



TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS



THREE CULTURAL TENDENCIES

Ali M. Mazrui

MEMORY WITHOUT MONUMENTS

Stanford Anderson

EAST BLOC, WEST VIEW

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FRACTURED PLANS IN NEW DELHI

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RECONSTRUCTION OF SARAJEVO

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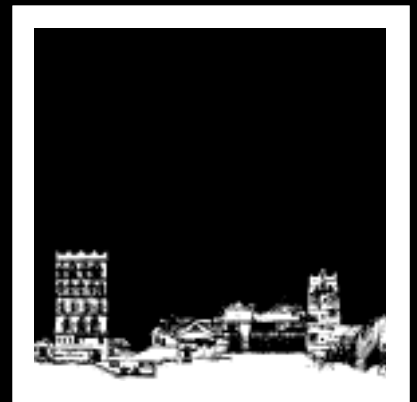
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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review is the official publication of IASTE. As a semi-annual refereed journal, *TDSR* acts as a forum for the exchange of ideas and a means to disseminate information and report on research activities. All articles submitted to *TDSR* are evaluated through a blind peer-review process. *TDSR* has been funded by grants from the Graham Foundation, the Getty Publication Program, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Center for Environmental Design Research, and the office of the Provost at the University of California at Berkeley.

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Editor's Note

I would like to start this issue by announcing that the seventh IASTE conference will be held in Trani, Italy, in October 2000. Our colleague Atillio Petruccioli, of the University of Bari, will act as Local Conference Co-chair. Atillio has organized many conferences in the past, and I am confident that under his stewardship, this conference will be well administered on the ground. The decision to hold the conference in Italy was taken after extensive consultations with many members as well as with the administrators of the University of Indonesia who had also offered to host the conference. Our colleague Gunawan Tjahjono was very gracious in proposing to postpone holding the conference in Indonesia until 2002 to alleviate the concerns of our membership regarding the political situation in that country. As I write this note, Indonesia seems to be on the road to political recovery, however, and we all look forward to the prospect of holding the IASTE conference there in the near future.

This issue of TDSR contains two articles that were presented as keynote papers at recent IASTE conferences. Although both are invited papers, their authors revised them to take into account review comments. We begin with Ali Mazrui's paper, first presented at IASTE 96, which proposes a distinction between societies that are primarily nostalgic, presentist, or anticipatory in their relationship to built form. Examples from Africa and elsewhere are used to show how the rise of anticipatory views among Western societies has helped bring a revolution in favor of leisure activities. Stan Anderson's paper, first presented at IASTE 98, then delves into the role of memory in vernacular architecture. It points to a distinction between social memory and disciplinary memory and calls attention to the differences between them in the vernacular architecture of preliterate and literate societies. Anderson argues that while the growth of disciplinary memory has facilitated the establishment of an architectural profession, a complete separation of social and disciplinary memory would ultimately prove destructive to the linkage between a society and its forms of architectural expression. This issue next contains two other feature articles and a field report selected through our peer review process. John Maciuka evaluates historical evidence from the past half-century to demonstrate that a Westward orientation played a significant role in Soviet Lithuanian architecture, retaining a subterranean influence even during Lithuania's period as a republic in the former U.S.S.R. Jyoti Hosagrahar then explores the continuities and discontinuities between traditional housing solutions and the housing policies of modern state agencies. Her paper focuses on state-initiated housing projects in Delhi between 1936 and 1941. Finally, in the Field Report section, Marina Pecar discusses the characteristics of and potential for preserving the originally Ottoman dwelling traditions of Sarajevo in the context of the housing shortage caused by the Bosnian war.

I must end this on a sad note. Derek Japha has reported that his spouse, our colleague Vivienne Japha, a longtime IASTE member and a frequent contributor to TDSR, has died. While attending the UIA conference in Beijing last summer, Vivienne was killed in a traffic accident. It is with great sorrow that we mourn her death. Vivienne will be remembered for her vibrant personality and innovative scholarship. Her participation in our past conferences and her two papers published in this journal in 1991 and 1997 will continually remind us of the contributions she has made to the field. Our thoughts are with her family.

Nezar AlSayyad

Built Form and Three Cultural Tendencies: Nostalgia, Presentism and Anticipation

ALI A. MAZRUI

This paper examines the effect of cultural orientation on the built forms of various societies. It proposes a distinction between societies that are primarily nostalgic, presentist, or anticipatory. Examples from Africa and elsewhere are used to show how such cultural orientation has had an effect on built form and overall cultural outlook. The rise of anticipatory views among Western societies has helped bring a revolution in favor of leisure activities. Among other things, this promises profound advances in respect for women and the environment. As societies become more anticipatory, the threat of war also becomes more muted. To be fully realized, however, such advantages need to be spread more equitably across world cultures.

This essay presents a comparison of societies based not only on a cultural but also a temporal orientation. It examines differences in balance between social perspectives based on the idealized continuities of history (nostalgia), the compelling pressures of the moment (presentism), and the capacity to plan for the future (anticipation).

In terms of built form, cultures differ significantly in terms of whether they are primarily nostalgic, primarily presentist, or primarily anticipatory. For the purposes of this paper, one might call this a theory of triple temporality.

Cultures of nostalgia develop distinctive features which set them apart from cultures of presentism. And these, in turn, have a different emphasis from cultures of anticipation. I will begin by describing each of these.

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BETWEEN NOSTALGIA AND PRESENTISM

Cultures of nostalgia exhibit great sensitivity to tradition and custom, and their built forms show strong continuities of style — a persistent conservatism. Such cultures also lean toward ancestor-reverence and a special interpretation of the meaning of immortality.

In such cultures nobody is completely dead for as long as his or her blood flows in the veins of the living, the veins of his or her descendants. (In modern terms one might say nobody is completely dead for as long as their genes may still be passed to living progeny.)

*O joy! That in our embers
Is something that doth live,
That nature yet remembers
What was so fugitive!*

In some African cultures such a societal orientation often means that the dead are buried beneath the homes of their living relatives, or in close proximity to them. Built form in these cultures thus often accommodates not only the living, but also the living dead (those with descendants) — or even the terminally dead (those without direct descendants). Often within the same built form in these societies, the extended family may be said to extend beyond the grave.

Cultures of nostalgia are generally characterized by a strong elder tradition — conferring respect and authority on the elderly, and presuming that wisdom comes from the accumulation of experience. In terms of built form, room size will often be tied to this orientation, with elders being accorded larger rooms than more junior members of a family or clan.

In Africa and parts of the Arab world family relations sometimes encompass polygamous relationships. Polygamous architecture seeks to accommodate a plurality of wives within a single structure or compound. Monogamous architecture may coexist with polygamous designs within the same traditionalist way of life.

Forms of architecture themselves may be nostalgic — even when the culture that produces them is beginning to “modernize.” Thus, the original public buildings of Washington, D.C., reflected a nostalgia for the Classical styles of Greece and Rome. Later memorials to great American leaders — the Jefferson Memorial, the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial — have also showed the influence of nostalgia for the Euro-classics.

