabitants will be forced out in a kind of act of re-*possession*. It was here then that I turned my artistic lens (Figure 2). My performative works have always demanded a physical commitment of perseverance and focus. To this end, repetition of the same gesture or action has been a comment on the banality of lived experience, on the human condition, and a way of activating conversation about the role of the gendered body.

Creating the piece *Levitating*[13] (Figure 3) in 2007, I spent seven days jumping while trying to complete my domestic chores. This was a performance-to-camera, shot over thousands of moments where I was captured in suspended animation. My jumping around while completing the endless routines of domestic life – cutting the grass, vacuuming, mopping, dusting, shopping, putting out the bins –was captured in 14,800 photographs.[14] The moment of capture is the midway jump, 24 jumps creates one second of footage. The action appears effortless, but is a visual fiction, and the moving image tells only half of the tale; time is bent, as is matter and space, and the physics are altered to make an alternative fact. Truth be told, I initially shot the whole film while wearing my 'normal' gothic costume, and realised post-shoot that I had lost an authenticity to the image and I had failed to see that the gothic costume was taking away from the very idea that this protagonist could be any one of hundreds of other women living in the estate and ascribed the exact same role. So I took it upon myself to reshoot the entire film, changing the costume so that it reflected a more normal, everyday uniform for a contemporary woman. The work has two audiences: the one that views the film, and the community who saw me undertake a ridiculous ritual of jumping for seven days. I feel the work says more about contemporary gothic than the cliched idea of kitsch gothic, in that it is not obvious that the protagonist is the true self. But it is the true Irish woman: a familiar character – someone trying to do it all and strive for perfection in

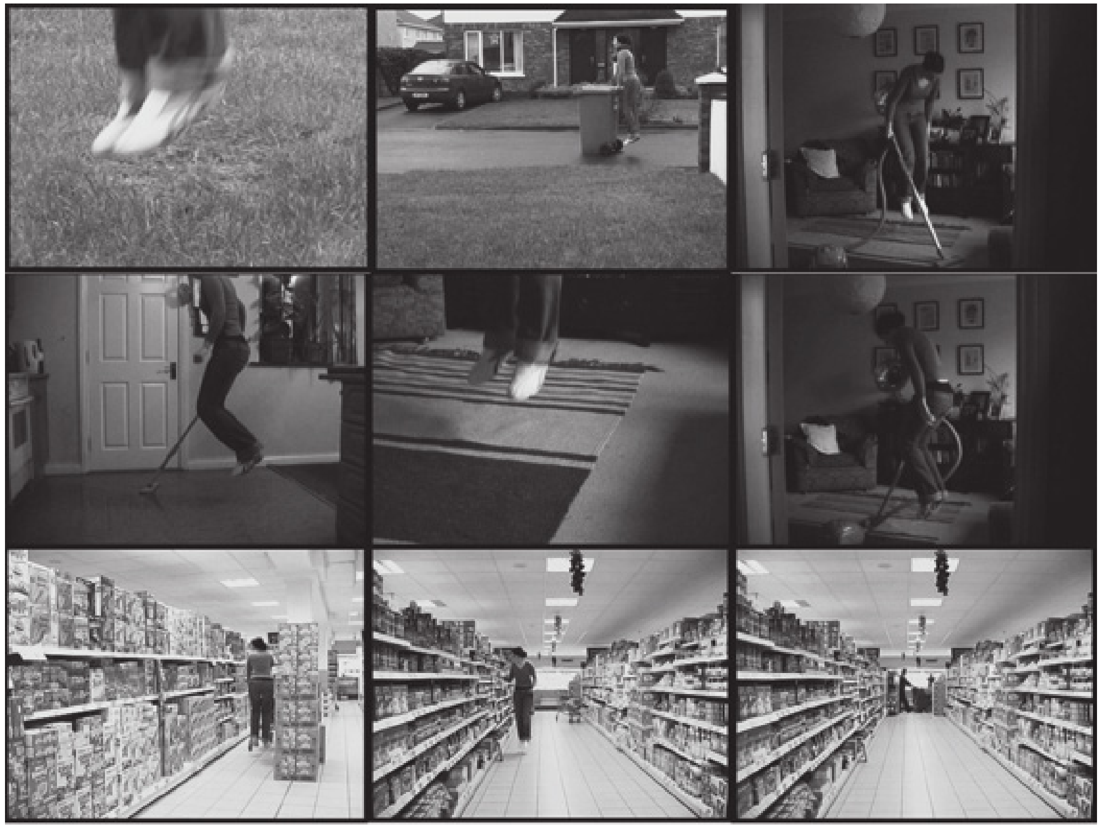

Figure 3. *Levitating.* Stills from performative single channel video, 2007. Sound composition played by Cathal Murphy.

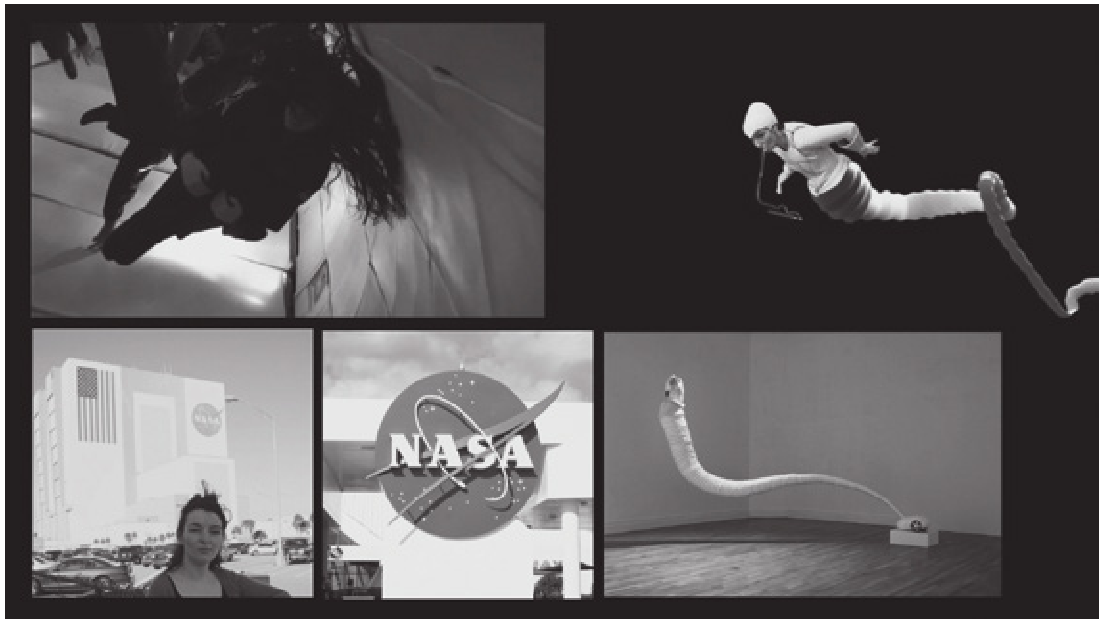

Figure 4. *Vacuuming in a Vacuum.* Images from the residency at NASA's Kennedy Space Centre as well as images of parabolic flight training and stills from the performative film *Vacuuming in a Vacuum.* Stills of parabolic flight courtesy of the artist and Chris Hurley of Cork Film Centre, 2008. © www.aideenbarry.com

