# Index of Abstracts by Session

**PS1 - Modern Latin American Architectural History Today**
Kathryn E. O'Rourke, Trinity University, *Chair*

Lucia Santa-Ana[1], Perla Santa-Ana[2] [1]*Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, Mexico,* [2]*Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, Mexico*..... ...1
Juan Manuel Heredia *Portland State University, Portland, OR, USA*.....2
Denise Nunes[1], Gustavo Rocha-Peixoto[2] [1]*Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de janeiro, Brazil,* [2]*Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de janeiro, Brazil*.....3
Luis Castañeda *Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA*.....4

**PS2 - Systems and the South**
Arindam Dutta, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

Ateya Khorakiwala *Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA*.....5
Ana María León Crespo *Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, USA*.....6
Anthony Acciavatti *Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA*.....7
Ginger Nolan *Columbia University, New York / NY, USA*.....8
Lucia Allais *Princeton University, Princeton, USA*.....9

**PS3 – City Air**
Amy Catania Kulper, University of Michigan and Diana Periton, De Montfort University, *Co-Chairs*

Helen Mallinson *London Metropolitan University, London, UK*.....10
Mark Dorrian *Newcastle University, Newcastle, UK*.....11
Barbara Penner *University College London, London, UK*.....12
Paul Emmons *Virginia Tech - WAAC, Alexandria, Virginia, USA*.....13
Enrique Ramirez *Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA*.....14

**PS4 - Institutions and Their Architecture in the 17th Century**
Anthony Geraghty, University of York and Lydia M. Soo, University of Michigan, *Co-Chairs*

Matthew Walker *University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK*.....15
Ann-Marie Akehurst *University of York, York, UK*.....16
Byron Bronston *University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California, USA*.....17
Robert Ferguson *University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA*.....18
Olivia Horsfall Turner *English Heritage, London, UK*.....19

**PS5 – Radical Marble**
Nicholas Napoli, Pratt Institute and William Tronzo, University of California, San Diego, *Co-Chairs*


Maryl Gensheimer *Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, New York, NY, USA* ..... 20
Daniele Vadala' *'Mediterranea' University of Reggio Calabria, Reggio Calabria, Italy* ..... 21
Madalena Matos *Faculty of Architecture-TU Lisbon /CIAUD, Lisbon, Portugal* ..... 22
Carly Jane Steinborn *Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, USA* ..... 23
Matthew Woodworth *Duke University, Durham, NC, USA* ..... 24


**PS6 - Infrastructure as Political Technology**
Andrew Herscher, University of Michigan, *Chair*


George Flaherty *University of Texas, Austin, USA* ..... 25
Ayala Levin *Columbia University, New York, USA* ..... 26
Maria del Pilar Sanchez Beltran [1]*The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, London, UK,* [2]*Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Manizales, Colombia* ..... 27
Ijlal Muzaffar *Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, USA* ..... 28


**PS7 - Albert Kahn, Fordism and Their Legacies**
Stuart Leslie, The Johns Hopkins University, *Chair*


Lisa Schrenk *Norwich University, Northfield, VT, USA* ..... 29
Kimberly Zarecor *Iowa State University, Ames, USA* ..... 30
Tamar Zinguer *The Cooper Union, New York, NY, USA* ..... 31
Robert Fishman *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI, USA* ..... 32


**PS8 - The 20th Century: Europe and Beyond**
Meredith Clausen, University of Washington, *Chair*


Barbara Klinkhammer *University of Tennessee Knoxville, Knoxville, TN, USA* ..... 33
Karl Kiem *University Siegen, Siegen, Germany* ..... 34
Burak Erdim *University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, USA* ..... 35
Andrea Smith *University of Mary Washington, Fredericksburg, VA, USA* ..... 36
Peter Clericuzio [1]*University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN, USA,* [2]*University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA* ..... 37


**PS9 - Global History as a Model for Architectural History**
Daniel A. Barber, Harvard University and Kimberly Elman Zarecor, Iowa State University, *Co-Chairs*


Alex Bremner *University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK* ..... 38
Duanfang Lu *University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia* ..... 39
Lawrence Chua *Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, USA* ..... 40
Carmen Popescu *Independent scholar, Paris, France* ..... 41
Mark Jarzombek *Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, USA* ..... 42

**PS10 - What Do We Make of Detroit?**
Richard Cleary, The University of Texas at Austin, *Chair*


Lisa Banu *Purdue University, Indiana, USA* ..... 43
Michael Rabens *Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, USA* ..... 44
Scott Weir *ERA Architects Inc, Toronto, ON, Canada* ..... 45
Michael McCulloch *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA* ..... 46
Barbara Christen *Independent scholar, Baltimore, MD, USA* ..... 47


**PS11 - Remembering George A. Kubler**
Humberto Rodríguez-Camilloni, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, *Chair*


Eliana Sousa Santos *CES Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra, Portugal* ..... 48
June Komisar *Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada* ..... 49
Victor Deupi *[1]Fairfield University, Fairfield CT, USA, [2]NYIT, New York, NY, USA* ..... 50
Jaime Lara *University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN, USA* ..... 51


**PS12 - Medieval Structures in Early Modern Palaces**
Max Grossman, The University of Texas at El Paso, *Chair*


Guendalina Ajello Mahler *New York University, New York, USA* ..... 52
Samuel Gruber *Syracuse University, Syracuse, USA* ..... 53
A. Lawrence Jenkens *University of North Carolina-Greensboro, Greensboro, USA* ..... 54


**PS13 - African Architecture as Muse**
Steven Nelson, University of California, Los Angeles, *Chair*


Suzanne Blier *Harvard University, Cambridge, Ma., USA* ..... 55
Michelle Apotsos *Stanford University, Stanford, California, USA* ..... 56
Mia Fuller *University of California, Berkeley, CA, USA* ..... 57
Kim De Raedt[1], Johan Lagae[2] *[1]Ghent University, Gent, Belgium, [2]Ghent University, Gent, Belgium* ..... 58
Federico Freschi *University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa* ..... 59


**PS14 - Rethinking Architecture in the Age of Printing**
Kathryn Blair Moore, New York University and Michael Waters, New York University, *Co-Chairs*


Pamela Karimi *University of Massachusetts, N. Dartmouth, MA, USA* ..... 60
Richard Wittman *University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California, USA* ..... 61
Katherine Isard *Columbia University, New York, New York, USA* ..... 62
Ralph Ghoche *Columbia University, New York, NY, USA* ..... 63
Jeffrey Moser *Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, Zhejiang, China* ..... 64

**PS15 - The Architectures of Austerity: Between Crisis and Possibility**
C. Greig Crysler, University of California at Berkeley, *Chair*


Emily Morash *Brown University, Providence, RI, USA* ..... 65
Jeremy Till *University of Westminster, London, UK* ..... 66
Andrew Herscher *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA* ..... 67
Anna Jozefacka *Hunter College, CUNY, New York, NY, USA* ..... 68
Elena Tomlinson *University of California at Berkeley, CA, USA* ..... 69


**PS16 - On The Social Production of the Built Environment**
Katherine Fischer Taylor, University of Chicago, *Chair*


Christopher Thomas *University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, Canada* ..... 70
Noah Chasin *Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY, USA* ..... 71
Charles Rice *Kingston University London, London, UK* ..... 72
Conor Lucey *University College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland* ..... 73
Marie Saldana *University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA* ..... 74


**PS17 - Frontiers: Topographies of Surveillance and Flows**
Carolyn Loeb, Michigan State University and Andreas Luescher, Bowling Green State University, *Co-Chairs*


Max Hirsh *Harvard University, Cambridge, USA* ..... 75
Giovanna Guidicini *University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK* ..... 76
Tina Potocnik *[1]Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia, [2]Faculty of Architecture, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia* ..... 77
David Monteyne *University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada* ..... 78
Julia Walker *Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY, USA* ..... 79


**PS18 - Not the Jesuits: "Other" Counter-Reformational Architecture**
Susan Klaiber, Winterthur, Switzerland and Denise Tamborrino, Bologna, Italy, *Co-Chairs*


Thomas Coomans *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Leuven, Belgium* ..... 80
Elisabeth Wünsche-Werdehausen *Independent scholar, Munich, Germany* ..... 81
Helena Seražin *Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Art History, Ljubljana, Slovenia* ..... 82
Roberto Caterino *Politecnico di Torino, Turin, Italy* ..... 83
Jörg Stabenow *Universität Augsburg, Augsburg, Germany* ..... 84


**PS19 - From Idea to Building: Ancient and Medieval Architectural Process**
Kostis Kourelis, Franklin & Marshall College and Vasileios Marinis, Yale University, *Co-Chairs*


Agnieszka Szymanska *Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, USA* ..... 85
Sarah Thompson *Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, NY, USA* ..... 86
Elisha Dumser *Ursuline College, Pepper Pike, OH, USA* ..... 87

Dominic Boulerice *York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada* ..... 88
Felipe Rojas *Brown University, Providence, RI, USA* ..... 89

**PS20 - The Cultural Landscape of Education in Modern Japan**
Sean McPherson, Wheaton College, *Chair*

Janet Borland *University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam, Hong Kong* ..... 90
Futoshi Ogo *Independent Scholar, Okayama, Japan* ..... 91
Don Choi *California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, CA, USA* ..... 92
Peter Armstrong *Sydney University, NSW, Australia* ..... 93

**PS21 - Landscape Architecture and Economics**
Sonja Duempelmann, University of Maryland, College Park, and Marc Treib, University of California, Berkeley, *Co-Chairs*

Anatole Tchikine *Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland* ..... 94
Tal Alon-Mozes *Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa, Israel* ..... 95
Georges Farhat *University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada* ..... 96
Stefan Schweizer *Heinrich-Heine-Universitaet, Duesseldorf, Germany* ..... 97
Kate Holliday *University of Texas, Arlington, USA* ..... 98

**PS22 - Contested Modernisms: Politics, Theory, and Design**
Hans Morgenthaler, University of Colorado at Boulder, *Chair*

Anne Toxey *University of Texas, San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas, USA* ..... 99
Elisa Alessandrini *Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna, Bologna, Italy* ..... 100
Hugh Campbell[1], Dan Sudhershan[2 1] *UCD School of Architecture, Dublin, [2]University College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland* ..... 101
Torsten Lange *Bartlett School of Architecture, London, UK* ..... 102
Vanessa Grossman *Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA* ..... 103

**PS23 - Architectural Ecologies: A Relational History of Architecture**
Karin Jaschke, University of Brighton, *Chair*

Ariel Genadt *University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA* ..... 104
Sarah Deyong *Texas A&M, College Station, USA* ..... 105
Lydia Xynogala[1 1] *Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, USA, [2]The Cooper Union, New York. New York, USA, [3]UCL, The Bartlett, London, UK* ..... 106
Jon Goodbun *University of Westminster, London, UK* ..... 107

**PS24 - Architecture's Nocturnes**
Thomas Mical, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, *Chair*

James O'Connor *University of Cambridge, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, UK* ..... 108

Adnan Morshed *The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, USA* ..... 109

Anne Marie Fisker[1], Marie Frier Hvejsel[2] *[1]Ass. Professor, Architect maa, PhD. Department of Civil Engineering, Aalborg, Denmark, [2]Assistant Professor, M.Sc. Eng. Arch. Department of Architecture, Design & Media Technology, Aalborg, Denmark* ..... 110

**PS25 - Drawing in the Design Professions, 1500 to 1900**
Ann C. Huppert, University of Washington and Thaïsa Way, University of Washington, *Co-Chairs*

Kristoffer Neville *University of California, Riverside, Riverside, CA, USA* ..... 111

Rebecca Gill *University of Reading, Berkshire, UK* ..... 112

Katherine Miller *University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, USA* ..... 113

Katherine Wheeler *University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL, USA* ..... 114

Hilary Bryon *Virginia Tech | School of Architecture+Design, Blacksburg, VA, USA* ..... 115

**PS26 - Architecture 1500: The End of Gothic**
Linda Neagley, Rice University, *Chair*

Sergio Sanabria *Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, USA* ..... 116

Madleine Skarda *Kunsthistorisches Institut, Zürich, Switzerland* ..... 117

Alice Klima *Brown University, Providence, RI, USA* ..... 118

Abby McGehee *Oregon College of Art and Craft, Portland, OR, USA* ..... 119

**PS27 - Everyday China: Domestic Space and the Making of Modern Identity**
Duanfang Lu, University of Sydney, *Chair*

Qing Mei *Tongji University, Shanghai, China* ..... 120

Hongguang He *The University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia* ..... 121

Jing Zheng *The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Hong Kong* ..... 122

Yiyan Wang *Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand* ..... 123

**PS29 - The Architecture of the American Building Industry**
Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, University of Wisconsin-Madison, *Chair*

Samuel Dodd *University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA* ..... 124

Matthew Lasner *Hunter College, New York, NY, USA* ..... 125

Emily Cooperman *ARCH Preservation Consulting, Philadelphia, PA, USA* ..... 126

Monica Penick *University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, USA* ..... 127

Sara Stevens *Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA* ..... 128

**PS30 - Design Reform in the Great Lakes: Usefulness and Beauty**
Beverly K. Brandt, Arizona State University, *Chair*

Cameron Macdonell *McGill University, Montreal, QC, Canada* ..... 129

Erin Eckhold Sassin *Brown University/Connecticut College, Providence, RI/New London, CT, USA* ..... 130
Milda Richardson *Northeastern University, Boston, MA, USA* ..... 131
Leslie S. Edwards *Cranbrook Archives, Bloomfield Hills, MI, USA* ..... 132
Eric Anderson *Kendall College of Art and Design, Grand Rapids, MI, USA* ..... 133

**PS31 - Shrinking Cities**
Keith Eggener, University of Missouri, *Chair*

Justin Hollander *Tufts University, Medford, USA* ..... 134
Mary N. Woods *Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, USA* ..... 135
Jeff Byles[1], Denisha Williams[2] [1]*Van Alen Institute, New York, NY, USA,* [2]*American Society of Landscape Architects, New York Chapter, New York, NY, USA* ..... 136
Joseph Heathcott *The New School, New York, NY, USA* ..... 137
Brent Ryan *Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, USA* ..... 138

**PS32 - Buildings and Objects: Baroque, Rococo and Beyond**
Kristel Smentek, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

Jennifer Ferng *Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, USA* ..... 139
Michael Yonan *University of Missouri, Columbia, MO, USA* ..... 140
Francesco Freddolini *The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA, USA* ..... 141
Jean-François Bédard *Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA* ..... 142
Alexis Cohen *Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, USA* ..... 143

**PS33 - "Privileged Situations": Urban Design and Topography in Roman Asia Minor**
Diane Favro, University of California, Los Angeles and Fikret Yegül, University of California, Santa Barbara, *Co-Chairs*

Daniel Millette *University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada* ..... 144
Lynda Mulvin *University College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland* ..... 145
Pelin Yoncaci Arslan *University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA, USA* ..... 146
David Parrish *Purdue University, West Lafayette, USA* ..... 147

**PS34 - Sacred Precincts: Non-Muslim Sites in Islamic Societies**
Stephen Caffey, Texas A&M University and Mohammad Gharipour, Morgan State University, *Co-Chairs*

Jorge Correia *University of Minho / CHAM, Guimarães, Portugal* ..... 148
Suna Güven *Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey* ..... 149
Jennifer Pruitt *Smith College, Northampton, MA, USA* ..... 150
Heghnar Watenpaugh *University of California, Davis, California, USA* ..... 151

**PS35 - Idiom, Ideology, Identity**
Charles Burroughs, Case Western Reserve University, *Chair*

Oliver Cox *University of Oxford, Oxford, UK* ..... 152
Gretta Tritch Roman *The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA, USA* ..... 153
Gil Smith *Eastern Kentucky Univ., Richmond, KY, USA* ..... 154
Jeffrey A. K. Miller *Columbia University, New York, USA* ..... 155
Patricia Morton *University of California, Riverside, Riverside, CA, USA* ..... 156

# Index of Abstracts by Author


Acciavatti, Anthony , Princeton University ..... 7
Akehurst, Ann-Marie , University of York ..... 16
Alessandrini, Elisa , Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna ..... 100
Allais, Lucia , Princeton University ..... 9
Alon-Mozes, Tal , Technion, Israel Institute of Technology ..... 95
Anderson, Eric , Kendall College of Art and Design ..... 133
Apotsos, Michelle , Stanford University ..... 56
Armstrong, Peter , Sydney University ..... 93
Banu, Lisa , Purdue University ..... 43
Bédard, Jean-François , Syracuse University ..... 142
Blier, Suzanne , Harvard University ..... 55
Borland, Janet , University of Hong Kong ..... 90
Boulerice, Dominic , York University ..... 88
Bremner, Alex , University of Edinburgh ..... 38
Bronston, Byron , University of California, Berkeley ..... 17
Bryon, Hilary , Virginia Tech | School of Architecture+Design ..... 115
Byles, Jeff , Van Alen Institute ..... 136
Campbell, Hugh , UCD School of Architecture, Dublin ..... 101
Castañeda, Luis , Syracuse University ..... 4
Caterino, Roberto , Politecnico di Torino ..... 83
Chasin, Noah , Bard College ..... 71
Choi, Don , California Polytechnic State University ..... 92
Christen, Barbara , Independent scholar ..... 47
Chua, Lawrence , Cornell University ..... 40
Clericuzio, Peter , University of Tennessee ..... 37
Cohen, Alexis , Princeton University ..... 143
Coomans, Thomas , Katholieke Universiteit Leuven ..... 80
Cooperman, Emily , ARCH Preservation Consulting ..... 126
Correia, Jorge , University of Minho / CHAM ..... 148
Cox, Oliver , University of Oxford ..... 152
De Raedt, Kim , Ghent University ..... 58
Deupi, Victor , Fairfield University ..... 50
Deyong, Sarah , Texas A&M ..... 105
Dodd, Samuel , University of Texas at Austin ..... 124
Dorrian, Mark , Newcastle University ..... 11
Dumser, Elisha , Ursuline College ..... 87
Emmons, Paul , Virginia Tech - WAAC ..... 13
Erdim, Burak , University of Virginia ..... 35
Farhat, Georges , University of Toronto ..... 96
Ferguson, Robert , University of Minnesota ..... 18
Ferng, Jennifer , Massachusetts Institute of Technology ..... 139
Fishman, Robert , University of Michigan ..... 32
Fisker, Anne Marie , Aalborg University ..... 110
Flaherty, George , University of Texas ..... 25
Freddolini, Francesco , The Getty Research Institute ..... 141
Freschi, Federico , University of the Witwatersrand ..... 59
Fuller, Mia , University of California, Berkeley ..... 57
Genadt, Ariel , University of Pennsylvania ..... 104
Gensheimer, Maryl , Institute of Fine Arts, New York University ..... 20
Ghoche, Ralph , Columbia University ..... 63
Gill, Rebecca , University of Reading ..... 112
Goodbun, Jon , University of Westminster ..... 107
Grossman, Vanessa , Princeton University ..... 103
Gruber, Samuel , Syracuse University ..... 53
Guidicini, Giovanna , University of Edinburgh ..... 76
Güven, Suna , Middle East Technical University ..... 149
He, Hongguang , The University of Sydney ..... 121
Heathcott, Joseph , The New School ..... 137

Heredia, Juan Manuel , Portland State University....2
Herscher, Andrew , University of Michigan .... 67
Hirsh, Max , Harvard University....75
Hollander, Justin , Tufts University....134
Holliday, Kate , University of Texas....98
Horsfall Turner, Olivia , English Heritage ....19
Hvejsel, Marie Frier , Aalborg University....110
Isard, Katherine , Columbia University....62
Jarzombek, Mark , Massachusetts Institute of Technology....42
Jozefacka, Anna , Hunter College, CUNY....68
Karimi, Pamela , University of Massachusetts ....60
Khorakiwala, Ateya , Harvard University....5
Kiem, Karl , University Siegen....34
Klima, Alice , Brown University....118
Klinkhammer, Barbara , University of Tennessee Knoxville....33
Komisar, June , Ryerson University ....49
Lagae, Johan , Ghent University....58
Lange, Torsten , Bartlett School of Architecture....102
Lara, Jaime , University of Notre Dame ....51
Lasner, Matthew , Hunter College....125
León Crespo, Ana María , Massachusetts Institute of Technology ....6
Levin, Ayala , Columbia University....26
Lu, Duanfang , University of Sydney....39
Lucey, Conor , University College Dublin....73
Macdonell, Cameron , McGill University ....129
Mahler, Guendalina Ajello , New York University....52
Mallinson, Helen , London Metropolitan University ....10
Matos, Madalena , Faculty of Architecture-TU Lisbon /CIAUD ....22
McCulloch, Michael , University of Michigan....46
McGehee, Abby , Oregon College of Art and Craft....119
Mei, Qing , Tongji University ....120
Miller, Jeffrey A. K. , Columbia University ....155
Miller, Katherine , University of Virginia....113
Millette, Daniel , University of British Columbia....144
Monteyne, David , University of Calgary ....78
Morash, Emily , Brown University....65
Morshed, Adnan , The Catholic University of America....109
Morton, Patricia , University of California, Riverside ....156
Moser, Jeffrey , Zhejiang University....64
Mulvin, Lynda , University College Dublin....145
Muzaffar, Ijlal , Rhode Island School of Design....28
Neville, Kristoffer , University of California, Riverside ....111
Nolan, Ginger , Columbia University ....8
Nunes, Denise , Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro....3
O'Connor, James , University of Cambridge ....108
Ogo, Futoshi , Independent Scholar....91
Parrish, David , Purdue University ....147
Penick, Monica , University of Wisconsin-Madison ....127
Penner, Barbara , University College London ....12
Popescu, Carmen , Independent scholar....41
Potocnik, Tina , Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts....77
Pruitt, Jennifer , Smith College....150
Rabens, Michael , Oklahoma State University....44
Ramirez, Enrique , Princeton University....14
Rice, Charles , Kingston University London....72
Richardson, Milda , Northeastern University....131
Rocha-Peixoto, Gustavo , Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro ....3
Rojas, Felipe , Brown University ....89
Ryan, Brent , Massachusetts Institute of Technology ....138
Saldana, Marie , University of California, Los Angeles....74
Sanabria, Sergio , Miami University ....116
Sanchez Beltran, Maria del Pilar , The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL ....27

Santa-Ana, Lucia , Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México ....1
Santa-Ana, Perla , Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México ....1
Sassin, Erin Eckhold , Brown University/Connecticut College ....130
Schrenk, Lisa , Norwich University....29
Schweizer, Stefan , Heinrich-Heine-Universitaet....97
Seražin, Helena , Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Instute of Art History....82
Skarda, Madleine , Kunsthistorisches Institut....117
Smith, Andrea , University of Mary Washington....36
Smith, Gil , Eastern Kentucky Univ. ....154
Sousa Santos, Eliana , CES Universidade de Coimbra ....48
Stabenow, Jörg , Universität Augsburg....84
Steinborn, Carly Jane , Rutgers University ....23
Stevens, Sara , Princeton University....128
Sudhershan, Dan , University College Dublin ....101
Szymanska, Agnieszka , Temple University ....85
Tchikine, Anatole , Trinity College Dublin....94
Thomas, Christopher , University of Victoria ....70
Thompson, Sarah , Rochester Institute of Technology ....86
Till, Jeremy , University of Westminster ....66
Tomlinson, Elena , University of California at Berkeley....69
Toxey, Anne , University of Texas, San Antonio ....99
Tritch Roman, Gretta , The Pennsylvania State University ....153
Vadala', Daniele , 'Mediterranea' University of Reggio Calabria ....21
Walker, Julia , Binghamton University....79
Walker, Matthew , University of Edinburgh ....15
Wang, Yiyan , Victoria University of Wellington....123
Watenpaugh, Heghnar , University of California ....151
Weir, Scott , ERA Architects Inc....45
Wheeler, Katherine , Univeristy of Miami ....114
Williams, Denisha , American Society of Landscape Architects, New York Chapter....136
Wittman, Richard , University of California at Santa Barbara....61
Woodworth, Matthew , Duke University ....24
Wünsche-Werdehausen, Elisabeth , Independent scholar....81
Xynogala, Lydia , Princeton University....106
Yonan, Michael , University of Missouri ....140
Yoncaci Arslan, Pelin , University of California, Los Angeles....146
Zarecor, Kimberly , Iowa State University ....30
Zheng, Jing , The Chinese University of Hong Kong....122
Zinguer, Tamar , The Cooper Union ....31

**PS1 - Modern Latin American Architectural History Today**
Kathryn E. O'Rourke, Trinity University, *Chair*

*Rephrasing Modern Mexican Architectural Histories*

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Although they live in one of the most architecturally significant countries in the Americas, Mexican architecture students learn little about Mexican or Latin American architectural history in their study of twentieth-century architectural history. Many faculty members omit discussion of Latin American architecture altogether and focus instead on European architectural history.

This lack of attention to national and regional histories is in part a result of the ways research on Mexican architectural history is conducted and funded. Scholars affiliated with public universities, particularly UNAM, do nearly all the research on the topic, and their work is often underfunded and goes unpublished or is circulated minimally. The work of researchers at universities outside of Mexico City is rarely disseminated nationally.

The study of Mexican modernism is also complicated by a generational divide between older architects whose approach to Mexican architectural history rarely includes comparative and contextual analyses, and that of younger researchers who are increasingly interested in relating Mexican modernism to that of Europe and the United States. This tension is played out in undergraduate and graduate throughout the country.

In this paper we will analyze how younger generations of architectural historians researcher's pursue to explain Modern Mexican Architecture in a global cultural context contesting older statements; and looking to pure this knowledge into undergrad architectural students.

**PS1 - Modern Latin American Architectural History Today**
Kathryn E. O'Rourke, Trinity University, *Chair*

*Chile and Mexico: Antipodal Historiographies – Antipodal Architectures?*

Juan Manuel Heredia
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The year 2010 marked the 200th anniversary of the beginnings of independence in several Latin American countries. Heralding their entry into modernity the bicentennial coincided with the publication of books dedicated to the history of modern architecture in those countries. **Chilean Modern Architecture since 1950** by Fernando Pérez Oyarzun, Rodrigo Pérez de Arce, and Horacio Torrent, and **Architecture as Revolution: Episodes in the History of Modern Mexico** by Luis Carranza were published in the U.S. by important university presses. Additionally, Ramón Vargas Salguero's collaborative book **Arquitectura de la Revolución y Revolución de la Arquitectura** (the last volume of the monumental Historia de la Arquitectura y el Urbanismo Mexicanos) was published in Mexico the year before. Addressing similar or analogous topics the books differ in their time-periods and modes of authorship. More importantly they differ in their methodological premises and disciplinary locus of enunciation. Although all written by authors with an architectural background the ones dedicated to Mexico adopt a straightforward historical (Marxist) approach relying on ideological and iconographical analyses more than spatial or topographical ones. Although all written by native authors the ones published in the United States emphasize international issues in addition to only national ones. This paper analyzes, contrasts, and evaluates these books as exemplars of the wide range and current state of Latin American modern architectural historiography. Focusing on two geographically antipodal countries it speculates whether there are also antipodal approaches in these histories. At issue here is the persistent divide between art-historical and architectural forms of scholarship: what Jorge Otero-Pailos recently described as the clash between "traditional historiography" and "architectural phenomenology" (an opposition often rendered as critical vs. operative history). In acknowledging the inevitability of situated discourse this paper, however, seeks to overcome simplistic distinctions. More critically it speculates whether this divide reflects antipodal modern architectures.

**PS1 - Modern Latin American Architectural History Today**
Kathryn E. O'Rourke, Trinity University, *Chair*

*Training and Expressions of Brazilian Modern Architecture*

Denise Nunes[1], Gustavo Rocha-Peixoto[2]
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The Brazilian modern architecture is back in evidence and it has sparked the academic interest among both faculty and students. This article discusses the education and production of architect and painter Firmino Saldanha (1905-1985), who graduated in 1931 from the National School of Fine Arts (ENBA) in Rio de Janeiro. Our emphasis was placed on investigating the structure of training in architecture offered by ENBA between the years 1925 and 1931, which could be divided into two stages: General Course and Special Architecture Course. This text also compares the performance of student and young architect Firmino Saldanha against some of his contemporaries, highlighting some rebuttals of his training in his first projects. Saldanha later came to design different high-rise residential buildings in Rio de Janeiro's Zona Sul, helping to build the idea of modern living in the City. These buildings were the object of our study dissertation defended in 2009. He was a good architect of high quality, common-use buildings, and he produced architecture accessible to the middle class. The history of Brazilian modern architecture encompasses many expressions that have not been thoroughly studied and are not known outside the research groups. Our research group in Architecture has built a virtual study-aid material with didactic purposes, seeking, among other topics, to discuss and disseminate the work of Brazilian architects, helping students to discuss and build their identity based on this knowledge.

**PS1 - Modern Latin American Architectural History Today**
Kathryn E. O'Rourke, Trinity University, *Chair*

*Architecture's Cold Warriors: Rethinking Latin American Modernism*

Luis Castañeda
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Broadly conceived as a set of cultural and political transformations that defined the second half of the twentieth century, the Cold War is quickly becoming a significant subject of study in architectural history. Despite the pivotal role that Latin America occupied in the shifting geopolitical contexts of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, and despite the profound involvement of architects and planners from the region in these transformations, Latin America has yet to become significantly inscribed within this general research trend. This paper argues that a better understanding of architecture's modalities of political engagement in Latin America can facilitate ongoing revisions of the broader interrelations between architecture and politics during the middle of the twentieth century. The central case study for the paper, drawn from a book project in progress, is the transnational career of Fernando Belaúnde (1912-2002), a Peruvian-born but U.S.-trained architect who became president of Peru twice, in 1963, and in 1980. An insider in the political and architectural establishments of Latin America, Belaúnde was also an outsider, a problematic promoter of U.S. interests in the middle of increasingly unfriendly territories. Due to his profound connections with U.S. planning, military, and diplomatic circles, Belaúnde became a prominent facilitator of hemispheric exchanges, yet remains entirely marginal to histories of Latin American modern architecture. By foregrounding the contributions of Belaúnde and similarly marginalized architect-politicians to modern Latin American architectural culture, the paper will propose ways in which the construction of the field at large can be revised. The paper also hopes to demonstrate that a better grasp of the unstable geographies of these architects' careers can show us ways in which architectural histories of Latin America can become more conversant with broader histories, cultural as well as architectural, of the twentieth century.

**PS2 - Systems and the South**
Arindam Dutta, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Slip-Form Silos; Planning an Agri-Tech Landscape for the Well Fed Subject*

Ateya Khorakiwala
*Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA*

Speaking in 1971, the then Food and Agriculture minister C. Subramanium explained, "The new strategy is like an elegant piece of modern industrial design. Genetic manipulation, chemical technology, and economic incentives have helped to contrive the lineaments of this strategy. But if it is to work, it needs the lubricant of finance or credit."

It is with Ford, Rockefeller, and the World Bank's "lubricant" of capital and expertise that the Indian government embarked on the construction of grain-silos and warehouses for the purpose of distribution. In what followed, inscribing the land with infrastructure stood in for integrating the nation-state into a whole, using bio-technological arsenal, such as hybrid seeds, bestowed to the government to remedy its under-productive countryside, and under-nourished citizenry.

Resonant of the hubris of the current National River Linking Project, which hopes to correct inequalities of geography and vicissitudes of weather within a bounded polity by connecting drought-prone regions with flood-prone ones, the Public Distribution System was designed to equitably distribute grain, linking surplus-producing states with those having grain deficits, a process that was an attempt at integrating its subjects into a body politic.

India's current Unique Identification Number project, distributing cards with biometric markers such as iris-scans, is a new bio-technological means of countering bureaucratic inefficiency, the kind that resulted in the recent "Food Grains Scam," where subsidized grain found its way to the open-market. Given that defunct industrial cities have turned RCC-silos into boutique apartments (MVRDV,Copenhagen,2001) and the World Bank's recent suggestion that the government divest from the physical distribution of rations, opting for cash-transfers and food-stamps, an overtly neo-liberal recommendation, this paper attempts to look back, beyond narratives of corruption, at the state's plan for a nourished body politic; it tries to evaluate distribution infrastructure's role as an erstwhile instrument of a similar global interaction.

**PS2 - Systems and the South**
Arindam Dutta, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Three Babels: A Story, A Book, A Building*

Ana María León Crespo
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The work of French intellectual Roger Caillois oscillated between two librarians: George Bataille and Jorge Luis Borges. Forced to stay in Argentina during World War Two, Caillois exchanged the Collège de Sociologie, which he co-founded with Bataille, for the intellectual circle of Sur, which included Argentinian writer Borges. If Bataille's dictionary was intended as anonymous and a-hierarchical-much as his decapitated secret society, Acéphale-, Borges' stories spoke of a library both unlimited and periodical, an unreachable tower ultimately meant to represent one Order. The following research uses three works produced in this context to reflect on the translation of these ideas from literature, sociology, and architecture into the politics of postwar Argentina. The first is The Library of Babel (1941), a short story by Borges describing the architectural space of an infinite library. The second is Sociology of the Novel (1942), a book Caillois wrote in Argentina and later published in France as Babel: Pride, Confusion, and Ruin of Literature (1948). The third one is the National Library of the Republic of Argentina (1961-1992), designed by Clorindo Testa, Francisco Bullrich, and Alicia Cazzaniga, with Borges as director of the institution. While Bataille saw architecture as representing the authority of the state, Caillois still believed it could represent common goals and a sense of the collective. However, the library in Buenos Aires was intended as a symbol of the literal demolition of the state and its collective goals. Built to replace the demolished Unzué Palace, president Juan Perón's former residence, the library was politically motivated before its conception. I argue that the displacement from political head to literary head highlights the Argentinian government's attitude towards power as the control of knowledge. The erection of Borges as mythical figure in replacement of Perón becomes the ultimate mythification of a unitary Order.