Revivalist architecture is fundamentally nostalgic. This is apparent in the public buildings in Washington, D.C. One can also see it in the number of towns with names like Athens, Syracuse, Ithaca, etc., which demonstrate a similar societal nostalgia for the Greco-Roman age.

Cross-cultural nostalgia can also be neocolonial. Such is the case with the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace in Ivory Coast, the tallest structure of its kind in the world. A few years before the completion of this structure, Emperor Bokassa of what was then the Central African Empire also had dreamed of building an African Versailles. His monumental plans were thwarted before they could be realized, however, when his government was overthrown by French troops. The country is now called the Central African Republic.

By contrast to cultures of nostalgia, cultures of presentism are driven by values of the here and now. Nevertheless,

such cultures may be “modern” in some of the worst senses of the term. In search of short-term economic gain, they may be characterized by a reckless disregard for long-term environmental conditions and by their embrace of consumerism.

Western versions of cultures of presentism have an abiding faith in market forces. They also have a deep distrust of long-term planning. In recent times Western presentism has drifted towards consumerism, and one result has been environmentally costly built forms. Likewise, a presentist orientation has also often resulted in a pattern of ostentatious consumption among the Westernized elites of formerly colonized countries. Their presentism has resulted in extravagantly constructed homes and a reckless indifference to the depletion of both national and natural resources.

Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher, once argued that civilization was born out of the pursuit of luxury — hence, the silk trade and the golden road to Samarkand. Adam Smith argued that the wealth of nations was created out of the pursuit of profit — hence, the triumph of the British in the Industrial Revolution. Karl Marx argued that the engine of history was the pursuit of surplus — hence, the rise of newer and newer classes in the dialectic of history.

But apart from North Africa and the Nile Valley, precolonial Africans were never driven by the pursuit of luxury (*à la* Russell), nor the pursuit of profit (*à la* Smith), nor the pursuit of surplus (*à la* Marx). One might say precolonial Africans suffered from an underdeveloped greed structure.

Such a greed deficit had its consequences for the built forms of precolonial Africa. Dwellings were simple, often minimalist. And outside North Africa and the Nile Valley, the continent had no monumental culture of the kind that could produce the Taj Mahal, the Palace of Versailles, or the temples of ancient Cambodia.

BETWEEN ANTICIPATION AND CULTURAL RESILIENCE

The third category of cultural orientation is that of anticipation. Anticipation can be either sacred or secular. Cultures of secular anticipation may plan cities in ways that are sensitive to the needs of the next generation, and the one after that. And new towns or new cities may be built in anticipation of new residents.

Such a societal orientation can also produce strange results: a deserted city is normally one from which the inhabitants have left, but Yamoussoukro in Ivory Coast looks deserted because its inhabitants have not yet arrived! It was built by the founder-president of the country, around the village where he was born. Was Yamoussoukro built in anticipation of its role as a future capital — or in response to the vanity of a president? Perhaps both factors were at play.

For their part, cultures of sacred anticipation invest in future salvation rather than future materiality. The pharaohs of Egypt displayed such an anticipatory orientation when

they built pyramids and equipped their secret burial chambers with everything they would need in the Hereafter. Sometimes they built to imitate God at His most flamboyant.

Other societies have provided more recent examples of grand anticipation of the Hereafter — in the form of cathedrals, mosques, temples and basilicas.

*In the room the women come and go
Talking of Michelangelo.²*

Socialism in the twentieth century has also attempted to be a culture of anticipation. At its best it has attempted to reduce inequalities in anticipation of a classless utopia in the distant future. Thus, in Tanzania Julius K. Nyerere experimented with the policies of Ujamaa from 1967 until 1985, committed to the pursuit of socialism, self-reliance, and the combating of corruption.

Unlike the Kenyan elite, the Tanzanian elite during these years of discipline were more modest in their built-form aspirations. On the other hand, the Tanzanian government under Nyerere made the expensive decision to build a new capital in Dodoma. Once again, socialism showed its glaring contradictions — economizing in its leadership code, appearing extravagant in its macro-aspirations for a new capital. Its built form indicated tendencies in both directions.

In Ivory Coast, the city of Yamoussoukro poses questions about the culture of anticipation. Is a city built before there are people to inhabit it based on too much anticipation? Planning is certainly one aspect of the culture of anticipation. But this city now includes not only five-star hotels without many residents, but also the largest church in Africa without many worshippers.

Although this essay does not include a photograph of this church — the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace — it is worth noting that it cost nearly \$300 million. The dome is 380 feet high, and the whole building reaches 525 feet above the ground, supported by 60 columns. It has 36 massive stained-glass windows and a capacity to seat 7,000 people, with standing room for an additional 10,000. But where are the worshippers? Where are the Catholics in the country? Is this anticipation gone mad?³

If one continues to examine the cultures of Africa with an eye toward these distinctions, one must also distinguish between cultures of almost indestructible built forms and cultures of perishable structures.

In North Africa, built forms have long survived the cultures which produced them. Thus, the pyramids long outlasted the culture of the pharaohs. But the opposite is true in sub-Saharan Africa. Here, the cultures have long outlasted the buildings they erected.

One might say that North Africa is distinguished by the paradox of resilient built forms and perishable cultures. In Egypt, Greek, Roman and Ottoman cultures have come and gone, leaving behind stone monuments. But in sub-Saharan Africa a reverse paradox emerged: one of resilient cultures and perishable built forms. Here, societies have produced only sim-

ple buildings which last but a few generations, while the cultures themselves seem to have withstood the test of time — at least until the twentieth century. According to one Black poet:

*My negritude [my blackness] is no tower and no cathedral,
It delves into the deep red flesh of the soil.
Hooray for those who never invented anything
Who never explored anything
Who never discovered anything!
Hooray for joy, hooray for love
Hooray for the pain of incarnate tears.⁴*

An intermediate case study is that of ancient Zimbabwe. Ancestors of the present Shona people of Zimbabwe once had a civilization of stone built forms. But at a certain time they appeared to change their minds and return to the use of more perishable building materials. Today, even after the culture of ancient Zimbabwe has died out, their stone walls endure. By contrast, the more recent Shona culture has endured far longer than the buildings they have constructed.

It is ancient Zimbabwe, however, that has given its name to a modern nation which once carried the imperial title of Rhodesia. The word *zimbabwe*, itself, means “building with stones.”

Even when building materials are solid, the built forms of a society may not endure if they are glaringly inconsistent with the prevailing culture. Many new skyscrapers in present-day Africa are turning out to be more perishable than the brooding majesty of ancient Zimbabwe. As rust and erosion set in, African skyscrapers battle not only the climate but also local cultural resistance to architectural colonialism and imperialism.

What is architectural colonialism? It is an attitude toward building which seeks to mold people in the image of buildings, rather than have the buildings reflect the image of the people. Architectural colonialism is a form of foreign penetration, colonizing the skyline, annexing the horizon with alien shapes.

Sometimes such buildings perform functions which result in fundamental cultural changes. But at other times architectural colonialism simply causes the waste of local building materials for alien structures, or the extravagant importation of foreign building materials for local structures.