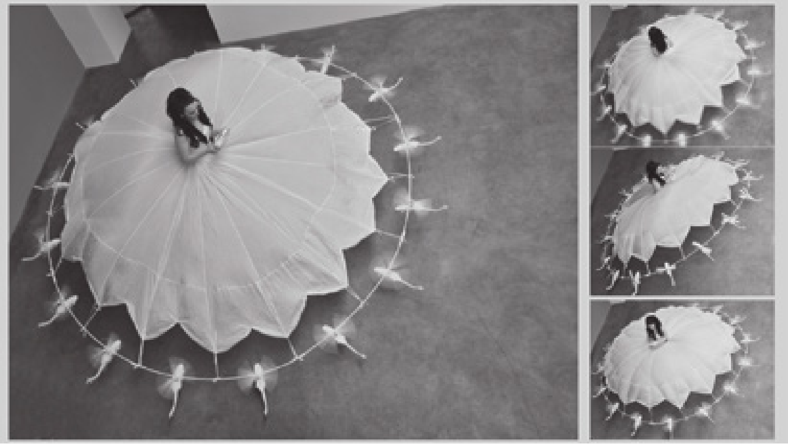

Figure 5. *Flight Folly.* Performance, 2010, Liste Art Fair, Art Basel and 2011, Mothers Tankstation (pictured). Image courtesy of the artist and Mothers Tankstation. © www.aideenbarry.com

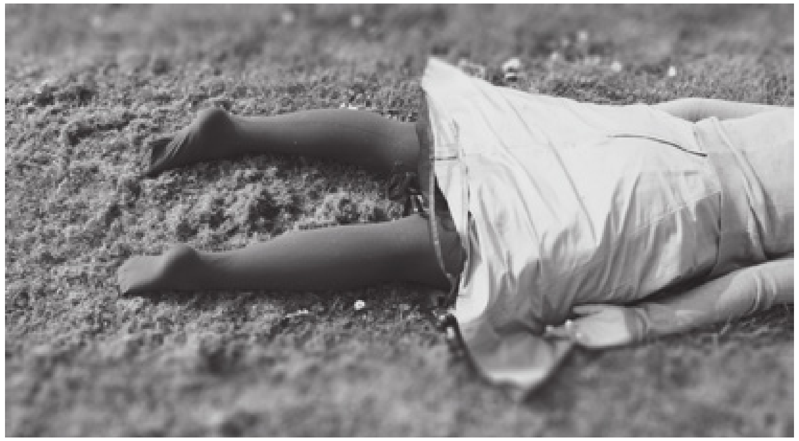

Figure 6. *Possession.* Performative film, single channel with sound, 2011. © www.aideenbarry.com

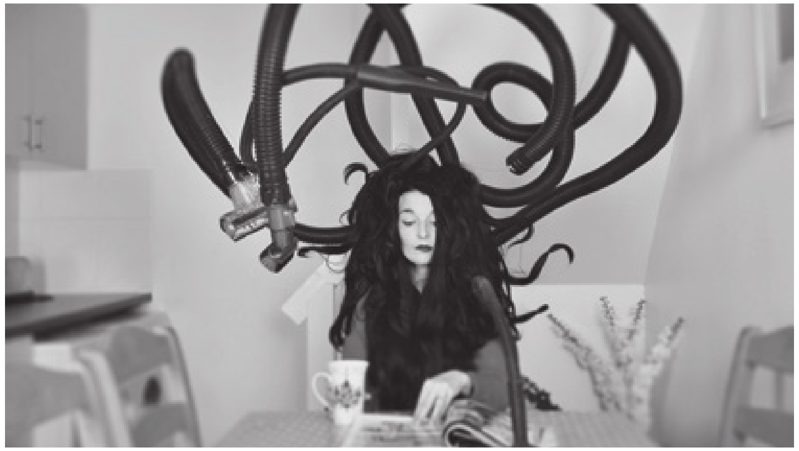

Figure 7. *Not to be known of Named.* Performative film, single channel with sound, 2015, originally commissioned by the Arts&Heritage trust in the UK for the Gallery of Wonder touring public art project, 2015. © www.aideenbarry.com

all, when in reality the task is almost too great to accomplish. The protagonist is familiar to us but upon examination, her actions are bizarre. How does she float so effortlessly, how is this even possible? There is dysfunction to her function.

Vacuum: Defying Limitations

Following the creation of this work, I wanted to examine other figures who have bucked against the accepted role of women in the Irish home, who have challenged these gravitational pulls while simultaneously being written out of history. To this end I need to introduce my first cousin Breda O'Callaghan-Hay. Breda used to babysit me as a young child, taking me on day trips to the physics department and through her university, a little pocket-money earner, while she studied experimental physics at University College Cork in the mid-1980s. These day trips, probably incidental to her, were key in formalising my perception of what could be possible as a young woman, and Breda was instrumental in giving me this view of challenging perceived norms. Following her completion of BSc and MSc degrees, Breda left for Southern California, volunteered with the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, went on to a NASA outreach programme which emerged after Reagan's investment in and aspiration for a Strategic Defence Initiative,[15] and then later to NASA with the hope of being the first Irish astronaut, and potentially the first Irish person in space.[16] She was shortlisted a number of times for projects through her work with XonTech where she currently works on weapons guidance systems, though largely she and her work have gone unnoticed nationally. In 2008 I wrote a proposal to the Arts Council of Ireland to 'Help me beat my cousin in the race for space.'[17] Proposing a new ideological cold war in a Bush-era world, it was an attempt to get my cousin recognised for her achievements, using humour as a way of activating a discussion around the role of women in modern Ireland, and my own popular-culture references to Reagan and space militarisation, while also supporting a research residency at NASA's Kennedy Space Centre and experiencing zero gravity, taking my work *Levitating* to the next level.

The project, drawing attention to the idea of a type of amnesia that appears to afflict successful women in contemporary society, also proposed a series of moving image works that projected a kind of future horror where women have evolved into solely domesticated objects. A new, modern 'Frankenstein's monster', half human, half hoover, was created, proposing a new 'modern Prometheus'[18] and referencing Shelley and the great Irish writer Flann O'Brien's *Third Policeman* through use of a protagonist who had become a hybrid chimera of woman and machine. I shot a number of moving image works such as *Vacuuming in a Vacuum* (Figure 4) in which a floating figure, half human, snail-like – a parasitic creature – floats and sucks, floats and sucks; her surrounding architecture is not determined and the film, when it is projected, just shows a figure moving around the architecture of the gallery or museum, defying the physics of these spaces.