**PS2 - Systems and the South**
Arindam Dutta, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Ford, Nehru, Hilberseimer: Village Industries and beyond*

Anthony Acciavatti
*Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA*

In 1955 Ludwig Hilberseimer published The Nature of Cities: Origin, Growth, and Decline where he proposed a transnational, systems approach to industrializing the revenant hinterlands of islands in the Pacific Ocean to the U.S. Midwest to the interior of India amongst others. In his before and after plan drawings of an anonymous Indian village, Hilberseimer suggests taking land from small farmers to make large farms. He cites Jawaharlal Nehru's thesis that British rule progressively "ruralized" India's industries, and the need to raise living standards by means of "rapid urbanization" and planning. One of the most curious observations made in the 286 page book is when Hilberseimer states, Nehru's "proposals for decentralization of industry and its integration with agriculture are not unlike those made for the United States by Henry Ford." One of Ford's major preoccupations was decentralization coupled with the industrialization of farming to raise productivity and wages—a project he attempted to precipitate across the globe—and one that the Ford Foundation would take up in India in 1952.

To date, the design proposals put forward by Hilberseimer and others, has yet to be adequately situated with respect to larger systems of thought and institutional financing, particularly where geographical, infrastructural, and statistical dimensions are at stake.

Moving beyond the transhistorical discourse on the "Nature" of cities put forward by Hilberseimer, this paper will ask: how do we come to terms with the complex historical conditions in which modern statecraft and industrialization has alternately asserted or rejected its relation to an ostensibly productive countryside? And how might representational practices at the cross roads of architecture and urban design not only transform scale, quantification, computation, modeling, experiment, and so on, but also speak to design's epistemological agency?

**PS2 - Systems and the South**
Arindam Dutta, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Translating the Savage Mind: The Making of a Global Environment*

Ginger Nolan
*Columbia University, New York / NY, USA*

This paper queries certain methods whereby a world can be translated into a model which is, in turn, projected back upon that world. In presenting the history of the Aspen Institute, which was founded in the early decades of the Cold War, I propose to read the concomitant inventions of "the environment" and "the third world" as forming a particular rubric for translating between worlds of difference while, at the same time, ceaselessly positing the existence of a unitary globe. Arguing that the construct of the environment was haunted by a prior invention-namely, "the savage mind"-I will examine how formulations of the primitive, such as those proposed by the disciplines of ethnopsychiatry and bio-semiotics, might relate to how modernist designers construed relationships between perception and designed environments.
When read in tandem with his notions on perception and curatorial technique, Herbert Bayer's World Geo-Graphic Atlas, commissioned by the founder of the Aspen Institute, suggests an unarticulated theory of translation between worlds and models-of-worlds (and back again). Accordingly, this history of "the environment" might be used to question some historic blindspots in twentieth-century translation theories, asking how translation between different disciplinary modes of knowledge has acted in cooperation with the translation of the so-called environment into the categories of the first and third worlds.

**PS2 - Systems and the South**
Arindam Dutta, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Systems of Decay: Cultural Reconstruction in the Global South*

Lucia Allais
*Princeton University, Princeton, USA*

Insects began to appear in manuals of architectural conservation in the early 1960s, as international development agencies reoriented their programs of "cultural reconstruction" towards the nations of the global South. Wood-boring moths, stone-molding lichens and paper-eating worms had always been objects of preservationists' scientific discourse, bearers of tectonics as meaningful as windows and pediments, grout and cement, structure and form. But in these manuals designed for use in newly decolonized nations, these "unwanted tourists" became political actors: obstacles to the establishment of new systems of cultural administration, and symptoms of "the problem of climate" that afflicted all cultural media in the tropical zone. For the next fifteen years, the project of cultural continuity in post-colonial nations was entrusted to a force of cosmopolitan experts trained to battle swarms of tropicopolitan pests—and other similar systems of decay.

This paper addresses the architectonic tropes that were designed to homogenize cultural systems across new member states of the United Nations, in this period when museums were reconceived as "systems of mass-communications", and monuments as "touristic circuits." Training manuals, expert missions, administrative templates, regional training centers, museum renovations, and monument restorations—none performed as systematically as the logic of matter they were meant to resist. Belgian plans for African museums flattened the hierarchy between mineralogy and easel painting; modernist displays in pop-up museums exposed the non-linearity of ethnographic narratives, and the cleaning of "richly sculptured" monuments like the Taj Mahal threatened to erase the fine line between ornament and decay.

These projects belong to the prehistory of the distinction between "tangible" and "intangible" heritage; historiographically, they also challenge us to rethink the hierarchy between matter and information that legitimize some cultural projects as central and others as peripheral.

**PS3 – City Air**
Amy Catania Kulper, University of Michigan and Diana Periton, De Montfort University, *Co-Chairs*

*Urban Air: Passion and Pollution*

Helen Mallinson
*London Metropolitan University, London, UK*

No wonder if the blaze rises so of a sudden when innumerable eyes glow with the passion and heaving breasts are labouring with inspiration, when not the aspect only but the very breath and exhalations of men are infectious, and the inspiring disease imparts itself by insensible transpiration [. . .]

Shaftesbury, A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm (1707)

Can a distinction be drawn between the air of the pre-modern city and modern urban air? What constitutes the complicity of air in passion and pollution – if 'urban' is more of a condition than an artefact?

We live submerged in an ocean of air. Sloterdijk argues that the idea of controlling this shared environment characterises late modernity: the twentieth century began in a gas attack in Ypres in 1915. However, three centuries of aerial research informed this achievement. In 1661 John Evelyn published Fumifugium, a plea to the King to clean the air of London and restore the health, vitality and intelligence of its inhabitants. Evelyn hoped that the newly minted Royal Society would help sort out the science. When Shaftesbury wrote his Letter the chemistry of air was still a mystery. But then so was the business of 'enthusiasm'. What was it that spread like a bush fire in and between people?

Shaftesbury's Letter refered to a specific sect of divinely inspired enthusiasts, Camisard prophets busy working the London crowds. Enthusiasm was regarded as something of a plague throughout Europe. Shaftesbury argued, however, that without inspiration nothing moved: inspiration was essential to human culture. He advocated tolerance and humour, attributes cultivated through tempering the individual internal climate, whilst promoting the idea of a well tempered environment, a public realm. A seat in the country helped but town planning had a role to play: the city could be tempered too.

**PS3 – City Air**
Amy Catania Kulper, University of Michigan and Diana Periton, De Montfort University, *Co-Chairs*

*Weather Control: Urbanism, Utopia, and Military Futures*

Mark Dorrian
*Newcastle University, Newcastle, UK*

Weather control is a familiar object of pre-modern ritual and magical practices, but it also appears in one of the earliest works of science-fiction, Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels. Here, however, rather than being directed toward renewal, it has become turned toward habitat destruction. The relevant section tells of the airborne island of Laputa, which levitates free of the terrestrial surface. Part parody of Francis Bacon's scientific utopia The New Atlantis, Laputa is populated by scientists who live by exactions received from the unfortunate peoples over whose lands the island floats. If these tributes are withheld, Laputa hovers above the offenders, withholding light and rain and thus plunging them into drought and famine. This paper will reflect on contemporary technologies of – and aspirations for – weather control in relation to this long history. It will focus on the ever-increasing militarization of weather foreshadowed in Swift's tale, announced in the military project to "own the weather", and the concomitant privatization and commodification of what had hitherto seemed the very emblem of freedom, the air itself.

Ideas of weather control have a close relation to the history of utopian speculation where they often assume a remedial character. It is almost as if weather – at least in the imagination of northern white males – is alienation, or at least a fundamental expression thereof – and that to get back together again, to break the ice in whatever way we mean (with one another, with nature, with ourselves), we need to get the climate right. The paper will conclude by reflecting on the transformation of this imaginary in the era of atmospheric anxiety and privatized air, whereby we shift from de-differentiation to an urbanism of heightened atmospheric relations that increasingly take on the character of a commodity-form in their own right.

**PS3 – City Air**
Amy Catania Kulper, University of Michigan and Diana Periton, De Montfort University, *Co-Chairs*

*The Prince's Water Closet: Sewer Gas and the City*

Barbara Penner
*University College London, London, UK*

This paper focuses on sewer gas, one of the most feared types of 'bad air' in the nineteenth century. Sewer gas cannot be understood apart from the modern city because it emerged out of the process of creating the modern city: specifically, it was the by-product of the water carriage systems introduced from the late 1850s to flush away the city's stagnating waste and hence the source of miasmas and diseases like cholera. It is ironic that the resulting sanitary infrastructure – sewers, pipes, plumbing, and bathroom fittings – then became the means by which sewer gas entered the home, bringing with it diphtheria and typhoid (so it was believed).

With the increase in the number of households installing modern plumbing, the anxiety about sewer gas increased. It spiked dramatically in 1871 when the Prince of Wales was struck down by typhoid. The two-month saga of his illness, updated daily by every British newspaper, become a detective story of sorts, as the medical journal The Lancet undertook and published a sanitary audit of the Prince's residence that sought to locate the source of his infection. The soil pipes and sewers were all minutely inspected. Even the royal water closet was not spared.

Following the Prince's illness, sanitarians began urging wives and mothers to regularly inspect their homes for sewer gas leaks. They used cutaways – slices through houses that revealed drains, soil and vent pipes – to highlight potential sources of gas; directional arrows represented air currents and leaks. But, in mapping the ways in which these flows of water and air linked up formerly discrete fixtures and spaces, cutaways also offered indisputable proof that the relationship between bodies, interiors, and the outside world was being reconfigured by the new infrastructural complexity of the modern city.

**PS3 – City Air**
Amy Catania Kulper, University of Michigan and Diana Periton, De Montfort University, *Co-Chairs*

*Odiferous Conceptions of the City*

Paul Emmons
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As multivalent approaches to air were replaced by narrower notions of space in twentieth century architecture, air was reduced to the purview of the mechanical engineer as a merely technical issue. This narrowing of the idea of air leads to overlooking, among others, the richly sentient topic of odor. In the modern bourgeois world, the goal became a complete absence of scent, to de-odorize, both for person and environment.

Already in the 1910s through the 1930s, Le Corbusier distinguished the impure "air of the cities" ("devil's air") from indoor, mechanically produced odorless "exact air" ("good, true God-given air") that can rescue "cities from the threat of air warfare." The modern 'picture' window lost its relation to wind and Corbusier concluded that "the glass façade will be hermetic. No opening!" Corbusier never mentions odor in his writing on aerial urbanism, except in Journey to the East, upon encountering "ruffians" who "stink unbearably of garlic," which he ameliorates by holding a rose under his nose. Living air, with its distinct odors and rustlings, becomes a privilege of the underdeveloped world.

John Evelyn's Fumifugium; or the inconveniencie of the aer and smoak of London dissipated (1661), a proposal for London to eliminate coal pollution and plant a greenbelt, when reprinted in 1930 was interpreted within the narrow sense of urban air as a technological concern. Yet, this is a misunderstanding of Evelyn's "fragrant & odiferous" urbanism that advocates realizing air's many aspects of living well; including health, beauty, profit and even one's ability to "converse with good angels." Rather than reducing air to the uni-dimensional isomorphism of space, Evelyn's tract should be read in its original meaning as recovering air's multi-sensorial mediation between the visible and the invisible, pointing toward the richness of aeromantic architecture.

**PS3 – City Air**
Amy Catania Kulper, University of Michigan and Diana Periton, De Montfort University, *Co-Chairs*

*Augustin Rey and the Logic of Air Resistance*

Enrique Ramirez
*Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA*

How does air shape our cities? How does air become a factor in urban design? In a session before the 1906 International Congress for Sanitary Dwellings, Adolphe Augustin Rey famously compared cities to vast bodies "furrowed by canals of air." Rey (1864-1934), a Beaux-Arts trained architect who would count Le Corbusier among his devotees, was then foregrounding his most well-known project: the winning entry for the Fondation Rothschild's worker housing competition in Paris. Conceived between 1905 and 1909, Rey's entry was a redesign of a triangular block formed by Rue de Prague, Rue Charles Baudelaire, and Rue Theophile Roussel. Rey's design featured innovative open-air courtyards and perforated façades that would not only filter and cleanse the air inside the building, but would also contribute to healthier air in the city.

This paper examines Rey's winning design from a different context: the burgeoning aeronautical culture in turn-of-century France. The focus will be on his drawings, with their depiction of buildings as white solids and of the dominant winds as dark lines of moving air with variable pressures—in short, architecture placed inside a wind tunnel. Using archival and documentary evidence, I will demonstrate how Rey's designs for the Rothschild competition provided an aerodynamic solution to urban block design. Rey's name is not usually associated with aeronautics, and yet the fact that his drawings look like wind tunnel visualizations is no mere coincidence. Here, the operative logic is that of resistance. Much like the French physiologist Xavier Bichat understood life as a product of "resistance" against pathogens, Rey's designs show architecture as a product of air resistance. In the end, this paper proposes how one of the most fundamental aspects of 20th century urbanism—the design of the city block—can be viewed in light of advances in aeronautics at the turn of the century.

**PS4 - Institutions and Their Architecture in the 17th Century**
Anthony Geraghty, University of York and Lydia M. Soo, University of Michigan, *Co-Chairs*

*The Architecture of Scientific Institutions in England, 1660-1680*

Matthew Walker
*University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK*

Scientific groups were amongst the most prominent institutions in the cultural life of late seventeenth-century England. Principal amongst these was the Royal Society, as well as Gresham College in London, the London College of Physicians, and Oxford and Cambridge Universities. To varying degrees, these institutions embraced experimental philosophy (the so-called 'new science'), both as a scientific methodology and as a way of life in the period.

This paper will explore the architecture of these institutions in relation to practices of experimental science. It will challenge the traditional view that architecture's role in facilitating scientific practice was a passive one: that it provided a backdrop for science to take place, but little else beyond that. Instead, I will argue that architecture could embody the various fundamental technologies by which institutionalised experimental science was practiced, repeated and disseminated.

In their seminal work, Leviathan and the Air-Pump, Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer define a triad of technologies that were essential to the management of experimental discourse. These were: a material technology made up of scientific instruments, a literary technology consisting of printed devices that insured the accurate relating of experiments to others, and a social technology of behavioural codes by which disputes were policed.

I will show how the architecture of scientific institutions inhabited each of these technologies. Firstly, it represented an appropriate space for experiment to occur and be repeated; secondly, it functioned as a circumstantial and iconographic literary device by which experimental knowledge claims could be accurately disseminated; thirdly, it could actively shape the behaviour of scientific actors within its space.

To demonstrate this I will use the following institutional buildings: Robert Hooke's Anatomy Theatre of the College of Physicians, the meeting room of the Royal Society, and various designs Christopher Wren produced for Cambridge University in the 1670s.

**PS4 - Institutions and Their Architecture in the 17th Century**
Anthony Geraghty, University of York and Lydia M. Soo, University of Michigan, *Co-Chairs*

*Imagining Iberia, Dreaming of Home: A British Colonial Landscape*

Ann-Marie Akehurst
*University of York, York, UK*

In 1708, one year after the Parliamentary Acts that united Great Britain, Anglo-Dutch forces seized the Mediterranean island of Minorca. By contrasting conflicting representations I argue that from the crucible of this theatre of war an emerging colonial architectural character was forged, for the C17th 'imaginative geography' that had constructed Minorca as ideal for naval and mercantile purposes, with potential for dominating the Mediterranean, was contested by the empirical data produced by the British government institutions. Immediately, a grid-iron town and impregnable fortifications were projected by the Board of Ordnance, and the Navy Sick and Hurt Board commissioned military engineers to construct a hospital ostensibly for the relief of maritime suffering. Through the fusion of the ideal and the actual, engineers, architects and local craftsmen created a poetic architectural landscape that expressed geo-political power in visual and spatial terms, while stimulating latent emotion.

I argue the rhyming of the Thames Estuary and the natural theatre of Port Mahon facilitated, in Spain, a reimagining of England, and I examine the importance of Greenwich as a key topos for an emerging British identity. Linda Colley has emphasized the primacy of 'an uncompromising Protestantism' in early modern constructions of British national character. The naval hospital, as the first purpose-built British structure on Minorca, carried the diplomatic responsibility for shaping this new character and was constructed amid religio-political turbulence in Roman Catholic Spain. The redesign of the hospital and specifically its chapel emphasized the Protestant character of the occupying forces to indigenous audiences while evoking the cultural landscape of an imagined British political community for the military personnel, stimulating patriotism, commemorating the monarchy and advertising the sophisticated level of logistical and scientific competence that enabled colonisers to rule hundreds of miles from home.

**PS4 - Institutions and Their Architecture in the 17th Century**
Anthony Geraghty, University of York and Lydia M. Soo, University of Michigan, *Co-Chairs*

*Making the Metropole: The East India Company in London*

Byron Bronston
*University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California, USA*

In Britain, the 17th Century saw the beginnings of a type of institution that we take for granted: the, privately owned, profit-oriented, joint-stock company. The British East India Company, chartered in 1599 by Elizabeth I as the Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, was the first, and by far largest private corporate undertaking in Britain before the industrial revolution. We often think of the East India Company as a branch of the British global colonial enterprise, and its often-negative impact upon India and other colonies must be emphasized. However, if we consider the works that the Company undertook in London over more than 250 years, it becomes clear that a development parallel to the overseas colonial encounter was happening at home: London was being remade into a Colonial metropole. This homeward-oriented "colonization" of the city, the workforce of London, and the national ideology, by the East India Company (along with other companies organized with similar mercantile goals) created the modern, world-city of London from the rather unimportant and unimposing medieval city in which the Company began.

In London during the 17th century, the East India Company undertook construction of a shipyard, and the renovation of domestic quarters for office space. More unusually for a private company, it also built a chapel, almshouse, and school. It organized its activities across space – sometimes across vast distances indeed – with a set of rules for corporate and spatial practices governing the operation of offices, shipyard, warehouses, and charitable institutions. The company undertook these activities within an evolving political and legal framework, and the decisions that the company made as it constructed these works reflected its position as it negotiated its way across the turbulent waters of civil war, religious ferment, international competition, and the high seas.

**PS4 - Institutions and Their Architecture in the 17th Century**
Anthony Geraghty, University of York and Lydia M. Soo, University of Michigan, *Co-Chairs*

*Alexandria on the Cam: The Wren Library and the Ancient City*

Robert Ferguson
*University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA*

The Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, designed by Sir Christopher Wren around 1675 and occupied in the late 1680s, has been celebrated as a building: one of the great early modern libraries, synthesizing a new approach to both shelving and daylighting while introducing a new classical idiom into a notoriously tradition-bound (read: gothic) context.

It is with respect to its context, I want to suggest, that the library makes its most important contribution, and on a level more fundamental than style or function, modernly conceived: Trinity Library represents a serious attempt to reinterpret the medieval university in terms of its ancient urban origins.

That this project extends beyond the library building itself and beyond the individual college illuminates a context – ancient and modern – in which freestanding buildings are highly exceptional: the city is a great house, and the house is a little city. Arising from a crisis in the self-representation of the university, the urban project succeeded only fragmentarily. Trinity Library is the most articulate of these fragments. The key to its interpretation has always been hidden in the most obvious place: the sculptural program, which previous commentary has passed over with the briefest of mentions.

This paper will take the Alexandrian theme announced there seriously, and will draw on material from the libraries of Christopher Wren the architect, Isaac Barrow the Master of Trinity, and their circles, to see how the renaissance project to reconstitute the ancient city and to reclaim the communicative power of the urban image became concrete in a changing academic world.

**PS4 - Institutions and Their Architecture in the 17th Century**
Anthony Geraghty, University of York and Lydia M. Soo, University of Michigan, *Co-Chairs*

*Architecture as Institutional Evidence in 17th-Century England*

Olivia Horsfall Turner
*English Heritage, London, UK*

The representational power of architecture is a commonplace of architectural history, but how was architecture understood as a conveyor of meaning in the seventeenth century? This question is of particular relevance to the intersection of institutions, architecture, and identity. What did institutions hope to convey through the buildings they erected, and how did they do it? This paper will address these questions: first, by analysing how contemporaries described existing institutional buildings, and secondly, by examining how a particular type of stylistic element might be deployed within an institutional context. By understanding how observers perceived buildings, we can illuminate the commissioning of new ones.

Seventeenth-century descriptions are often reticent about the meaning of architectural form, but one thing that emerges clearly is that antiquarians, travellers and patrons all equated architecture with institutional identity. Buildings were understood as evidence of an institution's type and history. Commentators focused on the purpose, patron and age of a building, and on such things as heraldry, inscriptions, broad stylistic modes, and comparisons to other sites. One particular design characteristic of institutional architecture in Oxford and Cambridge is the employment of medievalising motifs, such as the fan-vaulted staircase of Christ Church College, Oxford (1630), and the gateway of Clare College, Cambridge (1638-41), as well as the gothic library windows at St John's College, Cambridge (1624). This apparent archaism has been interpreted as creating 'stylistic continuity' with the existing buildings, but it was deployed alongside classical elements and there is more than 'keeping in keeping' at work here: it expresses something fundamental about decorum, and about what architecture's social role was thought to be. In this way, as well as examining the particular institutional circumstances in which these features were used, this study contributes to an understanding of seventeenth-century English architecture on its own terms.

**PS5 – Radical Marble**
Nicholas Napoli, Pratt Institute and William Tronzo, University of California, San Diego, *Co-Chairs*

*Decorative Display in Roman Public Baths: Intention and Reception*

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"What is so bad as Nero; what is so good as his baths?" quipped Martial (Ep. VII.34.4-5), reminding us that architecture could bolster a ruler's reputation. And indeed, between 25 BCE and 337 CE, the emperors built eight spectacular public baths in the city of Rome to great acclaim. I examine for the first time the extensive marble decoration in all media of the best preserved of these baths, the Baths of Caracalla; that decoration's popular reception; and its involvement in promulgating imperial agendas - critical elements in the Baths' design that have not been adequately addressed in previous scholarship.

Marble decoration was integral and vital to the visual experience of the Baths, promoting movement through the built environment. The Hercules Farnese, for example, was displayed between the frigidarium (room with cold pool) and Room 14E, an antechamber between the frigidarium and palaestra (exercise court). To understand the sculpture's narrative, Hercules resting after his final Labor, one was prompted to move from room to room to view the statue frontally and from behind, where the Apples of the Hesperides were revealed behind the hero's back. Marble decoration was a carefully strategized ensemble, being deliberately situated to encourage a bather's progress through the complex and inviting interpretation of the Bath's architecture.

This research illuminates a critical aspect of Roman life and one of the emperor's most potent means of communicating with his subjects. Given the popularity of the baths and their daily use, these were crowded spaces. On a purely functional level, the mechanism of strategically displayed marbles helped to maintain a steady flow of bathers through the complex. But on a symbolic level, the baths were connected with broader concerns of dynastic legitimacy and imperial largess, and their marble iconographical programs played a critical role in articulating these themes.

**PS5 – Radical Marble**
Nicholas Napoli, Pratt Institute and William Tronzo, University of California, San Diego, *Co-Chairs*

*The Silent Seed of Modernity: How Marble Made Rationalism*

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The paper intends to explore the theoretical passages and concrete experiences through which marble stones - popular in the Mediterranean basin since the Greek-Roman era - became fundamental for establishing the language of Modern architecture, early in the 20th century.
Only starting from the polite modernism of Loos and Hoffmann - where marble facades have been used for emphasizing the attention on an entirely new dynamic juxtaposition of pure volumes - can be fully intended the role of Gropius and Le Corbusier in capturing the strong potential symbolism of the naked white surfaces destined to embody the fundamental character of Rationalism.
Polished marble surfaces - and its different succedaneums: travertine, plasters - are charged during 20's and 30's of symbolic qualities that, according to Reyner Banham, induced the same protagonists to stress the attention on ‘functional' rather than ‘rational' aspects, trying to reduce the suspect of a disturbing affinity with Nazi-fascism.
Still, beside any suspect of ideologically reactionary attitude, all these seminal experiences remind to a thin line of ‘active classicism', well emphasized by Le Corbusier, talking about the Parthenon "All this plastic machinery is realized in marble with the rigour that we have learned to apply in the machine. The impression is of naked polished steel."
It is then on the strict dialectic between marble and steel that the attention should be focused, trying to disclose the peculiarly ‘classic' and yet revolutionary attitude owned by Marble and well explored by Mies from the Barcelona Pavilion to the Gallery in Berlin, extreme attempt to save the subtle symbolism of architectural forms and subtract architectural meaning from all the pressures to which the ‘Work of Art' was inevitably subject in the ‘Age of Mechanical Reproduction'.
Then came naked plasters and huge concrete boxes, but first came the unspeakable light of marbles.

**PS5 – Radical Marble**
Nicholas Napoli, Pratt Institute and William Tronzo, University of California, San Diego, *Co-Chairs*

*Marble and Marble's Twin Brother, at Home and in Colonial Brazil*

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From the outset of colonization, Portugal used the process of pre-fabrication and ballast transportation of stone to help build quickly and efficiently in remote settings. Fortresses, churches and public buildings were the recipient of this undertaking. Marble and lioz, its twin brother of the Lisbon region, were the main sorts of stone involved. In Africa, in Asia and mostly in Brazil, stone buildings were the exception: the incorporation of petreous material imported from Portugal was mainly the action of royalty, religious orders or public authorities. In these buildings the capacity of the material to shine brightly, to be carved and polished, to convey religious or power significance, meant that they naturally incorporated sculptural traits. However, most of the stone used was not marble, but the lesser precious but still very appreciated and valuable lioz, Robert Smith's 'pseudo-marble'. Conversely, at home, at the heart of the marble region in Alentejo, everyday and domestic built parts used marble in a matter of fact and ever-increasing way up to the last century, when it was used to cover pedestrian pavements in Estremoz. The erudite pseudo-marble abroad coexists with naïve true marble at home. Economics and power relations are at the heart of these functionalities. The paper puts forward the divergence between the building and sculptural export accomplishment, up to the 18$^{th}$ century homogenizing townscapes across the Atlantic, and the multi-scalar handling of a proximity resource, used both in palatial buildings and in day-to-day functions, such as the urban floor one steps on to go about one's business. These baroque and vernacular creations in the specific luminosity of Bahia, Lisbon and Alentejo are unexpectedly beautiful. The beauty of the petreous white surfaces, cut, fashioned and transported in arduous toil is a side-effect of the inclement nature of the stony land.

**PS5 – Radical Marble**
Nicholas Napoli, Pratt Institute and William Tronzo, University of California, San Diego, *Co-Chairs*

*Water from the Rock: The Use of Marble in Ravenna's Baptisteries*

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Focusing on the fifth-century decoration within the Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna, this paper investigates the use of marble within a baptismal context and explores the ways in which marble's visual and material associations functioned as a symbol of liturgical 'rebirth' and transformation. The Baptistery's extensive ornamentation includes opus sectile panels, stucco reliefs, and mosaics. In this paper, I argue that the crystallized, frozen water implied by the marble in the lowest zone acts as a material and symbolic contrast to the richly flowing depiction of water in the uppermost zone. I posit that the arrangement of these materials acts as a visual manifestation of Psalm 113:8, in which God "turned the rock into pools of water, and the stony hill into fountains of waters." Thus, as one's gaze scans the walls, the "rock" embodied in the marble converts into "pools of water" in the mosaic at the dome's apex. I demonstrate that these biblical metaphors are explicitly referred to in liturgical sources and contemporary descriptions of baptisteries. Although never before discussed, above each marble panel is a single jewel rendered in mosaic which functions as a "keystone" to each opus sectile section. Significantly, Early Christian theologians compared the purity received at baptism to "a gleaming crystal" and to marble, and I suggest that the spiritual transformation enacted through baptismal water parallels the physical transformation of water into marble. Finally, I discuss how the play between light, color, and reflection was closely tied to the performative dynamic of the rite, with marble acting as a chief component. By considering the deliberate juxtaposition between the different materials, this paper argues that the images and materials visualize a "conversion" from the formless water of the marble to the malleable clay (gypsum) of the stucco to finally the hardened, crystallized tesserae of the mosaics.

**PS5 – Radical Marble**
Nicholas Napoli, Pratt Institute and William Tronzo, University of California, San Diego, *Co-Chairs*

*Romanitas in Anglia: Purbeck Marble in Gothic England*

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Dark, gleaming shafts of Purbeck marble are the quintessential ornament of English Gothic architecture. Complex piers are stacked with it, thousands of windows and blind arcades are framed by it, and Purbeck anchors the most daringly thin vault supports ever attempted.

Yet it is not a marble at all and its first uses were utilitarian. Bluish-grey Purbeck "marble" was an otherwise unremarkable limestone that could take a high polish. It was introduced at Canterbury Cathedral in 1174 to "tart up" the Romanesque aisles that William of Sens had begrudgingly inherited after a fire in 1170. The explosion of Thomas Becket's cult and Canterbury's rise to archiepiscopal power gave Purbeck a retroactive cachet that would have astonished the building's original architects.

For the next century and a half, every English church of any pretension pushed itself to acquire as much Purbeck as it could -- often to the verge of bankruptcy. This paper examines why. Contemporary references make it clear that Purbeck was not simply the knock-off, English version of porphyry as is often claimed. Why did Purbeck marble become the defining component of great church architecture in England? What symbolic meanings did it adumbrate for medieval viewers? How did Purbeck convey Romanitas for the monks, canons, laity, and patrons who were so desperate to acquire it? How did its gleam and color sanctify relics, shrines, and pilgrimage space? And how did Purbeck's wild popularity force changes in architectural design and engineering?

The end of my paper will discuss the materiality of Purbeck. In 2008, I spent a week carving Purbeck with medieval tools in the only remaining quarry where it is still produced and exported. This hands-on experience gave me a deep understanding of the shaping, polishing, and transport of marble throughout Great Britain in the Middle Ages.

**PS6 - Infrastructure as Political Technology**
Andrew Herscher, University of Michigan, *Chair*

*Beautification and Repatriation at Mexico's Northern Border*

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In the early 1960s Antonio Bermúdez, director of the Mexico's Progama Nacional Fronterizo (PRONAF), argued that because the country's borderlands were cut off from national markets and media residents there were making purchases largely in the U.S. He proposed that Mexico build a figurative "shop window where we can exhibit all that we Mexicans are proud." Two years earlier President Adolfo López Mateos told an audience in Los Angeles that these citizens experienced "anxious desires" to modernize their communities. But were border residents the only anxious party? Who was to look through this window and what were they intended to see? After ignoring its northern border cities for decades the federal government began refashioning them as their economic power, based largely on commercial ties to the U.S., became plain. Previously imagined by Mexico City's elite as lawless centers of vice and backwardness, PRONAF was created with the charge to "improve" patriotic identification and, to a lesser degree, everyday life at the border through coordinated urban beautification and the development of centers for "orderly and moral" diversion. Waves of emigrant workers returning to the border zone with the expiration of the U.S. bracero program promised to upset the social dynamics of these cities. With design overseen by Mario Pani, chief translator of European functionalism in Mexico, PRONAF built mostly museums and malls wrapped in novel modernist envelopes, largely ignoring more pressing social needs. Taking López Mateo's recognition of the border population's "anxious desires" as a point of departure—a desire, I argue, shared by the state—this paper investigates the state's repatriation of residents vis-à-vis spaces for national consumption.

**PS6 - Infrastructure as Political Technology**
Andrew Herscher, University of Michigan, *Chair*

*Fast-Track Development: Israeli Construction in 1961 Sierra Leone*

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On April 27, 1961 the Sierra Leone House of Representatives declared independence in its newly built edifice in Freetown. Among the guests of honor was a group of Israeli architects and engineers, who had been working on the design and construction of the building for the past seven months, a job English firms declined due to what they claimed was an unrealistic deadline.

Concurrently under pressure to finalize the parliament project in Jerusalem, which was subject to a heated and prolonged public debate, the Israeli team received carte blanche in Sierra Leone. This was the first of a series of high-profile projects in post-independence sub-Saharan African states that Israeli architects and construction companies undertook in the following decade. Under the technical cooperation banner promoted by Israel's foreign ministry, Israeli firms established joint companies with the local governments, promoting technical transfer imbued with Labor Zionism nation-building ideology. In this paper I will argue that the Sierra Leone parliament project epitomized what was then Israel's main attraction: as an antidote to the colonial "not yet" paradigm, it promised rapid development, presumably both social and economic, with immediate, visible results.

The Sierra Leone parliament project thus brings to the fore the ambiguous role of prestigious architectural projects in post-independence sub-Saharan African states. As both a vehicle for a self-help based national economy and the paradigmatic representative of the social and national qualities this would entail, the project reveals the complex tension existed between governmentally and representation. I will explore this relationship in light of the Israeli foreign ministry cooperation campaign and the project's temporal contingency with the Israeli parliament project. Based on this case study and its historical failure, my paper will focus on the illusive temporal ellipsis suggested by architectural objects as the embodiments and harbingers of infrastructural development.

**PS6 - Infrastructure as Political Technology**
Andrew Herscher, University of Michigan, *Chair*

*Tracing the Cold War in the Colombian Architecture During 1950's*

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Drawing on a social and cultural analysis of the public architecture planned and built during the Colombian dictatorship of the 1950's, this Conference paper presents on-going research questioning what rationale underlies the 'National Policy of Public Works' lead by General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla.

This analysis challenges the current canon of study of modern architecture in Colombia, by situating it within the international politics of the period. Using original sources, including historical archives, oral history, declassified official reports, and raw blueprints, this research analyses the relationship between architecture and power in light of the concept of agency; where rather than having a specific function, architectural objects might pursue different purposes, to suggest that behind the nationalist discourse of the welfare-state, the consolidation of the modern architecture nationwide was a camouflaged instrument of the Cold War.

The paper first introduces the discourse of the construction of a new state and traces how this was influenced by US foreign policies and cooperation agreements in Latin America. It follows by giving an overview of the dictator's plan for the network of airports in Colombia as a materialization of both national and international policies. The final section presents how the new state-architecture aimed to catalyse collective memory representing the ideals of the modern movement. Rather than a synthesis of on-going work, what is articulated here are critical thoughts on the double face of the necessary infrastructure, questioning how this has influenced what I might refer to as a 'conflictive identity' in the region.