At its worst, architectural colonialism is not only insensitive to the cultural environment, it is also inadequately attentive to the physical environment. Sometimes this involves an aesthetic violation of both the cultural and physical environment — a building which violates the historical ambiance of a neighborhood, for example. Such violations become imperialist if they are hegemonic and cross-cultural.

At other times it may involve just too much construction at once — as on the coast of Kenya (where it has destroyed the skyline and the green fields), or in the oil-rich Middle Eastern countries. Too much investment in built form! Booms such as these may be a bonanza for construction companies and architects. But they become imperialist when they are based on alliances between local elites and exploitative alien forces.

What may start as imperialist architecture can, over time, become indigenized when the rest of the culture changes. In some parts of the world (including Egypt) Islamic architecture began this way. Before the Arab conquest of the seventh century A.D., Egypt was neither Muslim nor Arab. Yet, over time, Islamic architecture has become indigenized in Egypt, as Egyptians have become Islamized in religion and Arabized in language and identity.

Imperialist architecture can be de-colonized in one of two ways: either when the architecture itself is changed to conform to the local culture, or when the culture is changed to conform to the architecture.

LEISURE CULTURE: NOSTALGIC, PRESENTIST AND ANTICIPATORY

The aim of this essay is not just to address culture as a factor in built forms, but to provide a more comprehensive cultural perspective on construction. I use “culture” here not only in its aesthetic sense, but also in its wider sociological sense.

How does leisure relate to all these issues? Leisure is one of the great neglected issues in the sociology of built forms. But here one must first distinguish between elite leisure and popular leisure. Throughout history, elite leisure has been a great force in the arts — resulting in aristocratic patronage for all forms of architectural and ornamental creativity. Great cathedrals like St. Paul’s in London and St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome, great palaces like Versailles, and great memorials like the Taj Mahal are at the top of this genre. Patronage for the arts can be nostalgic, presentist or anticipatory. But what can be said about such playgrounds as Sun City in South Africa?

Over the years, the upper-middle-class love for opera, ballet and theater has produced magnificent class-specific built forms like the Sydney Opera House in Australia. Patronage of classical composers and playwrights has also been class specific. But much of what privileged leisure has produced has been acquired on the backs of workers, serfs, peasants — and sometimes slaves. The built forms of high culture emanate from the toil and sweat of low culture.

In the twentieth century, however, in addition to these class-specific constructions, a process of leisure universalization has appeared in the industrialized world that incorporates a vision of leisure for every man and woman. The trend is different from just popular culture. So far, its most striking beneficiaries have been the ecology and women.

Protectiveness of the ecology is a significant outcome of the universalization of leisure. Suddenly, Northerners have time to enjoy the environment — the hills and valleys, the forests, the animals and the birds. But this requires restraint in construction, sometimes a retreat to the smaller scale of yesteryear. The need increases to use replenishable materials, like wood, instead of stone.

Of course, the battle to protect the environment is still uneven. But the most powerful friend of the environment in the northern hemisphere is leisure time for the enjoyment of beauty. Planning to save beauty has only just begun to have an impact.

Through mass campaigns, struggles have been waged to save the seal, the whale, and the elephant. But campaigns have yet to appear to save the exotic snake or lizard. Perhaps, as part of its drive to protect a wider ecological equilibrium, the culture of anticipation should be sensitive to these creatures, too.

Women have also been great beneficiaries of the leisure revolution. Women in less privileged societies have become less and less the mere objects of masculine pastimes. In fact, male possessiveness can be shown to decline with the diversification of leisure options, or even sex options. Rules begin to relax, and women are no longer too oppressed to fight. Consider India’s experiment with the mobile cinema in quest of diversification of pastimes. The best contraceptive is an alternative to sex.

One reason why the most liberated women in the world are in the West may well be the advance of the leisure revolution and its attendant relaxation of gender tensions and sexual monopoly.

The leisure revolution also blurs the distinction between the bread-winner and the homemaker. Fast food reduces kitchen chores. The bread-winner is not too tired to help. The home can become an arena of domestic partnership.

Like other oppressed people, women fight back not when they are at their most repressed, but when the system is opening up. Fighting for rights is then no longer a luxury that the hard-pressed can ill afford to pursue. In the West it is now less and less unusual to find homes with two studies — one for the husband and one for the wife.

How does the leisure revolution relate to peace? In the long run a lot depends on whether the liberation of women will go so far as to androgynize the war machine. One enemy of both buildings and the environment is war — although its biggest cost is in human lives.

In cultures which are otherwise vastly different from each other, war has been preeminently a masculine game. So, too, has been violent crime. Making women joint decision-makers on matters of war and peace could make a major difference in these areas.

Would there be fewer wars if women were joint decision-makers? Would an androgynized war machine save lives, buildings, and the environment? Should a culture of anticipation seek to avert war?

The skeptic can point to situations where women have been in charge of nation-states and proven to be as warlike as men. Margaret Thatcher, Golda Mier, and Indira Gandhi spring to mind. But Margaret Thatcher was a macho woman in a male-dominated system. So were Golda Mier and Indira Gandhi. Chances are that if a culture of anticipation aimed toward a better gender balance in terms of access to all instruments of power, this might affect the quality of decisions and policies.

Some say war is politics militarized. But war is also play militarized — masculine play. Gang warfare among male teenagers is an intermediate step between individual boys fighting with fists primordially and such eyeball-to-eyeball conflicts as the Cuban missile crisis. The skills to destroy life, homes, and the environment are learned in the violent presentism of street gangs.

The question then arises: will the expansion of leisure eventually demilitarize play? Play used to be culturally age specific — an activity of the young, with the elders mainly serving as spectators. But play in the northern hemisphere has now become increasingly age neutral. Almost no one is too old to play, and the range of games today widely accommodates the less agile. Gymnasiums, tennis and basketball courts, football arenas, casinos, and public swimming pools are only a few of the forms that are being widely built in the northern hemisphere to accommodate play for people of all ages.

This universalization of play raises questions about the future legitimacy of war. Will play in the next century become less inflammable into war? Probably on its own this cultural shift will not be enough. But when it is reinforced by the liberation of women and the androgynization of the war machine, the warrior factor in the human condition may at long last be tamed — perhaps even civilized. Nostalgia may at last be restrained by anticipation.

There are, of course, occasions when leisure culture is not environmentally friendly. As sports, hunting and fishing can be ecologically depleting. And huge sporting developments can have damaging effects on their surroundings. But today the leisure revolution is unfolding deceptively, almost unnoticed — a silver lining to ecological clouds, a glimpse of hope to women in distress, and a shimmering promise at the end of the tunnel for a war-weary world.

TOWARD A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF LEISURE

This article has tried to outline some of the issues in the unexplored agenda of built forms and architecture. The skill differential in technological advancement has been grossly underestimated as a destabilizing force in world arrangements. And the stratification of the world into nuclear haves and have-nots poses its own deep and divisive dilemmas for those concerned with the culture of anticipation and of human survival.