Popping Up

Slapstick humour is a device I use as a means of activating subject matter that borders on difficult and often dark themes: mental illness, depression, gender disparity and abuse. There is an importance to this Beckettian approach involving exaggerated physical activity which exceeds the boundaries of normal, it acts as a metaphorical antidepressant, causing the audience to experience, in a kind of paradoxical fashion, repulsion and attraction in equal measure.

I can't go on, I'll go on.[19]

The performative work *Flight Folly* (Figure 5) for example, was initially proposed as a question: 'how many remote-control helicopters would it take to lift an artist off the ground?' This became a kind of comment on the idea of 'remote control', as a way of coping with daily news reports of drone bombings in the Middle East. The news was nearly too much, so I wanted to make a work which would make the viewer laugh out loud at the sheer absurdity of the action, so that it would be a 'folly', that the action in itself could potentially cause me injury, that it would be a '*spectacular* failure': a reminder that one never truly has control no matter how much one professes to. As well, the design of the dress is a kind of absurdist parody: made of parachute silk and combined with the iconic Marilyn Monroe costume of the infamous *Seven Year Itch*[20] scene, I tried to take a sledgehammer to the objectification of Monroe as desire-prop while simultaneously making a kind of comment on the context of the site as world stage. *Flight Folly* was specially commissioned for the Liste Art Fair, part of Art Basel in Switzerland. The architecture of the 'art fair' has itself evolved out of the historical tradition of 'world's fairs' whereby the world was temporarily displayed during a 'pop-up' exposition. These world's fairs marked the launch of significant movements in art and science and were often the debut locations for demonstrations in flight such as the Wright Brothers early flying machines at the New York World's Fair. A world stage is the most opportune time to bring up issues of world importance, even if humour and whimsy are the conduits causing a public to interrogate large world issues. Brokering the creation of these works often means you have to engage with a non-art public to get information as to how to create works. When creating this piece I had to consult a community of aerosexuals,[21] with whom I first discussed the physics of how to make a work entirely out of remote-control toys that would effectively lift me off the ground.

Following *Flight Folly* I made the film *Possession* (Figure 6). There was an authenticity to making the whole thing work. I had to be 'possessed' to undertake such laborious and ridiculous images and scenarios: baking for days, the pretence of a remote-control garage door that cuts your fresh bread every morning, using an oven to get a bronze tan... There was a method to the madness, and it added an authenticity to the action. So too with *Not to be Known* (Figure 7) which was shot using the same process. It also requires me to be both in front of and behind the camera, often simultaneously. Sometimes this is possible using a series of remote controls and sometimes it requires assistance, but the commitment to be performer, director, cinematographer, editor and post-producer means that you have control of the scenario and ensures that, as I age, the lens is capturing how the landscape of my self is changing and being affected by time, gravity, matter and context.

A recurring trope in the work is the relationship between the body as object and the body as site. This is, of course, an attempt to reference the unseen effect that enshrining a woman within a house/object role[22] has upon the psyche. The way the work is mediated is also very important. Often this will involve considering how the work meets the audience or public. In my recent solo survey *Brittlefield* (Figure 8) at the Royal Hibernian Academy and solo show at the Irish Museum of Modern Art, I created a massive architecturally ambitious installation that engulfed the viewer within a field of monumental objects meant for an audience of one. *Brittlefield* was made up of eleven 14-foot-tall 'shards' that contained moving image works. To view the works, viewers had to involuntarily consent to placing their heads into the object fit for an audience of one. Each viewer temporarily became part object, part human, while engaged in this intimate setup. Irrespective of gender one was encased in this space – in this architecture – and became part prop. If slapstick manifests as a form, then *Brittlefield* was my way of playing into the idea of a space of claustrophobic anxiety. The works are heterotopic[23] – existing simultaneously in the constructed physical and in the metaphorical virtual space.

Oblivion and the Fight to Retain Our Ghosts

It is the unknown that is quite terrible. What is worse is when the unknown is a creature of our own making. What happens if what we think is true and certain is actually a falsehood and one created as an alternative fact? The issue is that 'truth' is fluid and sometimes quite brittle. If contemporary females are being written out of the 'canon' what of those historically who have been erased, or made invisible by the indifference of historical authors. In 2014 I tried to rectify this wrong with the EU public art commission *Changing Tracks*.[24] The project spanned three countries: Ireland, the UK and Catalonia, Spain, marking the sites of three former railway lines that were lying redundant but with potential to be turned into civic amenities. I was one of three artists selected as a part of this international project to respond these locations of historical significance. Some years previously I had acquired a rare book entitled *Hints to Lady Travellers*[25] by the obscure author and academic Lillias Campbell-Davidson who was ahead of her time in thinking about how infrastructure, architecture and modern-day inventions would lead to the emancipation of women. In her seminal book, she rebukes the idea of a 'chaperone' and patriarchal notions of women needing companionship or guardianship for an encouraged independent view of travelling. Though the book is filled with practical guides to booking apartments, etc., the are some brilliant but absurdist ideas that are ripe for artistic response. There is advice on how to remove air pollution from one's eyeball using a fish bone, or how to bathe on a moving train, with step by step instructions for turning your domestic bathtub into a suitcase, then emptying the contents of the 'suitcase-cum-bathtub' then stripping off on the train and bathing in the carriage.

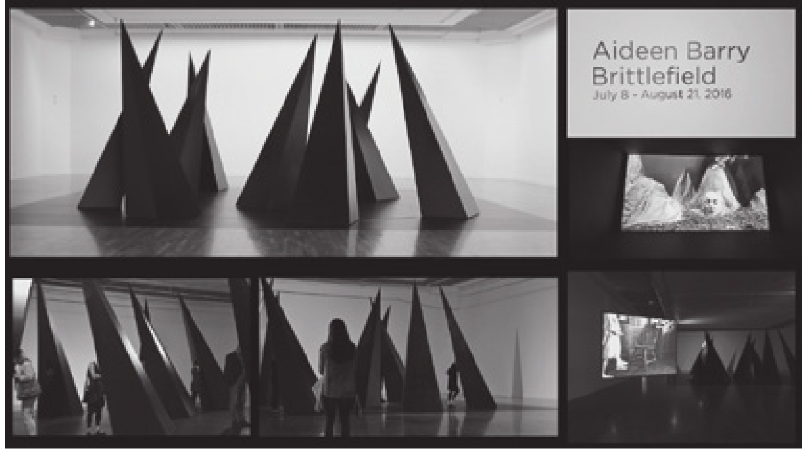

Figure 8. *Brittlefield.* A series of large-scale architectural and sculptural objects protruding from the floor of the Royal Hibernian Academy, with images of various performative films, single channel with sound, in large scale projection (*Possession* pictured) and within the shards, *Meditations on being Volcanic*, 2016, as a part of the artist's solo survey and shows at the RHA and the Irish Museum of Modern Art, 2016. © www.aideenbarry.com