**PS6 - Infrastructure as Political Technology**
Andrew Herscher, University of Michigan, *Chair*

*Tropical Measures: Systemic Ambiguities in Fry and Drew's Projects in Africa*

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Between 1946 and 1951, the husband-and-wife team of architects, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, worked for the British colonial government designing a wide array of private and public projects in Ghana and Nigeria. This was a period when the moral legitimacy of British colonial rule faced new challenges, both internally and externally. The resurgence of architectural projects of colonial reform during this period is usually seen as evidence of relenting to these pressures. This paper challenges this understanding and argues that the direction of colonial policy was far more ambiguous. To the last, it was as much geared towards preserving power as relinquishing it, fostering a strategic ambiguity through concepts such as "good governance," "self-rule," and "trusteeship" that kept internal and external criticism of British rule at bay while extending its lease. Fry and Drew's large body of public works in Africa formed a critical site of imagining this delay as an ethical imperative. Closely associated with such doyens of interwar colonial policy in Africa as Julian Huxley, the architects cultivated design as a systemic armature that required managing climactic, behavioral, even symbolic "performances" over time. Their reframing of form and materiality in temporal and relative terms under the banner of tropical architecture opened an epistemological space in which colonial policy could be internationalized in new depoliticized terms. These projects have usually been evaluated simply according to whether or not they were true to African tradition, ignoring the long history of "indirect rule" that thoroughly reinvented the idea of tradition in Africa. Avoiding such analogical approaches, this papers offers a new understanding of Fry and Drew's work as part of a specific history of reconceptualization of power onto new registers at a key transitory moment of the 20$^{th}$ century.

**PS7 - Albert Kahn, Fordism and Their Legacies**
Stuart Leslie, The Johns Hopkins University, *Chair*

*Presenting Fordism to the World: Ford & Kahn at the 1930s Expos*

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In 1915 Henry Ford introduced millions of people to the practice of mass production with the exhibition of a Model-T assembly line at the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. By the 1930s, the concept of mass production permeated the fairgrounds of major American world's fairs, beginning with the 1933-34 Century of Progress International Exposition in Chicago. Within its colorful, modern pavilions, fairgoers could watch everything from Firestone Tires to Kraft Mayonnaise being produced. When Ford discovered that his competitor, General Motors, would be exhibiting its own fully functional Chevrolet assembly line within a modern pavilion designed by Albert Kahn, he abruptly boycotted the fair. Realizing the great mistake he had made in turning his back on such a prominent platform for promoting his products and ideas, he hired Kahn to design a massive corporate pavilion for the exposition's second season. With help from industrial designer Walter Dorwin Teague, Ford went well beyond exhibiting the basic assembly process of his automobiles by presenting a pavilion filled with spectacular, entertaining displays that incorporated a variety of innovative presentation techniques, including diorama, motion pictures, interactive presentations, and outdoor shows, in a carefully crafted attempt to more completely educate fairgoers on the total production process of his vehicles, as well as on the social and economic benefits of individual automobile ownership.

This paper will examine how the ideas of Henry Ford were directly reflected in the architecture and exhibit designs for the innovative automotive exposition pavilions produced by Albert Kahn and Walter Dorwin Teague for the Century of Progress Exposition, and how their design concepts were further developed at later American world's fairs in the 1930s, including at the 1935-36 California Pacific Exposition in San Diego, the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition in Dallas, and finally the 1939-40 New York World's Fair.

**PS7 - Albert Kahn, Fordism and Their Legacies**
Stuart Leslie, The Johns Hopkins University, *Chair*

*Fordism in Czechoslovakia: Baťa and the Postwar Building Industry*

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In 1919 Czech shoe entrepreneur Tomáš Baťa visited Ford's River Rouge Complex, then under construction, while on a tour of American industrial enterprises. The trip and his firsthand encounter with Fordism inspired an ambitious expansion plan for Zlín - Baťa's Moravian hometown and enterprise headquarters - that included new factory buildings, company-owned housing for his workers, and a new town complete with a modern department store, movie theater, and hotel. Baťa was soon known by the nickname, the "Czech Ford," connoting both his business practices and the paternalistic relationship between the company and its workers. As recent studies in Czech and English (by the author and others) have shown, Zlín and other Baťa company towns around the world are architecturally unique for their modern character, which developed from the standardized brick, glass, and concrete modules of the factory buildings, as well as widespread use of housing types and standardized construction.

This paper will expand upon this previous research to focus on the particular importance of the Fordist legacy to the architectural ideals of the Baťa Company. It will highlight the important role that Baťa architects played before, during, and after World War II in the Czechoslovak building industry and its shift towards mechanized and typified construction. Architects who had worked in the Baťa Building Department led efforts to nationalize and industrialize architectural practice after the rise of the Communist Party in 1948. Former Baťa architects also invented the first structural panel building in the Eastern Bloc and revolutionized Czechoslovakia's approach to mass housing, leading to the production of over 1,000,000 apartments in prefabricated buildings between 1950 and 1989. The paper will show how these transformations were deeply connected to Baťa's encounter with Fordism in Detroit even after the economic shift to communism.

**PS7 - Albert Kahn, Fordism and Their Legacies**
Stuart Leslie, The Johns Hopkins University, *Chair*

*Framing Mass Production: Reyner Banham vs. Albert Kahn*

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When visiting Packard 10— one of the first automobile factories in Detroit built in 1903 by Albert Kahn— Reyner Banham was struck by "the ruthless manner in which Kahn has shrunk everything to this minimal grid… which looks barely adequate to support the production processes." Writing in Concrete Atlantis (1986) Banham also found that the Kahn System of Reinforcement "contributes to an air of grudging meanness that pervades the whole scheme. What looked so exciting in photographs and magazines seen by European modernists… looks cheap and nasty in real life… and hardly any other architect or builder, with a professional conscience could have done it." And while commending contemporary innovations in concrete framing in Buffalo, Banham wrote, "there is no sign here of the miserliness of Kahn's work at Packard 10." Kahn's Old Shop at Highland Park got a similar review: Banham considered it a disappointment and a functional failure, and the only credit he gave the building was its being a testimony to a historical era. All in all, Banham stated that mass production had failed to transform its respective architecture. Yet, the greatness of Highland Park was that the building proved to be highly adaptable, during a time when both industrial processes and industrial architecture were yet to be determined.

This paper brings forth Banham's negative critique of Kahn's architecture, and his failure to change the parameters of his evaluation to follow the remarkable transformative processes of mass production. This paper thus becomes a critique of the architectural critique; as the writer of Theory and Design of the First Machine Age—where Banham accuses the architects of the International Style of not having acquainted themselves with technology—chose himself not to 'run with technology,' and thus failed to discard conventional norms and forms of architectural reading.

**PS7 - Albert Kahn, Fordism and Their Legacies**
Stuart Leslie, The Johns Hopkins University, *Chair*

*Detroit: Linear City*

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In 1930 Nikolai Miliutin in the Soviet Union put forward a utopian plan for a linear industrial city - later taken up by Le Corbusier in the 1940s. Neither Miliutin nor Le Corbusier seems to have realized that such a linear city was actually being built - in Detroit - with Albert Kahn as its most prominent designer. Located where major rail lines run parallel to major highways out from the city into still-rural suburban areas, the Detroit linear cities represent the characteristic urban morphology at Detroit's apogee from 1930 to 1970. They bring together linear systems of production and assembly at three scales: (1) the scale of the Midwest mega-region, with its then incomparable centers of heavy industry and networks of rail and water transportation; (2) the scale of the Detroit metropolis, which functioned as an interconnected locus of production; and (3) the scale of the individual plant, organized around its linear production line.
The paper will identify the defining linear city as the "Mound Road linear city" running north from Kahn's 1930 Plymouth plant located at the key intersection of the Michigan Central main line and the Detroit Terminal Railroad (an industrial beltline that connected the key industrial sites in the city). The other major plants along this linear city included Kahn's Detroit Truck Assembly plant (1938); Kahn's Hudson Naval Ordinance Plant (1941); and Kahn's Detroit Tank Arsenal (1941). During World War II, Hitler conquered Europe with 5,000 tanks; the Tank Arsenal assembled over 22,000.
After the war, the productivity of the Detroit linear cities would become the basis for the "Treaty of Detroit," the labor agreements that defined and stabilized working-class prosperity in the postwar period. The linear cities were complete when the greenfields surrounding the plants were filled with FHA-financed suburban tract houses.

**PS8 - The 20th Century: Europe and Beyond**
Meredith Clausen, University of Washington, *Chair*

*Le Corbusier and Color: Unité d'Habitation in Marseille Revisited*

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The Unité d'Habitation in Marseille, built between 1945 and 1952 as a prototype for a vertical garden city, not only represents radical new ideas for the urbanization of the cities and the standardization of the logis based upon the modulor, but also serves Le Corbusier as a testing ground for a revised architectural polychromy. The newly developed characteristics of his post-war polychromy, that not only included a new vibrant color palette, but also a new syntax and inner geometry, can be found, with variations, in a number of his structures built after the war.

To address the scope and complexity of the construction, Le Corbusier created for the first time a comprehensive color plan, and employed industrially manufactured paint products. Hand in hand with the paint manufacturer Peintures Berger de La Courneuve, he developed for the Unité a color palette based on Berger's paint products Matroil and Matone. Consequently, these hues, the "paints of modern times", formed the basis for his post-war polychromy.

The vibrant polychromy of the loggias stand in stark contrast to the crude concrete of the facades, and together with the color design for the apartments and rue intérieures, forms a complex mathematical color equation of juxtaposed and superimposed color groups and patterns. Comparable to the modulor that was based on the human measurements, the architectural polychromy created a human dimension within a complex system. Based on only sixteen different tones, this system yielded a large number of color combinations individualizing each of the 336 apartments. Different from Le Corbusier's purist buildings, where he used color mostly as a tool to articulate and modify the space, the Unite d'habitation in Marseille marks a shift towards the independence of color from form, and revealing within his work a new social dimension of color.

**PS8 - The 20th Century: Europe and Beyond**
Meredith Clausen, University of Washington, *Chair*

*Boltless Timber Frame Houses, 1870-1920, Siegen, Germany*

Karl Kiem
*University Siegen, Siegen, Germany*

The boltless timber frame houses in the iron-producing region surrounding Siegen, Germany have become internationally renowned through the photographs of Bernd and Hilla Becher. The photographs, taken between 1960 and 1975, were published in 1977 as a book entitled 'Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebiets'. The houses were built between 1870 and 1920.

An abundance of literature exists concerning these photographs and their importance as works of art. In contrast, relatively little is known about the development, construction and proliferation of these houses. Over the past five years a research project, undertaken by the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Siegen, has gathered new information about these buildings. A survey revealed that 165 of the 201 houses that were published by the Bechers are still standing in an area of roughly 30 kilometers surrounding Siegen. Such structures are not found anywhere else in Europe.

This project also uncovered more detailed information concerning the architectural history, the planning and the construction of the boltless timber frame houses. Contrary to previous assumptions, these houses are by no means examples of "anonymous architecture". Archival research unearthed not only plans but also revealed that the houses were carefully thought out structures. Detailed information, which documents the facades, plans and sections, demonstrates that the buildings were based upon Baroque typologies.

This investigation includes an analysis of the design, the construction, the precedents and the influence of Siegen's boltless timber frame houses, particularly upon subsequent 20th century experiments in timber-frame building. More broadly, this ongoing project considers how carefully controlled representations of architecture (in this case, the photographs by the Bechers) become altered by substantiated academic research, architectural documentation and historical analysis. It speculates to what extent architectural meanings can engage the knowledge generated by other disciplines to broaden our understanding and appreciation of these buildings.

**PS8 - The 20th Century: Europe and Beyond**
Meredith Clausen, University of Washington, *Chair*

*Role of the Foreign Expert: Charles Abrams in Turkey, 1954*

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This study re-examines the role United Nations (UN) experts played within the political context of the Cold War in the Middle East. The sojourn works of architects, planners, and other professionals in foreign lands have been well-documented in canonical histories and in post-colonial critiques. However, this study shows that, during the postwar period, foreign experts operated quite differently than the way they have been framed usually as sole agents of positivist discourse. Through an analysis of Charles Abrams' UN mission to Turkey in September-October 1954 and his subsequent report, this study shows how Abrams acted more as a mediator, and less as an expert, in order to construct a project that would ensure the support of involved parties. Operating within a context of diverging interests of local and international agents and agencies, Abrams found himself in a position to recalibrate the scope and content of his mission and to convince, not the client government in this case, but his own agency, of the validity of what he had decided to propose. The analysis of the resulting correspondence and report raises further questions about the interpretation of primary documents from this period as well. The study finds that Abrams' correspondence and report did not accurately reflect his findings and intentions. Instead, they were carefully scripted to appeal to the interests of their audience, the UN in this case. Consequently, while a direct reading of these documents was intended to frame the project as a product of a singular ideology or a program, a careful analysis reveals that Abrams' final proposal to establish a school of architecture and planning in Turkey was actually a product of contentious politics and diverging interests.

**PS8 - The 20th Century: Europe and Beyond**
Meredith Clausen, University of Washington, *Chair*

*Placemaking at the Edge of Paris*

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Creating a sense of place in the built environment is always a challenging task, particularly when attempting to infill a brownfield. Too many examples of urban renewal have stripped industrial character, gentrified beyond recognition, or both. A notable exception is the revitalization of the far southeastern end of Paris. The Bercy neighborhood, straddling the Seine along the 12th and 13th arrondissements, has traditionally been an industrial and immigrant center. Encircled by railyards, this neighborhood was long all but cut off from the rest of Paris. However, starting in the 1980s, the Bercy quartier has experienced extensive urban renewal, starting with its namesake concert/sports arena in 1984 and culminating recently with the completion of the Josephine Baker swimming pool, which floats on the Seine at the foot of the Bibliothèque François Mitterand (one of the president's Grands Travaux). Far from being just a series of buildings, this urban renewal effort is characterized by the retention of neighborhood character as well as improved linkage with the rest of the city. While wine has not been bottled in the Cour Saint-Émilion since the 1960s, the 19th Century stone warehouses have been retained and now form the commercial, pedestrian-oriented spine of the neighborhood. Parisians routinely visit this area, but it remains tourist-free and has largely kept its immigrant residents. This paper will discuss the history of the urban renewal of Bercy, paying particular attention to current urban design discourse. Efforts at placemaking, walkability, cultural heritage, and limitation of gentrification are all notable in this project, and will be discussed within the context of other large-scale urban renewal in Western cities.

**PS8 - The 20th Century: Europe and Beyond**
Meredith Clausen, University of Washington, *Chair*

*The Magasins Réunis, Art Nouveau, and Regionalism, 1890-1914*

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The architecture of the French department store chain called the Magasins Réunis, based in Nancy, illustrates the significance of Art Nouveau as a regional brand of commercial modernism during the late belle époque. Adopted by this important retailer as its unofficial company symbol, Art Nouveau became synonymous throughout France with the economic strength of the region of Lorraine before 1914.

The Magasins Réunis, the only French department store chain based outside Paris, was founded in 1885 by Antoine Corbin. In 1890 he commissioned the local architect Lucien Weissenburger to design the company's main store in Nancy. Weissenburger's building (and the first branches he designed in nearby cities), with their arcaded ground floors and domed corner towers, reflected the strong influence of Parisian architectural models on Nancy's architects.

As the Magasins Réunis expanded in the 1890s, Nancy became an independent center of Art Nouveau decorative arts. The adoption of the style by local designers and craftsmen and the Corbin family's generous patronage and advertisement of their work prompted Weissenburger to become more adventurous and break with Paris. His designs after 1900 for the Magasins Réunis' numerous branches around Lorraine, with their sinuous curves and motifs recalling regional flora and fauna, show the highly successful use of Nancy's Art Nouveau as a peculiar and seductive means to attract customers.

The Corbins' tireless promotion of Nancy's Art Nouveau helped make the style an emblem for Lorraine and Weissenburger one of the most prominent architects in eastern France. When the company opened a Parisian store in 1906, it was hailed as the triumph of an alternative, regional brand of modernism in the capital. The Magasins Réunis thus marked Nancy as one of the most successful centers of fin-de-siècle architectural modernity by combining innovations in construction and design with references to traditional local symbolism.

**PS9 - Global History as a Model for Architectural History**
Daniel A. Barber, Harvard University and Kimberly Elman Zarecor, Iowa State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Discrete Phenomena on a Global Scale: Studying the British Empire*

Alex Bremner
*University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK*

One of the regrettable if not entirely unexpected consequences of the West's focus on its own historical canon has been a tendency to narrow the field of analysis geographically. This has left an understanding of the 'life of forms' in a fragmentary state, as scholars have worked to study whole or discrete phenomena in largely isolated contexts, rarely if ever joining the dots to form an integrated historiography across larger units of time and space. However, seismic shifts have taken place recently in mainstream history leading to a much more expansive purview in the form of regional histories ('Atlantic' and 'Pacific') and World/Global history. Unfortunately, these new methodologies have gone almost completely un-noticed by architectural historians.

While a coherent 'global history' of architecture per se may be difficult, if not impossible, histories of discrete architectural phenomena on a global scale are not. Moving beyond post-colonial theory to pick up methodologies developed in the field of 'New British' and 'World' history (Pocock, 1974, 1979 & 2007; Armitage, 1999; Bayly, 2004), as well as scholarship in the geography of art (Kubler and Soria, 1959), this paper will argue for a different and more expansive approach to the understanding of architecture on a global scale -- in this case focusing on Britain and the British colonial world. The argument will be presented in the context of Anglican colonial church architecture, demonstrating the significance of institutional identity, political geography, agency, and professional networks in the shaping of a trans-regional (i.e., global) architectural agenda. The spread of Anglicanism throughout the British empire during the nineteenth century was fundamental to the social and cultural configuration of colonial society. It will be suggested that careful analysis of this phenomenon presents fresh challenges and opportunities for the study of architecture generally and in the context of empire.

**PS9 - Global History as a Model for Architectural History**
Daniel A. Barber, Harvard University and Kimberly Elman Zarecor, Iowa State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Writing the Global Histories of Modern Architecture: A Knowledge Approach*

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Global history has been a rapidly growing area in the past decade. Many historians have attempted to go beyond established national and regional history and to investigate entangled realities from a planetary perspective. The new global approaches to history-writing carry both promises and limitations. On the one hand, they have stimulated innovative perspectives of connections and interactions across the world and advanced understanding of highly complicated global processes. On the other hand, there is considerable concern about whether global history is merely another version of Eurocentric history which further opens up the world to the Western gaze.

Adopting a perspective from the global South, this paper will examine what is at stake in writing global histories of modern architecture. It asks: How might we distinguish global approaches to architectural history from more traditional historical approaches? In what ways have the new approaches challenged established regional and national histories? Is there not a real danger of misconstruing other building cultures when viewing them solely from approaches and concepts provided by Western historiography? And how might we evaluate the competing claims of diverse local, national, and regional histories and set them in relation to each other?

Drawing upon recent developments in knowledge studies, this paper sketches out the beginnings of a new framework for global architectural historiography based on the plurality of knowledge. It argues that the recognition of other modernities has to be posited at the level of epistemology in order to imagine an open globality based on connectivity and dialogue on equal basis. It is time to go beyond a dualistic narrative that marks the traditional (and the vernacular) off from the modern by re-formulating different architectural approaches not as evolutionary series but as coexisting knowledge systems.

**PS9 - Global History as a Model for Architectural History**
Daniel A. Barber, Harvard University and Kimberly Elman Zarecor, Iowa State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Building in Ferro-concrete, Building in Thailand (1932 to 1951)*

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This paper examines the circulation of materials, labor, and capital in the history of 20th-century Thai ferro-concrete architecture to reveal the conjoined but heterogeneous global genealogy of the modern built environment. Shifts in ideology, labor development, and material production in Thailand during this period were tied to but did not mimic those in Europe. Modernism and historicism as well as political concepts like democracy, fascism, and nationalism developed in Thailand in a more complex way than can be gleaned by seeing such ideals as perfect translations of Western values and aesthetics.

In the early 20th century, the production of steel and concrete became projects of the Siamese crown at the same time as the birth of the architectural profession and the consolidation of labor divisions in the building trades. Architects first used concrete to portray the modern virtues of a Siamese monarchy which equated itself with European imperial powers. After the overthrow of absolutism in 1932, the same architects seized on the material characteristics of concrete to purge Thai architecture of its royalist symbolism. Pared-down classical forms that were popular in fascist Italy and Germany were used by Thai architects to celebrate both class equality and racial purity. During the Cold War, these same sites were part of a campaign to instill a new aestheticized sense of anti-Communist politics and modernization in the Thai public.

Drawing on Thai- and Chinese-language archival documents and sites built in Thailand between 1932 and 1951, this paper challenges narratives of diffusion and mimesis which have structured canonical histories. By de-centering the conceptualization of the modern and its origins in “the West,” this paper offers a critical account of the development of architecture as a dialogue between local intentions and a global network of aesthetics, labor, materials, and capital.

**PS9 - Global History as a Model for Architectural History**
Daniel A. Barber, Harvard University and Kimberly Elman Zarecor, Iowa State University, *Co-Chairs*

*The Canon, the Particular, the Political: East European Dilemmas*

Carmen Popescu
*Independent scholar, Paris, France*

At the 2008 CIHA meeting, Piotr Piotrowski proposed a transnational reading of art history as a solution for integrating different narratives meant to expand - and thus alienate - the mainstream discourse. This horizontal reading, opposed to the customary vertical one, challenged the perspective of the canon as the major criterion in writing art/ architectural history, replacing it with the multiplication of its territories. While responding to the needs of globalization, the proposal aimed (specifically) to restore a place for Eastern Europe within the discourse of art/ architectural history.

If pertinent, the horizontal reading is however only partially effective. The difficulty in integrating the Eastern European narrative(s) pertains to their 'legibility' in the context. How to connect Eastern Europe (as a study area) to a larger context? How extensive could be this context (at a time when globalization turned marginality into a relative issue) in order not to affect the meaning of the subject? And, moreover, how to make it understandable without using the instruments and criteria of the mainstream discourse?

I argue that the multiplication of territories of architectural history equals a multiplication of fields, engendering specific tools of analysis. This leads to a 'clusterization' of the historiographical discourse, whose mechanics is regulated by methodology. Hence, a meaningful reading of Eastern European architecture(s) requires complementary approaches which are more or less conditioned by the remains of the mainstream thinking: the relation to the canon/ the (necessary) particularity as related to peripherality/ the determinant role of politics. The paper will look at historiographical case studies of the twentieth century architecture in order to define these approaches. While they reflect the predicaments of articulating the narrative of Eastern European architecture (compared to other 'marginal' territories) into a coherent 'global' discourse, they are relevant for the rise of new methodologies.

**PS9 - Global History as a Model for Architectural History**
Daniel A. Barber, Harvard University and Kimberly Elman Zarecor, Iowa State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Global History in a Not-So-Global World*

Mark Jarzombek
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, USA*

In the last decade, global history has emerged as a new historical category, different in considerable ways from "world history" and from the even older notion of history as constituted by the European tradition-plus-China-and-India. Though all of this might seem a positive, I will argue that - globally speaking - the emergence of an interest in global history is countermanded by the rise of Cultural Nationalism, an issue that is rarely addressed in architecture history circles. In this paper, I will discuss the issue of Cultural Nationalism and its ambiguous relationship to UNESCO's ever expanding Heritage List. I will argue that that in the heightened status of historical architecture, ‘global history' as we might generally understand it in academe is becoming more difficult to research than ever before.

**PS10 - What Do We Make of Detroit?**
Richard Cleary, The University of Texas at Austin, *Chair*

*Morris and Eminem: Place, Production and Promotion*

Lisa Banu
*Purdue University, Indiana, USA*

The 2011 televised Super bowl half time included a General Motors commercial featuring the Chrysler with the tagline, “Imported from Detroit.” The invocation of the city, in particular the 1928 Fox Theater and a pop culture celebrity seems in stark contrast to Morris’ disdain of ‘fashion’ and self-promotion. In an attempt to denounce the superficial and fashionable, Morris, promoted honest labor as the source of not only aesthetic good but also moral and social good. The exultation of labor accompanied a renewed urgency related to the place of production. Similarly, the Chrysler commercial announces “When it comes to luxury, its as much about where’s its from as who its for.” What is the difference between place as formative versus contemporary uses of place as promotion? This paper investigates the shifting role of place from materials to marketing utilizing Morris’ philosophical imperative for the Arts and Crafts movement charted in his seminal lecture, ‘The Lesser Arts.’ I suggest that while the primacy of place remains a shared principle, for Morris ‘place’ promoted the natural pastoral setting against London, in contrast the Super Bowl commercial promotes the Chrysler 200 as a product of the city of Detroit. The distinction marks a philosophical contrast between place as organic and place as constructed. In both cases the location of labor determines the significance, one against London, and the other for Detroit. The commercial attests to the continued relevance and fusion of labor and architectural location evident in Morris’ principles. This presentation will begin with the commercial, offer an interpretation based on Morris’ text, and prompt the philosophical question of place as association with Nature and/or history and concludes with the question: Does the commercial reflect continued support for Arts and Crafts principles imported in 1906, in the tagline ‘imported from Detroit’, or a betrayal?

**PS10 - What Do We Make of Detroit?**
Richard Cleary, The University of Texas at Austin, *Chair*

*A Tale of Two Cities: Courtyard Apartments in Chicago and Detroit*

Michael Rabens
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This paper examines the impact of a specific housing type - the low-rise courtyard apartment building - on the American urban streetscape of the early 20th century. Whereas the buildings lining the typical 19th-century city street were set either flush with the property lines or at a uniform setback, the courtyard apartment building introduced a note of variety into the strict line of the street wall. As their landscaped courtyards weave in and out of the prevailing linear alignment, these buildings add private property to the public realm, both visually and spatially. The result is a different texture in the urban fabric, an alternative to the corridor street.

While courtyard apartment buildings may be found in cities across the country, I have focused my study on developments in two Midwestern cities, Chicago and Detroit. In the case of Chicago, I have completed a citywide survey which indicates that more than 5,000 examples of this type were built between 1890 and 1930; most of these buildings still stand today. In Detroit, where the courtyard type once numbered in the hundreds, a larger percentage of them has disappeared. Therefore I have relied primarily on Sanborn fire insurance maps, complemented by aerial photography surveys, to locate both existing and "lost" examples of the courtyard type. The distinctive footprint of the courtyard apartment building makes it easily recognizable in both formats. My analysis examines both the architectural characteristics and the geographic distribution of these buildings in each city. I hope to demonstrate what made this particular building type so popular with real estate developers and apartment dwellers alike: the courtyard apartment building integrates the urban and the suburban, and it provides an appealing alternative to the predominant types of middle class housing available in dense urban contexts.

**PS10 - What Do We Make of Detroit?**
Richard Cleary, The University of Texas at Austin, *Chair*

*Fort Street West and Civic Vision in Detroit*

Scott Weir
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Before the automobile turned Detroit into Motown, capital derived from lumber, shipping and other forms of manufacturing produced a locally unprecedented building boom of picturesque townhouses and villas. Fort Street West emerged in the late 1850's and 1860's as Detroit's most substantial residential street transitioning the civic identity from a constricted French and then British military fort and architectural backwater, to recognizing that it could use the civic motto "Speramus Meliora, Resurgit Cineribus" to become a city of innovative monumental architecture and great public spaces. From the Swain house with its 100ft tall tower beginning the procession of palatial residences in Springwells three miles to the west, through to the urban townhouses in the core of Detroit with broad 30ft wide sidewalks, the residential character of this street was dominant until the controversial construction of the Union Depot and its rail yard in 1891. Further interventions resulted in the early 20$^{th}$ century from the popularization of the automobile; the easy conversion of this broad pedestrian scaled avenue into a business artery and then an early "superhighway" heralded changes that would occur throughout Detroit and eventually across North America.

This essay examines how the architectural innovations of these early estates of West Fort represented a sharp transition from French and British Detroit, and embodied the revised vision for Detroit as a city of houses. It examines the architectural and economic context within Detroit that generated their emergence as well as their dissolution. It portrays the urban form that resulted on West Fort, and explores how this morphology informed future planning in the emergent city. And finally it considers how these elements might be useful in understanding the city's strengths in its current form.

**PS10 - What Do We Make of Detroit?**
Richard Cleary, The University of Texas at Austin, *Chair*

*Buying into Fordism: Autoworkers' Homes in Detroit 1913-1920*

Michael McCulloch
*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA*

Fordism was named for a paradigm shift within the Highland Park plant and it produced a new blue-collar society beyond its gates. A substantial foreman class emerged and unskilled immigrants poured into Detroit. The residential city grew quickly and low in the 1910's with exceptionally high homeownership rates. This paper is concerned with how those new homes reflected new social identities, divisions and ways of life for Detroit's autoworker-consumers. With newly rationalized production Ford channeled unprecedented profit-sharing to his fast-growing cohort of workers with the Five Dollar Day. This industrial cash was matched by credit as Savings and Loan institutions emerged. The company and other agents encouraged autoworkers, many newly-arrived, to join the home-owning social strata and to meet the "American standard" of living. Challenging the popular narrative of Ford's compensation as a social leveler this paper will consider both the opportunities and the limits to workers' mobility in this first decade of Detroit Fordism.

This study will analyze employment records on job hierarchy, compensation, and ethnic identity, and Ford's Sociological Department's records of workers' home lives to map their residential choices. Sanborn records and photographic evidence will illustrate the range of residential typologies constructed and sold in this period. Ford propaganda, lenders' practices, real estate advertisements, and consumer marketing in magazines will illustrate the social and cultural context in which blue-collar Ford workers navigated residential Detroit.

The transforming residential city under Fordist production has gone understudied. Influential works on Detroit Fordism, such as Terry Smith's Making the Modern and Stephen Meyer III's The Five Dollar Day, have emphasized revolutionary plant designs and the social relations within them rather than their shaping of the city beyond. This paper will begin to address the latter by examining the agency of Highland Park workers in the residential sections of early Fordist Detroit.

**PS10 - What Do We Make of Detroit?**
Richard Cleary, The University of Texas at Austin, *Chair*

*Envisioning a Grand City: Cass Gilbert's Detroit*

Barbara Christen
*Independent scholar, Baltimore, MD, USA*

Cass Gilbert's Detroit Public Library (1913-1921), Scott Memorial Fountain (1921-1922), and the Belle Isle Bridge (1915) offer rich territory, previously unstudied collectively, to explore perspectives of city planning in early 20th-century Detroit. That the library served as one aspect of a civic center plan scuttled in the face of a struggling economy, labor concerns, and a world preparing to join the world war is only part of the story. Gilbert also envisioned a city center knit together with the outer city by grand boulevards leading to an extensive bridge project that included recreational and park areas. This paper will examine and contextualize the public rhetoric, particularly in the popular press, about Gilbert's grand schemes in relation to the ideals of the City Beautiful and thus reclaim that chapter of Detroit's history in this period. It will also examine the role of Detroiter, Charles Moore, who was secretary to Michigan senator, James McMillan, and later editor of Burnham & Bennett's Plan of Chicago (1909), among other professional accomplishments. In the closer view, the paper will consider the goals of educating an emerging citizenry for the nation by examining the spatial, didactic, and programmatic goals of the Children's Room of the library. While the library's mural cycles by East coast decorative painters, including Edwin Blashfield and Gari Melchers, have been studied at some length, the decorative treatments and uses of the children's areas in the building have not. These deserve attention in light of the larger project of reformist ideals.

**PS11 - Remembering George A. Kubler**
Humberto Rodríguez-Camilloni, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, *Chair*

*Opening a closed sequence: Portuguese Plain Architecture*

Eliana Sousa Santos
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This paper will address George Kubler's Portuguese Plain Architecture [PPA] (1972) and its effect in Portuguese architectural practice.

Kubler's philosophy of art history implied that closed sequences of objects could be opened by several reasons. Thus, it will be argued that there is an effect upon Portuguese architecture post 1974 that was in part catalyzed by Kubler's PPA, that is apparent by the reemergence of some of the form classes treated by Kubler to reappear in Portuguese architecture. This was mostly achieved through the popularity of Kubler's book within architectural practice, scholarship and moreover by the establishment of the term Plain Architecture in portuguese architectural vocabulary.

The book was very well received in Portugal given the particular political and social situation at the time, the country was on the verge of the 1974 revolution. If Kubler was displaying a type of architecture previously undefined by architectural historians, he was as well unveiling a new tradition to be adopted in a post-revolutionary situation. The notion of tradition was very important in both pre and post revolutionary Portugal. Plain Architecture materialized a complex blend between religious, secular, traditional and an aesthetics that evoked early modernism.

The portuguese reception of PPA is also correlated to the ideology of aestethics of scarcity and to progressive liberal thought. Plain Architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shared some qualities with the architecture to be built in post-revolutionary Portugal, most importantly the effect that could be achieved with low budget buildings that were responding to a situation of crisis, and simultaneously exhaled aristocratic sparsity. The connection of PPA with the ideological attributes of early modernism and the political context of the time catalysed the reemergence of a new order of Portuguese Plain that resonates still in contemporary architecture.

**PS11 - Remembering George A. Kubler**
Humberto Rodríguez-Camilloni, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, *Chair*

*"American Dominions" Revisited: Inventions in Brazilian Architecture*

June Komisar
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George Kubler's The Shape of Time discusses the impetus to create objects of art and architecture. Both problem-solving inventions and their countless variations are concerns of this text, but his earlier comprehensive Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800, also demonstrates his approach to the artifact. Among many other things, this text traces the variations and adaptations of Portuguese building types created in the colony of Brazil. Because Spain and Portugal was a survey, neither the depth of variation and artistic invention nor the degree of transcultural mixing of various traditions could possibly be mined thoroughly.

One source for Kubler's examples was the Colonial Catholic church architecture created during the eighteenth century in Ouro Preto, Minas Gerais, Brazil. Contemporary scholars have continued to work there, exploring the architecture he discussed, using his methods and more, comparing structures to each other as well as to earlier structures built in Portugal, elsewhere in Europe and Africa. In colonial Ouro Preto, building design was affected by the problems of working with local materials, pigments, etc. as well as the particularities of the religious and social conditions within the colony of Europeans, Brazil-born residents and African slaves. This syncretic architecture can be understood as a collection of creative solutions to the problems at hand.