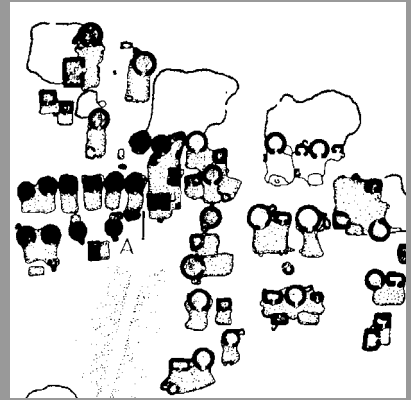
But just as there is a need for a more equitable distribution of skills between North and South, there is need for a more equitable distribution of leisure. Third World kids do not have enough time to play — let alone Third World workers. Because they start work at an early age, children in the Third World have too few preproductive years. So too are people's postproductive years too limited, because too many adults die young. Universalized leisure also requires investments in built form.

Economic justice needs an equation which includes leisure opportunities for both Southerners and Northerners. Meanwhile, advocates for peace pray for the day when the legacy of leisure is a pacifying force in world affairs, a conserving force environmentally, an equalizing principle between genders — without abandoning an occasional stadium for the Olympic games. Once again in such a world, built form may reflect the heartbeat of social change and human sensibility.

REFERENCE NOTES

An earlier version of this article was presented as a keynote address at the Fifth Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments, held in Berkeley, CA, in December 1996.

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Memory without Monuments: Vernacular Architecture

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This article concerns the role of memory in vernacular architecture. It first points to a distinction between social memory and disciplinary memory in architecture. It then calls attention to the difference between the forms of memory embodied in the vernacular architecture of preliterate and literate societies. In preliterate societies, the cohesion of social and disciplinary memory in vernacular buildings allows the buildings to provide information about the past, but that past is not as much separate from, as subsumed in, the present. By contrast, literate societies develop records of their past — a past set apart, and so inducing inquiry and scepticism. A continuity is actually present in these distinctions between the types of memory embodied in the vernacular architecture of different societies, moving from the forms associated with preliterate societies, through the variations within literate, relatively ahistorical societies, and ending with the highly stylized “vernacular usage” in intensively historical ones. While the growth of disciplinary memory has facilitated the establishment of an architectural profession, a complete separation of social and disciplinary memory would ultimately prove destructive to the linkage between a society and its forms of architectural expression.

In 1995, in an essay in the journal *Daidalos*, I distinguished between “memory through architecture” and “memory in architecture,” in which the former involved “societal memory carried in architecture” and the latter concerned “the operation of memory within the discipline of architecture itself.”¹ Among the examples I used to illustrate the former — what I refer to as “social memory” — were medieval European copies of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (FIG.1). Since the many “copies” of this holy site were quite different from one another, it was clear that its religiously generated recall did not entail strict architectural norms. And yet it is also clear that such social memory dominated architectural form and precedent at the time.

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FIGURE 1. Fulda, Germany. St. Michael, 820-22. An example of a copy of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.)

On the other hand, I illustrated the other type of memory — what I call “disciplinary memory” — with projects such as those of the so-called “Revolutionary architects” of eighteenth-century France — specifically Etienne Boullée. In projects such as the Pyramid for Turenne, this work involved the recollection of significant precedents in a way that was both more formally faithful and yet radically innovative in scale, organization and meaning (FIG. 2). One sees here architecture approaching an autonomous state.

Dennis Domer recently introduced me to a vernacular work that serves well to demonstrate my distinction between societal and disciplinary memory: the Barber School in Kansas, an unusual stone building isolated on the prairie, dating from the early stages of settlement. Thomas Barber, mourned in a poem of John Greenleaf Whittier, was the only casualty in the so-called Wakarusa War of 1855, part of the political and armed conflict known as Bleeding Kansas that presaged the Civil War. The one-room school named in his honor, having fallen into disrepair, became in recent years a preservation project of faculty and students of the University of Kansas. As the accompanying photo indicates, the preservation was carried out not as a restoration, as more conservative preservationists urged, but as

a stabilizing of the ruin, now sheltered under a metal roof (FIG. 3). The architects also avoided the inclusion of interpretive panels. Disciplinary memory is at work here in two ways: it is the incomplete fabric of the building and its physical setting that are restored, while the positive and negative decisions of the new work (what was and deliberately was not done) reinforced the knowledge of what the artifact had been. In its new state, one can recognize the unusual commitment involved in a masonry building in isolation on the prairie at a moment of few resources; one sees its relation to the open plains; and one sees both of these all the more emphatically through the techniques employed. One also comprehends a more extended history, the period of neglect and decay and, for that matter, even a theory of preservation. But societal memory of the role of this place in Bleeding Kansas is something the viewer must bring to it — or await the installation of historical texts. The disciplinary memory embedded in Barber School is not to be seen as the architects’ resistance of history; their solution intensifies those aspects of societal memory that can be carried by the physical site itself. But for those who want the detail of social events, other resources would need be employed which, in turn, would be more compelling for having this physical setting.²

To step back slightly, it is perhaps possible to say that neither social memory nor disciplinary memory is ever wholly absent in any work. Variations between the numerous reconstructions of the Holy Sepulchre reveal different approaches to architecture, and thus also reveal disciplinary memory, in the service of something other than solely recalling the esteemed precedent in the Holy Land. On the other hand, the projects of the “Revolutionary architects,” while marked by the invention of a particularly unique disciplinary memory, and often addressed to unprecedented programs, do not wholly escape social memory. Indeed, the impact of these works often relies on their implicit comparison with familiar forms used for other purposes, with differences of scale or detail.



FIGURE 2. Etienne-Louis Boullée. Project for a pyramidal cenotaph for Turenne, uncertain date, 1782?. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.)



FIGURE 3. Douglas County, Kansas. *The Barber School, 1871. Restored 1993-1998 by faculty and students of the School of Architecture and Urban Design, University of Kansas. (Photo courtesy of Dennis Domer.)*

All forms of memory, then, may move toward one another. Nonetheless, even as the above briefly noted examples may suggest, there is a history to the distinction of social and disciplinary memory that merits attention. Furthermore I suggest there has come to be more division of labor in modern times between the uses of these memory systems than there once was.

It was precisely this question of how the relation of disciplinary memory to societal memory changed over time that I explored in the *Daidalos* essay. But in that essay I concentrated on architecture by recognized architects (whether known by name or not) to show how the increased distinction between the two forms of memory over time allowed the discipline of architecture to become a more rigorous and challenging activity. But I also recognized the hazard for both architecture and society if these two forms of memory arrived at a point of utter separation.

The above arguments invited prior questions, which I want to explore here. The questions include the following: Was (or is?) there a condition under which social and disciplinary memory were not separated? If so, under what conditions would social (or collective) memory and disciplinary memory diverge? My telegraphic answers are these: first, what is commonly referred to as vernacular architecture represents at least a close cohesion of social and disciplinary memory; and second, it is the advent of writing and history that has invited the increasing distinction between these memory systems. In proffering the above hypotheses, I use the term “vernacular architecture” to refer to works by builders who, whether their names are known or not, are not recognized as architects. In doing so, I accept the ambiguity inherent in this definition and the fact that it connotes a wide range of buildings in quite different societies.