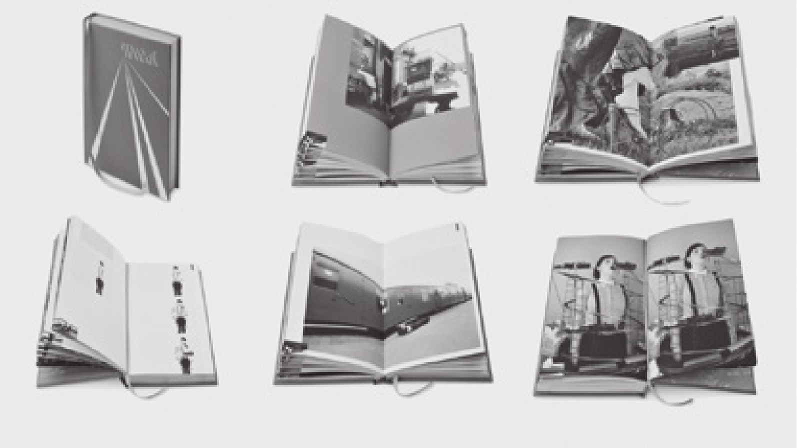

Figure 9. *Strange Terrain.* A. Barry, S. Reisman, C. Kotik, and R. Walser. Dublin: Oonagh Young Gallery, 2014, ISBN:978-0-9929641-08. For www.CHANGINGTRACKS.eu, the EU public art commission, 2014–2015. © www.aideenbarry.com

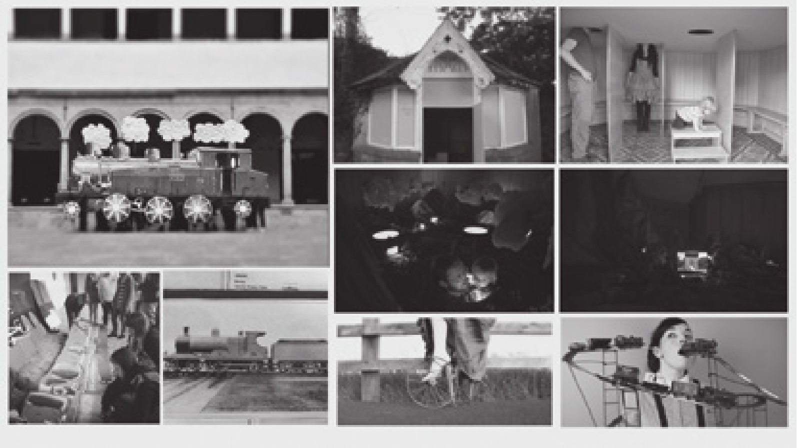

Figure 10. Train, *Strange Terrain*. Images of the workshops and young women engaging in the creation of the large-scale 30-foot-long cardboard train with moving parts, and images of the installation adjacent to the Achill-to-Westport line in Mayo, Ireland. For www.CHANGINGTRACKS.eu, the EU public art commission, 2014–2015. © www.aideenbarry.com

In reality her contribution to women's suffrage has largely been written out of the canon of history. Lillias Campbell-Davidson set up the world's first international women's cycling association, and became a leading economist. She largely believed that the bicycle and the train were modes of emancipation and it was her role to bring these modes of suffrage to the masses, hinting that women need to take up travel in order to escape the confines of domesticity and lifelong servitude.

The lives of women have been unnaturally cramped and contracted within doors [...][26]

Though her book was written in 1889, its significance nearly 120 years on proves to be of great importance, so my project for this EU public art commission sought to acknowledge her, to bring her back from the past and to emulate her spirit as a way of discussing 'amnesia' and challenging perceived gender roles in the contemporary world. Cycling also helped radicalise the female wardrobe, with skirts and dresses being swapped for pantaloons and more freeing attire. This all became the impetus to make a series of works that responded to the hidden history of this extraordinary woman while engaging with communities in a collaborative approach to activating untold stories and lost narratives unique to the locations of the Westport-to-Achill railway in Mayo, Ireland, the Olot-to-Girona line in Spain, and the Great Northern line in Northamptonshire, in the UK – all three lines having been established in and around the time that Campbell-Davidson wrote her seminal text.

In each country I engaged with marginalised communities to activate some of the hidden narratives surrounding the history of the former and now defunct lines. Many parts of the infrastructure along all three lines had become redundant spaces and it was important to broker access to architectural gems in order to temporarily intervene with installations. As the initial premise for the project had been a book, I used the mode of a printed text as a catalyst for activating the sites. I set about revisiting the tone of *Hints to Lady Travellers*, using over 10–14 locations in each country, each a chapter in my *Strange Terrain*[27] (Figure 9). Each 'advice' chapter was about negotiating the new function of these now greenways: roller-skating, travelling by suitcase, lost luggage, bathing. This book was gifted to all public libraries in the three countries; it was also hidden in *geocaches*[28] all over the lines of Catalonia, Northampton and rural Mayo. The actions were all created with the collaboration of community groups throughout the three locations. In Ireland I worked with secondary schoolgirls (15–17 years old) who were direct descendants of the people who lived and worked on the Island of Achill; their families either worked on the former line or used it, but they had never seen it in their lifetime. It was important to work with young women as a way of inspiring discourse about the relevance of Campbell-Davidson's text in the contemporary world, and about feminist theory and its relevance to their generation. I got access to photographic records from a group of volunteer archivists working at Heuston Station in Dublin. Building on these relationships with community groups was key to activating forgotten histories and for 'restaging' elements of what locals believe to be popular myths, but were actually historical facts. We built a full-scale cardboard model of the steam train that derailed at Mulranny and used over 30 young women and local volunteers to restage. Also, thousands of photographs were used to make a large-scale stop-motion video (Figure 10). All the works were then presented in beautiful architectural structures that had fallen into disrepair. Working with a local 'men's-shed'[29] group in Mayo, we converted a former water tower in one location and a chapel in another into temporary video installation spaces.

In Northamptonshire I came across a number of extraordinary voluntary groups who had fundraised in order to buy up sections of the Nene Valley line as a way of staving off erasure and amnesia. In Rushden, the Rushden Historical Transport Society (RHTS) acquired a former station and converted part of it into a functioning museum and part pub. They used all profits from the pub to acquire more and more line, railway engines and carriages to run charity events and demonstrations for the public. They were in the process of fundraising towards making a bid to acquire the former Railway Goods Shed, a 4,000 square metre industrial shed, in the hopes of turning it into a space of 'hybridity': part cultural space, part community hall, but were up against a conservative council who wished to sell it to private developers for demolition and redevelopment. I brokered temporary use of the shed for a large-scale installation of my UK leg of the project. An installation of three large 14-foot screens showing the three-channel projection (Figure 11) was made available to the public over