In this paper, three intertwining issues are explored through the lenses of Kubler's ideas about invention and variation as well as post-colonial theory and urban morphology: 1) why churches for almost identical congregations in Ouro Preto dedicated to the same saint have radically different forms; 2) which buildings were influential as generators of form in the region and why, and 3) the problem of the concept "genius" when discussing art forms as complex as monumental architecture such as these colonial churches.

**PS11 - Remembering George A. Kubler**
Humberto Rodríguez-Camilloni, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, *Chair*

*The Solomonic Legacy in Early Bourbon Spain*

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Hapsburg Spain exhibited a unique concern with Solomonic forms (particularly twisted columns), most notably during Philip II's building of the Escorial. It may seem strange that a building whose character and language epitomized the "unornamented style" of its authors, Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, should trigger such sentiments of license and permutation. Yet from the outset, the Escorial was associated with Solomon's Temple, both literally (in plan and architectural detail) and metaphorically (Philip II as a new Solomon). The monastery's librarian, Benito Arias Montano, had produced his own reconstruction of the Temple (1571-72), as well as the Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando, who trained under Herrera at the Escorial and whose treatise and commentary on the Temple was published in Rome in 1598-1604. In the wake of these two seminal texts, a number of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Spanish architects and writers on architecture (Juan Ricci, Juan Caramuel de Lobkowitz, and José de Hermosilla in particular) returned to the question of the Solomonic disposition and its relevance to contemporary practice.

That the Escorial was a monument rooted in the psyche of Spanish Hapsburg culture comes as little surprise. Yet its sustained revival in early Bourbon Spain seems curious, particularly as the first two Bourbon monarchs, Philip V and his son Ferdinand VI, patronized new building campaigns and deliberately decided to be interred in monuments of their own choosing and design. The present study will examine the lasting impact of the Escorial in the early eighteenth century as both an exemplar of Greco-Roman classicism, and a distinctly Spanish contribution to the history of European architecture.

**PS11 - Remembering George A. Kubler**
Humberto Rodríguez-Camilloni, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, *Chair*

*George Kubler & the Franciscan Mosques of 16th-Century New Spain*

Jaime Lara
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George Kubler blazed the trail of studying early colonial architecture in Mexico (New Spain). In his classic study of the topic, he examined form, function and historical precedent; but he did not say the last work. Kubler's well-known disinclination to recognize an "iconography of colonial New World architecture" may have prejudiced him against larger issues -- architectural, theological and even theatrical -- that have emerged since his 1948 two-volume publication. In this paper I critique and build on his study of one type of structure that he treated in *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, namely the open chapels initially designed by the friar Pedro de Gante that give the appearance of a mosque or a hypostyle hall. By examining the visual resources available to the friar-artist-architects, and by returning to the Islamic models, I show that they were thinking in more transcendent terms to link their buildings to a renowned prototype. While manifesting a broader ideology than Kubler ever admitted, the Franciscan mosques were also pragmatic spaces and served their liturgical and didactic functions very well. One of them, much modified, even continues in use today.

**PS12 - Medieval Structures in Early Modern Palaces**
Max Grossman, The University of Texas at El Paso, *Chair*

*Medieval Fabric in Roman Palaces: Reuse and Referentiality*

Guendalina Ajello Mahler
*New York University, New York, USA*

The city of Rome is rich in reused architectural elements of all kinds, including medieval structures. There are the substantially preserved medieval buildings of the Orsini and Savelli baronial complexes, later renovated by Orazio Torriani and Baldassarre Peruzzi respectively, and a number of medieval towers, preserved but refaced: within Palazzo Orsini a Pasquino by Antonio da Sangallo, Palazzo Mattei di Giove by Carlo Maderno, Peruzzi's unrealized design for Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, and Michelangelo's Capitoline project.

The intentional incorporation of medieval structures in early modern Roman palaces was a distinctive practice, different from the purely opportunistic reuse of earlier fabric, the incorporation of spolia, or the inclusion of new but medievalizing structures. While some of these practices have been thoroughly investigated, others have barely been explored, and the methodologies for understanding one do not automatically apply to the others. A tower preserved for symbolic reasons invites a very different kind of analysis from one retained for sheer lack of funds or newly built in an archaic style. Yet, it is perhaps inadvisable to separate these choices entirely from one another. It can be difficult to decipher architects' and patrons' perceptions of specific architectural forms or their intentions in adopting particular architectural solutions. Moreover, the meanings of these interrelated practices can be both mixed and mutually informative.

Roman palaces may serve as a prism through which to examine architectural reuse and symbolic allusion to the medieval past in the Eternal City.

**PS12 - Medieval Structures in Early Modern Palaces**
Max Grossman, The University of Texas at El Paso, *Chair*

*Todi's Palazzo dei Priori: Recurring Reminder of the Communal Age*

Samuel Gruber
*Syracuse University, Syracuse, USA*

Umbrian Todi is today mostly celebrated as an archetypal medieval hill town. In the thirteenth century, its two poles of power faced off across opposite sides of the main piazza (*Platea Maior*): the Duomo and bishop's palace to the north, and the civic palaces to the south. Scholars continue to identify the piazza and its surrounding buildings as a near perfect example of Italian medieval communal architecture and urbanism. Its history, however, is not so neat. The Piazza has been the focal point of Todi's public activity for over two thousand years, and during that time has presented many appearances. Since the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, the adjacent palaces, in particular, have been dressed in a variety of styles and have displayed a shifting mix of medieval and Renaissance facades. These transformations reflect Todi's changing social, political and religious aspirations and conflicts.

No single building better reflects these changes than the Palazzo dei Priori, which was created in the early-fourteenth century by consolidating several large private residences, and still serves as a seat of local government. Its massive form has long served as the theatrical backdrop for the town's ceremonial life. In the late trecento, the significance of the palazzo was increased by the erection of a large corner tower, overlooking the piazza and marking Todi's most important intersection. Though the facade of the building was updated in the sixteenth century, when Pope Leo X, as overlord of the former commune, authorized a "restoration" in the fashionable High Renaissance style, the tower remained untouched and unrepentantly medieval, a vestigial but prominent reminder of Todi's communal era.

**PS12 - Medieval Structures in Early Modern Palaces**
Max Grossman, The University of Texas at El Paso, *Chair*

*Pope Pius II and Siena: Architecture of Power, Old and New*

A. Lawrence Jenkens
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As soon as he was elected in 1458, Pius II began to plan an extraordinary palace/loggia/piazza complex in his native Siena. That project was completed, in part, over the following fifty years, and the final result was less a product of Pius's own vision than the rapidly changing political alliances and factionalism in Siena at the end of the fifteenth century. Because the project never achieved the singularity of purpose Pius intended, modern scholars have lost sight of the whole in favor of the parts: the Loggia del Papa and the magnificent marble facade of the Palazzo Piccolomini. Yet when Pius, the son of a political exile with nothing but his noble pedigree, first envisioned a Piccolomini complex in Siena, his planning was dictated by preexisting buildings-the Torre de' Piccolomini and church of San Martino-which were to be incorporated into the fabric of the new family enclave and were essential to the symbolism the pope intended.

This paper explores the formation of Pius' plan for a family compound in Siena and looks at the role of both the old and the new in formulating what would have been one of the boldest statements of familial power, or at least the ambition for it, in quattrocento Italy.

**PS13 - African Architecture as Muse**
Steven Nelson, University of California, Los Angeles, *Chair*

*From Aegypt to Adjaye: African Architecture and the West*

Suzanne Blier
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This paper takes up core themes of African architectural appropriation and engagement in the West, framed around issues of time, constructed memory, and mythologies of the present. While form figures prominently in this discussion, so also do other vocabularies and typologies of expression. In the same way that there is no monolithic African architectural referent so too, a variety of tropes that reference the continent come into play. Among others, these include elements of texture, plasticity, material, and form, qualities that speak simultaneously to what Africa is perceived to be and to how its changing configuration is envisioned in the changing Western imaginary. In addition to well know forums of engagement and cross-currency such world fairs, I also explore other contexts among these historical invention , wars of expansion, colonialism, early theories of modernism, and idioms of contemporary design.

**PS13 - African Architecture as Muse**
Steven Nelson, University of California, Los Angeles, *Chair*

*'Accidental' Architecture: The Spaces Of The African Travelogue*

Michelle Apotsos
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From the writings and illustrations of Ibn Battuta and Cavazzi to the later photographs of Monteil, a lineage of African architectural form has been inadvertently documented and subtly established over the course of almost a millennium. Used as background in the photographic tableaux of African travelogues or as visual 'text' to supplement African ethnographic 'types', architecture has in many ways become accidental, positioned as an inconspicuous marker of cultural identity that participates in setting the 'appropriate' environmental contexts for Africans to perform the 'proper' rituals of day-to-day life. Its intuitive inclusion in these images reflects its perceived membership within a particular cultural setting by adding visual identification, definition, and authenticity to sketched and later photographed and filmed scenes. Architecture is performing in these cases, lending legitimacy to imperialistic fantasies of the African who is visually inscribed with the emblems of his Africanness. Chosen for their clarity and lack of ambiguity, these symbols typically include vegetation (palm trees), exotic animals (elephants and lions), and of course, the affectionately circumscribed mud hut whose presence has been branded onto the landscape of Africa by imperialist fantasy. Thus, architecture within the travelogue represents a stereotyped icon of cultural form, unintentionally captured but subsequently used to build a visual vocabulary that has been mechanistically applied to various geographical areas, framing particular scenes as a come-upon or "captured" montages that represent holistic images of cultures, peoples, and continents. With these issues in mind, this paper seeks to address two primary questions. Firstly, why has African architecture (and architecture in general) been perceived as such a defining cultural artifact? And secondly, what socio-political situations were at play in the frameworks of encounter between travelers and African nationals that acted to exclude African architecture from the autonomous treatment accorded other 'exotic' architectural constructs?

**PS13 - African Architecture as Muse**
Steven Nelson, University of California, Los Angeles, *Chair*

*Ghadames: Architectural Muse And World Heritage Site*

Mia Fuller
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Ghadames, an oasis town in southwestern Libya with a long history as an African trading crossroads, has provided architectural inspiration beyond the town itself since the Italian colonial period (1911-1943). Its distinctive architecture, defined by its unique crenellation, began to appear in Italian leisure-oriented buildings – often villas in seaside towns – as early as the 1920s, denoting an accessible 'exotic' while disavowing the specific colonial politics tied to this architectural borrowing. Eventually, Italian architects occasionally quoted Ghadames's skyline in the colony's cities, particularly Tripoli, thus transplanting it within what they perceived as a whole – Libya – just as they had taken it to the metropole.

In postcolonial Libya and especially under Qadhafi's rule, ethnic and regional differences have been suppressed in the name of a larger national identity imposed from above. African-identified Berber and Tuareg groups have thus been subjugated to a relatively tribal and Arab national order, but at the same time, Ghadames' crenellation has continued to appear in the coastal cities as a signifier of indigenously 'Libyan' (rather than African) architecture and identity.

In addition to examining the history and purposes of Ghadames' architecture's adaptations in Italy and Libya, this paper addresses how the city itself has been altered. Now a World Heritage site, it stands empty and pristine, whitewashed literally and figuratively. Sights, sounds, and smells have been scrubbed away, as has been the historical fact of Ghadames' glory days as a slave trade center; and while the residences stand uninhabited, tourists can visit 'typical' homes whose ethnic specificity remains unmentioned. If pertinent, the paper will also take into account the shifting status of Ghadames' crenellations in light of the Libyan Uprising of 2011, and its outcome.

**PS13 - African Architecture as Muse**
Steven Nelson, University of California, Los Angeles, *Chair*

*Building for "l'authenticité:" Architect Eugène Palumbo in Mobutu's Congo*

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In 1966, Mobutu Sese Seko, who had just seized power in the Congo, the former Belgian colony that had gained its independence in 1960, proclaimed his first ideas on what was to become in the early seventies the political doctrine known as the "Recours à l'authenticité". Aimed at erasing all remaining traces of Belgian colonialism, this doctrine manifested itself via the dismantlement of colonial monuments and the changing of colonial names (Congo being renamed "Zaïre"), the introduction of a new national flag, anthem and outfit, the so-called abacost (à bas la costume), as well as the "return" to -albeit "invented"- traditional values, customs and food. This doctrine of "authenticité" also found its expression in a new form of state culture, with Congolese artists receiving large public commissions and being promoted via (inter)national, state sponsored exhibitions.

This paper questions to what extent the architecture of the young state responded to this doctrine. Given the fact that training for Congolese architects only started in 1958, Mobutu had to rely on the expertise of foreign designers, with a large number of commissions being granted to French architects and urban planners. Here, we will focus on Eugène Palumbo (1925-2008), an Italian architect who arrived in the Congo already in the 1950s, worked temporarily for the UNESCO after Congo gained its independence and was to associate in the late 1960s with the first Congolese architect of a certain reputation, Fernand Tala N'Gai. Palumbo's work, that comprises a large number of official projects as well as projects for Congo's new elite, offers a telling case to examine to what extent the new architecture of Congo stayed in tune with contemporary strands in modern architecture of the late 1960s and 1970s, while simultaneously seeking to embody the "authentic" culture of this post-independence African nation.

**PS13 - African Architecture as Muse**
Steven Nelson, University of California, Los Angeles, *Chair*

*Great Zimbabwe: Imag(in)ing Africa in South African Architecture*

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As one of the best-preserved examples of monumental architecture in the African subcontinent, Great Zimbabwe has exercised throughout history an enduring allure for explorers, archaeologists, historians and politicians alike. Indeed, the very naming of Zimbabwe after the site, and the incorporation of one of its archaeological treasures – the Zimbabwe Bird – into the national flags both of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, attests to its enormous cultural and political significance.

Great Zimbabwe has also featured prominently in the history of South African architecture wherever a link to an 'authentic' African language of form has been politically expedient: from Herbert Baker's Rhodes House at Oxford, via Gerhard Moerdijk's Afrikaner nationalist-inspired volksargitektuur of the 1930s and 40s and the so-called Pretoria Regionalism of the 1950s and 60s, to repeated references to aspects of the ruins (not least the tower) in post-apartheid public buildings and monuments, Great Zimbabwe has been established and reiterated as a trope both of the romance and exoticism of Southern Africa, and an authentic expression of 'Africanness'. In this paper I examine the complexities and contradictions inherent in these tropes, and consider the ways in which they have buttressed imaginaries of national belonging in South African architecture.

**PS14 - Rethinking Architecture in the Age of Printing**
Kathryn Blair Moore, New York University and Michael Waters, New York University, *Co-Chairs*

*Enclosed by Chromolithographs: Interior Decoration in Qajar Iran*

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At the end of the Qajar era (late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries), the portrayal of homoerotic older men with younger men and heterosexual male-female couples--so prominent in the art of earlier dynasties--was replaced by depictions of solitary females. The Qajar fascination with women's beauty and especially with their bare breasts was linked to Iranian men's increasing access to Europe. Iranian officials who travelled to Europe saw it as a kind of heaven and European women reminded them of the promised heavenly angels (hurs). It is thus no surprise that images of European women (zan-e farangi) came to embellish the late-Qajar aristocratic homes. At the time when boundaries of andarun (harem) and birun (the men's outer section of the domicile) began to slowly disappear, gendered identity was secured through other means, such as taste in interior design and decoration. Unable to afford the underglaze painted tiles of the capital's palaces, many upper-class households instead inserted oleograph or chromolithograph portraits of European women into the masonry of their walls. These printed images were translated into built form by local craftsmen, who carefully embedded the images into the frames of mirror fragments on plastered walls and lacquered them. Whereas traditional techniques of interior decoration (arabesque) were good for the longue durée, these new "kitsch" decorations seemed temporary (even though some of them have remained intact to the present day). In this paper, I explore an overlooked aspect of Islamic architecture and describe how printed images interface with structural media; I show how the popularity of printed images contributed to the decline of traditional decorative revetments and craftsmanship; and I demonstrate that this imported print culture played a significant role in "naturalizing" connotative associations among domestic architecture, femininity, kitsch, and consumerism at the dawn of Iran's entry into its modernization phase.

**PS14 - Rethinking Architecture in the Age of Printing**
Kathryn Blair Moore, New York University and Michael Waters, New York University, *Co-Chairs*

*The informational economies of San Paolo fuori le mura in 19th-century Rome*

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The reconstruction of San Paolo fuori le mura following a catastrophic fire in 1823 became the largest Church-sponsored architectural project in Rome since Saint Peter's. Yet while its ecclesiastical patrons imagined it in unproblematic continuity with traditional church patronage in Rome, many aspects of the reconstruction were actually revolutionary; most of these related to how the spread of printing had transformed the spatial horizons of social imagination. Printing was not a new invention, but it was only during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the public sphere had shifted from being normatively embodied to informational. This crucially shaped the new, spatially exploded imagining of community that anchors modern identities and institutions. Architecture, as a practice at once spatial and social, offers a privileged window onto these changes. And while these shifts occurred later in Rome than elsewhere, they are of special interest there because of the Church's foundation investment in embodiment and materiality, and its constant and explicit rejections of the abstraction and non-hierarchical mobility implicit in the budding modern age. The massive reconstruction of San Paolo as a pristine Early Christian basilica makes perfect sense in this context; yet this paper will show that the reconstruction was nonetheless conceived, executed, and broadcast using strategies of thought and practice that sprang directly from the very modern condition the Church aimed to combat. Printing was the thread that tied all of these together. Thus whether we consider the historicist vision that shaped the design of the new basilica, the aggressive campaign by which funds for the reconstruction were solicited from Catholics worldwide, or the means by which the meanings of the basilica were represented to European Catholics, we encounter an abstracting informational sensibility that sits uncomfortably with the embodied spatial essentialism that the San Paolo reconstruction was supposed to affirm.

**PS14 - Rethinking Architecture in the Age of Printing**
Kathryn Blair Moore, New York University and Michael Waters, New York University, *Co-Chairs*

*Vincenzo Scamozzi, Book Use and Architectural Practice*

Katherine Isard
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The rise of the illustrated architectural treatise in the 16th century is related to the newly professional status of the architect. Nevertheless, the question of how books were received and used, both in the context of professional practice and the writing of new treatises, remains obscure. Annotations by early modern architect-readers are the most valuable, though understudied, documents available to shed light on the question of contemporary response. Using the marginalia in the books of the architect Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616) as a case study, this paper describes the way in which Scamozzi used books as a vital facet of his architectural education. Scamozzi owned and annotated at least five copies of Vitruvius: Philandrier, 1544 and 1550; Barbaro, 1556 and 1567 (Italian); 1567 (Latin); a recently discovered copy of Serlio (1551) and Cataneo (1567). This paper will analyze Scamozzi's reading methods, which derive from established humanist methods for scholarly study and include expressive non-verbal codes, interlinear notes, close reading and commentary. By the late sixteenth-century, the amount of printed material available to the architect was substantial and Scamozzi's marginalia provides a map to this network of information. His note-taking arises, in part, from the need to digest written material and make it retrievable for later use. At the same time, Scamozzi reads as a practicing professional, commenting on, correcting and grafting design issues into the verbal discourse. His notes are a unique document of the way in which early modern architects negotiated between written words and visual forms, affording passage between the realms of theory and professional practice.

**PS14 - Rethinking Architecture in the Age of Printing**
Kathryn Blair Moore, New York University and Michael Waters, New York University, *Co-Chairs*

*Hugo's Detractors*

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Among the many tropes in nineteenth-century architectural theory, Victor Hugo's claim that buildings had lost their communicative authority to printed books was the most prevalent. Implicit in Hugo's famously digressive chapter of *Notre Dame de Paris* was the suggestion that architecture was but mute and inert material, and left to its own means of expression, was no longer able to render socially relevant ideals. That Hugo's claim left an indelible mark on the nineteenth-century French architectural community is clear, but receiving less attention today is the equally coherent response to Hugo in the architectural press of the day. For the SAH session "Rethinking Architecture in the Age of Printing" I propose to examine the arguments leveled against Hugo's dire prognosis for architecture.

It is no small irony that César Daly, the architect most vocally opposed to Hugo's argument, was more important as founder of the nineteenth-century's preeminent architectural publication (*Revue générale de l'architecture*) than as builder. As editor of the popular journal, Daly recruited a phalanx of young architects that attacked the problem from multiple angles. Some, such as S.C. Constant-Dufeux, articulated a theory of the symbol that borrowed from Romantic authors and celebrated the polysemic quality of historical forms and signs. Others, such as H. Espérandieu and Daly himself, took as starting point the spatial and formal disposition of architecture and mounted a theory in which the expressive quality of the line was paramount. While others still, such as V. Ruprich-Robert, saw Hugo's challenge as being primarily about mechanical reproduction and sought a new attention to natural vegetal form as a possible solution to the dilemma. My paper will present the many readings and reactions to Hugo's enduringly relevant dictum and make the claim that Hugo's detractors paved the way for a modern mode of architectural expression.

**PS14 - Rethinking Architecture in the Age of Printing**
Kathryn Blair Moore, New York University and Michael Waters, New York University, *Co-Chairs*

*The Ideology of Architecture in Twelfth Century China*

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In contrast to Europe, where the development of printing trailed the theorization and codification of architectural practice by centuries, in China the two phenomena occurred in tandem. The compilation of the earliest extant illustrated architectural manual, known as the Yingzao fashi (State Building Standards), came in the final decades of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127), an era which witnessed both the first widespread use of printing and the earliest attempts to establish orthodoxies by means of the printed page. The pursuit of absolute, totalizing standards for all knowledge and practices reached a heyday under the reign of the Emperor Huizong (r. 1101-1125), who received the Yingzao fashi shortly after its completion, commanded its printing in 1103, and promulgated it throughout the empire in the following year.

The general conservatism of premodern East Asian construction practice and the generic similarity of such practice to the forms shown in the Yingzao fashi have led many scholars to treat the text as representative of actual Song era buildings, or even traditional Chinese architecture in general. This approach ignores the ideology underlying the compilation and printed dissemination of the text, and overlooks the considerable deviations from its standards of later construction. Indeed, the very fact that China has an architectural history, in the sense of structural forms that change over time, demonstrate that the promulgation of the Yingzao fashi failed in its aim to establish a universal mode of building for all time. Through a close analysis of the illustrated text and comparison with later architectural forms, this paper seeks to identify the nature of its ideological program and document the ultimate failure of this program to establish itself in the built environment of China.

**PS15 - The Architectures of Austerity: Between Crisis and Possibility**
C. Greig Crysler, University of California at Berkeley, *Chair*

*Dopoguerra durante la guerra: Gio Ponti's New Italian House, 1944-1945*

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In the magazine Lo Stile's third issue of 1945, the architect, designer, and magazine's editor Gio Ponti presents an image depicting a man holding a small model of a house up to a map of Italy populated by individuals with outstretched arms. This image, which corresponds to the essay, "Who will give us the prefabricated house?" and the larger series entitled "Fifty Houses," shows Italy and its population ready for technological innovations and new economical, quickly assembled homes. On the surface, this push for prefabricated homes appears to be a natural response to wartime destruction and displacement. Yet, as this paper argues, Ponti's architectural ideas and solutions presented in Lo Stile were in large part anticipatory and reactionary projects rather than a response to the physical reality of reconstruction. From the beginning of the decade, the Italian building trade was severely hampered by wartime production needs, lack of capital, scarcity of raw materials, and labor shortages. In this way, Ponti's series and Lo Stile's publication from 1941 to 1947 present a critical component of an ideal postwar reality. Examining the typology of the single-family house presented in the "Cinquanta Case" series, this paper demonstrates how Gio Ponti combined his conception of the "casa all'italiana" with the technology of prefabrication to create a solution for postwar living. Furthermore, by contextualizing these projects in light of a series of contemporaneous small publications by lesser-known architects, this paper illustrates how Ponti's proposals are part of a broader design project focused on the possibilities of the postwar Italian home. While postwar reconstruction offered architects near endless opportunities for construction, the turmoil and scarcity of the 1940s provided a period of reflection, reconsideration, and research that enabled Italian designers to prepare themselves for the task of reconstruction and the realities of a post-fascist, democratic Italy.

**PS15 - The Architectures of Austerity: Between Crisis and Possibility**
C. Greig Crysler, University of California at Berkeley, *Chair*

*From Objects of Austerity to Processes of Scarcity*

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This paper will discuss austerity in relation to scarcity through comparing the two terms conceptually and historically. Starting with a brief review of the use of these terms in post-war architectural discourse, the paper will then show how, using examples from the UK's 1950 and 1960s, austerity is generally conceived as a reaction to perceived economic and resource scarcity. Three issues arise in this reading of austerity. First, in being defined through lack it is haunted by – and implicitly still yearning for – the ghosts of progress and growth. Secondly, it still adds stuff to the world rather than redistributing what is already there. Thirdly, the designers' response is bound to objects, with aesthetic and spatial representations of austerity rather than interventions in, or revealing, the systems and discourses that might have produced it.

Where normative architectures of austerity might be 'cheaper' according to dominant economic value systems, the paper will discuss how critical architectures of scarcity challenge existing definitions of value, modes of production and resource limits. This is based on a reading of scarcity that moves away from its place in neo-classical economics and instead understands it as a socially constructed condition. Based on a current research project funded by HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area), the paper will use contemporary and historical examples of spatial agency to show how architects' creativity under conditions of scarcity has shifted between the design of objects alone to intervening in the social and political ecologies within which the built environment is produced. The paper will end with pointers as to how architectural theorists, historians and practitioners might be equipped to articulate and even intervene in understandings of scarcity in the built environment.

**PS15 - The Architectures of Austerity: Between Crisis and Possibility**
C. Greig Crysler, University of California at Berkeley, *Chair*

*Maladaptive Reuse: Post-Housing in Detroit*

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The rapid decrease in Detroit's population after World War II has yielded, among other things, the widespread abandonment of the single-family homes that comprise the primary form of residence in the city. Thus, as Detroit's population fell by half between 1950 and 2000, around 12,000 homes were abandoned, representing approximately one-third of the city's housing stock. City governments from the 1970s to the present have seen these abandoned homes as signs of blight and thereby targeted them for demolition; at the same time, however, some artists and architects have posited these homes as resources for the staging of alternative readings and visions of the city.

In this paper, I will review three post-2000 projects that have appropriated abandoned homes as sites or resources for re-design—Detroit Demolition Disneyland, in which a series of abandoned homes were clandestinely painted bright orange and converted into public art; Fire Break, in which a community design center partnered with neighborhood groups to re-purpose abandoned homes in accord with new civic desires; and the Full Scale Design Lab, in which an abandoned home was converted into a platform for architectural experimentation. These projects each comprise an example of "maladaptive reuse": a reuse of architecture that did not suture abandoned architecture back into the city and into teleological notions of progress and development as much as it posed architecture as urban critique, enclave, or laboratory. Differentiating these projects according to their disciplinary locations and postulations of the city, the public and desirable urban futures, I will also pose them as examples of an "architecture of austerity." As such, these projects apprehend architecture as a stage to foreground political, social or cultural possibilities that emerge in weak-market urbanism, in particular those related to a reconstituted right to the city.

**PS15 - The Architectures of Austerity: Between Crisis and Possibility**
C. Greig Crysler, University of California at Berkeley, *Chair*

*Skirting the Slab: Innovation on Paper in Communist Poland*

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The prevailing poor opinion of Polish Communist-era mass housing has arisen primarily from the evaluation of its built state. Commonly, its pre-construction design process is left unconsidered, deemed irrelevant. Omitted and overlooked, the era's design documentation provides a powerful counter image to the country's built housing environment. While the conventional narrative concludes that Polish mid-20$^{th}$ century architecture was of poor quality in terms of design and execution, the era's architectural literature counters with a large body of ambitious and diverse architectural schemes set against the confines of rigid standardization and extensive prefabrication.

The numerous housing estates built in metropolitan and rural Poland between the late 1950s and early 1980s, ranging in size from few hundred to several thousands of units, are often deemed the most evocative of the country's Communist-era architecture. Their poorly manufactured and shabbily installed prefabricated building elements (the ill-famed large slab construction), said to be the product of stagnant state architectural offices, vividly illustrate Poland's prolonged economic difficulties.

The goal of this paper is to compare built case studies with their design stages in an effort to uncover the complexity of the Communist-era Polish architectural culture. By taking a somewhat long-view approach spanning over twenty years, I plan to demonstrate that the perpetual economic difficulties suffered by the state-controlled economy and the resulting continuously revised building standards and quotas, were in fact instrumental in pressing Polish architects to experiment and research within the state-imposed pre-fabrication, standardization, and modernist guidelines. Unintentionally, bureaucratic stipulation stimulated the architectural practice albeit on paper alone. The plethora of design alternatives featured on the pages of professional publications offer a powerful contrast to the uniform built landscape and only a painstaking re-examination of built housing estate details can uncover the traces of the original designs hidden amid inferior construction.

**PS15 - The Architectures of Austerity: Between Crisis and Possibility**
C. Greig Crysler, University of California at Berkeley, *Chair*

*The Future Reimagined: Heritage, Governance, and Shortage in Bucharest*

Elena Tomlinson
*University of California at Berkeley, CA, USA*

When shortage is a permanent condition, can austerity measures be viewed as the impetus for the expansion of, rather than the retraction of governance? Discourses on austerity are bound in narratives of sacrifice, and marked by the deferment of promised results to a future that may never arrive. I explore austerity as a rationalization of the sacrifices of the present, in the service of future promises. My focus is on the urban development schemes in central Bucharest that began during the austerity years of the 1980s and reemerged in the past decade, but with a new telos: rebuilding architectural heritage. Comparing planning schemes during and after socialism, I argue—contra literature that ties austerity with the retraction of governance—that in an environment of constant shortage, state-implemented austerity measures can create the need for even greater state intervention, as the narrative of sacrifice and restraint in the present is mobilized.

With the future-oriented teleology of socialist planning relegated to the past, Bucharest has entered another process of accelerated history in which it is "catching up" with Western European cities. During socialism, this history of promises and technical failures was punctuated by the cyclical unveiling of five-year plans, and recently by the municipality's recurring promises to complete the city's heritage rehabilitation and spur economic recovery. Literature on postsocialist transitions views shortage as destabilizing the linear temporality of development. However, I argue that rather than causing instability, periods of austerity can reinforce the linear temporal ontology of the development process by creating narratives of new beginnings (e.g., five-year plans). Nonlinear in themselves, the recurring "new beginnings" repeatedly reset the clock of development to a present that must be overcome through sacrifices, helping to justify the perpetual gap between the shortages of the present and the promise of the future.

**PS16 - On The Social Production of the Built Environment**
Katherine Fischer Taylor, University of Chicago, *Chair*

*Design for Responsible Government: Canada's Parliament, 1859-76*

Christopher Thomas
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Long recognized as an exemplary Victorian legislative complex and celebrated for their clifftop location and bold neo-Gothic character, the Canadian parliament buildings at Ottawa (1859-76, rebuilt 1918-27) have nevertheless not been well understood in cultural, economic, and governmental terms. Something of a paradox – an advanced exercise in Ruskinian Gothic in a famously wild location and an expensive public work built at a time when French-English sectional strife and heavy public debt combined to threaten to topple the government of the United Province of Canada – the complex of public buildings at the new capital nevertheless represented startling progress in liberalism and modernity in Canada, which until shortly before had been operated as a chain of garrison colonies rigidly ruled by imperial martinets. Parliament's symmetrical layout – different from that of Westminster – around two chambers of equal size and its pavilioned, frontal character facing a public square above the town signaled the pioneering in Canada, in the previous decade, of the principle of "responsible" government, with representative parliamentary institutions, which continued to guide the organization of the self-governing "dominions" -- a term coined in Canada – within the British Empire into the 20th century. It is this cultural and political content of Parliament that previous treatments in architectural history -- even my own articles and papers (some for SAH) -- have tended to overlook. Consequently, the real novelty of the Ottawa parliament, as the symbolic and administrative headquarters of a politically and culturally British province on the rich, expansive, and relatively liberal North American continent, has been missed. Bridging form and context, this paper will straddle the boundaries between several histories – of government, partisan politics, economy, society, education, ethnicity, and architecture -- and will make comparisons with legislative complexes in other countries.

**PS16 - On The Social Production of the Built Environment**
Katherine Fischer Taylor, University of Chicago, *Chair*

*Economies of Participation: John Turner and the World Bank*

Noah Chasin
*Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY, USA*

John F. C. Turner, trained at the Architectural Association, has been widely praised for his efforts at slum redevelopment in South America during the 1950s and 1960s, yet equally is maligned for his insistence on minimizing the state and federal governmental role in empowering slum residents to actualize their own built environments.

The so-called 'minimal state' solution Turner proposed, and its widely regarded failure, exemplifies what has long been a conflicted role of government in the economic expansion and rehabilitation of slum areas. Turner called for minimal infrastructural investment that, coupled with the self-interest and sweat equity that the residents would contribute, would bring about a robust and sturdy built environment. The prevailing political economy of global capitalism has exacerbated governmental intervention due to the unpopularity of spending state or federal money on infrastructure and architectural improvement for underprivileged classes

The world currently is facing a massive influx of urban populations, a fact agreed upon by all. I propose to examine Turner's advocacy efforts in Arequipa, Peru and the World Bank's subsequent embrace of his tenets of self-build systems, as a means of investigating the fraught relationship between governmental responsibility, popular support for housing the greater number, and the possibilities of self-determination apart from political manipulation.

Looking in particular at Britain's tenuous economic status in the 1960s-1970s in light of the responsibilities facing the country in the wake of decolonization, I want to test the authority of Turner's radical suggestion that built communities might be envisioned not in relation to the typical capitalist exchange value but as something that can exist as apart from the so-called formal housing sector.