In addition to this issue of the close relation of social and disciplinary memory in vernacular architecture, I want to explore several related issues here. One will be to relate the diversity of vernacular architecture with the varying degrees of relation between social and disciplinary memory — from a virtual

fusion, to a looser but still identifiable relation. Another will be to explore how these shifting degrees of relation — and ultimately what may be termed a weak relation — accord with the passage from pre-literate to literate societies. Finally, I will explore how this passage may also be a passage from societies dependent on memory alone to those with historical constructions. In other words, I will explore how differences in the operation of memory in various societies may accord with distinctions among vernacular architectures, and between vernacular architecture and architecture that is more self-consciously conceived.

My aim in this discussion is to consider examples representing a spectrum of societies, and of architectures. First are preliterate societies, devoid of historical reconstruction, whose vernacular architecture holds social and disciplinary memory in close relation. Second are literate societies which nevertheless give little emphasis to historical reconstruction, and in which a relatively close relation may be maintained between social and disciplinary memory. Finally, I will look to literate, highly historicized societies with little that passes for vernacular architecture. Yet, even in such societies, I want to note that what may be called “vernacular usage” still exists in varying degrees.

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE: COHESION OF SOCIAL AND DISCIPLINARY MEMORY

I begin with a preliterate society, devoid of historical reconstruction, whose vernacular architecture holds social and disciplinary memory in close relation. Taking one example from innumerable instances around the world, one can look to the deserts of Gujarat, where there exist still today settlements of the Banni people where a distinctive building form is closely correlated with local social life (FIG.4). Among the various aspects of this social life is the art of building itself, serving to maintain existing physical structures, but also to build new units or compounds. Despite its presence from time immemorial, this art of building, like other customs in the social life of the Banni, is very much a matter of the present. Until recently (and, then, only as it was compiled by visitors from outside the community), there was no other record of this building technology or its use other than in the actual buildings and the craft knowledge of the builders, passed from generation to generation. One must conceive that there have been changes in both the social life and the building technology of the Banni; yet such processes are necessarily lost in time. Likewise, innovation may continue to occur, but it, too, is experienced in response to current conditions, and then is lost in the continuing presence of the artifact.

I suggest that the widely admired vernacular architecture of many parts of the world — in Greece, for example — would, until overridden by the radical changes of the twentieth century, accede to similar analyses that show a close relation of social and building programs.

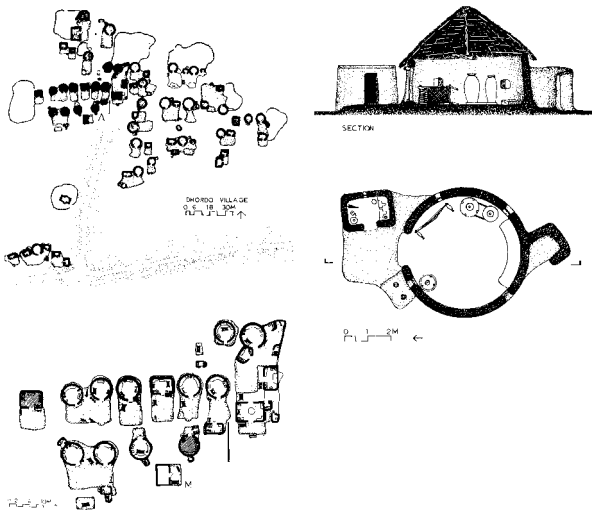


FIGURE 4. Dhordo, India. Banni village. (Courtesy of Kulbushan Jain.)

RELATION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY TO HISTORY: PRE-LITERATE TO LITERATE SOCIETY

What, theoretically, can be made of this? Considering the operation of memory in a society and its extension in time, is it essential to make a distinction between those societies that possess only memory and those that confront memory with history? In an oral society, even if there is a dynamic that leads to a collective understanding of the past, memory resides in individuals. The absence of records contributes to the modification of social memory and tradition from generation to generation. The past is not as much separate from, as subsumed in, the present.

Studying preliterate societies, several authors have noted the insistent attention of these societies to the *present* moment and the distancing of the society from its past. In preliterate societies, cultural tradition is maintained in face-to-face communication and in the context of present issues. In such an oral society, *forgetting* — and even forgetting that one forgets — is as important as memory. Jack Goody and Ian Watt observed that “the social function of memory — and of forgetting — can thus be seen as the final stage of what may be called the *homeostatic organization* of the cultural tradition in non-literate society.”³ Transformations of social practices or forms may or may not be noted at the time of the event, but are unlikely to remain in memory in face of the perceived reinstatement of balance. Similarly, Jacques Le Goff observed that collective memory functions in oral societies according to a “generative reconstruction” that eliminates or transforms those parts of the tradition that are no longer operative.⁴

Under these conditions, what an outsider might call social and disciplinary memories participates in this homeostatic process, which constantly re-establishes balance and allows present differences with the past to be forgotten. The

relation of these memories to one another may appear seamless. The making of the physical environment is at one with the social construction of the society; perhaps the builder receives honor for demonstrable skills, but so too do others who are part of this attainment of balance through both maintenance and change. The generative reconstruction, aimed at maintaining a stable present, subsumes distinctions which only the external observer would make.

Again, according to Goody and Watt:

Literate societies, on the other hand, cannot discard, absorb, or transmute the past in the same way. Instead, their members are faced with permanently recorded versions of the past and its beliefs; and because the past is thus set apart from the present, historical enquiry becomes possible. This in turn encourages scepticism; and scepticism, not only about the legendary past, but about received ideas about the universe as a whole. From here the next step is to see how to build up and to test alternative explanations; and out of this there arose the kind of logical, specialized, and cumulative intellectual tradition of sixth-century Ionia.⁵

One might, of course, note that this description aptly summarizes the intellectual traditions of our own day, both in the West and in other parts of the world. These are the preconditions for self-conscious forms of memory and for divergences of memory systems within a single culture. These are also the preconditions for memorialization — that is, assigning to built form the explicit role of maintaining memory.

VARIATION OF MEMORY IN LITERATE SOCIETIES

I would like to turn now to variations and changes of memory in literate societies — still with attention to the production or reception of vernacular architecture.

On my first visit to Saudi Arabia in 1980, to the highly developed oil region of the Gulf, several students of architecture kindly offered to take me to see what they termed “a very old building.” I expected to see some well-preserved example of indigenous mud-brick building — the former vernacular architecture of this region and culture (FIG.5). The Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia is not the best place to see such building, but many examples that would have satisfied my neophyte’s eye sped past the windows of the car. Eventually, however, we arrived at a town on the coast where a small commercial building of mixed construction techniques and some modest Art Deco detailing, probably circa 1940, proved to be the destination of our quest. At the time of its construction, this building might have served as an example of the incorporation of innovations into the established vernacular tradition. But viewed in 1980, in the presence of local university students, and in the more general context of a highly modernized society, my attention went



FIGURE 5. *Unaizeh, Saudi Arabia. Indigenous mud brick building. (Photo by author.)*

more to the apparent difference in the historicity of my mind and that of my student hosts. It was remarkable that this stylistically mixed, relatively recent building was to fulfill the promise of “a very old building.” The experience spoke definitively of the disparities of historical orientation — and systems of memory — between representatives of two highly literate, but different, societies.