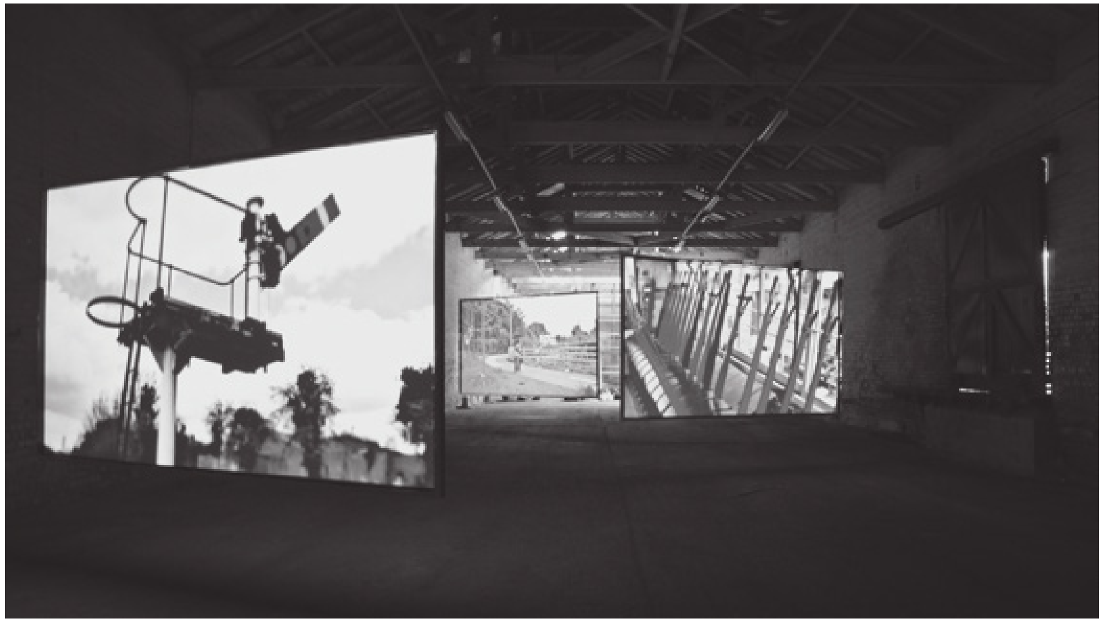

Figure 11. *Strange Terrain*. Three channel video installation with surround sound, in the 4,000-square-metre Goods Shed in Rushden, Northamptonshire, UK. The Goods Shed has recently been acquired by the Rushden Historical Transport Society following a concerted effort by the artist and the community she worked with. For www.CHANGINGTRACKS.eu, the EU public art commission, 2014–2015. © www.aideenbarry.com

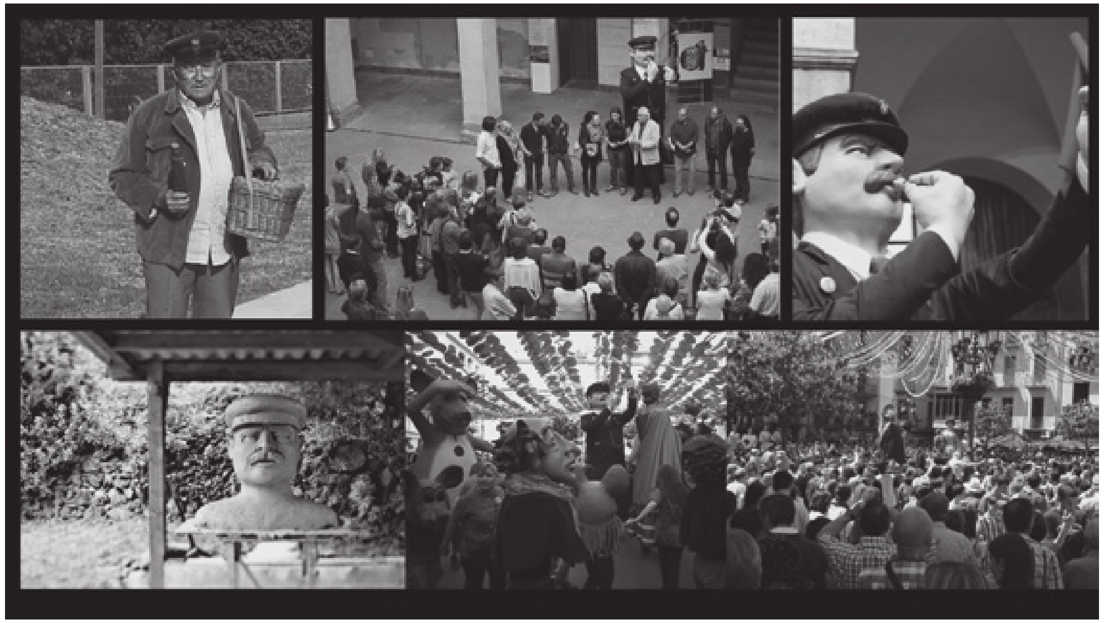

Figure 12. *Giant, Strange Terrain*, images of the immortalisation of the last living train driver on the Olot-to-Girona line, Pedro Casals Mirangelo, who will come out every year during the Festival of Giants. For www.CHANGINGTRACKS.eu, the EU public art commission 2014–2015. © www.aideenbarry.com

the course of the 2014 summer. The very activation of this site for civic purposes drew massive crowds and inspired the council to meet with the RHTS community, paving the way for a purchase agreement in 2017,[30] preventing this architectural gem from facing the wrath of the demolition ball and oblivion.

This fight to prevent 'amnesia', to keep the 'ghost' in our haunted sites, can only be achieved with the support of communities. For artists such support is key to engaging non-art audiences while using visual art as a 'hammer' to shape the world.[31] It is important that art democratises and activates conversation about retaining culture and its role in supporting a healthy society. Finally, in the *Changing Tracks* EU project, I wished to ingrain the history of the Olot-to-Girona line with long established traditions. The Festival of Giants[32] which runs every September in Catalonia, was the most opportune place to intervene. Working with the Friends of the Train Society in Olot and the 'giant' restorers of the Museum la Garrotxa[33] I immortalised the last living train driver, Pedro Casals Mirangelo, with a 17-foot-tall giant (Figure 12) that I have donated to the society on condition that he comes out every year in Olot to dance with the oldest giants of Catalonia. This was a collaborative work created with the aid of many organisations, students and voluntary groups ensuring that the legacy of a hidden history is not erased but immortalised in a new tradition for years to come.

The unseen is the most important issue to address. By activating untold histories and revisiting gaps in the living landscape of knowledge we can address imbalances in the way history is solidified. In working with communities – of others, of marginalised groups, of volunteer gatekeepers of untold knowledge – an ability to address these voids in accepted truth will go a long way to rectify imbalance and othering. To return to the Gothic, it is important to hold on to our ghosts; to lose them is to lose something important of ourselves. It is important to possess and to be possessed, and it is important to embrace existing forms of ritual and knowledge transfer as conveyers of this history; as ways of preserving architecture, traditions and culture. As an artist I am keenly aware that my practice can be an activator, and that by using humour and the absurd I can touch on these, at times, difficult subjects to trigger discourse and conversations about imbalance, helping prevent the most horrifying issue of historical erasure.