**PS16 - On The Social Production of the Built Environment**
Katherine Fischer Taylor, University of Chicago, *Chair*

*Portman's Industry: Building Downtown Atlanta in the 1970s*

Charles Rice
*Kingston University London, London, UK*

In the context of massive social upheaval, disinvestment, and major infrastructural impositions on American downtowns, this paper will consider the emergence of the large-scale, mixed-use development in the 1970s. In particular, it will focus on Atlanta's Peachtree Center, designed and developed by John Portman and Associates. The basic narrative of Portman's combination of architecture and property development is well-known from Portman's own account of it in his 1974 book The Architect as Developer. And his signature atrium hotel, three of which are part of the Peachtree Center development, is either praised as providing a new model for urban space, or maligned for its anti-urban characteristics. Yet what is not well-enough understood in this polarised debate is the combination of financial, political and planning mechanisms which made Peachtree Center's atriums and skybridges particular kinds of politico-economic objects in the emergence of what has been called the neoliberal city. This paper will chart the development of Peachtree Center in the 1970s to illuminate a more general picture of the changing nature of urban governance at this time. It will show how this context shifts an understanding of urban development beyond the personal narrative of the city-builder or architect-developer.

**PS16 - On The Social Production of the Built Environment**
Katherine Fischer Taylor, University of Chicago, *Chair*

*From rococo to rot: interior decoration in Dublin, 1760-1800*

Conor Lucey
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The dichotomy implicit within the form of Dublin's eighteenth-century town houses – austere unarticulated brick elevations concealing richly decorated interiors – is frequently characterized as a manifestation of the contemporary distinction between building as a commercial enterprise, and decoration as a signifier of social/cultural identity; respectively, the province of the builder/developer and the patron/client. However, ongoing research concerning the negotiation of 'polite' decorative styles by the 'vulgar' operatives of the Georgian building industry indicates that interior decoration formed an integral part of property speculation (and thus non-entailed, urban domestic accommodation). This contradicts the widely held view that decorative finishes such as plasterwork ceilings and cornices were the concern of the proprietor/resident, and elevates the building tradesman/house decorator as a key figure with respect to the supply and/or demand for architectural/decorative tastes.

The emergence of what might be termed 'speculative decoration' (rooms decorated prior to their appearance on the property market) coincided with the stylistic transition from the rococo to neo-classicism – part of the established teleological narrative of style that dominates the literature – and with a supposed decline of artisanal virtuosity (and by extension artistic quality) in favour of proto-industrial (and by extension economically-motivated) methods of production.

This paper will examine the business of house decorating between 1760 and 1800, considering the impact of standardization and serial manufacture on decorating processes, specifically plasterwork, and the implications arising from the tradesman as both tastemaker and figure of production. By inverting the established art historical model – privileging the role of the plasterer/tradesman as opposed to the designer/architect – a new reading of the decorative interior as cultural artefact is advanced: in addition to reflecting patterns of consumption and signifying cultural capital, the neo-classical interior is here posited as equal parts classical and commercial.

**PS16 - On The Social Production of the Built Environment**
Katherine Fischer Taylor, University of Chicago, *Chair*

*Modeling Historical Cities in the Digital Age*

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Digital technologies have transformed the way in which we model and study historical cities. For archaeologists and architectural historians, models of ancient cities are hypothetical definitions of the invisible. Therefore, digital urban models must be malleable enough to change as new data comes to light, and the underlying theoretical precepts which are being tested must be explicitly stated and defined. This can be achieved through the interpretive modeling of variables derived from empirical urban theory. Empirical urban theory seeks to connect the actions of people to their built environment: it looks at how people shape the city, and how the city shapes them. It is characterized by systems of concepts that center on variables that can be quantified and tested. While it would be difficult to study the complex interrelations between these variables with a traditional urban model, new digital techniques such as procedural modeling now make it possible to provide useful definitions of the ways in which humans interact with the built environment. Procedural models are created according to parametric, conditional, or stochastic rules, wherein attributes and parameters are defined by the user to reflect empirical variables. The advantage of this approach is that models can be re-generated quickly and efficiently, allowing the second-generation model to be tested and evaluated, and so on until a defensible argument is reached. A case study that illustrates these principles reconstructs the architecture surrounding the Roman Forum in the mid-republican period.

**PS17 - Frontiers: Topographies of Surveillance and Flows**
Carolyn Loeb, Michigan State University and Andreas Luescher, Bowling Green State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Transborder Topographies in the Pearl River Delta*

Max Hirsh
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Around the world, the number of air passengers has quadrupled since 1980. During the same time, air traffic in the Pearl River Delta--the urban region that includes Hong Kong and Shenzhen--has increased by a factor of 50. Architects have typically studied the expansion of global aviation by analyzing mega-projects like passenger terminals and high-speed airport railways. Yet they have ignored the emergence of parallel transport systems designed for travelers whose cross-border movement is limited by their citizenship or income. These incipient air passengers, and the so-called “transborder” systems that they use, have radically reordered the global flow of goods and people.

Focusing on one of these systems, Transborder Topographies investigates a network of check-in terminals that allow passengers flying through Hong Kong International Airport (HKIA) to bypass Hong Kong’s customs and immigration procedures. Located deep inside Mainland China, these terminals cater to passengers who have difficulty obtaining a Hong Kong visa: low-income Chinese tourists, for example; as well as African and Middle Eastern businessmen. At the terminal, travelers obtain a boarding pass, check their luggage, and proceed through Chinese emigration. A sealed ferry then takes them across the border to HKIA, where they are shuttled via an underground train to their departure gate. Isolated from other passenger flows, these travelers technically never enter Hong Kong.

Through interviews, photographs, and digital mapping techniques, the paper documents how the boundary between Hong Kong and Mainland China has been reconfigured to abet the global circulation of capital and labor. In so doing, Transborder Topographies posits HKIA’s check-in terminals as a useful lens for interpreting broader changes in the regulation of cross-border mobility and in the spatial articulation of national frontiers.

**PS17 - Frontiers: Topographies of Surveillance and Flows**
Carolyn Loeb, Michigan State University and Andreas Luescher, Bowling Green State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Imagining and Staging an Urban Border in Early Modern Edinburgh*

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*University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK*

My paper will discuss how the concept of ‘urban border' was staged during triumphal entries into the city of Edinburgh between 1503 and 1633. By welcoming rulers within the bounds of the city, the local community was acknowledging their authority while admonishing them to recognise the specific identity and rights of the walled space they were entering. In this paper I will concentrate on the Stewart sovereigns' exit from the ‘burgh' via the lower gate, the Netherbow. Although the massive profile of this gate suggested a defensive purpose, the Netherbow was the principal point of access to the adjoining and partially dependant burgh of Canongate. The strong commercial and administrative ties between the two burghs seem to deny the Netherbow's role as a frontier marker. Nevertheless, a royal burgh's identity and privileges depended on clear indicators which signified one's position within or outside the city's borders. During triumphal entries in the early modern period the Netherbow did signify the border of the city of Edinburgh's territory.

My paper will explore the staging of a border condition where a clear-cut, physical frontier did not really exist. I will discuss the way in which various kinds of performance and decorative apparatus staged at the Netherbow suggested the notion of a ‘frontier' through the careful manipulation of images pertaining to ideas of termination and farewell. Attention will also be given to the employment of secondary triumphal stations beyond the Netherbow which denied this gateway its traditional role of frontier marker, thus signifying the changing relationship between the neighbouring burghs over time. Finally, I will discuss what happens to an abandoned historical frontier when the changed relationship between two neighbouring entities causes the border to be moved elsewhere.

**PS17 - Frontiers: Topographies of Surveillance and Flows**
Carolyn Loeb, Michigan State University and Andreas Luescher, Bowling Green State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Gorizia and Nova Gorica: One Town in Two European Countries*

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From 12th Century onwards the Italian town of Gorizia, which today borders Slovenia, has been an important political, administrative and later also economic and cultural centre of the region. After World War II however, the region was divided between two military administrations: the Yugoslav in the east, and Allied Military Government in the west. In 1947 Gorizia was incorporated into Italy, which led the authorities of the People's Republic of Slovenia (then part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia) to build »something big, beautiful and proud, something that would shine across the border« on their side of the territory. A new town, Nova Gorica (»New Gorizia«) was built next to the »old« Gorizia. However, in the eyes of the local people this new center could never completely replace the old one. Meanwhile the "old" Gorizia lost its role of the Regional Centre and without its hinterland it regressed in all areas. In recent years, starting even before Slovenia joined the Schengen area in 2007 and the border was abolished, there has been a tendency to obliterate the traces of a frontier through mutual linking of the two towns in the cultural, economic and infrastructure sector. The crucial moment in the new fusion of the towns occurred when Slovenia's accession to the European Union was honored by both municipal administrations' decision to build a new joint square where the two towns had been divided by the border line. If ever, the state lines are being blurred in the current era of globalization and internationalization, although some questions, namely how quickly the memory fades and whether the borders ever really existed in the minds of people, remain to be answered.

**PS17 - Frontiers: Topographies of Surveillance and Flows**
Carolyn Loeb, Michigan State University and Andreas Luescher, Bowling Green State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Pier 21 and the Production of Canadian Immigration*

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Pier 21 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, ¬was built in 1928 to process people into the country, replacing an older, similar structure nearby. Pier 21 -now the Canadian Museum of Immigration- actually refers to the building erected on the pier. It was designed to control the movement of immigrants from boats to trains, which waited on adjacent spur lines. In one sense, Pier 21 was an industrial transshipment point for people and baggage, facilitating their passage across the border and onward to their destinations. As the same time, of course, the building served as the governmental control point where immigrants were examined and questioned regarding their suitability to be new Canadians. This paper will explore how Pier 21 performed its two-sided role as a space of control and passage. The exploration will encompass traditional sources such as architectural drawings, historic photos, and material spatial analysis; as well, it will mobilize subjective, experiential understandings of the space culled from immigrant memoirs and other accounts, many of them collected by the Pier 21 museum.

The paper for this session represents part of a larger research project I am beginning on the architectural and experiential character of Canadian immigration history. At Pier 21, the factory scale and aesthetic of the building (e.g., it shares none of the architectural trappings seen on the Main Building at Ellis Island), combined with its siting in an industrial harbor, suggest a model of mass production. The production of Canadians would occur in a controlled, Fordist setting. Still, immigrant memoirs and the accounts of immigration workers, reveal it was not an entirely rationalized process. By drawing out a range of meanings attached to immigration architecture, this paper will contribute to a discussion of space and identity formation at the national threshold.

**PS17 - Frontiers: Topographies of Surveillance and Flows**
Carolyn Loeb, Michigan State University and Andreas Luescher, Bowling Green State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Planning the Spreebogen: Berlin's Allegory of Unification*

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Upon winning the commission to master plan Berlin's new government district, Axel Schultes remarked that "the challenge posed by the competition was to coax the soul out of the Spreebogen, the genius loci, to pour its historical and spatial dimensions into the mold of a new architectural allegory." Schultes and his partner, Charlotte Frank, had generated public enthusiasm with a design anchored by a Band des Bundes (or "ribbon of federal buildings") spanning the Spree twice and transversing the former boundary between east and west. Supporters saw the plan as symbolically repairing the rent urban fabric and suturing together the formerly divided city. Indeed, Schultes and Frank's design thematized the Spreebogen's status as a frontier in need of rehabilitation—a historical zone of rupture, movement, and surveillance, from the course of the Berlin Wall along the Spree to the spectral presence of Albert Speer's imposing north-south boulevard.

Yet it is in Schultes's reflection that the Spreebogen's vexed history must be refigured as a "new architectural allegory" that the complexity of the project is unexpectedly revealed. This paper finds its theoretical foothold in Walter Benjamin's discussion of allegory, a mode that he believed emerged at moments of political disturbance. According to Benjamin, allegory is noteworthy for its fragmentation and lack of unity; that is, "Allegory is in the realm of thought what ruins are in the realm of things." In Schultes and Frank's plan, unity (whether political, historical, or urban) manifests as a desire rather than a reality; the band of federal buildings does not represent a mythical post-Wende German state, but rather invokes the yearning subtending the very idea of unification. Read allegorically, the Spreebogen frontier emerges as a zone not of fixed significance, but rather of migration, transit, and motion, of meaning that is continuously contingent, deferred, or absent.

**PS18 - Not the Jesuits: "Other" Counter-Reformational Architecture**
Susan Klaiber, Winterthur, Switzerland and Denise Tamborrino, Bologna, Italy, *Co-Chairs*

*The Flemish Beguinages: A Baroque for Poor Women*

Thomas Coomans
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In contrast to the centralized and elitist masculine order of the Jesuits, the Beguinages were autonomous communities of semi-religious women, generally poor and illiterate. Originating around 1200 in Northern Europe, this unique female movement was suppressed by the Church in 1314-21, except in the Low Countries where Beguines were brought together in enclosed quarters located at the outskirts of the towns, and lived under the control of the local authorities. With houses and streets arranged around their own parish church, Beguinages looked more like ghettos than cloisters. During the Counter Reformation new feminine mystic devotions were promoted and new statutes imposed in order to strengthen the enclosure. Due to its strong local roots, the Beguine movement flourished in most Flemish towns during the seventeenth century, but never became a religious order. Communities numbered several hundred women and buildings underwent a thorough metamorphosis.

Jacob Francart, the Court architect who also worked for the Jesuits and the Augustines in Brussels, designed in 1629 the Baroque Beguinage church at Mechelen. Only three other Beguinage churches were rebuilt ex novo during the second half of the seventeenth century in Ghent, Lier and Brussels. The latter, dated 1657-76, is attributed to Lucas Faid'herbe and develops a unique Flemish Baroque design expressing the prestige of the "Royal Beguinage" of the capital. All the other Beguinage churches in the Low Countries –-such as in Leuven, Bruges, Diest, Sint-Truiden—- conserved their medieval fabric, which were ingeniously "baroquified" with additional structures, new windows, furniture and statues. This phenomenon reveals a complex reality with a diversity of scales, styles and quality, more in accordance with their local contexts, modest means, own liturgy and feminine devotions. Some Baroque gatehouses surmounted by a statue of the Virgin Mary proclaimed the identity of the semi-religious women to the outside world.

**PS18 - Not the Jesuits: "Other" Counter-Reformational Architecture**
Susan Klaiber, Winterthur, Switzerland and Denise Tamborrino, Bologna, Italy, *Co-Chairs*

*Before the Jesuits: The Lateran Canons in Italy*

Elisabeth Wünsche-Werdehausen
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Many religious orders of the Counter Reformation are known for their centrally directed building policies which led to supra-regional architectural traditions characteristic of their orders. Scholars have hitherto largely overlooked that this way of organising architectural programmes goes back to older orders like the Lateran Canons, one of the most influential of the religious orders in the Italian Renaissance. This paper accordingly examines the significance of the Lateran Canons for the later architecture of the counter-reformation orders in Italy.
The paper's first part analyzes the centrally directed approval procedures for architectural projects of the Canons and their effect on the building types of monastic complexes and churches. It demonstrates that in the first half of the 16th century the institution of the order emerges as patron and promotes a characteristic monastic architecture peculiar to the order. The most famous examples are S. Maria della Pace in Rome by Donato Bramante and S. Maria della Carità in Venice by Andrea Palladio. Unlike the later practice of many counter-reformational orders the Canons did not engage their own architects who worked centrally for all the local foundations. Instead, each monastery engaged prominent artists working locally, who respected the typical "Lateran architectural style" but at the same time incorporated local elements.
The second part demonstrates how the Lateran Canons in reaction to increasing rivalry from the new religious orders first devoted themselves intensively to church building in order to establish their architectural identity to the outside world, i.e. to the faithful. Their churches were intended to be quite different from those of the counter-reformational orders and to evoke the older tradition of the Canons.

**PS18 - Not the Jesuits: "Other" Counter-Reformational Architecture**
Susan Klaiber, Winterthur, Switzerland and Denise Tamborrino, Bologna, Italy, *Co-Chairs*

*A "Venetian" Discalced Carmelite Church in Habsburg Lands*

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The Discalced Carmelite Order (O. C. D., established in 1593) was one of the counter-reformational orders which spread Roman Catholicism across the Protestant German lands in the seventeenth century under the protection of the Habsburg dynasty. The O. C. D. seat of the German province was at Cologne, where their first monastery was built in 1622 with the church based on the model of the order's mother church in Rome, Santa Maria della Scala (1606-24) by Carlo Maderno (later known as Santa Maria della Vittoria). The architect of the church "im Dau" in Cologne was fra Carl von St. Joseph (1586-1650); his project of a single nave church with transitional shallow side chapels and domed transept concluded with short presbytery was later used for monastic churches in Prague, Vienna, Regensburg and Graz. In the case of the O. C. D. monastery at Kostanjevica near Gorizia, however, the monastic church was rebuilt in the scond half of the seventeenth century according to the model of the Venetian O. C. D. church of Santa Maria di Nazareth, called Scalzi (1654-89), designed by Baldassare Longhena. This paper will propose an explanation for what caused the change in the typology of the church in Kostanjevica despite hostility between the Habsburgs and the *Serenissima*.

**PS18 - Not the Jesuits: "Other" Counter-Reformational Architecture**
Susan Klaiber, Winterthur, Switzerland and Denise Tamborrino, Bologna, Italy, *Co-Chairs*

*French Oratory Architectural Politics*

Roberto Caterino
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In reconciled France after the Wars of Religion the new post-Tridentine orders established themselves all over the country in just a few decades. Many of them were founded through local initiatives, such as the Congregation of the Oratory of Jesus, founded in Paris by Pierre de Bérulle in 1611 on the pattern of Philip Neri's Roman institute. Aimed to reform French secular clergy, Oratorians composed a society of priests who, taking no vows, chose to live in community to accomplish their apostolic ministry. Primarily devoted to achieving priesthood perfection, Oratorians also turned towards the education of youth, staffing colleges and seminaries everywhere in France, usually in competition with the Jesuits.

This paper aims to analyze Oratory architectural politics and production, by introducing the results of an ongoing research project. The Congregation exercised a clear form of centralized control upon their buildings: no maison was authorized to contract any loan, to sell or buy, to demolish or build without a written approval from the General Superior and his Council, who demanded to be informed through drawings, notes and plans. Thus, Oratory leadership controlled the temporal administration of the whole Congregation: an architectural policy primarily influenced by cost-control and financial means, rather than by planning and formal choices. Even if Oratorians do not seem to have ever worked out any particular plan type, interest in their building practice and in their idea of architecture lies in explaining similarities and differences in comparison with Jesuits, but also with other counter-reformational orders.

All these aspects will be examined through the exemplary case of Abel-Louis de Sainte-Marthe, fifth General of the Oratory (1672-1696), whose predilection for architecture made him a competent reviser of the projects for the Congregation, and even occasional designer as with the rotunda of Notre-Dame-des-Ardilliers in Saumur.

**PS18 - Not the Jesuits: "Other" Counter-Reformational Architecture**
Susan Klaiber, Winterthur, Switzerland and Denise Tamborrino, Bologna, Italy, *Co-Chairs*

*Comparing Architectural Identities: Religious Orders Around 1600*

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Are the single counter-reformational orders distinguishable from each other by their architectural production? At first sight, the church architecture of the various orders of Clerics Regular conveys an impression of strong convergence. On closer examination, however, it is possible to identify typological features, functional characteristics and strategies of representation by which the orders - intentionally or not - mark their differences and cultural autonomy.

The paper focusses on one particular aspect of architectural representation, the degrees of aspiration associated with buildings (‚Anspruchsniveau'), as expressed by their relative austerity / magnificence or simplicity / costliness. How much did orders invest in their architecture - materially and symbolically - and on which criteria did their choices depend? Considering programmatic statements as well as architectural realizations, the respective attitudes of such orders as Theatines and Barnabites will be confronted with each other. In this specific context, it seems reasonable to include the Jesuits, too. The comparative perspective will permit to discuss affinities and differences in the orders' architectural policies. Topographically, the survey will concentrate on the Italian peninsula, the chronological frame spans the period from ca. 1550 to 1650.

**PS19 - From Idea to Building: Ancient and Medieval Architectural Process**
Kostis Kourelis, Franklin & Marshall College and Vasileios Marinis, Yale University, *Co-Chairs*

## *The Alchemical Harmony of the Musical Firmament and the* Muqarnas

Agnieszka Szymanska
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Islamic architecture enhances our understanding of the architectonic materialization of ideas in the pre-modern world, specifically with regard to intersections of theoretical and practical geometry. I employ Renata Holod's and Alpay Özdural's concept of the transmission of architectural knowledge to probe some meanings of the tarh (plan or drawing) of the muqarnas. As Holod and Özdural have demonstrated, mathematicians transformed geometric principles into designs through the vehicle of the tarh, which architects utilized in the building process. The epistemological shift from theoretical to practical geometry depended on the apprentices' increased reliance on the senses. While the mathematicians conceived of properties such as length as abstractions, the artisans perceived them as part of the material world. The tarh functioned as an intermediary between the mathematicians' geometric figures and the builders' tangible understanding of the construction process.

An examination of the transmission from theoretical to practical geometry elucidates the design and significance of the muqarnas, specifically within a memorial context. The conceptual creators, or mathematicians, of the muqarnas drawings surviving in the fifteenth-century Topkapı scroll based their work on Greek scientific treatises, including Euclid's Elements. Drawing on the concept of visuality, I postulate that the eye in Euclidean theoretical propositions corresponds to the placement of the beholder in the Topkapı plans, and to the location of the viewer of the actual muqarnas, materialized by the practical designers, or artisans. Examples include the shrine of Imam Dur (1085-90) and the mausoleum of Ahmad Yasavi (1397). Using the writings of Ibn al-Haytham (965-1039) and the eleventh-century epistles of the Ikhwan al-Safa', I conclude that the designers of the muqarnas intended it to be perceived as the heavenly firmament, and to transfix the beholder in an otherworldly experience. Mathematicians and artisans created the muqarnas by means of the language of geometry, visualized through the tarh.

**PS19 - From Idea to Building: Ancient and Medieval Architectural Process**
Kostis Kourelis, Franklin & Marshall College and Vasileios Marinis, Yale University, *Co-Chairs*

*The Origins of Gothic Design Process*

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Architectural historians have a framework for exploring the process of construction in western Europe from the mid-thirteenth century forward: by this period, specific figures are named as architects, specialized job titles appear in records, and the earliest surviving architectural drawings can be analyzed to reveal methods of design. This era coincides with the spread of the style known as Gothic, but while it seems logical to conclude that the advent of Gothic may have coincided with a more hierarchical system of designing a building and managing a construction site, architectural historians focusing on the mid-twelfth century—the era during which Gothic emerged—face absent or altered buildings, a dearth of textual documentation, and no evidence of drawings, templates, or other means of advance planning other than what can be extrapolated from the buildings themselves. An association between the creation of a new style with new building practices has thus been notoriously difficult to prove. In fact, a study of sites typically considered early Gothic indicates a much less tidy picture. At the church of Notre-Dame d'Étampes, a significant twelfth-century project within the French royal domain, an analysis of the surviving architectural fabric indicates a building constructed in a series of short campaigns by a small, flexible group of workers; comparative analysis with buildings such as La Madeleine du Châteaudun, La Ferté-Alais, and Saint-Denis supports this theory that the hierarchy and fixed roles of the building site documented in the thirteenth century had yet to be established at early Gothic sites. This analysis of mid-twelfth century sites suggests that the changes in building practices and design process may not have been associated with a new style, but instead may have been engendered by the increasingly large scale or structural complexity of projects dating from the later twelfth or early thirteenth centuries.

**PS19 - From Idea to Building: Ancient and Medieval Architectural Process**
Kostis Kourelis, Franklin & Marshall College and Vasileios Marinis, Yale University, *Co-Chairs*

*Recognizing Innovative Design in the Nereid Monument at Xanthos*

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Around 400 BCE a local dynast in Xanthos erected an extraordinary tomb in the form of a small Ionic temple. The white marble monument marks the first 'Greek' style building in Lycia, and it sports several intriguing features including intercolumnar statues of Nereids, distinctive Ionic capitals copied from the Erechtheion in Athens, and innovative (perhaps even the first) corner capitals with volute sides on all four faces. The Ionic capitals designed for the Nereid monument form the starting point of an instructive case study of late fifth-century BCE architectural practices, especially the designer's role when appropriating and innovating within the Greek orders. This paper details how the designer of the Nereid Monument selectively quoted distinctive elements associated with major Greek architects – namely, Mnesikles at Athens and Iktinos at Bassae (who in the preceding decades had designed a variety of Ionic capital with volutes on all sides) – as a means to highlight his own innovative design work at Xanthos.

Yet how would a designer working in Lycia have acquired detailed knowledge of monuments located in Greece? Technical evidence suggests that Attic builders were employed on the Nereid Monument. If workmen were imported to southern Anatolia from the mainland, it is not implausible to propose that a well-traveled master builder also designed the monument. But what of the patron and the building's audience(s)? Without extensive travel themselves, how would they learn to recognize the meaningful narrative of quotations from master architects, each surpassed within the Nereid Monument's own design? Here, one must propose the existence of portable architectural drawings, and moreover, the circulation of such visual materials outside of a limited professional circle, so that an interested connoisseur could gain the detailed knowledge necessary to appreciate the skill and novelty of the Nereid Monument's design.

**PS19 - From Idea to Building: Ancient and Medieval Architectural Process**
Kostis Kourelis, Franklin & Marshall College and Vasileios Marinis, Yale University, *Co-Chairs*

*Drawing and Stonecutting: Investigating Late Gothic Stereotomy*

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The design process of late Mediaeval buildings is relatively well documented. Gothic builders of the Holy Roman Empire have left behind a few hundred architectural drawings of large-scale tower and façade elevations, detailed ground plans, multilayered horizontal cross-sections, profiles and templates, tracery designs, figured vault patterns, geometrical constructions and so on. Although very instructive, these drawings do not inform us explicitly about building procedures. For example, the figured vault patterns with rib elevations, the so-called Bogenaustragungen, show how the vaults were extracted from their ground-plans to give them volume but do not provide instructions as to how the vaults were to be erected. How were the keystones and voussoirs carved? Suffice it to say, Mediaeval building procedures are practically not supported by documentary evidence. In the collection of architectural drawings of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien), I found a few drawings and sketches that directly address stonecutting. These stereotomic sketches, sometimes difficult to comprehend, were didactic drawings used for the training of masons and stonecutters. More than mere plans or blueprints, they illustrate stonecutting procedures. In this paper I investigate and discuss the Vienna stereotomic drawings and relate them to late Gothic building practices.

**PS19 - From Idea to Building: Ancient and Medieval Architectural Process**
Kostis Kourelis, Franklin & Marshall College and Vasileios Marinis, Yale University, *Co-Chairs*

*Designing and Building the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*

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The Sebasteion in Aphrodisias is a lavish architectural complex dedicated in the first century CE to Aphrodite and the divinized Julio-Claudian emperors. The complex is composed of four different buildings: a temple, two multi-storied portico-like buildings fitted with sculptural reliefs, and a monumental propylon, or gate—all made almost entirely of marble. The Sebasteion's architecture and sculptures together with its building and restoration inscriptions offer an ideal opportunity for the architectural historian to study how such a complex was designed, erected, and repaired in antiquity.

As we know from inscriptions, one prominent family sponsored the construction of the temple and the south building, while a different family donated funds to build the north building and the propylon. My paper focuses on the coming together of the two different teams of masons at the juncture between the propylon and the south building. By analyzing the problems faced here as well as the solutions devised, I illuminate ancient design and building, treating issues such as the probable use of models and drawings, as well as by considering which marble blocks were prefabricated off-site and which were manufactured in situ. I concentrate on "mistakes", such as the lack of alignment of moldings and profiles as well as the failure to foresee that some of the elaborate propylon decoration would have to be destroyed to accommodate the south building. In addition, I examine blocks that suggest that while the makers of the complicated column-bases at the juncture were aware of the oblique angle between the propylon and the long buildings, those who built the columns were not. This lack of coordination resulted in columns that do not fit neatly on the bases. I also consider the benefits of anastylosis (restoration using primarily original blocks) for our comprehension of ancient architectural process.

**PS20 - The Cultural Landscape of Education in Modern Japan**
Sean McPherson, Wheaton College, *Chair*

*Reconstructed Primary Schools and Visions for New Tokyo, 1923-1930*

Janet Borland
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In the 1920s, the landscape of primary school education in Tokyo underwent a sudden, sweeping and dramatic transformation. At the beginning of the decade, the majority of the capital's children attended lessons in small, poorly ventilated, dark, and overcrowded classrooms. By 1930, two-thirds of these wooden buildings had been replaced by three-storey reinforced concrete buildings boasting light-filled classrooms and a multitude of modern facilities aimed at promoting and monitoring the moral and physical health of children. The event that triggered this transformation was the Great Kanto Earthquake and Fires of 1923. Drawing on contemporary journal articles and personal reflections written by educators and architects, as well as school histories and municipal government publications, I aim to demonstrate how and why the 117 new primary schools were built the way they were between 1924 and 1930. I suggest that the design of schools reflected and reinforced the ideological and pedagogical trends of late Taisho and early Showa Japan. Most significantly, however, educators and architects seized the reconstruction project as an opportunity to re-conceptualise schools in terms of their civic role and function in the community. Although unified by their desire to build schools that better enabled increasingly diverse educational and social objectives, the reconstruction project also sparked intense debates and contestation between architects and educators. By examining the tensions, solutions and celebrations associated with this large-scale project, I hope to shed light on what the reconstructed primary schools tell us about competing visions of modernity, the role of schools in an urban landscape, and the use of architecture as a vehicle for social change in 1920s Japan.

**PS20 - The Cultural Landscape of Education in Modern Japan**
Sean McPherson, Wheaton College, *Chair*

*The Libraries Of Keio University In Tokyo And Yokohama*

Futoshi Ogo
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To celebrate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of Keio University (1858- ) on the Mita campus in Tokyo, a new library (1908-12) in the Gothic style was designed by Sone Tatsuzō (1853-1937) and Chūjō Seiichirō (1868-1936). Designed by Maki Fumihiko (1928- ), another new library was completed in 1981 on the same campus. Its site was formerly occupied by a makeshift wooden building, constructed in the postwar period.

A buttressed exterior of the library by Sone- Chūjō (old library) is covered with red bricks and light-gray granite. Clad in salmon-pink tiles, an exterior of the library by Maki (new library) is composed of a square module of 8 meters with an increment of two floors. Facing each other, these buildings retain a datum line, which is shared with the administration building (Jukukan-kyoku; 1925-26 by Sone-Chūjō), located between the libraries and equally distanced from each library. Cornice lines of the old library and Jukukan-kyoku run as the datum line (16 meters high), which extends to the fourth-floor- roof level of the new library. Rising from here, a setback of its north façade visually helps assimilate to volumes of the old library and Jukukan-kyoku. A U-shaped square surrounded by these three structures symbolizes the long history of the institution. Due to exiguous area of the campus, upper components of the other three façades of the new library are also set back in order to alleviate crammed space caused by adjacent buildings.

In 1982, Maki renovated the interior of the old library, where enduring sustainability has been embodied with modernity. This paper, thereby, explores architectonic and cultural dialogue between the old and new libraries and analyzes individual development in Maki's subsequent library (1985) on the Hiyoshi campus in Yokohama, constructed to celebrate the 125th anniversary of the founding of Keio.

**PS20 - The Cultural Landscape of Education in Modern Japan**
Sean McPherson, Wheaton College, *Chair*

*Shaping the Architect at the Imperial College of Engineering*

Don Choi
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Scholars of architecture in modern Japan know the Imperial College of Engineering (ICE) as the original and seminal site of architectural education in Japan. From 1873 until its merger into the Imperial University in 1886, the ICE provided the only systematic architectural education in Japan, training the early generations of Japanese architects. However, although they have noted the efficacy of the ICE's formal curriculum, both contemporary and later observers have overlooked the larger roles of the educational environment in training architects.

Precisely because of the paucity of European-style architecture in Japan, the campus of the ICE proved essential to cultivating the sensory and social skills of future architects. First, if English-language texts such as Fergusson's A History of Architecture taught students architectural details, the classrooms, museum, and dormitories educated students in the sensory qualities of architecture–scale, light, texture, and other aspects not easily grasped through two-dimensional media. This training of the senses provided a necessary complement to the formal education that relied on faculty, books, drawings, and other materials imported from Europe.

Second, and perhaps even more importantly, the buildings and regulations of the campus cultivated the spatial, social, and material practices crucial to the development of the modern role of the architect. In these new, European-style campus buildings, students learned not only how to draw and design, but also how to inhabit new kinds of spaces—how to move, see, speak, and behave in ways appropriate to the educated elite of the Meiji period (1868-1912). If the mandate of the ICE was to produce engineers and architects to serve the modern state, then it had to inculcate not only the explicit expertise necessary for design and construction, but also the skills necessary to function in the social circles of the Meiji government and in the increasingly international world of architecture.

**PS20 - The Cultural Landscape of Education in Modern Japan**
Sean McPherson, Wheaton College, *Chair*

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Yoshizaka Takamasa returned to Tokyo from Le Corbusier's studio in Paris in 1952 and began a practice which included major educational projects, all of which sought to re-define the role of education and its environment beyond the confines of the Imperial Rescript on Education. Prominent among these projects are the Kaisei Gakuin, the Kureha Junior High School, the Nichifutsu Kaikan and the University Seminar House at Hachioji. Each project reaches far beyond the Ministry of Education standard for educational architecture, exploring plan forms and social organisational structures which aspire to the facilitation of the creation of community. The most remarkable is the Hachioji project, designed to facilitate inter-university communication and the development of group dynamics at the scale of the seminar group, the larger organisation and the university system as a whole. This paper explores the continuing legacy of Watsuji Tetsuro, Kon Wajiro and Yoshizaka as expressed in the decade of the sixties as Japan sought a model for higher education which corresponded to both tradition and the emerging post-war world.