Writing makes possible inscriptions on memorial constructions, texts on supports conceived intentionally for the maintenance of records, and, most important of all, changes in mental attitude at both individual and social levels. Nonetheless, there are variations among these changes from one society to another. Rote learning or memorization, within a culture that is both oral and literate, is argued to have long been characteristic of Islamic societies.⁶ The relative weight of memory and inquiry differs from one society to another. What is remembered, and how, also differs. Memorization of prescribed texts is quite different from a system that establishes the conditions for, and encourages, newly invented and

critical memories. Compared to the West, the maintenance of archives and records, crucial to the critical use of memory, has been limited in Islamic societies — and where they exist, they have mainly been concerned with established religious and legal concerns. Records pertaining to change in cultural production in and for itself have had little place.

In Saudi Arabia, as in many countries, there has, of course, been rapid change in these matters. Fifteen years after my visit, there had come to be a greater appreciation for, and preservation of, the indigenous architecture of Arabia, as well as interest in adapting its forms and principles to current development, as shown here in the Saudi Embassy in Yemen (**FIG. 6**).⁷ What I mean to point out is that local systems of memory and historical consciousness, once quite distinctive, have become more self-conscious, and have changed in concert with other aspects of Saudi development.

For their part, Goody and Watt were explicit that the nature of new historical societies varies with the form of language. Significant variations extend to our own day, perhaps in the relation of language and history, and certainly in the societal apparatus constructed to facilitate or inhibit the writing of history and its concomitant critical role. Today, even among highly literate societies, there are still those that are relatively ahistorical. The concept of an archive, let alone the presence of archives and museums, is unevenly distributed throughout the world. In preliterate societies, then — but also in literate societies that have not given a prominent place to historical studies — knowledge of the past and the relation of that knowledge to the present is quite different from the highly historicized societies of the West (and perhaps elsewhere).⁸



FIGURE 6. *Beha Group (Riyadh). Sana'a, Yemen. Saudi Embassy, 1988. (Photo by author.)*



FIGURE 7.
Woudrichem,
The Netherlands.
Houses in the
market street.
(Photo by
author.)

One might remark that this differentiation is not only to be recognized by country or language area, but also by discipline. Architecture has not been the most laggard of disciplines in the studied examination of its past, yet the marketing of architectural drawings and the burgeoning of architectural archives and museums in the last two decades speaks to a significant change in the relation of history and artifacts also in the West.⁹

So-called “vernacular architecture” may, then, be interestingly correlated with distinctions of societies as preliterate or literate but also with varying linguistic and memory systems — historic societies, that is, with varying levels or types of historic consciousness.

SUSTAINED VERNACULAR TRADITIONS WITHIN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Continuing with my spectrum of examples, I now turn to sustained vernacular traditions within historical societies. Most visitors to the Netherlands are struck by the distinctiveness of the typical houses, and thus the urban fabric of the old centers of Dutch towns (**FIG.7**). Characteristically, the houses are of brick, in rows with the gable ends to the street. They are also relatively small but have large windows directly at street level, and with little if any separation from it. Collectively, these houses yield a cityscape of remarkable intimacy and openness. Houses of this type were built without architects for centuries, most particularly from the Renaissance until the twentieth century, establishing a widely dispersed Dutch housing vernacular.

In the early twentieth century, as Dutch architects pioneered the field of social housing, the received type influenced their work significantly.¹⁰ This tradition continued, with increased architectural and urban sophistication in the work of M.J. Granpré Molière, as in his famous Vreewijk community in Rotterdam (**FIG.8**). Even architects of a distinctly modernist inclination established housing types that relied significantly on this tradition, as in the Laan van Meerdervoort in The Hague (**FIG.9**). Still more remarkable, much of the housing in the interwar years by Dutch architects of impeccable modernist credentials retained distinctive characteristics of the strong Dutch vernacular tradition, as in the work of J.J.P. Oud (**FIG.10**). Even in the famous Weissenhof Siedlung in Stuttgart in 1927, Oud and his fellow Dutch architect Mart Stam, working under an experimental program in another country, still built row houses (**FIG.11**). Of all the modern architects of the era, only the Dutch architects maintained these characteristic traditional approaches.

But in this series of buildings, while there is a recognizable tie, there is also a progressive loosening of ties to the vernacular — and a loosening of the relation of social and disciplinary memory. In any such progression a point will ultimately be reached where one can no longer speak of vernacular architecture. This is where I believe one must shift to talking about an underlying “vernacular usage.” Even though it goes beyond the scope of this article, it is possible to show how even in Dutch society, with its often strong sense for tradition, the ties of new construction to vernacular housing, or the relation of social and disciplinary memory, can still be burst asunder — as in massive housing estates of high-rise buildings in the postwar years.

Taking another step in our spectrum of examples, I offer a brief observation of the persistence of a vernacular usage in high modern architecture. The work of the Mexican architect Luis Barragan is usually, and rightly, appreciated for the abstraction of its forms, and particularly for its powerful use of color. However, one need only walk the streets of a Mexican village to find sources not only for such colors but also for the play of apertures, space, light and color. And it can happen that this phenomenon of vernacular architecture is even more striking where the exteriors of houses are simply white, but where, when they are opened for the evening air, an effusive world of color is lit, framed and revealed.

Degrees of “vernacular usage” within highly literate and historical societies can range, then, from the relatively unconscious maintenance of housing and urban forms, through deliberate adaptations of received vernacular types, to the adaptation of elements across time and space in explorations made possible by what I will call the quasi-autonomy of architectural form. Thus, even in highly literate and historical societies such as the Netherlands or Mexico, one may find traditions of dwelling type, of urban fabric, and even of architectural abstraction that represent interesting, often contributive, persistences of earlier socio-cultural organization. By “tradition,” here within



FIGURE 8. (LEFT) M.J. Granpré-Molière. Rotterdam. Vreewijk housing estate, 1916-19. (Photo by author.)



FIGURE 9. (RIGHT) J.W. van der Weele. The Hague. Houses in the Laan van Meerdervoort 741-827, 1927. (Photo by author.)

historic societies, I imply tradition that continues to serve in the maintenance of a dynamic social equilibrium. Increasingly, this will be “invented tradition.”¹¹ Yet I am also thinking of those conventions or traditions that form the substrate of any society — so pervasive that they are rarely brought to cognizance.

It is for the understanding of phenomena such as these that the historical concept of “mentalities” is particularly apt. As Jacques Le Goff has written: “The history of mentalities . . . is also a meeting point for opposing forces which are being brought into contact by the dynamics of contemporary historical research: the individual and the collective, the long-term and the everyday, the unconscious and the intentional, the structural and the conjectural, the marginal and the general.”¹² This is an excellent catalog of the concerns that must be represented in a study of traditional building practices (or what may be called “the vernacular”) within historical societies.

MEMORY WITHOUT MONUMENTS

In the cases of the vernacular in architecture given above, as different as they may be, it appears that social memory and disciplinary memory retain significant associations. One might even speak of how they allow “memory without monuments” — or, as did Hermann Muthesius, of how memory may be an attribute of the very art of building.¹³

I hypothesize that vernacular architecture, whether of preliterate or literate societies — and even what we know as the “dwelling types” or “urban fabric” of modern settlements — raise intrinsically interesting issues of architecture closely linked to memory. I have presented these issues thus far in the context of arguments that conceive of oral societies (and even certain aspects of literate/historical societies) as deeply engaged in the present — in the maintaining of a homeostatic organization that

FIGURE 10. (LEFT) J.J.P. Oud. Rotterdam. Kiefhoek housing estate, 1925-29. (Photo by author.)