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Aideen Barry

Studio Aideen Barry

Aideen Barry is a visual artist based in Ireland. She has shown projects in museums and galleries such as Mothers Tankstation, the Irish Museum of Modern Art, Louise T. Bloudin Gallery in London, Moderne Mussett in Sweden, the Loop Biennale in Spain, the Wexner Centre in Ohio, the Royal Hibernian Academy, the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lyon, the Crawford Municipal Gallery, the Butler Gallery, the Banff Centre in Canada, the Headlands Centre for the Arts in San Francisco, Liste Art Fair in Basel Switzerland, BAC Geneva, Arco Art Fair in Spain and the Catherine Clark Gallery. Barry has received numerous awards including the Culture Ireland Award (2018), the Vermont Studio Centre Fellowship Award (2017), Project New Work Awards from the Arts Council of Ireland (2008, 2009, 2010, 2018), Arts Council of Ireland Bursary Awards (2011, 2013, 2015, 2017), the Modern Ireland in 100 Art Works Award, the Silent Light Film Award, Travel and Training Awards from the Arts Council of Ireland, and in 2010 was shortlisted for the prestigious AIB Prize. In 2014 she was commissioned by the European Union Culture Fund to create a number of temporary public art projects in the UK, Ireland and Catalonia, Spain as a part of the www.CHANGINGTRACKS.eu projects, and by the Arts & Heritage Trust UK in 2015. Barry is a lecturer in fine arts at the Limerick School of Art & Design, Limerick Institute of Technology.

Camilla Borghese

Centro Studi Mafai Raphael

Camilla Borghese is an architectural photographer who lives in Rome where she was born in 1977. In 2005 she obtained a master's degree in conservation of artistic heritage from Ca' Foscari University in Venice, Italy. Her interest in photography started in early 2000 and turned into a professional activity working in Andrea Jemolo's studio. In 2007 she started a freelance career. Her arts-based research is closely linked to her passion for architectural photography. She exhibits her artwork in national and international public spaces, galleries and art fairs.

Mark Crinson

Birkbeck University of London

Mark Crinson is a professor of architectural history at Birkbeck (University of London) where he also directs the Architecture Space and Society Centre. His recent books include *Alison and Peter Smithson* (2018) and *Rebuilding Babel: Modern Architecture and Internationalism* (2017). He is currently working on a book-length study of Manchester as the 'shock city' of the industrial revolution, as well as a study (with Richard J. Williams) titled *The Architecture of Art History – A Historiography* (2018).

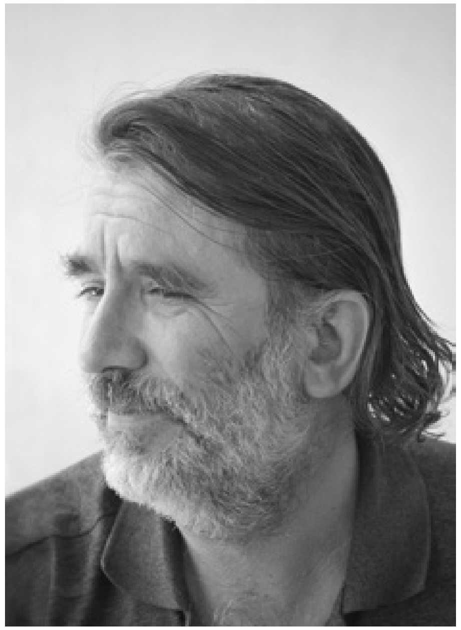
Serena De Dominicis

Centro Studi Mafai Raphael

Serena De Dominicis is an art historian and independent art critic. In 2016 she received a PhD in art history jointly from Toulouse Jean Jaurès University and the University of Rome Tor Vergata. Her thesis examines the relationship between contemporary art and degrowth theory. In seminars and conferences, she presented her research on women's issues during the interwar period, specifically during the 1930s, and on growth and degrowth concepts in the art of the 21st century. De Dominicis was an editor of the magazine *Arte e Critica* (2002–2010). Currently she is collaborating with Centro Studi Mafai Raphaël in Rome. She has published several articles on Antonietta Raphaël Mafai, contributed to her catalogues, and is the author of a monograph on her art.

Fernando Espinosa de los Monteros Rosillo

Espinosa de los Monteros
& Arquitectos Asociados



Architect Fernando Espinosa de los Monteros Rosillo established his own practice in 1983 and has worked on projects in Spain, the EU, America and the Middle East. His work includes all aspects of residential, office, commercial and public service projects, from architectural concept to interior, landscape and urban design. He has participated in important interventions concerning Spanish heritage, lectured at universities, and authored numerous articles regarding architectural heritage and housing development in Europe. His award-winning projects include the rehabilitation of 'Viana Palace' in Madrid as a new headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the restoration of Argentina College in the University City of Madrid, the Alcobendas Police Station, and the Scientific Institute at the University of Huelva. For nine years he has been vice-president of ISC20C (the International Scientific Committee for the 20th Century Heritage of ICOMOS) and President of AEPPAS20 (the Spanish Association for the Preservation of the 20th Century Architectural Heritage).

Edward Denison

The Bartlett School of Architecture (UCL)

Dr. Edward Denison is a lecturer at The Bartlett School of Architecture (UCL), where he is also Director of the MA Architecture and Historic Urban Environments. His research focuses on modernism, especially outside Western Europe. Over the past two decades, he has worked on a variety of research and heritage projects in different global contexts, including Asia, Africa and Europe. In 2016, he won the RIBA President's Medal for Research for his work on the UNESCO World Heritage Nomination of Asmara, the modernist capital of Eritrea. In 2017, he again won the President's Medal for Research for his work on Ultra-Modernism in Manchuria. His publications include *Architecture and the Landscape of Modernity in China before 1949* (2017); *Ultra-Modernism – Architecture and Modernity in Manchuria* (2017); *Luke Him Sau, Architect: China's Missing Modern (2014); The Life of the British Home – An Architectural History* (2012); *McMorran & Whitby* (2009); *Modernism in China: Architectural Visions and Revolutions* (2008); *Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway* (2006); and *Asmara – Africa's Secret Modernist City* (2003).

Sharon Golan Yaron

The White City Center, Tel Aviv

Sharon Golan Yaron is the program director of the White City Center, a contemporary urban center devoted to the UNESCO-listed Bauhaus Ensemble in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. She studied architecture at the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) in Chicago as well as the Technical University (TU) in Berlin and completed a second MA in historical preservation at the Technical University in Haifa (Technion). From 2009 to 2015, she was a leading architect of the Tel Aviv-Yafa Conservation Department, specialising in the refurbishment of international-style buildings, conducting historical research on registered buildings, supervising heritage conservation on site, and implementing the urban rehabilitation plan of listed buildings. As part of her work for the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Ms. Golan Yaron co-founded the establishment of the White City Center at the Max Liebling House.