**PS21 - Landscape Architecture and Economics**
Sonja Duempelmann, University of Maryland, College Park, and Marc Treib, University of California, Berkeley, *Co-Chairs*

*Oranges & Lemons: The Giardino dei Semplici in 18th C Florence*

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Oranges and lemons: what did these have to do with the Giardino dei Semplici, a botanical garden founded in Florence in 1587 by grand duke Ferdinando I de' Medici? Growing citrus fruits was a secure way of balancing account books, providing a surplus of money necessary for cultivating rare and exotic plants. This paper focuses on the management of the Giardino dei Semplici between1718 and 1783, when it was run by the Florentine Botanical Society (Società Botanica). Although this period is often described as the "golden age" in the garden's history, this was not quite the case. The Society operated under severe budgetary constraints, often having to sacrifice some of its immediate goals in order to uphold the long-term objectives. Routine maintenance, repairs, construction of necessary facilities, and acquisition of new plants sometimes become insurmountable tasks, whereas the lack of skilled personnel, unrestricted access to the garden, and acts of vandalism presented further obstacles on the way to botanical progress. Drawing on ample evidence (diaries, memoranda, deliberations, account books, drawings, and various other records), this paper explains the main challenges that the Society faced in running the Giardino dei Semplici, showing how, in making certain decisions, its members were often guided by economic considerations rather than scholarly concerns. It also demonstrates how these conflicting objectives were reflected in the garden's changing physical appearance, resulting in the gradual simplification of its layout and, ultimately, the destruction of its most distinctive features: knot patterns of herbal beds, a system of radiating alleys, and the octagonal fishpond with an artificial island in the center.

**PS21 - Landscape Architecture and Economics**
Sonja Duempelmann, University of Maryland, College Park, and Marc Treib, University of California, Berkeley, *Co-Chairs*

*When Does Economy Cease to Matter in Large-scale Park Design?*

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When do environmental projects ignore financial concerns? How does it happen that economic considerations, usually the crucial factor determining whether a project will rise or fall, are marginalized in the construction of a grand scale park? In mid 2005, the Israeli government decided to establish an 800 hectares park on the last vast open space that is located in the midst of the most densely populated area of the country, Metropolitan Tel Aviv. The approved scheme prohibited any residential or commercial construction within the park's boundaries, although it could have certainly financed this project, which will cost more than $100 million. The question of the means of funding the project was left for future bureaucrats, as is the inauguration of the park itself, scheduled to 2030 at the earliest.

This case study raises several questions regarding large parks and economics, as it juxtaposes common and traditional mechanisms for financing large parks with a unique example (or maybe not ). Based on reviews of planning documents and interviews with stakeholders, planners, and NGO members, this paper follows the history of the park planning, applying an economic analysis on the various alternatives and tracing the role of financial considerations in its various phases.

Despite the fact that detailed cost evaluations were prepared throughout the planning process, the analysis exposes the limited role of purely economic considerations in decision making, and reveals the "price" of ecological and national ideologies, as well as of pure political gestures, in shaping the stands of decision makers. The findings challenge the accepted role of economy in the process of making grand parks.

Following the insights in this unique case study, the paper concludes in a call for a new manner of considering the relation between economy and future large park design.

**PS21 - Landscape Architecture and Economics**
Sonja Duempelmann, University of Maryland, College Park, and Marc Treib, University of California, Berkeley, *Co-Chairs*

*Manorial Economy and Perspective in French 17th C Landscape*

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As a rule, the formation of extensive axial compositions in 17th-century landscape architecture has been construed through culturalist and political explanations such as technological progress, the "spirit of the Baroque", or absolutism. Yet, the financial system, manorial production, or land taxation also determine the location, lay out, and maintaining of any landscape composition. Moreover, these factors are framed by a set of Ancien Regime institutions which in turn are closely tied to land economy.

A brief recall of land institutions leads to a manorial approach to landscape architecture. Expanding from the chapter dedicated to the "grounds" of the château in Savot's treatise (L'architecture françoise..., 1624), I will outline an organizational scheme for seigniorial estates setting an economic distinction between garden and park. The latter's productive functions will emerge as prominent. Levying, judging, exploiting surface as major components of a manorial economy that triggers social mobility and the formation of ever-larger parks. I will explore this phenomenon by correlating taxation and topographic perspective through different yet overlapping fiscal systems : royal, ecclesiastic, seigniorial. Colbert's park at Sceaux will be our case study.

In developing unprecedented spatial devices on the ground, perspective applied to landscape proves to be the instrument and the outcome of a socio-economical process. And since, in garden history, the philosophical interpretation of perspective has been deeply influential, an economic rethinking of the use of optical devices in landscape should contribute towards a shift in landscape epistemology.

**PS21 - Landscape Architecture and Economics**
Sonja Duempelmann, University of Maryland, College Park, and Marc Treib, University of California, Berkeley, *Co-Chairs*

*Wealth as a Basis for Landscape Architecture in Early Modern Times*

Stefan Schweizer
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Understood landscape architecture as a monumental spatial genre of art , there was a need for huge estates, a house and a garden. This included water resources, landscape rearrangements on a big scale and a variety of plants. In addition, standard garden elements such as buildings, fountains, basins etc. illustrate that gardening as an art genre depends on wealth. In my paper I will discuss two dimensions of this relationship.

The first dimension is characterized by critique on the uselessness of pleasure gardens and on the dissipation of economic resources. A typical case is the criticism by C. Borromeo who visited the Villa Lante in 1580. During the stay he accused Cardin. Gambara of this kind of "conspicuous consumption" and lamented, he should have founded an abbey instead. This kind of condemnation is based mostly on religious convictions of humility especially in the Protestant North of Europe. Here we observe discussions on the luxury character of gardens both in philosophical discussions of and in allegories of vices and virtues.

The second dimension is an attempt to refute such moralizing arguments. The authors of garden treatises actually discussed the relationship between economic potential and gardening as art openly. J. Boyceau claimed in his Treatise that pleasure gardens were inappropriate to lower class members, because only the higher nobility would be able to bear the expenses. Two decades later, J. Evelyn adressed his "Elysium Britannicum" to "Princes, noble-men and great persons". Finally Dezallier suggested in his Treatise that not only the economic basis but also the upper class with the implication of taste and education were the two most important factors in the development of gardening as an art form.

This paper will show the economic discourse of the 17th Century was inexorably linked to the discourse on gardening as an art.

**PS21 - Landscape Architecture and Economics**
Sonja Duempelmann, University of Maryland, College Park, and Marc Treib, University of California, Berkeley, *Co-Chairs*

*The Water Gardens of Fort Worth: Competing Models of Patronage*

Kate Holliday
*University of Texas, Arlington, USA*

In the 1970s Fort Worth embarked on a new phase in its downtown urban renewal projects that depended on water and hardscape landscape architecture. Following Lawrence Halprin's 1970 consulting report that suggested an invented genius loci through emphasis on the Trinity River, the city installed three urban fountains designed by Halprin Associates, Peter Walker and Partners, and Johnson & Burgee. Halprin's Heritage Plaza celebrated the city's "pioneer" history; Johnson's Water Gardens provided "slum clearance" and a new tourist destination on the south side of downtown; and Walker's Burnett Park redefined the city's first public park.

As a group these projects represent one of the most ambitious city landscape architecture programs of the 1970s. Ultimately, the three parks, rather than creating a unified image of Fort Worth as a "water city," competed with each other and, as the recent "Trinity River Vision" master plans suggests, with the Trinity River itself for maintenance and attention.

Following a pattern of local patronage established at the Amon Carter and Kimbell Museums, these projects highlight the difficulties of public-private parternships that form the core of urban redevelopment in many Sunbelt cities. In Fort Worth, the origins of the parks lie in city beautification movements of the 1960s that spurred private citizens to push for urban renewal of a blighted downtown. The projects had their origins first in the recommendations of the Streams and Valleys Committee of the Fort Worth City Council and continued, changed, as that group transformed into a private, non-profit citizens group, Streams and Valleys. Paid for almost entirely with private funds but built on public land and designed with limited public input, these three water gardens were nonetheless intended to function as public spaces maintained with public dollars.

**PS22 - Contested Modernisms: Politics, Theory, and Design**
Hans Morgenthaler, University of Colorado at Boulder, *Chair*

*Castlebuilders and Political Puppets: Postwar Italy Reconstructed*

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Catapulted into the modern age following World War II, the Southern Italian provincial capital of Matera stands as a temporal microcosm of the effects of Western modernity upon a previously isolated area. Through closure of the ancient cave habitations (called the Sassi), transfer of the population to modern housing, and resultant abandonment of the traditional peasant lifestyle, the national government colonized this intra-European Other. Working through the postwar reconstruction program, the government transformed the populace from dialect-speaking, land-working peasants into Italian-speaking, wage-earning citizens. A star-studded (and starry-eyed) cast of social scientists, planners, and progressive architects collaborated in Matera to study the peasant cave population and analyze the social dimensions of architecture and urbanism. Strongly influenced by the ideas of Bruno Zevi, they implemented their Neorealist experiments in Matera. Previously mocked as the epitome of the Southern Question, Matera now became the model modernist (rural) city. Described as the Italian Utopia, it became the postwar prototype for the culture and economy of Southern Italy.

Though cloaked under rhetoric of non-partisan collaboration, this effort was nonetheless highly politicized. It was largely funded by U.S. postwar reconstruction money—which backed Italy's Christian Democratic leaders over Communist leaders in this early Cold War skirmish. In addition, the eventual failure of many aspects of the program can be traced directly to their opposition to Christian Democratic policies.

Through oral histories, analysis of 1950s Italian architectural journals, historic photographs, and period poetry describing Materan changes in the 1950s, this study reveals the tension between political and architectural goals of modernizing Matera and demonstrates the way in which designers were used as puppets in the political-economic theater of this time.

**PS22 - Contested Modernisms: Politics, Theory, and Design**
Hans Morgenthaler, University of Colorado at Boulder, *Chair*

*Postcolonial Architecture in Ahmedabad: Towards a Synthesis*

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The subject of the presentation is the relationship between Gandhi and Nehru's political ideologies in postcolonial India and architecture as its representation. The focus is on Ahmedabad, the city that more than the others, was in search of a synthesis between modernization and continuity with tradition. Indian modernity emerged as Janus-faced: on the one hand the Prime Minister Nehru promoted a strong modernization fostering industrial, scientific and technological development; on the other hand Gandhi's ideas aimed to rediscover the local, the old tradition, crafts and rural life. These orientations shaped postcolonial architecture and, since 1947, it was Nehru's voice that prevailed over the others. The city of Ahmedabad, in the ‘50 and ‘60, became the city with the biggest architectural upheaval, where young Indian architects (Kanvinde, Sarabhai, Correa, Doshi) could confront with western modern masters - among the others Le Corbusier and Kahn - and search for their own architectural identity. As a consequence of national political modifications, and international new organizations due to Cold War, Indian architecture changed, followed new tendencies and embraced different languages. A new direction for Indian architecture was clearly expressed in Ahmedabad. It was in this city that the two visions for a modern India tackled. Some examples reflected Nehru's ideas more than the others such as ATIRA by Kanvinde (1950-54) and Science Building for Gujarat University by Doshi (1959-62). But the biggest effort of Indian architects was the attempt to reconcile the two aspects, the ones that came from international influences and the ones that arose from the spirit of tradition. The Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya by Correa, the Shreyas School and the School of Architecture by Doshi, and the National Institute of Design by Sarabhai were the best examples of this search for a synthesis.

**PS22 - Contested Modernisms: Politics, Theory, and Design**
Hans Morgenthaler, University of Colorado at Boulder, *Chair*

*Learning Democracy: Scharoun's schools and the politics of reconstruction*

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Constructed betwen 1957 and 1962 in the Westphalian town of Lunen, the Geschwister-Scholl school is a pivotal work in Hans Scharoun's career. This paper discusses its broader significance within the context of postwar German reconstruction. Conceived shortly after the formation of the Federal Republic and completed as the benefits of the 'economic miracle' became widespread, the school, in some ways an avant-garde, individual response, can equally be seen as the embodiment of a society undergoing rapid processes of democratisation and modernisation.

The building's low-lying arrangement of angular classrooms linked by loose circulation space had its origins in the design for a school presented by Scharoun at the Darmstadt Symposium of 1951. Scharoun talked of giving architectural form to the pedagogical process, attuning light and space to the children's needs. Scharoun's emphasis on place and function is often related to Martin Heidegger's Building, Dwelling, Thinking, presented at the same symposium. But his reframing of an educational philosophy was more related what Jarausch calls the attempt 'to lead Germany back into civilized society and the European economy.' The transformation of education was central to these American-led efforts, which recognised the need 'to fashion new learning objectives, new curricula, new teaching methods, new teachers, new relationships between the people, the teachers and the school.'

While Scharoun's design spoke of radical reinvention, as an exclusive Gymnasium for girls, it nonetheless adhered to the traditions of German education. Despite its unconventional language, the school was embraced by its community. In his 1960 pamphlet Democracy as Client Adolf Arndt championed Scharoun's ability to yoke political ideals to architectural form. But theories of school-building soon turned towards more flexible, functional approaches. Lunen's sprawling footprint and idiosyncratic forms, born in a transitional phase of Germany's recovery, became increasingly anachronistic within its modern democracy.

**PS22 - Contested Modernisms: Politics, Theory, and Design**
Hans Morgenthaler, University of Colorado at Boulder, *Chair*

*Socialist modernity: the built environment debate in East Germany*

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Nikita Krushchev's speech 'On the extensive introduction of industrial methods, improving the quality and reducing the cost of construction,' delivered at the All-Union Conference of Builders and Architects in Moscow in 1954, caused a significant shift in architecture and town planning in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). It initiated a process of modernization in the East German construction industry (along with a reappraisal of architectural modernism and its ideas), which gained further momentum as the party leadership embarked on a programme of economic reforms in 1963, two years after the Berlin Wall was built. New towns, industrial complexes and reshaped city centres, as in Berlin or Dresden, bear witness to this phase.

In this paper I aim to re-address the question of socialist modernity and investigate whether post-World War II modernization took a distinct shape in the GDR. Was there an 'Ostmoderne' [east-modern architecture], and if so, where might it be found? I suggest that, beyond built artefacts, traces of this socialist modernity can be found first and foremost in the hitherto unexplored theoretical debates concerning the built environment and its relationship to life in socialism in the 1960s – especially in the concept of Komplexe Umweltgestaltung [complex design of the environment] developed by architectural theorist Bruno Flierl. I will map out discussions about modernism as Erbe [heritage] and examine intersections between architectural theory, cybernetics and social sciences that were formed during those years. In doing so, I intend to offer a reading of East German theorists' efforts to characterize the specific quality of the built environment in socialism as developed in relation to post-war modern architecture in the west, in particular West Germany, and the other Eastern Bloc countries, especially the Soviet Union. Understood this way, were these developments signs of a 'departure' towards socialist modernity in the GDR?

**PS22 - Contested Modernisms: Politics, Theory, and Design**
Hans Morgenthaler, University of Colorado at Boulder, *Chair*

*The Communists Have Changed: Oscar Niemeyer's Headquarters for the PCF*

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In September 1971, a supplement to the 46th issue of La Nouvelle Critique (La N.C.), the intellectual monthly of the French Communist Party (PCF), was entirely devoted to the Party's newest achievement: the conclusion of the first phase in the construction of its national headquarters.

The party's offices had hitherto been spread out amongst various buildings in Paris. By centralizing and "modernizing" it as a workplace, this new edifice designed by the Brazilian Communist architect Oscar Niemeyer would give the PCF a new physical presence in the capital - notably by making it a "point of attraction and tourism" in the traditional working class districts of the 19th arrondissement.

Over the following year, as the building was introduced to a more specialized audience, the architectural press inevitably referred back to the dossier of La N.C. For the British magazine The Architectural Review, the official discourse of the PCF vis-à-vis its architectural enterprise revealed an "unashamedly propagandistic tone." The implication was that a political agenda had been inherent in the building itself, not only in the discourse of the party. Yet if modern architecture in this building served as an instrument of party politics, what exactly was its ideological content? Is the architecture itself political? The question of what connection exists between the PCF's decision to assign Niemeyer to design the building in 1966 and its politics of "aggiornamento" implemented in that year, following the meeting of the party's Central Committee in Argenteuil, also comes to mind.

The Party decided to build a new national headquarters in order to change: to symbolize its own modernization, to "march along with its own time." I will approach these questions through an analysis of the La N.C.'s dossier, arguing that this building materializes a clash of competing timelines in the history of the PCF.

**PS23 - Architectural Ecologies: A Relational History of Architecture**
Karin Jaschke, University of Brighton, *Chair*

*Learning from Edo: Architecture at the Intersection of Milieux*

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Bruno Taut's 1936 re-reading of Japan's architectural history illustrated how one might reconstruct meaning into historic artifacts for the sake of sustaining a theoretical agenda. The architect's Western eyes marveled on the efficiency and sufficiency of the traces of Edo country-living and palatial retreats like Katsura, which for him were testimony of a Modernist heritage before its time. While his retroactive manifesto for Japan's architectural history became, in post-war years, a commonplace interpretation of the nation's proto-modernity, his appraisal of the primitive Japanese hut against the lavish temple of Nikko was a variation on the theme at the heart of ecological debates to this day. In recent years, scholars such as Conrad Totman and Jared Diamond reiterated aspects of the Edo period model of a sustainable building practice. Diamond's interpretation of the Tokugawa top-down management of resources exemplified the pertinence of retrospective evaluation of architecture in the widest frame of reference. Considered jointly, Taut's and Diamond's accounts offer a case in point, demonstrating that eco-wise construction is necessarily bound with social values, political and natural systems. Architectural ecology must be considered as a web of interrelations, or it may, sometimes, engender the collapse of society. As historians and theoreticians, we ought to step outside the architectural archives and engage a broad scope of evaluation parameters; we ought to reflect on, and interpret, the many milieux where a building interacts, and bridge between its performances in the material, social and aesthetic realms. If architecture's exchanges with the environment has always remained the key to evaluating its ecological impact, the shift one might identify over the years is in a given society's understanding of the multiplicity of milieux, where architecture structures the nodes.

**PS23 - Architectural Ecologies: A Relational History of Architecture**
Karin Jaschke, University of Brighton, *Chair*

*Pliny Fisk and the Wager of Systems*

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As we know from Reyner Banham's Megastructure (1976), the visionary experiments of the 1960s went out of favor almost as quickly as they appeared. But these days the work is being recast as a forerunner to sustainable design. Anticipating this return was the symposium, "Rethinking Designs of the 60s," published in Perspecta (1998), an event that coincided with the gradual détente of the critique of ideology that had riven theory from the world of practice. Among those attending were well-known figures of the day, including Steve Badanes and Mike Webb. But the symposium was not simply a nostalgic look back, it was also an indication of the alternative paths a few architects had subsequently taken. In this category was another notable speaker, Pliny Fisk, one of the original "design outlaws" of the 1960s.

Fisk is a pioneer of the green building movement, and like his colleagues, Sim van der Ryn and Amory Lovins, he subscribes to the belief in on-site and renewable energy use. But what distinguishes him as a thinker is his deployment of strategic mapping, seeded in the years he spent as a graduate student at Penn under the directorship of Ian McHarg. Seminal to his thinking was an ecological approach to urban planning, which he derived, in part, from the eminent systems thinker Russell Ackoff of the Wharton School of Economics. This approach, however, was not limited to the idea of eco-balance maintenance, but also encompassed a radical strategy informed by the study of complexity. In this paper, I discuss the connection between systems thinking and urban planning in the 1960s at Penn, trace how this area of inquiry transformed in the face of complexity, and demonstrate how it relates to Fisk's own mapping strategy for leveraging change from a grey world to a green one.

**PS23 - Architectural Ecologies: A Relational History of Architecture**
Karin Jaschke, University of Brighton, *Chair*

*Future Fossils: Architectural Geohistories*

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This paper examines the emergence of architectural typologies that address environmental hazard employing methodologies and principles developed by the science of geology. Excavation is the act of going through the earth's archives. Soil, rock formations and fossils are time writings. Fossus, the origin of the term fossil, is to having been dug up. Today excavations are not only performed to uncover specimens but also to cover them up: Built encased amalgams of material, both natural and manmade create surfaces dense with embodied information. Three distinct (en)case studies form the basis of the discussion: Layers of cement rest upon contaminated soil in Chernobyl burying a nuclear accident. A salt dome is turned into a radioactive waste depository in Gorleben. Permafrost conditions become the site of a seed bank in Norway expecting a plant mutation. Considering their future dialectics particular facets of present events and culture are encased within them. They are preserved for future times, awaiting excavation and interpretation, carrying warning signs, hibernating until an imminent analysis; they are future fossils.

The paper speculates on what terms these fossils can be discussed if they were uncovered in the future and how architecture as a medium of encasing can carry meanings and characteristics of geoformations. The analysis reflects upon the emergence of geology as an academic discipline in the 17th century; early savants developed scientific methods and concluded in interpretations of past events. The analytical work of Buffon, Couvier, Hutton, Lavoisier, Steno resulted in geotheories or geohistories also expressed in drawings. In developing taxonomies they deciphered information conveyed in fossils based on locality, type, organism's lifespan and found terrain. Inspired by these thinkers this paper proposes the same taxonomies to the architectural case studies. They are investigated in geological terms as spaces of encoded knowledge, future fossils.

**PS23 - Architectural Ecologies: A Relational History of Architecture**
Karin Jaschke, University of Brighton, *Chair*

*Bateson, Beer and Pask: Emergence of an Eco-Materialist Aesthetics*

Jon Goodbun
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Andrew Pickering has noted that “the ontology of cybernetics is a strange and unfamiliar one, very different from that of the modern sciences”. He argues that the modern ideology and practice of science is fundamentally representational, but that within post-war cybernetics there was a radical and marginalised research interest, which staged a non-representational approach, based upon a “hylozoic wonder”, and a “reciprocal coupling of people and things”, and which tried to develop a new philosophy and science of material process. Across an ecology of practices – art, architecture, psychiatry, robotics, biological computing, cognitive science and even management theory – we find in this research the beginnings of a reformulation of the project of western knowledge, and a different way of thinking about what “things” are, and what we can know about them. Binary oppositions that continue to structure much thought, such as matter and pattern, nature and culture, subject and object, were profoundly re-imagined here, not just conceptually, but through real experimental projects.

In this paper I focus on Gregory Bateson’s conceptions of an ecological aesthetics and an ecology of mind, and Stafford Beer and Gordon Pask’s ideas around biological computing. All of these thinkers engaged in architectural or urban issues in various ways. Bateson tried to make available the insights of complex systems theory to NY planners, Pask famously collaborated with Cedric Price, and worked at the AA, whilst Beer fantasised about designing factories that were managed by complex systems in the local environment!

I review these more obvious engagements with architectural and ecological knowledge, but will also ask what kinds of questions and possibilities this neocybernetic research – which staged a very novel conception of time and agency – poses for the practice and knowledge of architectural historiography, an eco-materialist aesthetics and critical-political urban ecology.

**PS24 - Architecture's Nocturnes**
Thomas Mical, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, *Chair*

*Lost in Space City: The Rothko Chapel & The Astrodome*

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In 1971, the patron Dominique de Menil opened the Rothko Chapel, stating, "Rothko was prophetic in leaving us a nocturnal environment...night, the reserve of being...the great continuous fabric...[God's] most beautiful creation," and that this ‘nocturnal environment' must exist in "the very city where cosmic explorations are planned." Six years earlier, Judge Roy Hofheinz had opened the Astrodome (staffed by ‘Spacettes', ‘Blast-Off Girls', and ‘Earthmen'), proclaiming it ‘The Eighth Wonder of the World'. As depicted in the Astros' atomic logo of the time and showing the scalability of microcosm, the purported realization of Boullée's Cenotaph for Newton became the nucleus orbited by baseball electrons. Attempting to raise its roof through collective meditation, the Guru Maharaj Ji remarked, "The Astrodome is like God. You have to experience them both first-hand."

With this paper I propose to compare the Chapel and Dome's respective situations in the various contexts inscribed within Houston's urban topography, imagined in the 60s as encompassing Earth and heavens. Doing so will illuminate their negotiations and differentiations of everyday orientation within the Space City's ephemeral terrestrial and stellar horizons. The pairing reflects the contradictory desires Karsten Harries identified in Kubrick's Space Odyssey: man's longing to find the cosmos at once wondrously sublime, and rather like home. Following David Anfam's analogy of the Chapel as 2001's monolith, I present the Dome as the film's Hilton-in-Orbit. But situated in the terrestrial city, the converse holds true: while the Chapel anticipates a public domus humanizing suburban isolation, the Dome looms as sublime spectacle of urban sprawl. Both the Chapel, as domestic interior invaded by cosmic mystery, and Dome, as comfortable shelter within the otherworldly, produce the uncanny destabilized dwelling; each frames the other as nocturne and spectacle, untranquil nuclei orbited by the enigmatic and shifting limits of the Space City.

**PS24 - Architecture's Nocturnes**
Thomas Mical, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, *Chair*

*Urban Noir as Future-Gazing: Hugh Ferriss's Metropolis of Tomorrow*

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As metropolitan observers—from American architectural critic Douglas Haskell to contemporary Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas—suggest, Hugh Macomber Ferriss's drawings of the imaginary metropolis from the 1920s were essentially nocturnal fantasies, awash in a theatrical mix of artificial light, shadow, and darkness. Building on Ferriss's drawings, this paper examines the conflicted meanings embedded in early-twentieth-century artistic representations of the night. Situated outside the realm of rational specularity, the night promised a peculiar alignment with future-gazing, for lack of natural light dissolved the visual stability of the world into a fertile field of imagination. The nocturnal city and its incandescent mystique were seen as a quintessential frontier for the deliberations of modernist aesthetics—for John Doss Passos, "Night crushes bright milk out of arclights, squeezes the sullen blocks until they drip red, yellow, green." If in nineteenth-century Victorian reckonings, the night was a time of debauchery and social deviance, in the early twentieth century the Victorian denigration of the city night was permeated, as Lewis Erenberg argues, with a new appreciation of nocturnal modernity, one in which the illuminated night became an acceptable extension of the public realm. In Night as Frontier (1987), Murray Melbin posits that time could be conquered, populated, and filled with activities that were otherwise constrained by the limits of the daytime and the morality of a probing eye. What Melbin implicitly argues is that the triumph of night light was closely allied with the opening of a new vista and, by extension, the development of an empowered spectator, whose initial terror of darkness was overcome by a subconscious of conquest. For Ferriss, the conquered night offered a fictionalized venue for the renovation of the existing city, as the disruptive minutiae of the daytime city could be made to fade into the pixilation of artificial light and shadow.

**PS24 - Architecture's Nocturnes**
Thomas Mical, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, *Chair*

*Evocations of a Historical Night in Venice*

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In Venice, were the ‘raising of stones into the air' is as described by Ruskin ‘at its most miraculous' there exists a particular intimate scale which makes this city omnipresent. Not only are we here drawn by mystery and romance - this otherworldly city unfolds an architectural nocturne that in many ways makes history.

In general the sensuous quality and experience of presence in the contemporary city is increasingly diluted as flows of highways, metros, escalators and elevators lead us effortlessly. A contemporary redeveloping of the sensuous quality of the historic city cannot be a question of nostalgic conservations, but it is our hypothesis that there is lessons to be learned from the historic city in developing our contemporary urban environment and that the night possesses a particular potential in uncovering these lessons.

At night our senses are enhanced; our attentions to sound, touch, smell and taste increases as our eyes are partially incapacitated by the dimness. The night is therefore an obvious point of departure for questioning and challenging our usual perception of the city as well as for spurring future directions for development. Using the pavilion NoRA as a case study this paper explores the potential for activating the small scale architectural experiment, as a means for evoking sensuous experiences of the historic city and for uncovering contemporary potential in our everyday environment by activating this particular sensitivity of the night. NoRA is a pavilion which was designed as a mobile experience unit offering a venue for cooking events, concerts, exhibitions and workshops launched for the first time at the 10th International Architectural Biennale in Venice. On a September night NoRA framed a nocturnal event making the taste, smell, sound and feeling of the historic city the point of departure for learning about the contemporary city.

**PS25 - Drawing in the Design Professions, 1500 to 1900**
Ann C. Huppert, University of Washington and Thaïsa Way, University of Washington, *Co-Chairs*

*Drawings and the Building Bureaucracy in Northern Europe, 1620-80*

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It is widely recognized that the new methods of architectural draftsmanship introduced in the course of the Renaissance both reflected and enabled a new kind of building process in which the architect was more distant from the building site than before, and more concerned with conceptual and design issues than with the practical problems that arise on site. The complex adoption process and uncertainties on the part of Italian architects have been studied in some depth. More problematic is the frequent assumption that this transformation, once familiar in Italy, was inevitable and seamless in other parts of Europe, or that it was so natural that there were few complications in transition. In fact, there were many problems in the adoption of these methods. Many architects, especially those in salaried positions working for courts or municipalities, worked within the constraints of formal contracts that specified their duties very precisely. These were initially framed within the older conception of the architect as building master, responsible for overseeing construction as much as for the design. The power to change these terms was often held by those with no particular interest in developments in building processes, and thus involved some argument about building methods. We will examine the case of Nicodemus Tessin the Elder, who transformed the building process in Sweden in the seventeenth century in both practical and legal terms, and whose efforts to do so are preserved in a series of documents. We will then consider how his efforts might have approximated or differed from those of a group of architects working elsewhere in northern Europe who found themselves in similar circumstances.

**PS25 - Drawing in the Design Professions, 1500 to 1900**
Ann C. Huppert, University of Washington and Thaïsa Way, University of Washington, *Co-Chairs*

*Conception & Construction: The Architectural Drawings of Galeazzo Alessi*

Rebecca Gill
*University of Reading, Berkshire, UK*

This paper proposes to examine the architectural drawings of Galeazzo Alessi (1512-1572), prepared for his ecclesiastical projects of Santa Maria presso San Celso, Milan; Santa Maria di Carignano, Genoa; and the Sacro Monte in Varallo. The nature of Alessi's career is such that he was frequently working on several different projects in various parts of Italy simultaneously, which meant that he was often absent from his construction sites. As a consequence Alessi designed his own system of drawings, conceived in order to explain to patrons and builders how to execute his buildings in his absence. These sets of drawings include over 120 folios executed in Alessi's hand for Santa Maria presso San Celso, held in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, and over 200 drawings published together as the Libro dei Misteri for the Sacro Monte. An examination of these drawings will show that although some of these drawings were used by Alessi to offer alternative versions of architectural elements, the true function of these drawings was that of an instruction manual, giving builders precise measurements in order to execute the building, and furnishing the patrons with an exact idea of the appearance of their project. In addition, Alessi also provided illustrated letters that explained particular problems that occurred in his absence.

The study of these drawings will also be viewed against the context of the growing status of the architect, and the increasing distinction that was being made in Renaissance Italy between the architect as the mind behind a project and the builder as the hands behind a project. In this sense Alessi's drawings can be understood to have defined him as an architect, whose ideas could be transmitted by ink and which therefore negated the need to be constantly present on site, and which separated him from the other construction workers.

**PS25 - Drawing in the Design Professions, 1500 to 1900**
Ann C. Huppert, University of Washington and Thaïsa Way, University of Washington, *Co-Chairs*

*The Drawings of the Supervising Architect's Office, 1852-1860*

Katherine Miller
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The Supervising Architect's Office (SAO) of the Department of Treasury was the largest and most powerful architectural firm in antebellum America. It simultaneously implemented the design and construction of dozens of federal public building across the nation from its central office in Washington, DC. The Office's main form of communication was lithographed sets of architectural drawings—elevation, plan, section, site plan, and details—for both internal and external functionalities. Drawing emerged as an important tool to distinguish the design profession from construction. This paper explores the SAO's various modes of architectural communication and how those techniques amalgamated into a larger discursive practice.

Inside the office, lithographed drawings were a specialized form of communication intended to organize the project. To convey ideas to various audiences, the SAO utilized free-hand sketches, watercolor presentation drawings, photographs and text for the appropriate viewership.

Outside the office, the lithographs were the ultimate on-site authority representing the SAO's design intentions. The drawings were instrumental in controlling the cost, quality and pace of construction. Professionally, this sharp distinction between ideation and implementation differentiated architects from builders. Without textual explanation, the SAO drawings eschewed pattern book precedents, and targeted a professional audience that could extrapolate the significance of the work solely from the visual. The content of these designs, which introduced builders to iron I-beam technology, further magnified this differentiation.

From 1856-59, the SAO published Plans for Public Buildings, which encompassed sets of lithographed architectural drawings that were distributed at home and abroad. Depositing folios at museums, universities, libraries and consular offices, the drawings were circulated for pedagogical, political and diplomatic purposes. Plans for Public Buildings highlighted the SAO's awareness of its pioneering modes of architectural communication and their professional implications.

**PS25 - Drawing in the Design Professions, 1500 to 1900**
Ann C. Huppert, University of Washington and Thaïsa Way, University of Washington, *Co-Chairs*

*"Ceci tuera cela." Victorian Debates on Architectural Drawing*

Katherine Wheeler
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In May 1887 in London at the Eighth General Conference of Architects, the architectural educator Richard Phené Spiers, paraphrasing Victor Hugo, argued "Ceci tuera cela, le dessin tuera l'architecture." "This will kill that; the drawing will kill architecture." Spiers, Master of Architecture at the Royal Academy of Art, was attacking "paper architecture" as an architecture of luscious drawing without substance. Spiers, as a former student of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, condemned its drawing style as removed from a basic understanding of materials and construction.

Other forms of architectural drawing also came under fire at the conference. Although the architect John D. Sedding agreed with Spiers, he pushed his objections further and condemned the increased use of architectural working drawings. Sedding thought it was a fallacy that "adequate working designs can be expressed on paper." The increased use of drawings meant that architecture was no longer primarily based in craft or material, but in design. For Sedding design--and therefore drawing--was not synonymous with architecture.

At stake in the conference debates was not only the role of the drawing in the process of architectural design but "what architecture should be," and therefore also the professional standing of the architect, his education, his relationship with the craftsman, and his historical models. Was architecture a fine art with drawing at its core, or was it an applied art of materials and building crafts? Did the increased use of architectural working drawings make the architect a "dictator," as Sedding insisted, or did it liberate him from the manual labor of the building trades? While drawing did not kill architecture as Spiers had feared, the late Victorian debates over architectural drawing indicate drawing's central role in the radical transformation of the profession during these decades.