FIGURE 11. (RIGHT) Oud. Stuttgart, Germany. Weissenhof housing estate, 1927. (Photo courtesy of Rotch Visual Collections, MIT.)



is as dependent on forgetting the past as it is on recalling it. However, the very fact that buildings themselves are usually of long duration should raise another round of questions.

I would like to twist the argument slightly, and look again at preliterate forms of vernacular architecture, as in my example of the Banni in Gujarat. Do the commentators on oral societies, concerned with the absence of texts (whether on memorial buildings or on other textual supports), fail to recognize how building itself, with its long duration, is a cultural form that opens the possibility of historical reflection? Vernacular architecture may preserve or recall cultural forms and social or disciplinary practices that would otherwise be lost in the flux of the present. To accept a concept of “vernacular architecture as document,” or even “building process as document,” would thus change the account of past and present, of memory and historical sense, in preliterate societies. I should note that current scholars obviously use vernacular architecture in this way. But my question is whether, and if so when, the indigenous cultures themselves made that step.

To twist the question further, I propose two caveats to the exploration of vernacular architecture as document. Differentiations from one society or period to another might be necessary for two reasons. First, the capacity of a vernacular building to serve as a document does not guarantee that it will be taken as such, any more than a written text that fell by chance into the hands of a preliterate society would be. It is necessary to arrive at a certain turn of mind to see a building as a document, as representing something other than its performance in the present. One would therefore need evidence of this nascent historical sense before asserting that buildings served as documents at some earlier moment.

The second caveat, as central to architecture as to historiography, is that building practice, or, more generally, what I have called disciplinary memory, has at least a degree of autonomy. Certain fundamental tectonic forms — e.g., the post and lintel, the timber frame, the plaited wall infill, the arch, and so on — developed independently in different cultures (FIG.12). In different cultures, and over time even in the same culture, the same tectonic forms and physical organizations may serve different purposes and meanings. Both these facts — independent invention and alternative uses — point to the quasi-autonomy of these, and other, artisanal endeavors. It is in this quasi-autonomy that architecture discovers its own discipline, the development of forms and organizations that are not derived deterministically from social forces. At this point I want to emphasize, however, that I am speaking only of “quasi-autonomy.” I do not think it desirable that architecture should aspire to a similar level of autonomy as that of the so-called fine arts. Under the concept of quasi-autonomy, more than one form can serve the same purpose, and the same form can serve different purposes. Consequently, there is room for invention that is fundamentally architectural without sacrificing responsibility to social need. There is likewise the opportunity for successful reuse and reinterpretation of the existing social investment in physical environments.

I would reinforce the matter of quasi-autonomy by stating it differently. Within the same society, aspects of a discipline may persist or be revived without engaging the same associations those aspects had at an earlier period. Thus, artistic and even artisanal activities cannot be reduced to being either determined by, or the determinants of, social conditions. The flip side of this argument is, of course, that an artifact like vernacular architecture presents an ambiguous document for the reconstruction of beginnings and past uses.



FIGURE 12. Village north of Jogjakarta, Indonesia. Traditionally crafted house. (Photo by author.)

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion and that of my earlier paper in *Daidalos* I re-emphasize the proposed distinction between social and disciplinary memory. Without the exploration and development of disciplinary memory, there is no independence for the discipline of architecture. This does not preclude responsible service to society as one also extends the quasi-autonomous content of architecture. Indeed, I would deliberately want to suggest its inclusion.

I have argued that vernacular architecture in its purest sense, in the hands of unself-conscious builders in indigenous cultures, may represent the fullest identification of social and disciplinary memory. I have been moved in observing such special environments in India, North Africa, Bali, and elsewhere. Yet I do not put this identification forward as an ideal (this is just as well, for in modern, literate, historical societies, such a condition is not available). Today it is unavoidable that one see these phenomena historically and critically. On the other hand, I have pointed to the maintenance of memory in a range of “vernacular usages” that I find exemplary — even into highly abstract modernism.

In scholarship, or in practice, I assert the importance of attending to systems of memory. But I do this as much to fend off abuses as to recognize responsibilities and opportunities. The uses of memory in the former Yugoslavia, or Northern Ireland, or central Africa today are awful. So, too, was the use of memory in Nazi Germany, where one could also point to distinct architectural correlates.

On the positive side, my predilections go to the more radical forms of “vernacular usage” I recognize in Oud and Stam in Stuttgart, or in the work of Barragan. However, if one turns to more conservative examples, problems abound. Claims for authenticity and fulfillment of identity through the invocation of memory are normally the rhetoric of dogmatists who would lead us, individually and collectively, into desperation. Less frightening concepts such as “inventing tradition,” or even “manufacturing heritage,” sound immediately problematic. Indeed, they are so, but they also cannot be immediately dismissed. It is clear that historical reconstruction of most that society values will reveal just such “invention” and “manufacturing.” In retrospect such invention will often be admired, but at the same time it is important to be sceptical of such endeavors. Thus, when Granpré-Molière “manufactured” Vreewijk, a sizable, traditionally-based housing complex in the radically modernizing port city of Rotterdam, he was understandably criticized by the modernists around him. But, in response, I suggest that the modernists themselves, at their best, have employed “vernacular usage.” And one can also point to how today, seventy years later, Vreewijk is still a desirable living environment, compelling sympathetic examination. Close attention will then be required to discriminate when the Seaside and Celebrations of the world are as worthy as Vreewijk, when they are as nostalgic and vacuous as the Main Street of Disneyworld,

or when they are as corrupting as reactionary appeals to racial, class, or national identity. And, then again, why not just aspire to more, including a higher and more critical use of memory?

The argument I have made is complex. Today it would be difficult to find a truly preliterate society engaged in unmediated indigenous building. For that matter, the other instances of vernacular architecture and tradition I have mentioned — survivals of earlier practices and memory systems within various literate societies, or the persistence of vernacular traditions and related “mentalities” in highly literate and historical societies, are also increasingly rare, especially if they are to be free of additional layers of memory and interpretation. The nonhistorical or marginally historical practices that are of concern today must be approached historically, with all the difficulties and ambiguities that suggests. Thus, the work of *IASTE* will no doubt quite rightly be more concerned with the complexities of how “the vernacular” has been interpreted than with the complexities (or admirable simplicities) of the vernacular artifacts themselves. The diversity of the subjects studied and the complexity of the ways they can be known implies the importance of specific and nuanced inquiry rather than the power of generalities.

Nonetheless, I suggest that such inquiries would profitably begin by attempting to situate vernacular practices within the systems of memory operative in a given time and place. This done, there must be further refinements based on questions I have raised here: Does this instance of vernacular architecture itself provide a historical document for its contemporaries? And does the work in question reveal important continuities first for a system of memory, and then for a history of the discipline of building — and thus for a degree of autonomy of the discipline, even if this phenomenon will appear more decisively only later?