Vendula Hnídková

Czech Aademy of Sciences

Since 2005 Vendula Hnídková has worked as a researcher in the Institute of Art History at the Czech Academy of Sciences, and in 2017-2018 as an assistant professor at the Academy of Arts, Architecture and Design in Prague. In 2018 she received a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowship for research at the University of Birmingham. Her research focuses on the history and historiography of modern architecture in the 20th century and its social, political and economic context, especially in Central Europe. Publications by Hnídková include *Moscow 1937: Architecture and Propaganda from the Western Perspective* (2018) and *National Style: Arts and Politics* (2013). She is currently working on the project *Idea, Ideal, Idyll: Garden Cities in Central Europe 1890s–1930s.*

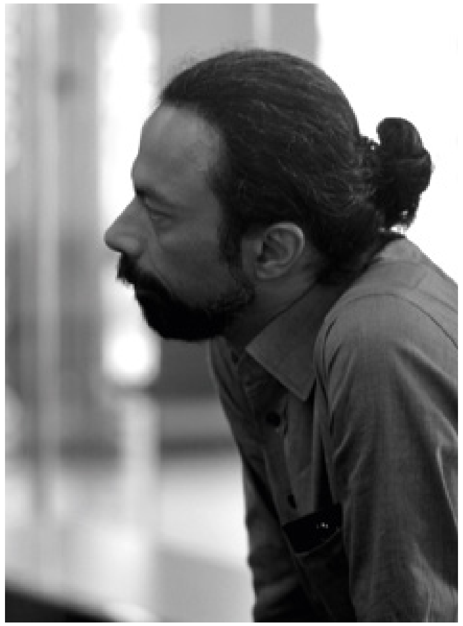
Karīna Horsta

Latvian Academy of Arts

Karīna Horsta is an art historian. She works as a research assistant in the Institute of Art History at the Latvian Academy of Art. She obtained BA (2014) and MA (2016) degrees in art history from the Latvian Academy of Art. Since 2016 Horsta has been a PhD student at the Latvian Academy of Art (the subject of her doctoral dissertation is architect Ernests Štālbergs, 1883–1958). She has received the Boris Vipper Honorary Scholarship for research activities (2014, 2016), the Nikolajs Bulmanis Memorial Scholarship (2015) and the annual award of the journal Latvijas Arhitektūra as "Best reviewer of history" (2014). Horsta's main field of scholarly interest is 20th century architecture in Latvia. Recently she published the monograph *Sanatorium Architecture in Latvia: 1918–1940* (2018).

Bilge İmamoğlu

TED University Ankara



Bilge İmamoğlu received a BArch in 2000 and an MA in Architectural History in 2003, both from METU in Ankara. He was a research assistant in the Department of Architecture at METU until 2007 when he moved his doctoral research to TU Delft in the Netherlands where he obtained a PhD from the Institute of History of Art, Architecture and Urbanism in 2010. He has been an assistant professor in the Department of Architecture at TEDU in Ankara since 2012.

Mart Kalm

Estonian Academy of Arts

Architectural historian and critic Dr. Mart Kalm is the Rector of the Estonian Academy of Arts in Tallinn. He has authored books about architects such as *Alar Kotli* (1994) and *Olev Siinmaa* (2012), as well as *Estonian Functionalism: A Guidebook (1998)* and *Estonian 20th Century Architecture (2001)* among others. Professor Kalm was the editor and one of the main authors of *History of Estonian Art: Vol. 5, 1900–1940 (2010)*. Kalm co-chaired the Estonian delegation of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee from 2010 to 2013. In 2010 he was elected a member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Partha Mitter

University of Sussex

Professor Partha Mitter, Hon. D. Lit. (London University) is a professor emeritus at Sussex University, a member of Wolfson College, Oxford, and an honorary fellow of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. He has received fellowships from Clare Hall, Cambridge, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, the Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. His publications include *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (1977), *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India 1850–1922* (1994) and *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922–1947* (2007).

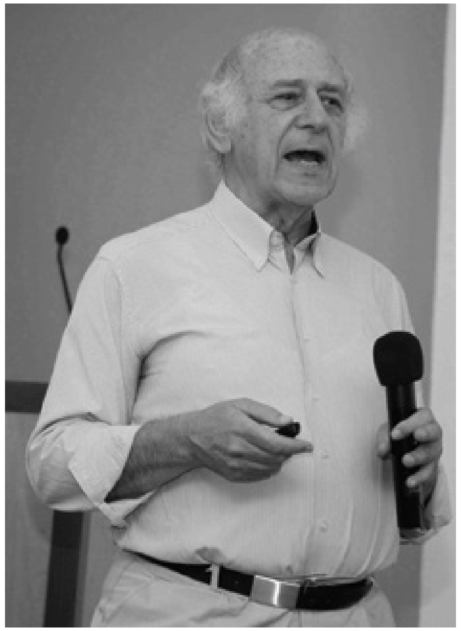
Matthew Rampley

University of Birmingham

Matthew Rampley is chair of art history in the Department of Art History, Curating and Visual Studies at the University of Birmingham. His main teaching and research interests are in contemporary art, art criticism and theory, as well as the art and architecture of Central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. Prof. Rampley is currently working on two particular projects: (1) museums and cultural politics in the later Habsburg Empire; (2) the relationship between art theory and the biological sciences. His recent publications include *The Seductions of Darwin: Art, Evolution and Neuroscience* (2017), *The Vienna School of Art History* (2013) and the edited volumes *Heritage, Ideology and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe (2012) and Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks* (2012).

Michael Turner

Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem



Professor Michael Turner is a practicing architect and the UNESCO Chair in Urban Design and Conservation Studies at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem with research encompassing urban sustainability, heritage, social inclusion and urban spaces. Engaged in activities at UNESCO for over two decades, he is currently special envoy to the World Heritage Centre Director focusing on the Culture for Sustainable Development initiative and urban heritage, and has supported the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape since its inception. He was a contributor to the UNESCO Global Report to UNHabitat III and is an advocate of the UNISDR Resilient Cities Programme.

Ines Weizman

Bauhaus Universität Weimar

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Professor Ines Weizman is the director of the Bauhaus-Institute for History and Theory of Architecture and Planning at the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar and founding-director of the Centre for Documentary Architecture (CDA). Among her numerous publications and exhibitions are the installation *Repeat Yourself: Loos, Law and the Culture of the Copy* presented at the 2012 Venice Architecture Biennale, her edited book *Architecture and the Paradox of Dissidence* (Routledge, 2014) and *Before and After: Documenting the Architecture of Disaster,* written with Eyal Weizman (Strelka Press, 2014). In 2019 she will publish the edited book *Dust & Data: Traces of the Bauhaus across 100 Years*.

Michał Wiśniewski

International Cultural
Centre in Krakow

Dr. Michał Wiśniewski is a Krakow-based architectural historian interested in the connections between modern architecture and politics in Central Europe during the 20th century. He works at the International Culture Centre and the Krakow University of Economics. Dr. Wiśniewski is the author of many scientific and popular papers dedicated to architectural history, a curator of architecture exhibitions, and a member of the board of the Institute of Architecture Foundation.

Curators

Marija Drėmaitė

Vilnius University

Marija Drėmaitė is a professor in the Department of Theory of History and Cultural History at Vilnius University. She holds a PhD in history of architecture (2006). Her research is focused on 20th century architecture, modernism, and industrial heritage. Her publications include *Baltic Modernism: Architecture and Housing in Soviet Lithuania* (Dom publishers, 2017) and the edited *Architecture of Optimism: The Kaunas Phenomenon, 1918–1940* (Lapas, 2018) which accompanies an eponymous exhibition.