**PS25 - Drawing in the Design Professions, 1500 to 1900**
Ann C. Huppert, University of Washington and Thaïsa Way, University of Washington, *Co-Chairs*

*The Constructs of Parallel Projection in the 18th and 19th Centuries*

Hilary Bryon
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Since the early modern era, perspective holds an apparent dominance as the primary form of pictorial representation in architecture. Yet, up to the Eighteenth Century, proto-oblique projection was a commonly used pictorial view and often used by builders to articulate construction details in wood and stone. The appearance of depth was conveyed via somewhat parallel lines oblique to the plane of projection. In 1706, oblique projection was geometrically theorized as a representational technique by Louis Bretez. Oblique parallel projections allowed for dimensional accuracy to be combined with a pictorial view, albeit one with some spatial and optical distortion.

In 1795, Gaspard Monge challenged this practical drawing method in Géométrie Descriptive. Monge posited how complex three-dimensional solids should be geometrically traced via parallel projections and graphically abstracted on plane surfaces. At the Ecole Polytechnique, Monge's efficient, universal graphic operation usurped the art of the craftsmen and the graphics associated with a constructive assembly.

A more spatially accurate form of parallel projection, axonometry, offered a return to the constructive ideal. Its initial form, isometry, was presented in 1820 by Cambridge's William Farish. Isometry, like axonometry, is a form of parallel projection in which the projectors are perpendicular to the plane of projection and the three axes are scaled relative to the axis system's angle of inclination to this plane. Thus, axonometry combines the functionality of measured orthographic drawings with a spatially accurate pictorial projection.

This paper will explicate these operations of parallel projection: oblique projection, descriptive geometry, and axonometry, relative to contemporary architectural practices. The thesis argues that the generation and use of these three modes of parallel projection, as ultimately resolved in axonometry, parallels the transition of architecture from the world of handicraft to scientific, industrial techniques.

**PS26 - Architecture 1500: The End of Gothic**
Linda Neagley, Rice University, *Chair*

*Juan and Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón: From Master Mason to Architect*

Sergio Sanabria
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In December 1520 the cathedral chapter of Salamanca altered its contract with master mason Juan Gil de Hontañón (ca. 1475-1526). He remained master, drawing a salary for supervision, but subcontracted separately, a destajo, construction of four chapels, west facade, and north portal. Master masons became administrators, legally no longer builders, more like modern architects. Destajeros, i.e. contractors, did the work. By separating responsibilities for design, supervision, and execution of work, the destajo arrangement allowed Juan Gil to accumulate important concurrent commissions, a procedure his son Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón would exploit to the fullest. Juan Gil's extant works include San Antolín at Medina del Campo, a collegiate hall church begun 1502; the Palencia cathedral cloister documented after October 1505; Salamanca begun 1512; the Seville cathedral crossing begun 1513; four distinguished funerary monuments, Santa María in Coca begun ca. 1505, San Francisco in Cuéllar begun 1518, San Eutropio in El Espinar, and Santa Clara in Briviesca begun ca. 1523; and Segovia cathedral begun 1524.

Although wealthy, Juan Gil was neither sophisticated nor worldly. He apparently apprenticed under two famous Isabelline Late Gothic masters, Simón de Colonia, master at Burgos, and Juan Guas, master at Toledo. His vision remained bound to Simón's, reinterpreted more consistently, trimmed of wild excesses, clarifying its dense superimpositions of textures and plastic forms, and relying on a purified and crystalline geometric discipline using systematic design procedures, untouched by renaissance novelties. He did not understand classical forms, which he used rarely and without success. Had he lived longer he would have reached an impasse before a new generation of high ecclesiastic and lay patrons insisting on up-to-date awareness of Italian forms. Juan Gil could not have transformed his artistic repertoire, as did his much more adventuresome, spectacularly prolific son, who embraced gothic, classicism, and destajo.

**PS26 - Architecture 1500: The End of Gothic**
Linda Neagley, Rice University, *Chair*

*The Continuity of Gothic Style in Bohemia: "fieri gottico modo"*

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The key to understand the use of the Gothic style in Bohemia beyond the Middle Ages, lies in the analysis of the historical development, which brought a change to the symbolic function and value of the style and provides an answer to the question why around 1700, several monasteries restore their old convent churches in a style they call “fieri gottico modo” (proud gothic manner).
The Cistercian monastery of Sedlec is the first church to be rebuilt in that manner. It was largely destroyed during the religious conflict in the early 15th century. For the next 300 years the remains of the grand convent church were admired and legends to preserve the ruins spread, until in the late 17th century, the new abbot took upon him the task of restoring the former function of the building and regain the sacred space. The result is a fascinating blend of baroque and gothic forms. In the end, the church is neither gothic nor baroque, so the attribution to one style in the tight modern periodization is largely problematic, as it is too baroque to be gothic and too gothic to be baroque.
The aim of this study is to show that in Bohemia, the tradition of the gothic style continued far beyond the Renaissance. It will illustrate the changes in the function of the style, from a mere emphasis on a church building in the late gothic period, to a visual proof of true faith during the Reformation, up to a built justification for politic aspirations in the catholic propaganda of Counter Reformation.

**PS26 - Architecture 1500: The End of Gothic**
Linda Neagley, Rice University, *Chair*

*Bohemian prisms; Franciscans and late gothic cellular vaults*

Alice Klima
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Late Gothic Bohemian architecture is known for its extravagant vaults and fantastic sculptural details.[1] Perhaps the most unique style, cellular vaults were constructe for a limited time between 1471 and mid-sixteenth century and are often found with Renaissance details such as portals and windows. Built of brick and visually spectacular, the transmission of cellular vaults is easily traceable in northern and southern Bohemia. Often the vaults were part of efforts to restore dilapidated buildings from the Hussite conflicts (1420-1434).

My discussion of cellular vaults will focus on a small group of Franciscan monasteries in order to examine this unique style within the monastic context and the role of the monasteries in the proliferation of cellular vaults throughout the region. For example, the Franciscan monastery at Kadaň in northern Bohemia, built on a new site, was most likely the first use of cellular vaults in Bohemia (1473-1506). In contrast, in Bechyně monastery, southern Bohemia (1490-1513) the vaults were part of the renovation of a monastery ruined during the Hussite conflicts. Bechyně influenced numerous other buildings in the region such as the parish church in Soběslav, the Hussite church in Tábor, private residences and the Franciscan monastery at Horažďovice (1501-1519).

The patronage in late gothic Bohemia was strongly influenced by powerful and wealthy lords, who often competed for the most spectacular designs. I will inquire to what extent cellular vaults at Franciscan monasteries were the result of the patron‘s wishes or the influence of the new monastic community inspired by Franciscan reforms. Overall my discussion should yield a promising discussion on the motivations for the changing styles, building practices, and patronage in 16$^{th}$ century Bohemia.

[1] As recently discussed by Ethan Matt Kavaler "Architectural wit:..." 2008

**PS26 - Architecture 1500: The End of Gothic**
Linda Neagley, Rice University, *Chair*

*The Writing on the Wall: The End of Text as Architectural Decoration*

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Late Gothic architecture in Northern Europe has been defined, in both negative and positive terms, by its effusive and complex ornamentation. In the decades around 1500, decorative investigations were particularly intense, embracing solutions that played knowingly on Gothic structure as well as the Classicizing forms of the Renaissance. While bold decoration is evident in both secular and religious architecture of this period, this paper confines itself to an examination of religious architecture, specifically the parish church of Notre-Dame in Caudebec-en-Caux. This church displays an extravagant use of text as architectural sculpture, a subset of the decorative experimentation around 1500. The text, a Latin hymn to the Virgin, occupies the uppermost balustrades and west façade of the church. While I have considered the metaphoric meanings of the text in relationship to the church's architecture elsewhere, this paper considers why this decorative innovation was tepidly received. Only one other parish church, La Ferté-Bernard, opted for a similar formula. Three possible explanations will be explored. First, the urban context of these churches rarely allowed for sightlines that would render the text legible. For cost-conscious patrons, embellishment had to be visible. Second, the use of text as ornament was a privileged form of communication, commissioned by only the most elite of patrons. Other instances occur in places like the choir at Brou, for example. Caudebec's major patron at this time, Robert Nagerel, was a member of the powerful Amboise family. Third, the notion of text as both structure and ornament belonged to the visual mentality of the Late Gothic, rendering it unfashionable as Renaissance tastes prevailed after the 1520s. Comparisons to contemporary painting and metalwork demonstrate a shift from a playful interdisciplinarity to a preference for clear distinctions between media, structure and ornament.

**PS27 - Everyday China: Domestic Space and the Making of Modern Identity**
Duanfang Lu, University of Sydney, *Chair*

*The Transformation of Domestic Gardens in Shanghai*

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This paper examines the transformation of domestic gardens in Shanghai in the first half of the twentieth century. Shanghai is located in the Lower Yangtze River region where a large number of Chinese classical gardens were built during the Ming-Qing period. With a series of encroachments by Western powers opened up by the 1842 Treaty of Nanking, the city became a multinational hub of finance and business. The early twentieth century witnessed a radical shift in domestic garden design: instead of building Chinese classical gardens in their backyards, the rich adopted British landscape gardens.

This paper explores a number of aspects of this transition. It will first investigate on what grounds British landscape gardens replaced Chinese classical gardens. It will then offer a comparative study between Chinese classical gardens and British landscape gardens, focusing on the design and planning rationales of their basic elements (e.g., water, plants, rocks, buildings, etc.). The paper will provide an analysis of the shifting cultural imaginations associated with domestic garden design and their implications for the historical development of city parks. It argues that the changed local taste and consumer culture in relation to private gardens prepared a basis for the development of modern public parks in the city.

**PS27 - Everyday China: Domestic Space and the Making of Modern Identity**
Duanfang Lu, University of Sydney, *Chair*

*Spatial Order and Its Transformations in an Anhui Village*

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Rural space in China has undergone profound reconfiguration and reconstruction since the reform era began in 1978. The latest round of change was initiated in 2006 when the central government launched a new policy known as "Building a New Socialist Countryside". This paper deals with the "spatialisation of government" in Xiaogang, a village which is located in the central eastern part of Anhui province and is reputedly the first in China to decollectivise and commence agriculture reform in 1978. Based on the village experience, the paper analyses two types of rural space and delineates the logic behind their transformation over the past two decades. The paper argues that while spatial transformation underpins many significant changes in rural social, economic and political structures, new forms of space continue to bolster collectivised rather than individualised forms of subjectivity. In addition, although political power has been devolved through the process of rural decollectivisation, state power remains manifest in the ongoing spatial remaking of the village built environment.

**PS27 - Everyday China: Domestic Space and the Making of Modern Identity**
Duanfang Lu, University of Sydney, *Chair*

*Socialist Ideology, Property System and Domestic Space in* **Tulou**

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This paper studies the interplay between rural communities and the communist state in shaping rural housing and domestic space during the period of China's socialist transformation (1950s to 1980s). In particular, it examines how changes to the system of property ownership have affected rural housing. I argue that unlike urban domestic space, which was unintentionally "modernized" in response to the state-imposed communist ideology, rural houses were actively and strategically constructed by their collective owners/proprietors in order to maximize their share of public goods.
China's socialist transformation had significant consequences for domestic space. In urban areas, all property belonged to the state. The work unit (danwei) played a vital role in shaping individuals' modern identity through providing housing to its workers. But rural areas, with their distinct population structure and social organization, were administered through another system, the people's commune. The commune system consisted of three levels of land ownership. The lowest level, the production team, corresponded to the original natural village or community. The production team was the basic accounting and farming unit in the system. It owned most of the land and local resources as a collective proprietor. Buildings known as Tulou have been a communal housing tradition in southeastern China for centuries. When the socialist transformation was launched, Tulou communities directly transformed themselves into production teams without reframing themselves according to communist ideology. They successfully became legal collective proprietors. The commune property system allowed them full access to public goods. They became developer-proprietors of new projects and seized local resources in order to construct real estate in excess of communal needs. This paper studies Tulou communities' strategic responses to state pressures, and the "communist" style housing they created as a consequence.

**PS27 - Everyday China: Domestic Space and the Making of Modern Identity**
Duanfang Lu, University of Sydney, *Chair*

*Imagined Modernity in the Chinese Family Home*

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Modernity has been a most troublesome question for the Chinese intellectuals ever since European colonial powers overwhelmed China with their military, technology, economic and cultural dominance from the 19th century. This paper will examine the family home in modern Chinese fiction with a focus on how it has been adopted as a literary trope to represent modernity, or the lack of it, in Chinese society. The intent is twofold: to demonstrate how modernity has been imagined and practiced in the daily Chinese life at its private and intimate levels, and to argue how changes in the Chinese understanding of modernity in turn correspond with the transformation of the domestic spatial configuration in literature. Representative literary works will be selected for close reading to show how the family home emerged as the battle ground between tradition and modernity in the early decades of the 20th century and how European modernity was eagerly brought into the Chinese domestic sphere as aspects of essential material and cultural modernity. However, with the rise of China in recent years, the question of modernity for the Chinese intellectuals has gradually changed into a question of "Chinese modernity". Instead of asking what constitutes modernity and how China can achieve it, as the intellectuals used to do, the questions for contemporary thinkers are: what is Chinese modernity and if the mission has already been accomplished. Framing the Chinese fictional domestic space against the contemporary Chinese intellectual discourse on modernity, this study discovers that contemporary literary texts provide answers to those difficult questions with subtle but affirmative answers.

**PS29 - The Architecture of the American Building Industry**
Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, University of Wisconsin-Madison, *Chair*

**The Parade of Homes: Selling the Postwar American House**

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By 1952, merchant builders were poised to become the leading producers of American housing, a position they continue to hold today. My paper examines how builders refined their merchandising skills in order to train consumers how to buy houses. Through journals like House & Home and the efforts of the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), postwar builders accessed the latest merchandising techniques, including new ways to utilize the model house. In 1948, the NAHB sponsored the first Parade of Homes events, which were exhibits of model houses built and staged by local builders for a speculative audience. The early Parade of Homes functioned as an experiential narrative of progress in the housing industry. The houses on parade showcased a packaged "contemporary" style that builders distilled from architect-based designs and mediated through staging, market research, and publicity stunts.

Whereas histories of the postwar building industry usually focus on the production of houses, my paper emphasizes the salesmanship of the building profession. I use documentary, archival, and popular sources to outline builders' merchandising methods. Then I investigate the 1955 Parade of Homes in Meyerland, Texas, a suburb of Houston. The Meyerland Parade included 33 model houses, the country's first speculative bomb shelter, and an "x-ray house" highlighting the latest construction technology. Even in a year with a record 200 parades displaying nearly 10,000 model houses, the Meyerland parade received national attention as one of the most successful examples of house-selling. As stated in a 1957 House & Home article, the Parade of Homes was the builder's best way to "turn lookers into buyers."

**PS29 - The Architecture of the American Building Industry**
Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, University of Wisconsin-Madison, *Chair*

*Architect as Developer: Designers, FHA, and Postwar US Apartments*

Matthew Lasner
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Much has been made since the 1990s of design-build: architect as contractor. This paper considers a slightly different blurring of professional boundaries: architect as developer. Architects operating as developers, while never prohibited by ethnical considerations, has long been frowned upon. Meanwhile, development-oriented agencies like FHA were shaped in explicit opposition to the architectural sensibilities of reformers like Catherine Bauer and Clarence Stein. The mid-century built environment, however, reveals a more ambiguous relationship, especially in housing—and, in particular, multifamily housing. We have long known, for example, that Levitt & Sons' houses were designed by son Alfred. But after two Levittowns, Alfred went on his own: designing and developing Levitt House, a complex of modernistic high-rises with extensive community facilities. Levitt was not alone.

New links between architecture and FHA's multifamily housing program in the 1930s have recently been unearthed. This relationship continued after WWII. Through the 1960s, fact, FHA encouraged architects to develop—at least in the field of multifamily. By lowering financial barriers to entry, anyone who understood how to navigate FHA could develop apartment complexes. With ready access to professional networks and trade papers like Architectural Record and House & Home, which publicized policy changes, architects were well positioned to take on this challenge.

In addition to Levitt, this paper explores the development work of three other architects between the late 1940s and mid-1960s: Erwin Gerber, a prolific designer and developer of garden-apartment complexes in suburban New York; Ross Cortese, who originated the Leisure World retirement cities in California; and Brown & Guenther, socially progressive architects who developed dozens of affordable high-rises in New York City. Unlike typical postwar production architects who worked at the service of mainstream developers, these designers took an active role in shaping—and re-shaping—the look and feel of mass-built postwar housing.

**PS29 - The Architecture of the American Building Industry**
Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, University of Wisconsin-Madison, *Chair*

*Yorktown: Suburban Architecture in Post-War Philadelphia*

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This paper will broaden the picture of the architecture of the American building industry after World War II by examining Yorktown, the first property sold for private, for-sale residential construction by the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority (RDA). Yorktown, part of the 20 square block "Southwest Temple" redevelopment area in North Philadelphia, was designed and built by architects Hassinger and Schwam and the Denny Corporation in 1959-1968. Yorktown has been particularly known since its completion as a middle-class, African-American home ownership enclave in a redeveloped area otherwise characterized by subsidized rental and public housing projects.

Yorktown's creation connects the architectural worlds of "design build," post-war suburban development practice and urban architectural design and planning, challenging our understanding of the separation -- from the point of view of the architectural and planning professions -- between the world of physically and socially segregated white, post-war suburban communities from that of the high-rise city redevelopment public housing aimed at urban, poor, African-Americans.

The 1948 plan for this "blighted," African-American area of the city was for the demolition of 19th century rowhouses and redevelopment on International Modernist principles: a mix of high- and mid-rise, superblock construction, moving commercial uses to the periphery of this multi-block area and "rationalizing" the street grid to remove small alleys. In 1953, however, the RDA engaged the Home Builders' Association of Philadelphia and Suburbs in a jointly developed plan for "row homes in the latest sub-division design." The ultimate expression of this initiative was Yorktown, which successfully marketed models such as the "Lexington" and the "Concord" of "maintenance-free" construction materials on cul-de-sac streets. Middle-class African Americans who could not live in Levittown purchased rowhouses on streets such as Betsy Ross and Custis Place, thus literally buying into an ironically segregated community that sought to bring suburban life to urban "blight."

**PS29 - The Architecture of the American Building Industry**
Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, University of Wisconsin-Madison, *Chair*

*Collaborative Building: Harwell Harris and the All-Electric House*

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In 1954, Harwell Harris launched an experiment that challenged other models of architectural production at mid-century. General Electric had commissioned Harris, a noted modernist and Director of the University of Texas School of Architecture, to design an exhibition of “all-electric living” for the Texas State Fair; at that same moment, House Beautiful selected Harris to create its 1955 Pace Setter House. Harris boldly combined the two commissions into what he termed a “collaborative problem” to be solved by a select group of Texas architecture students under his direction. For Harris, the State Fair House – initially conceived as an ephemeral exploration of the life-enhancing technology – evolved into an enduring architectural statement (and a Pace Setter speculatively built and sold after the Fair). With this project, Harris offered a prototype for architectural education, for building processes, and for industry alliances. As the architect of record, Harris became the nexus of an unprecedented partnership between the University, the State Fair, House Beautiful, General Electric, Dallas Power & Light, the Dallas Home Builders’ Association, McFadden Interior Design, Berger & Berger Landscape Architects, and scores of resource suppliers (from the Southern Pine Association to Armstrong Cork to Nu-Tone). Though each partner had an individual goal – whether pedagogical, didactic, promotional, financial, or even philanthropic – this design group united to create a cohesive house that truly “set the pace” for domestic architecture. In this paper, I examine the All-Electric State Fair House as a crucial moment in which Harris, in concert with his partners, sought to reform both the process and product of building in the postwar decades. This case study – with its emphasis on architectural experimentation and industry collaboration – broadly captures the larger story of shifting paradigms in American building culture.

**PS29 - The Architecture of the American Building Industry**
Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, University of Wisconsin-Madison, *Chair*

*The Remote Pursuit of Profit: Zeckendorf in Downtown Denver*

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In 1951, developer William Zeckendorf determined that New York was no longer the place to be. As the head of the prestigious Webb & Knapp real estate company, Zeckendorf had assembled the site for the United Nations, developed a major shopping center, patented a car elevator to solve New York's parking woes, and transformed the Webb & Knapp operation into an aggressive development firm. But the availability of low-cost, cleared downtown sites available in other cities made it too tempting to for a risk-taker like Zeckendorf, maker of no small plans, to remain in New York. Wider horizons-and accessible capital-awaited in Los Angeles, Montreal, San Francisco, and Denver.

This paper will focus on the day-to-day relationship between real estate developer and architect, and between local authorities and remote design team, working on a downtown development project in post-World War II America--specifically, William Zeckendorf, Sr. and I.M. Pei's project for May D&F Department Store and Court House Square in Denver, Colorado. Zeckendorf's careful association with local business elites and politicians enabled him to advance his own vision for the project despite his outsider status. When neither developer, architect, nor financing were local to a project site, what was the result? What catalysts instigated and sustained postwar downtown development projects? How did risk incentivize production of the built environment? What influence did a developer's oversized personality and swashbuckling style have on financing? On design? By addressing these questions, this paper will chronicle the roles developers and architects played in the postwar building industry.

**PS30 - Design Reform in the Great Lakes: Usefulness and Beauty**
Beverly K. Brandt, Arizona State University, *Chair*

*Gesamtkunstwerk***,** Walkerville: An Object-Lesson for the DSAC

Cameron Macdonell
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The first exhibition for an American Society of Arts & Crafts was held in Boston, 1897. It influenced the Detroit Society of Arts & Crafts, founded in 1906. Not only did the first Detroit president, George Booth, exhibit at the Boston Society, but a founding Boston member, Ralph Adams Cram, lectured at the DSAC. More importantly, Cram and his architectural partner, Bertram Goodhue, designed several churches in the Detroit area to showcase their arts and crafts ideology. But the best of these churches was not located in Detroit; it was just across the border in the Canadian company town of Walkerville. The eponymous Walker family was deeply rooted in Detroit's social scene, and their commission of St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville (1902-04), gave Cram the greatest opportunity to orchestrate his architecture with American arts and crafts. Through the Walkerville church, Cram was lecturing to Detroit's society right before the Detroit Society of Arts & Crafts was founded.

Cram used musical metaphors to express the spatial arrangements of a church and the orchestrated use of crafted objects to guide us through them. He considered Richard Wagner to be his idol. Cram's experience at the Bayreuth theatre, where Wagner orchestrated a gesamtkunstwerk of music, stage and setting, profoundly shaped Cram's approach to design. He would allow his selected craftspeople to produce their isolated components but only inasmuch as those components were instrumental to the greater composition of his architecture. As such, Cram designed the Walkerville church with fellow members of the Boston Society. Their local and, at times, familial proximity allowed for greater control and coordination. Perhaps then the architects of the DSAC were interested in nurturing local craftspeople for the same reason.

**PS30 - Design Reform in the Great Lakes: Usefulness and Beauty**
Beverly K. Brandt, Arizona State University, *Chair*

*Models of Reform: Protestant Resort Communities and Loeb Farm*

Erin Eckhold Sassin
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This paper will examine the intersection of reformist architectures in the resort community of Charlevoix, Michigan, concentrating upon the impetus behind the establishment of an architectural model that stood in contrast to the existing resort communities ringing Lake Charlevoix.

While the Belvedere Club and Chicago Club remain exemplars of the Protestant summer resort communities popularized during the last decades of the nineteenth century, the model farm built in 1918 by Albert Loeb, the acting president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, provides another model of reformist architecture. Certainly, the Jewish Loeb would have been unwelcome in the established resort communities and so drew upon another model of a summer resort, one that had not only been favored by social elites during the waning years of the nineteenth century, but was also in keeping with the reformist ethos Loeb embraced.

Importantly, the Loeb Estate indicates not only Loeb's knowledge of earlier model farm experiments, and allowed him to exhibit the farm implements sold by the company he headed, but also links this experiment to Sears, Roebuck and Company's popularization of the arts and crafts ethos and style throughout the Midwest, particularly via their kit homes.

However, unlike the houses produced by Sears, the buildings of Loeb Farms did not consist of balloon-framed craftsman style kit buildings, but drew loosely upon late medieval French chateaux, albeit rustic versions constructed entirely of giant fieldstones, a material both local and plentiful. In this way, the farm more honestly illustrates the arts and crafts aesthetic than many other American attempts, in both truth to materials and the creation of a total work of art, a Gesamtkunstwerk. Most importantly though, the Loeb farm can also be read as a statement of difference, a reaction against the existing reformist resort model of the area.

**PS30 - Design Reform in the Great Lakes: Usefulness and Beauty**
Beverly K. Brandt, Arizona State University, *Chair*

*Charles D. Maginnis Brings Arts and Crafts to Catholic Art*

Milda Richardson
*Northeastern University, Boston, MA, USA*

Charles D. Maginnis (1867-1955), recipient of the AIA Gold Medal for Achievement in 1948, was the foremost architect and designer for the Roman Catholic Church in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. Maginnis's fundamental principle of ecclesiastical design was the effective creation of dignity and repose in a sacred space. To achieve this feeling of dignity Maginnis based both his design work and theoretical writing on the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement. In an article published in 1897 Maginnis laid the foundation for his ideas on liturgical arts and founded his own firm of Maginnis, Walsh and Sullivan in 1898 in Boston.

Deeply rooted in the Arts and Crafts traditions and the writings of Ruskin and Pugin, Maginnis's conception of ecclesiastical vitality was based on a belief in the importance of the talent of individual craftsmen. He played an important role in the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts, was a founding member of the Catholic Federation of Arts as well as founding member and first President, in 1928, of the Liturgical Arts Society. Throughout his career, Maginnis worked with master craftsmen of international repute.

To the good fortune of the Church, Maginnis was surrounded by church leaders who not only supported his design philosophy and aggressively sponsored art, but also advocated a revival of medieval styles and crafts. This presentation will look at significant commissions in the Midwest, such as St. Joseph and Holy Angels parish churches in Ohio.

**PS30 - Design Reform in the Great Lakes: Usefulness and Beauty**
Beverly K. Brandt, Arizona State University, *Chair*

*Crafting Networks: Detroit's Role in the Building of Cranbrook*

Leslie S. Edwards
*Cranbrook Archives, Bloomfield Hills, MI, USA*

This paper will examine the correlation between architecture and the allied arts by focusing on three arts and crafts buildings at Cranbrook Educational Community (Bloomfield Hills) as a microcosm of the broader Detroit arts and crafts experience. While the contributions of such architects as Albert Kahn (1869-1942) and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869-1924) were well known, the contributions of the craftsmen and women who brought useful and beautiful workmanship to Cranbrook and the Detroit area were much less publicized. It is clear that the architects benefitted from their work, but how did these architects learn of John Kirchmayer (1860-1930), Katherine McEwen (1875-1957), Henry Chapman Mercer (1856-1930) and others? And, what was the role of the patron in these processes?

I will evaluate the social networks that promoted the spread of usefulness and beauty in the Detroit area, among them the Detroit Architectural Sketch Club (later the Detroit Architectural Club) and the Detroit Society of Arts and Crafts. The premise of the DAC was the advancement of architecture and the allied arts, and leading architects of Detroit including Kahn, George Mason, Wirt K. Rowland and William B. Stratton joined the club. Meetings were held regularly; lectures and exhibitions contributed to the education not only of members but the public at large. This group of architects collectively laid the groundwork for a network of communication between themselves and the Arts and Crafts movement, which flourished through the work of the DSAC.

Examining three arts and crafts buildings on Cranbrook's campus (the Meeting House, Cranbrook House and Christ Church Cranbrook), I will analyze how the social networks between the Detroit clubs (and others like them) enabled architects to fully share resources (the craftsmen) and help further creative intellectual collaboration as well as the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement.

**PS30 - Design Reform in the Great Lakes: Usefulness and Beauty**
Beverly K. Brandt, Arizona State University, *Chair*

*Apostle of Beauty in a Barren Land? David Kendall in Grand Rapids*

Eric Anderson
*Kendall College of Art and Design, Grand Rapids, MI, USA*

The career of David Wolcott Kendall presents an intriguing contradiction. He is often identified as a pioneer of the American Arts and Crafts movement, thus implying an engagement with reformist ideas. Yet Kendall worked in the notoriously commercial environment of Grand Rapids, in which mass taste typically overruled progressive ideals. Frank Lloyd Wright equated Grand Rapids with the worst sins of mechanized production and historical eclecticism; its biggest manufacturers, like Kendall's Phoenix Furniture Company, were evil juggernauts against which Wright positioned himself in heroic resistance. Design historians today, while less polemical, continue to emphasize Grand Rapids' achievement of high volume at low cost rather than the aesthetic or material quality of its products.

How then should we understand Kendall? Was he a voice of idealism in the face of crass commercialism or simply a savvy businessman adept at designing for diverse tastes? Did he perceive a tension between art and commerce, and if so, did this tension manifest itself in his work? Or was he somehow able to integrate higher notions of moral worth with the demand for market success? What were Kendall's sources and what did they mean to him? He traveled widely, collecting objects from the European avant-garde as well as from Asian and Native American craft traditions. In Grand Rapids, he had access to a substantial library of European publications. And beginning in 1903, the Grand Rapids Arts and Crafts Society provided a forum for discussion of reform concepts. To what extent did Kendall participate in or even lead these discussions?

Drawing from local archives, this paper will seek to outline new perspectives on Kendall--and on the Grand Rapids furniture industry more broadly--by exploring the relationship between the commercial success for which the city is chiefly remembered and a lesser-known strain of progressive design.

**PS31 - Shrinking Cities**
Keith Eggener, University of Missouri, *Chair*

*Urban Absorption in a Shrinking City: New Bedford, Massachusetts*

Justin Hollander
*Tufts University, Medford, USA*

Economic decline associated with the Rustbelt's shift away from manufacturing hit many places hard, but few saw the kind of wholesale shift in its physical form as New Bedford, Massachusetts. Once the whaling capital of the world, New Bedford today is but a shell of its former self. Neighborhoods littered with foreclosed and abandoned homes, empty factories, and little hope for the future, New Bedford would seem an unlikely place for the application of one of the most innovative and creative strategies around. Albeit informal, New Bedford's local government has adopted a strategy to shrink the physical plant of the city to better match its declining population. New Bedfordians are embracing the language and policies of an emerging group of practitioners and scholars working under the umbrella of "shrinking cities." They reject the growth-based paradigm that feeds much of urban planning and local government intervention in North America (Oswalt 2006; Pallagst 2007; Hollander et al. 2009).

With economic conditions uncertain, employment levels unstable, and the high likelihood for greater population loss, what can local government do? This paper begins to offer an answer through a detailed analysis of the history, politics, environment, and planning strategies of one such shrinking city, New Bedford.

This paper is the first of three segments of a larger project, providing the historical context for current policy choices. It begins with a spatial analysis of historic Sanborn maps, Geographic Information System (GIS) data, and photographic evidence to examine how building location, density, and form have changed over the last half-century. That data was then cross-validated against the results from an extensive historical analysis of local government policy and planning reports during the same period.

**PS31 - Shrinking Cities**
Keith Eggener, University of Missouri, *Chair*

*Shrinking Urban Disaster: Photographs of Detroit and New Orleans*

Mary N. Woods
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Despite its relentless quest for the new, the modern world has always craved its architectural other, places of ruin and decay. Beginning in the 18th and early 19th centuries, painters and architects, inspired by archaeological practices and theories of the picturesque, were drawn to real and imagined sites of urban collapse and disintegration. The remains of urban disasters have also fascinated photographers since the medium's invention. Specifically, modernism's planned destruction of cities inspired sustained bodies of work by Danny Lyon and Camilo Vergara who photographed the ruins of lower Manhattan in the 1960s and 1970s. Provoked and inspired by the decline of industrial cities, Robert Smithson and Gordon Matta-Clark explored entropy and destruction as creative practices and critical commentary in film, photography, and photocollage during those same decades.

Today Andrew Moore and Robert Polidori specialize in photographing built environments to capture the human and natural disasters of shrinking cities like Detroit and New Orleans. Focusing on Moore's Detroit Disassembled (2010) and Polidori's After the Flood (2008), I probe the aesthetics and politics of "architettura povera," the guilty pleasures of "disaster porn," and the ethics of documentary photography in their imagery of urban ruins in slow motion and as cataclysmic event. How do the works of local photographers like Scott Hocking in Detroit and William Greiner in New Orleans compare with those of outsiders Moore and Polidori? What do these photographs and the discursive spaces of exhibition and publication make visible about forces at work in these cities? And what remains invisible, out of the camera's range? Does urban disaster photography drive the shrinking of cities or does it simply document the urban life cycle? What do these images and their audiences say about our fears and hopes for urban life today and in the future?

**PS31 - Shrinking Cities**
Keith Eggener, University of Missouri, *Chair*

*Less Is Future: Urban Reinvention in Germany's Shrinking Cities*

Jeff Byles[1], Denisha Williams[2]
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Like many aging urban districts in the last half-century, small and mid-size cities across the former East Germany have been plagued by plummeting populations, high unemployment, and rampant disinvestment. As a result, the once-resurgent German nation has become a laboratory for the fate of shrinking cities, and a model for finding healthy urban futures by scaling down.

For the past eight years, 19 cities in the state of Saxony-Anhalt have been the subject of the 2010 International Building Exhibition, the latest iteration of Germany's visionary architectural program, known as IBA. But this was the IBA of unbuilding. Amid a continuing exodus of residents, the current exhibition set out to prove that it is possible to be smaller and be better. To that end, IBA 2010 developed pilot schemes for urban innovation, positing that public spaces, social services, and even economic opportunities can all improve despite the region's demographic death-spiral.

In late 2010, demolition historian Jeff Byles and landscape architect Denisha Williams visited seven of these cities, meeting with government officials, architects, and urban advocates. What emerged was a portrait of urban resilience made possible by a toolkit of tactics--new kinds of ecological infrastructure, small-scale urban interventions, targeted demolition, and citizen-activism--coupled with economic development strategies like tourism and education.

This paper presents a detailed exploration of the German experiment, focusing on three cities with contrasting strategies: Aschersleben, which reconcentrated development from the suburbs to the core; Magdeburg, which revitalized a riverfront as the basis of a new urban identity; and, most ambitiously, Dessau-Rosslau, which began demolishing housing and factories to create a ribbon of public space linking an "archipelago" of smaller, stable urban districts. In examining these often controversial approaches to urban reinvention, this paper offers crucial lessons for cities confronting similarly painful urban choices in the years ahead.

**PS31 - Shrinking Cities**
Keith Eggener, University of Missouri, *Chair*

*The Afterlife of Pruitt-Igoe: Policy, Design, and the Shrinking City*

Joseph Heathcott
*The New School, New York, NY, USA*

The spectacular nature of the Pruitt-Igoe implosion, captured in Life magazine in 1972, has overshadowed the historic relationship of the project to the city that engulfed it. The sheer mass of Pruitt-Igoe's buildings, the brevity of its tenure, and the drama of its destruction, obscure the project's origins and development in the history of race, settlement, planning, and neighborhood conflict in twentieth-century St. Louis.

But the blast image also obscures the painful and tedious afterlife of Pruitt-Igoe, as the city struggled to cope with the multiple meanings of the project's destruction. While our collective memory of Pruitt-Igoe is wrapped up in that moment of implosion, the destruction of the project was in reality a long and contested process that dragged out for years. The demolition of 33 buildings was sporadic, buffeted by jurisdictional fights, legal challenges, tenant organizing, and municipal haggles over the disposition of rubble. In the decades following the clearance, dozens of redevelopment proposals emerged, while the site itself became a dumping ground for rubbish. To date, nearly forty years later, virtually no major change has been made to the site.

This paper accounts for the tragic but little-understood afterlife of Pruitt-Igoe. However, instead of framing the story within the context of the infamous project itself, the paper deploys a "shrinking cities" lens, examining the site as one among thousands of vacant properties in the city. The paper demonstrates that the Pruitt-Igoe site remains vacant not because it is unique, but rather because it faces the same challenges as so many other properties in older industrial cities: deepening poverty, racial segregation, middle class flight, population decline, industrial dislocation, falling tax base, and weak property markets. Ultimately, the Pruitt-Igoe site is an ordinary tract of land in a rapidly shrinking city.

**PS31 - Shrinking Cities**
Keith Eggener, University of Missouri, *Chair*

*Toward a New Historiography of Urban Renewal*

Brent Ryan
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Since the mid-1970s, narratives of urban renewal (large-scale, state-sponsored clearance) in American cities have been mostly critical. One conservative perspective (e.g. Anderson 1964, Frieden and Sagalyn 1989) argues that state expenditures meshed badly with market needs. A second perspective (e.g. Caro 1974) argues that renewal caused more decline than it resolved by causing secondary social instability and dislocation. A third perspective (e.g. Hartman 1974) sees urban renewal as a capital-driven "land grab" intended to restructure the city for monied classes.

This paper, based in a larger study of urban design "after decline" (Ryan 2011), examines urban renewal in Detroit's Jefferson-Chalmers neighborhood in the early 1970s to argue that the above three critiques provide an incomplete perspective. In a city experiencing rapid economic shocks, social transitions, physical deterioration, and rapidly diminishing property values, urban renewal provided the best way to acquire property at the scale needed by private developers for rebuilding. It prevented rather than exacerbated social decline by providing for an orderly transferral of properties to a stable owner (i.e. the state) rather than permitting the pell-mell abandonment typical of the early 1970s. Lastly, in a diminishing property market, urban renewal was less a land grab than a life preserver that displaced no one and set the stage for the mixed-income housing that would stabilize the neighborhood in the 1980s and 1990s.

At the same time, Detroit's neighborhood urban renewal of the 1970s had several shortcomings: it failed to establish an urban design vision, it acted inconsistently and incompletely, and it was uncoodinated with a larger vision for the rest of the city. The urban renewal of the early 1970s did not save Detroit, but it permits us to see the potential benefits of this policy, and of large-scale state action in general, in an improved light.

**PS32 - Buildings and Objects: Baroque, Rococo and Beyond**
Kristel Smentek, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Sociable Neighbors and Object Design at the Eighteenth-Century Louvre*

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Eminent scholars of eighteenth-century sociability, or an individual's desire to reconcile his choices with the wishes of society, have heavily relied upon theories of friendship, commerce, or epistolary correspondence to elucidate how artists were influenced by one another. I argue, however, that architectural space and its programmatic functions, from corridors to allocated rooms for printing and metalworking, have been overlooked as a source and in fact, intensely shaped many types of artistic collaborations. As a case in point, I take the Palais du Louvre, whose fashionable apartments were occupied by some of Louis XV's most favored and privileged architects, artists, and engravers. The physical layout of the Louvre represented a collective crucible that helped facilitate rich transfers of artistic techniques and images between many genres of design. Among the artists housed there in the pre-revolutionary 1770s were Antoine-Joseph Loriot (mechanic), Claude-François Desportes (painter), Pierre-Simon Benjamin Duvivier (silversmith), Jacques LeGuay (engraver), Jacques Röettiers (silversmith), and Charles-Nicolas Cochin (engraver). During this period of aesthetic concentration, decorative objects often re-appeared in similar and contrasting media, echoing the visual motifs found elsewhere in other artists' oeuvres. Thomas Germain's tureens, for example, had materialized in the still-life paintings of Jean-Baptiste Oudry alongside platters of opulently rendered fruit, vegetables, and venison. Röettiers later passed on neoclassical engraving techniques to his successor Duvivier at the French mint. In observing each other, these communal neighbors shared their visual inspiration, transforming private quarters into their own rendition of the public sphere. I examine these artists to trace how their adjoining living conditions and working practices generated intellectual exchanges between the decorative arts, painting, and architecture. Sociable cooperation became engendered by the Louvre's facilities, allowing simple proximity to create unexpected points of contact between artists, their peers, and their respective mediums of art.

**PS32 - Buildings and Objects: Baroque, Rococo and Beyond**
Kristel Smentek, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Material Transformations: The Wieskirche's Culture of Devotional Objects*

Michael Yonan
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This paper explores the concept of Christian materiality, to borrow a term from Caroline Walker Bynum, as it pertains to the complex of artworks and spaces produced to foster devotion to a statue of the flagellated Christ near the south Bavarian town of Steingaden. The church built to house this statue has become one of the eighteenth-century's best-known religious edifices, the Wieskirche, designed by the Zimmermann brothers and erected between 1745 and 1754. Its rococo interior has long been acknowledged a high point of the century's ecclesiastical design. Less well known is the proliferation of images and objects made to complement the experience of worshipping there, and particularly understudied are the various relics, mementos, and portable devotional objects produced in the 1750s and 60s, when pilgrimages to Wies were at their apex. These objects range from what might be called "typical" devotional mementos such as small charms and crucifixes to more unusual products, which include illusionistically painted wooden fruit that open to reveal pictures of the Flagellated Christ, or wooden wine bottles that open to reveal images of Jesus and the Virgin Mary. My argument is that the creativity expended on such objects was not merely devotional or economic, but also material in the sense that the objects and the church worked together to create a sense of human spiritual transformation through material transformation. Both architecture and objects put into tension the antipodes of artificial and natural as they related to the divine, and I shall further assert that rococo forms visualized these tensions ideally. In sum, this paper proposes materiality as a key concept for linking the often divided realms of architecture and material culture.

**PS32 - Buildings and Objects: Baroque, Rococo and Beyond**
Kristel Smentek, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Ceremonial, Art and Architecture in Palazzo Pitti*

Francesco Freddolini
*The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA, USA*

Although the Medici princely palace in Florence has been extensively studied, the interrelations among court ceremonial, art, decoration and architecture during the seventeenth century await proper investigation. By analyzing both archival and visual evidence, this paper investigates how works of art, furniture and interior decoration interacted with the architectural framework and fashioned the spaces within Palazzo Pitti in relation to court ceremonial and social hierarchy. Inventories allow us to reconstruct which paintings and pieces of furniture were displayed in the palace's rooms, but there has been no systematic exploration of the relationships among works of art on view, the iconography of the "fixed" decoration (frescoes and stucco), and the ceremonial functions of the architectural spaces. What messages did such displays and decorative ensembles convey to the visitors waiting in the antechambers before entering the "Sala del Trono" (where a monumental baldachin under a fresco by Pietro da Cortona established a relation between the Grand Duke and Jupiter)? How did such decorative ensembles contributed to the production of a hierarchy of architectural spaces? How did ceremonial relations among courtiers, visitors, and members of the ruling family shape viewers' relations to the objects on display and to the spatial articulation (and hierarchy) of the rooms? In addition to archival sources, drawings by the court architect and Guardaroba Diacinto Maria Marmi (c. 1625-1702) will enable me to further address such interactions. Marmi was in charge of furnishing the Pitti apartments in relation to the differing functions of the rooms and ceremonial needs of the members of the Medici family. His underexplored drawings represent a unique visual source for the design of display in the Baroque interior; they unveil how decoration, furniture and the display of art fashioned the different typologies of rooms in relation to architectural space and court ritual.

**PS32 - Buildings and Objects: Baroque, Rococo and Beyond**
Kristel Smentek, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Charles Percier and the Napoleonic Court*

Jean-François Bédard
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Court societies relied on interior decoration to make visible their strict social hierarchies. A court's material culture helped shape the rituals that staged its courtesans' ornamental bodies. The successful agreement between architecture and furnishings was desirable to enhance a regime's prestige but also to buttress its political legitimacy.

This paper will address the intimate relationship between buildings and objects that the architect Charles Percier (1764-1838) orchestrated for the Napoleonic court. Despite his republican convictions, Percier's career was remarkably similar to that of the old monarchy's architects and designers. The very range of Percier's endeavors, from diminutive ornamental schemes to large-scale urban plans, matched that of his predecessors at the Bourbons' service. Adamant in reviving formal distinctions that had been swept away by the French Revolution, the Empire was even more sensitive to material marks of status that the monarchy had ever thought necessary. By reconfiguring the spaces and décor of the Palace of the Tuileries, the primary site of Napoleonic pageantry, Percier and his colleague Pierre François Léonard Fontaine (1762-1853) materialized an ever stricter imperial etiquette. They fulfilled Madame de Staël's famous observation that Napoleon needed only to let the Tuileries's walls "do the work" to secure his autocratic rule.

This study will compare the successive editions of the Étiquette du Palais Impérial, the exacting guide to ceremonial behavior at the Tuileries, with the graphic documentation of Percier and Fontaine's architectural and decorative refurbishments of this former royal residence, notably that contained in the albums on the new buildings and monuments of Paris sent to the Russian emperor Alexander I. By probing simultaneously ceremonial, architectural, and decorative practice, this presentation intends to challenge the disciplinary boundaries that would otherwise obscure the complex interaction between theatrical politics and their material manifestations.

**PS32 - Buildings and Objects: Baroque, Rococo and Beyond**
Kristel Smentek, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Chair*

*Domestic Utility and the Outline Drawings of Hope and Krafft*

Alexis Cohen
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Taking as exempla those eighteenth-century French buildings uniting "the useful with the pleasing," the Austrian architect and draughtsman Jean-Charles Krafft (1764-1833) produced design templates promoting architecture with functional domestic interiors. Krafft's contemporary, the British aristocrat and interior designer, Thomas Hope (1769-1831), was also concerned with domestic utility, but for him it was furniture that could be designed to unite "more essential requisites of utility and comfort" with "secondary attributes of elegance and beauty."

In respective publications, both Krafft (Plans, Forms, Elevations of the Most Remarkable Houses and Hotels Erected in Paris, 1801-3) and Hope (Household Furniture and Interior Decoration, 1807), share a common graphic language, one in which fine line is used to produce drawings emphatically simple in expressed alliance with neoclassical aesthetic ideals, and which provided models and measurements to manufacturers. Simultaneously addressing taste-making patrons and craftsmen, these publications were both possessions of wealthy households and tools in the workshop.

This paper examines how the manufacture of neoclassical objects participated in a conception of architectural utility theorized by Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774), among others, and contextualized by Europe's industrial revolution. Arguing architectural and interior design publications developed an interface between clients and craftsmen on one hand, and domestic space and objects on the other, this paper gives special attention to the outline drawing as a graphic idiom central to understanding shared aesthetic and utilitarian ideals of architecture and interior design c.1800. As a stylistic vocabulary that proliferated in art, architecture, interior and industrial design during this period, the outline drawing was a medium that facilitated the communication, consumption, and fabrication of neoclassicism's material objects. By using the same drafting idiom to disseminate design templates for buildings and furniture alike, Krafft and Hope's publications helped create a platform for discourses on design extending from the realms of theory to the workshop.

**PS33 - "Privileged Situations": Urban Design and Topography in Roman Asia Minor**
Diane Favro, University of California, Los Angeles and Fikret Yegül, University of California, Santa Barbara, *Co-Chairs*

*A 'Privileged' Topography: Notes on Vitruvius and the Siting of Halicarnassus*

Daniel Millette
*University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada*

Relatively unmentioned by modern scholars is the fact that a significant proportion of the monuments referenced by Vitruvius in De architectura are located at Halicarnassus. This is noteworthy: Why would the Roman architect focus specifically on this site, so far removed from his own geographical context? Why does it figure so prominently in his geographical imagination? Certain is that the topography of Halicarnassus is one that depicts a classic landscape of power, with its multi-tiered, hill-sited monuments dominating the landscape; the impact on the viewer would have been considerable. Beyond the monument siting, however, there are features that make the city unique in terms of topographical features. Its natural double-port, for instance, would have given the settlement unparalleled defensive advantages. One of the other unique features of the port city is the way its plan incorporates a set of natural features: flat terraces and natural viewpoints, for instance, are dovetailed to the plan to produce what can only be called a scenographic ensemble. The topography itself offered privileges that, blended with a loose grid, enabled a dynamic and defensible urban assemblage that would have awed and inspired any urban participant.

This paper will focus on two notions: The plan-topography of Halicarnassus as one which is privileged, memorable and exemplary, and the links of the site to Vitruvius' architectural and planning imagination. The final part will postulate a reason for Vitruvius' very deliberate and detailed references to the city.

**PS33 - "Privileged Situations": Urban Design and Topography in Roman Asia Minor**
Diane Favro, University of California, Los Angeles and Fikret Yegül, University of California, Santa Barbara, *Co-Chairs*

*Perge and Side: The 'Mad Men' or Rival Cities of Roman Pamphylia*

Lynda Mulvin
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This paper compares two great Pamphylian rivals, the Roman cities of Side, a harbour on a treacherous coastline extending across a cornet of land and Perge, provincial capital, 'lying in between and upon the sides of two hills'. Their distinctive topography and urban form is graphically demonstrated by the significant role played by landscape in shaping their planimetric development, resulting in ambitious adjustment of set-pieces of Roman trophy-building.

Both cities were aggrandized to create impressions of enduring munificence, with an emphasis on display creating a visual theatre of interconnecting spaces. In each city, architectural accents were placed at strategic locations: the city gate with a triumphal arch and nymphaeum as part of colonnaded streetscape, the armature as core. Both recreated notions of urban grandeur as existed in the great cities of Pergamon and Alexandria. The underlying presence of Hellenistic planning conceits was prevalent. In Perge, the acropolis and lower city were linked through associated forms of steps and porticoes. The grandeur of these unified elements was re-enacted in their Romanisation. Perge's city gate was an elaborate feature, which enlivened this quarter creating an imposing urban moment. This exercise in urban scenography monumentalized the city and established privileged viewpoints. Side unfurled itself through an arched gateway at right angles to the forum and incorporated the harbour via a colonnaded walkway. This realignment of the main street made reference to the organic development of the city emphasized by a curve. Some unpublished drawings by C.R. Cockerell (recently re-discovered in the Gennadius Library, Athens), are the only extant views of the Romanised city: the circular temple in the forum and the nymphaeum at the city gate. Both cities grew in astonishing proportions adapting their plans to the landscape which reflected personal munificence of their inhabitants and due reference to imperial presence.

**PS33 - "Privileged Situations": Urban Design and Topography in Roman Asia Minor**
Diane Favro, University of California, Los Angeles and Fikret Yegül, University of California, Santa Barbara, *Co-Chairs*

*The Mese: Constantinople's Imperfect Urban Armature*

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The Mese, the main avenue of late antique Constantinople, has been mentioned shortly in countless topographical studies and urban histories about its city. Extended from Chalke to the Theodosian Golden Gate in the fifth century, its imperfect geometry, reaching a total length of seven Roman miles, is presented as the only route combining the "seven" hills, terraced edges, sea routes, several imperial fora, and other landmarks in a city that was famously described by von Gerkan as being established on "a pattern without any structure." Yet none of these studies addressed directly or deeply enough to this artery as an urban armature organizing the physical structure, the narrative and the message of the city that was given to its inhabitants. The present paper is an analysis and reinterpretation of available archaeological data and textual evidence of the Mese. To examine the architectural composition and read the Late Roman imperial urban narrative, W. L. MacDonald's armature-plan studies is followed as a methodological tool. The archaeological evidence related to the Mese is typically limited to three portico shops excavated nearby the so-called Palace of Lausos, close to the Million in 1964. But recent surveys on the area has revealed undocumented remains, namely column bases and pavements, providing evidence to establish its approximate course. Dwelling upon the survey reports published by F. Ozgumus and K. Dark, the study is concerned with six different spots and aims shed light on unknown features and different facets of this infamous, albeit invisible, urban armature.

**PS33 - “Privileged Situations”: Urban Design and Topography in Roman Asia Minor**
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*Colonnaded Street/Monumental Nymphaeum: A Recurring Combination*

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At the height of urban design in Roman Anatolia (2nd to early 3rd centuries CE), several cities achieved a grandeur of appearance in large part due to the presence of colonnaded streets and monumental nymphaea. These two features of urban "armatures" complemented each other in reflecting civic pride and in creating a magnificent visual display, in several instances organized along major sight-lines within the urban layout. The colonnaded street generated a dignified, rhythmic movement, and the nymphaeum formed a strong punctuation, strategically located along a city's main thoroughfare or at its terminus. The nymphaeum's flowing water refreshed the passer-by on hot summer days, and was frequently accompanied by rich sculptural decoration. Besides divinities and allegorical or legendary figures, the sculptures represented local benefactors and imperial patrons. In addition, individual cities adapted these combined elements to the existing terrain and exploited the viewing possibilities, creating "perfect moments."

Urbanistic solutions vary with each case. For example, at Ephesus, the imposing Nymphaeum of Trajan occurs at the top of the colonnaded street linking the upper and lower parts of the city while descending dramatically to a beautiful plaza where the street system changes direction. By contrast, in Miletos the colonnaded avenue leading from the harbor terminates in a square in which the imposing three-story nymphaeum with columned niches complements and competes with the richly articulated market gate, forming a breathtaking ensemble. Still different is the terracing at Sagalassos, where the colonnaded street rises in stages to the lower agora. This sequence culminated in a fine nymphaeum rewarding the pedestrian after an arduous ascent with a framed view through an arch to the landscape below. The fact that some colonnaded streets also served as a city's processional route during religious festivals enhanced the prestige and symbolism of this type of urban passage.

**PS34 - Sacred Precincts: Non-Muslim Sites in Islamic Societies**
Stephen Caffey, Texas A&M University and Mohammad Gharipour, Morgan State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Building as Propaganda: A Palimpsest of Faith and Power in Maghreb*

Jorge Correia
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This paper focuses on the Portuguese conquest and occupation of Islamic cities in Northern Africa. Its time frame extends from Ceuta's conquest (1415) and the early 1500's. Of all the historical facts upon the first conquest, the investiture of three royal princes as knights by the king is one of the most famous and praised by the chronicles. Such episode occurred in the main mosque of the city, then consecrated as church, maintaining the inherited space.

The discussion is about the effective adaptation of models with an Islamic matrix the new Portuguese lords built in cities devoid of their autochthonous population, in what concerns religious and civic architecture. The arrival of a new power and creed had implied a re-evaluation of the built urban space, reducing its surface. The key issue spins around the foundation of a new image of city where, not only churches or cathedrals evolved from former mosques, but also late gothic castles effaced Muslim kasbahs in order to make the new acropolis speak a rhetorical language.

Through cartographical, morphological evidence and field work, this paper will first examine how Muslim religious spaces were adjusted to a plan and profile of a Christian basilica. Furthermore, parallel analyses will stress how administrative buildings used military symbols, now devoid of their original function, as a discourse of power and as a political emphasis on the Christian claim beyond the Mediterranean in Early Modern times.

Finally, in 1541, the foundation of Mazagão represents another paradigm of settlement in the Maghreb. Recent research has shown how this town's urban layout can be considered a sacred precinct, the climax of all the urban experience acquired in this region where walled curtains defined a frontier of faith and power.

**PS34 - Sacred Precincts: Non-Muslim Sites in Islamic Societies**
Stephen Caffey, Texas A&M University and Mohammad Gharipour, Morgan State University, *Co-Chairs*

*St. Sophia in Nicosia: From a Lusignan Cathedral to an Ottoman Mosque*

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In the wake of the Ottoman siege of Nicosia when the city fell on September 9, 1571, St. Sophia Cathedral, the major religious edifice located in the center of town was converted into a mosque as was the custom of the newcomers. Following the conversion, the former cathedral was curiously renamed as Ayasofya Mosque, in keeping with the identity of the original non-Muslim saint - an apellation which was to endure during the entirety of Ottoman rule. Ironically, the current name of the mosque - Selimiye - which is still in use today, was changed to honor Sultan Selim II, the Ottoman conqueror of Cyprus only in 1954. Originally a small church built for the coronation of King Amaury in 1197, the cathedral in its present layout was started in 1209 and consecrated in 1326. Designed in a conventional longitudinal basilical plan in the western Gothic tradition of northern and southern France and the Champagne region in particular, the St. Sophia Cathedral dedicated to Ayia Sophia had very little in common with the architecture of a typical domed mosque. Hence, its conversion into a mosque involved the addition of two minarets, a mimbar (pulpit) and a mihrab (prayer niche indicating the direction of Mecca) to accommodate the requirements of Islamic liturgy.

This paper will expose the memorial trajectories of the dual Christian and Islamic heritage while unpacking the implications of cultural annexation and appropriation. In doing so, it will demonstrate how the object under scrutiny becomes simultaneously visible and invisible depending on the vantage point of the beholder.

**PS34 - Sacred Precincts: Non-Muslim Sites in Islamic Societies**
Stephen Caffey, Texas A&M University and Mohammad Gharipour, Morgan State University, *Co-Chairs*

*Miracle at Muqattam: Moving a Mountain to Build an Early Fatimid Church*

Jennifer Pruitt
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The Egyptian Fatimid era is generally considered a golden age of multicultural tolerance. In particular, the reigns of the caliphs al-Muʿizz (r. 932-975) and al-ʿAziz (r. 975-996) are lauded for their inclusion of the large Christian population and support of church construction in the new capital, Cairo. This paper considers a moment in the mid-tenth century, during which a new church was constructed, as described by two medieval Christian Egyptian sources. Scholars have used these medieval Christian tales to determine historical facts, disregarding the interwoven tales of miracles and hyperbole. However, a closer analysis of these accounts elucidates the complex relationships between the urban populace and the caliphate, revealing religious architecture to be a contentious battleground on which struggles over power, legitimacy and caliphal favor were fought.

In these accounts, the Fatimid caliph challenged the veracity of the Christian faith. In response, the Muqattam mountain rose from the ground, demonstrating the power of Christianity to the Muslim ruler. In response to this miracle, the caliph allowed for the reconstruction of a Christian church. While the description of the miracle may be fantastical, an exploration of the tensions inherent in this story reveal the complexity of sectarian relations in the Fatimid era. The evidence for conflict in these accounts suggests that while modern scholars may praise the early caliphs for their multiconfessional tolerance, this favor was wildly unpopular with a vocal segment of the Muslim majority in Cairo. Ultimately, this analysis complicates the dominant narrative of the Fatimid golden age of tolerance, demonstrating the centrality of sacred spaces in the struggle for power in medieval Cairo.

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*Heritage without Guilt: Modern Histories of Medieval Ani, Turkey*

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In the last decade, Turkish intellectuals have created counter-memories concerning Turkey's recent past and its foundation myths, and have begun to question the monolithic notion of Turkish identity by focusing on minorities. The Turkish state has largely adhered to dominant narratives. Historic sites in Eastern Turkey figure prominently as the subjects of much-publicized, highly politicized and controversial restoration projects.

The city of Ani, located on a remote and dramatic site overlooking a ravine that separates Turkey and Armenia, in a sensitive militarized zone, has been listed as a site in danger by the World Monuments Fund and the Global Heritage Fund. Known as the City of the Thousand and One Churches, Ani flourished in the $9^{th}$-$11^{th}$ centuries as the capital of an Armenian Kingdom. The official history of the site says virtually nothing about its Armenian past – either in the medieval or modern eras, its history under the Russian occupation or its contemporary role in fraught Armenian-Turkish relations. Virtual Ani began in 1999 to create a digital archive. The municipality of nearby Kars endeavored to capitalize on Ani's potential to attract tourists. In 2011, the World Monuments Fund and the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism created a partnership to conserve two buildings, the Cathedral and the Church of the Holy Savior.

Ani is a site where modern debates converge, regarding: preservation methods, the historical past and its significance today, local control vs. central control, the role of religion and religious organizations, the issue of heritage and trauma. State and international organizations use conservation to visualize the past in a manner that de-emphasizes unpleasant or politically undesirable aspects, while civil society debates engage in a travail de memoire that seeks to recall buried memories of forgotten crimes and forgotten peoples. For both approaches, visual heritage holds the key.

**PS35 - Idiom, Ideology, Identity**
Charles Burroughs, Case Western Reserve University, *Chair*

*Reappraising Georgian Gothick: Or, ignoring Horace Walpole*

Oliver Cox
*University of Oxford, Oxford, UK*

Histories of architecture have focussed too closely on canonical figures. This paper suggests that the reopening of Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill House after a £9 million restoration in 2010 should provide architectural historians with a stimulus to question his role in the Georgian Gothic Revival. So much of the historiography of the eighteenth-century Gothic Revival rests upon Walpole, the arch self-publicist, that he has continued to dupe scholars into neglecting the broader web of Gothic endeavour that spread from the West Midlands of England into the ancient heart of the University of Oxford.

This paper will provide the first detailed study of the extensive collaboration between the architect Henry Keene and the Gothic enthusiast Sir Roger Newdigate of Arbury Hall, Warwickshire, on one of the grandest, yet most consistently overlooked Gothic Revival projects of the eighteenth century, the dining hall of University College, Oxford (1766-1768). This paper suggests that in Keene and Newdigate's work we can find a return to the medieval sources of Perpendicular Gothic that anticipates and predates the Victorian concern for fidelity by almost half a century.

By celebrating University College's founding by Alfred the Great, King of the West Saxons, Keene and Newdigate's Gothic contributed to a broader popular re-imagining of what the Anglo-Saxon past looked like. This paper will contextualise their work with other examples of Gothic architecture celebrating King Alfred commissioned during the politically unstable 1760s.

Keene and Newdigate's scholarly Gothic matched its scholarly setting, and Gothic Revival architecture became a potent tool in the college's strategy to increase its social and academic prestige. Yet Horace Walpole's remark that Newdigate was a 'half-converted Jacobite' damned him in the eyes of later critics, and ensured that this important example of Georgian Gothic has continued to be overlooked.

**PS35 - Idiom, Ideology, Identity**
Charles Burroughs, Case Western Reserve University, *Chair*

*From Mixing to Making: Eclecticism in 19th-Century India*

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In describing the colonial buildings of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century India, the tendency in scholarship has been to label them as "hybrid" or "syncretic" in nature. Yet, even in the apparent combination of styles, rarely are these buildings described as eclectic, an adjective more readily applied to contemporaneous European facades in which the designer most likely culled from a range of Western sources. This paper not only investigates the distinction between an "eclectic" building and a "hybrid" one but also considers the validity of describing buildings in colonial South Asia as "eclectic" instead of as "hybrid." Whereas the terms "hybrid" and "syncretic" imply the mixing of fixed, heterogeneous, and thus dissimilar, parts, "eclectic" etymologically implies the making of a selection among indeterminate and perceivably flexible sources. Approaching eclecticism as an act of making allows us to extend beyond the superficiality of the stylistic aesthetics of conceivably complete and immutable buildings to begin to complicate both the conception and the continued receptions in each building's particular presence. Therefore, to identify a building as eclectic invests the acts of design and assigning meaning with the agency of choice rather than the implicit but inadvertent failure of a hybrid building that is almost, but not quite, European. Three episodes of colonial eclecticism structure this discussion: the Farhat Baksh in Lucknow (original 1781, additions ca. 1803-1814), the Board of Revenue Offices (original Chepauk Palace built in the 1760s, with additions in 1871) in Madras, and the Victoria Terminus (1878-1887) in Bombay. The specificity of each case illustrates the limitations of classifying these inventive designs as "hybrid," thus challenging presumptions of the relationship between surfaces, essences, and identity.

**PS35 - Idiom, Ideology, Identity**
Charles Burroughs, Case Western Reserve University, *Chair*

*The Museo Pio-Clementino and the Display of Ancient Sculpture*

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As the first modern purpose-built public museum of art, the Museo Pio-Clementino became the nucleus of the vast Vatican Museums as we know them today. The project was begun under Pope Clement XIV (1769-74) by the Roman architect Michelangelo Simonetti (1724-87), who modified an existing courtyard adjacent to the Casino of Innocent VIII to serve as an architectural showcase for the cream of the papal collection of ancient statuary, and open it for the first time to the public. The intent was to forestall the flood of exports of Roman antiquities to foreign interests, by expanding the perception of "ownership" in the collections, and framing the argument in favor of a patrimony that had to be preserved, an argument that could not be effectively framed in private.

Simonetti's Cortile Ottagono was transformed into a venue for viewing four works that had already been singled out by Johann Winckelmann, former curator of the collections, before his tragic murder in 1768: the Laocoön, the Apollo Belvedere, the Belvedere Torso, and an Antinous. At this point, Simonetti was not particularly sensitive to the cultural origins of the objects, as the architectural style of the courtyard is largely contemporizing.

However, with the second phase of the museum, initiated under Pope Pius VI (1775-99), Simonetti was commissioned for a suite of three rooms ex novo that were more thematically linked to their contents. The shift in stylistic gears that takes place between the first and second phases of Simonetti's work reflects more than just the emergence of Neo-Classicism as a taste. The aim of this paper is to discuss the intellectual environment that made Simonetti's museum the adjunct to an educational agenda meant to express the idea that only Rome could be the proper context for the display and comprehension of Roman art.

**PS35 - Idiom, Ideology, Identity**
Charles Burroughs, Case Western Reserve University, *Chair*

*Building for the Ecclesiastical Community at Beverley Minster*

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The close similarity between the choirs of Beverley Minster and Fountains Abbey, both built during the early thirteenth century, have been noted in scholarship for over 100 years. In 1989 Christopher Wilson, using Morellian construction details, further attributed these churches to the same anonymous master builder. The finding indicates that in thirteenth-century Yorkshire Cistercian foundations did influence non-monastic churches of the region, but a closer examination of both the fabric and circumstances at Beverley reveals that the Cistercian pedigree of the architect was quite secondary in the programmatic ecclesiastical vision of the patrons. The canons of Beverley and Walter de Gray, archbishop of York, desired to imitate leading English cathedrals and did not, as Wilson asserted, hire a Cistercian master mason in order to associate themselves with the monastic order.

During the construction campaign Gray used the wealth of the minster to appoint talented, educated clerics to the Beverley chapter in order to remake the minster according to recent Fourth-Lateran reforms. Such resources also paid for a choir and chapterhouse that consciously rivaled larger churches. Beverley built the first centrally planned chapterhouse after Lincoln, England's pre-eminent non-monastic cathedral, and promoted the storied, local cult of St John by erecting a transept around the saint's tomb like the one Gray sponsored at York and a presbytery like Worcester's around the shrine. Two very un-Cistercian lantern towers were intended to crown both locations.

The architect's composition may have deployed the aisle elevations, vaults, and attached columns of Cistercian Fountains, but it principally appropriated structures from institutions that Gray and the canons admired for architectural, devotional, and ideological reasons. The case of Beverley illustrates how historical investigation and architectural observation must work in combination to produce a full understanding of the meanings patrons and viewers attached to the medieval design process.

**PS35 - Idiom, Ideology, Identity**
Charles Burroughs, Case Western Reserve University, *Chair*

*A Pattern Book for French Colonial Architecture in Morocco*

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Le Jardin et La Maison Arabes au Maroc (The Arab Garden and House in Morocco, Paris, 1926) was a collaboration of writer Jean Gallotti, architect Albert Laprade, and photographer Lucien Vogel. According to Galloti's introduction, its two volumes provide a lushly illustrated primer of Moroccan domestic architecture as interpreted by sympathetic, observant Frenchmen and a guide for foreigners on designing houses in the traditional manner. The first volume describes plans, exterior elements of the house, decorative materials and techniques, and houses of the poor. The second volume examines building types: riad (garden house), pavilions, kiosks, and palaces. Gallotti's text is less descriptive than atmospheric, contrasting with the detailed illustrations. Except for brief sections on palaces in Rabat and Marakkesh, however, the text suppresses locale in favor of overarching typological and formal categories; Laprade's drawings and Vogel's photographs often lack the name or site of the depicted house.

This paper looks at the synthetic "Arab" architecture invented by Gallotti and Laprade, which they generalized into a set of typical details, deracinated from their specific contexts, and dehistoricized into a pre-colonial time. A pattern book for French-Moroccan architecture based on European conventions, Le Jardin et la maison arabes established a catalogue of "Arab" elements that could be recombined into a unified amalgam, a method employed in the French Protectorate's building programs. Ironically, it has been integrated recently into Moroccan national culture. In 2008, a Moroccan research institute republished the book as a document of the nation's "rich and exceptional patrimony." In its transformation from a synthetic study of "Arab" houses aimed at a foreign readership to a primary source for Moroccan traditions, Le Jardin et la maison arabes au Maroc furnishes a case study in the difficult genealogies and localities of "colonial" and "post-colonial" architecture.

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