Giedrė Jankevičiūtė

Lithuanian Institute for
Culture Research /
Vilnius Academy of Arts

Giedrė Jankevičiūtė is the leading research fellow in the Art History and Visual Culture Department at the Lithuanian Institute for Culture Research, and a professor of art history at the Vilnius Academy of Arts. Her main teaching and research interests are the art history and historiography of Central Europe, mainly Lithuania, of the late 19th and 20th centuries. Prof. Jankevičiūtė is currently working on a monograph about Lithuanian art and visual culture during WWII. Her recent publications include the catalogue *Okupacijos realijos. Pirmojo ir Antrojo pasaulinių karų Lietuvos plakatai / The Reality of Occupation: the Poster in Lithuania during WWI and WWII* (with Laima Laučkaitė, 2014) and the edited volumes *The Art of Identity and Memory: Toward a Cultural History of the Two World Wars in Lithuania* (with Rasa Žukienė; 2016) and *Dailės istorikas ir kritikas Mikalojus Vorobjovas, 1903–1954* (2017). Working with a team of colleagues, she also took part in two projects about Lithuanian modern and contemporary design and Kaunas' interwar architecture, curating exhibitions and writing chapters for their catalogues.

Viltė Migonytė-Petrulienė

Kaunas – European Capital
of Culture 2022

Architectural historian Dr. Viltė Migonytė-Petrulienė is the regional partnership curator for Kaunas – European Capital of Culture 2022. In 2016 she defended her dissertation *Lithuanian Resort Architecture Between WWI and WWII (1918–1940) as a Phenomenon of Modernizing Society* and has published scientific and popular articles as well as conference presentations about the history and heritage of modern Lithuanian resort architecture. She teaches in the Cultural Industries program at Vytautas Magnus University (VMU), worked previously as a curator at the Kaunas Photography Gallery and at VMU's Gallery 101, and was the head of the VMU Arts Centre. Dr. Migonytė-Petrulienė is currently involved as a curator and co-curator in different local and European projects related to riverside and cultural tourism such as the STAR Cities Interreg Europe project.

Vaidas Petrulis

Kaunas – European Capital
of Culture 2022
Kaunas University of Technology

Vaidas Petrulis is a senior researcher in the Institute of Architecture and Construction at the Kaunas University of Technology. He is co-author of *Architectural Heritage of the Interwar Period in Lithuania: The Combination of Tangibility and Intangibility* (2015) and *Architecture in Soviet Lithuania* (2012). Since 2009 Petrulis has developed a digital internet archive of architectural heritage (www.autc.lt). He is a member of ISC20C (the International Scientific Committee for the 20th Century Heritage of ICOMOS) and a member of the governing board of JPI Cultural Heritage: A Challenge for Europe. Petrulis is curator of the platform 'Modernism for the Future' for the program of Kaunas – European Capital of Culture 2022. He heads the team preparing the UNESCO WHL dossier 'Kaunas 1919–1939: The Capital Inspired by the Modern Movement.'

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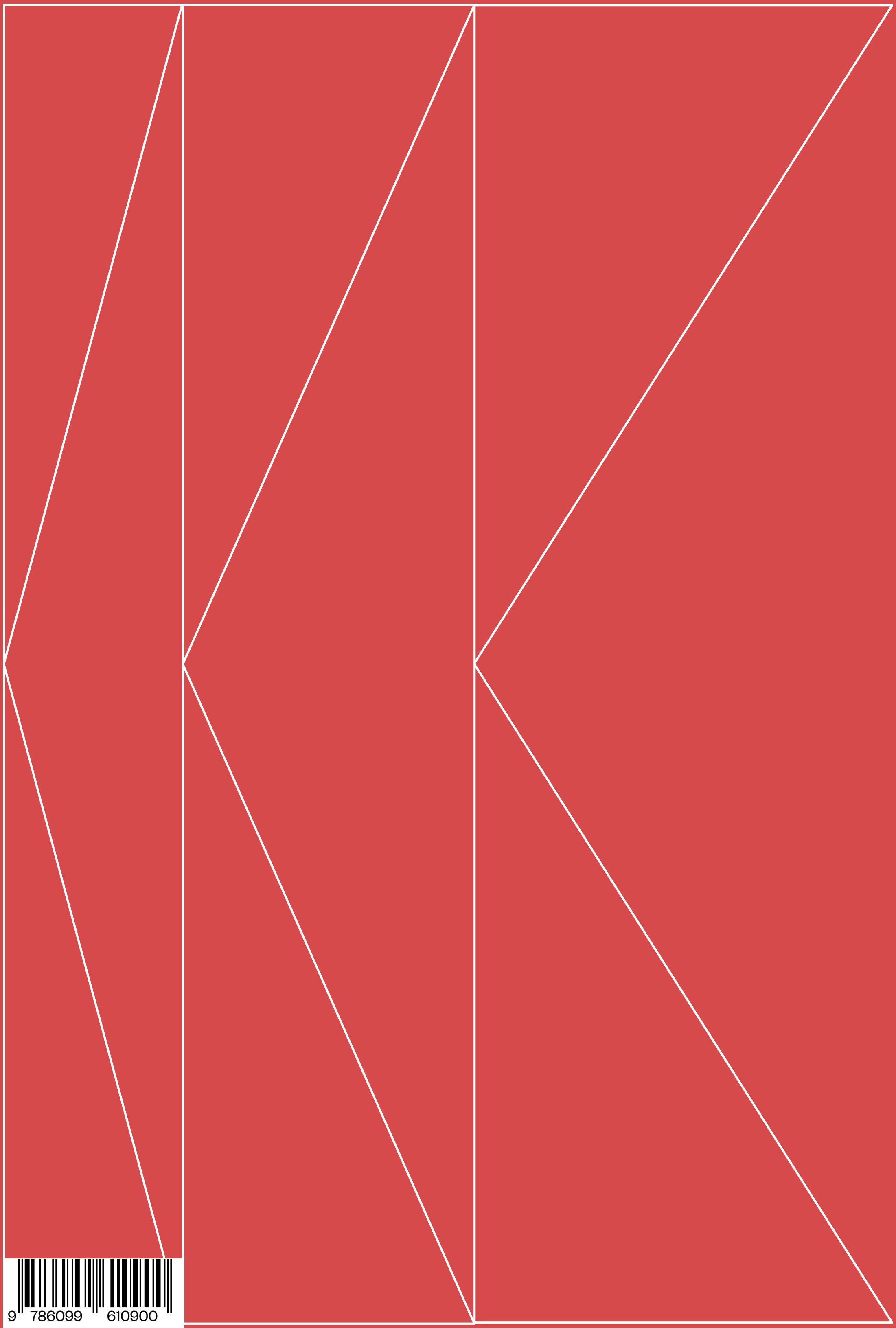

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