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13. Speaking of the architecture of the English Arts and Crafts, Muthesius wrote: "It was nothing other than a rejection of architectural formalism in favor of a simple and natural, reasonable way of building. One brought nothing new to such a movement; everything had existed for centuries in the vernacular architecture of the small town and rural landscape: . . . where, in earlier centuries, the country mason had followed local traditions in his practice." Translated in S. Anderson, *Hermann Muthesius: Style-Architecture and Building-Art: Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and its Present Condition* (Santa Monica, CA: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities; and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp.96-97. The original was Muthesius, *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst* (Mülheim/Ruhr: K. Schimmelpfeng, 1902), p.61.

East Bloc, West View: Architecture and Lithuanian National Identity

JOHN V. MACIUIKA

The waning of the Western Cold War discourse has made it possible today to render a more nuanced picture of cultural developments, and their political undercurrents, that once took place in different regions of the Soviet bloc. This article evaluates historical evidence from the past half-century to demonstrate that a Westward orientation played a significant role in Soviet Lithuanian architecture, retaining a subterranean influence even through the region's most trying periods as a republic in the former U.S.S.R. Applying innovations from countries like Finland and France, Lithuanian architects worked both within and on the outside of a Soviet bureaucracy to introduce humanizing elements and a Western, decidedly non-Soviet orientation into their designs. By grafting this Westward-looking orientation onto local traditions, architects at the Baltic periphery of the Soviet Union kept alive an historical ambition to be included in a Western European national and cultural community.

For the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the twentieth century has often provided a dramatic affirmation of the old adage that "geography is destiny." The fates of these nations have been tied to the expansion and contraction of neighboring states such as Poland, Russia and Germany for longer than many Baltic citizens care to remember. As a result, periods of independence like the interwar period of 1920 to 1939, or the recently regained independence that dates to March 1991, have taken on heightened significance as times when national identity and culture must be affirmed.

One historical constant in Lithuania since 1945 has been the persistence of a "Westward gaze" among architects as an expression of national and cultural identity. And though certainly not reducible to a single cause, the wish to participate culturally and politically in a community of Western European nations can be understood as one response to Lithuania's historical subordination to foreign neighbors. Present-day

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Lithuanians live in the shadow of the period from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, when Lithuania occupied a junior position in a Polish-Lithuanian state (until 1795), and then an even more subordinate position as a province ruled by Russian czars until after 1918.¹ The period of national independence between 1920 and 1939 offered the first sustained opportunity to establish the culture and symbols of independent nationhood, although these were surrendered to the Soviet Union after 1945.

Nonetheless, the cultural nationalism expressed through architecture during the Soviet era can be understood as a kind of substitute for the political nationalism that was repressed until the *glasnost* period of the 1980s. And today these architectural expressions of political and cultural identity may provide an important index of the thoughts, feelings and energies that were pent up in Lithuania during those decades. In a region where notions of identity — Lithuanian or otherwise — have been contested for so long, examining the record of the built landscape is one way to render a clearer picture of recent Lithuanian accomplishments.

LITHUANIAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE MODERN AGE: A HYBRID TRADITION

One would be hard pressed to identify a single, cohesive Lithuanian national building tradition. Pre-Soviet indigenous Lithuanian domestic architecture, for example, belongs to a variegated Northern European and Scandinavian tradition of wooden house-building that features steep, sloping roofs to protect against an unforgiving local climate. Reflecting regional differences across the villages of Lithuania, vernacular builders have tended to erect clusters of buildings that hug the land, orient toward the sun, defend against the wind, and feature hand-crafted wooden ornaments of plants, the sun, and other natural motifs.² Towns and cities contain many more brick, stone and concrete constructions, along with a variety of eclectic and modernist buildings designed not only by Lithuanian architects but by builders from Russia, Poland, Germany, and as far away as Italy. But, overall, it is the respect for nature exhibited by rural structures that has inspired modernist architects to work with a particular Lithuanian *genius loci*.

The era of Soviet rule, which began for the Baltic states in 1945, brought massive changes to the country and its population, 80 percent of which still lived outside of cities and towns as late as 1940.³ Incorporation into the Soviet Union brought a wholesale program of modernization, urbanization and industrialization. As one local observer noted in 1990, “more than three times the number of buildings were built during the fifty-year Soviet period as were built during the previous several

centuries.”⁴ In the face of such change, and with a history of only fragile national independence, Lithuanian builders and architects clung to the sense of a building “tradition” that evinced a noticeably hybrid character. Features of this tradition include respect for nature derived from vernacular builders, local inflections of selected foreign styles and planning influences, and a determined effort to reflect the latest trends in Western modernism. In particular, the effort to participate in the evolution of Western thought has formed an integral part of Lithuanian architects’ self-definition. Both during the first period of national independence in the 1920s and 1930s as well as during the Soviet period, leading architects have equated the expression of Western architectural sensibilities on Lithuanian soil with two important, linked ideas: distance from Russian dominance; and participation in a Western community of democratic nations. Hence, modern architecture has served in part to symbolize a measure of psychological and cultural freedom — and, of course, political independence.

In spite of experiencing two complete and opposing paradigm shifts in the last half century (first of incorporation into the Soviet Union, and then the sudden arrival of post-Cold War independence), Lithuania’s hybrid building tradition has proven remarkably resilient. And since the end of the Cold War the characteristics of this tradition — which cannot be taken too literally, but which is more like a set of common tendencies — have been finding expression in a new and still-transitional democratic, capitalist political culture. But what may be most surprising to readers unfamiliar with the internal cultural politics of the former Soviet Union is that some of the most Western-oriented, independent-minded impulses of the hybrid Lithuanian tradition were able to surface in works of Lithuanian architects even during the most trying years of Soviet domination. After looking at current changes in Lithuania’s architectural culture, this article attempts to establish the sense of a continuity between present-day production and several architectural works of the Soviet era. The intent is to show how elements of Lithuania’s hybrid tradition have persisted in spite of the intense redirection of political, economic and ideological impulses from the Soviet era to the present day.

TRENDS IN POST-INDEPENDENCE LITHUANIAN ARCHITECTURE

Immense material and cultural challenges face architects, planners, and architectural educators in Lithuania today. This is immediately clear to anyone who tours the two major schools of architecture in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, a city with a population of 570,000.⁵ The major items on the architectural agenda

conform to the cultural and political policies being pursued by the nation as a whole: namely, to integrate the country into a larger Western European cultural and economic community. Western European countries — Lithuania's Scandinavian neighbors, in particular — with their high standards of living, capitalist systems, and variations of socially conscious democratic governance, represent a gamut of possibilities to which Lithuanians have not had access since the 1920s and 1930s.

Today's situation in architecture, however, as in many other fields in the Baltic states, is dictated by extremely limited financial resources. Following their disastrous experiences in Russia (and to a lesser extent in other Eastern European countries), Western investors have recently been proceeding with considerable caution. This has meant that Lithuanian architects and planners have been forced to operate within a climate of severe constraint as they attempt to modernize, enlarge and improve the ubiquitous Soviet-period housing projects to alleviate the country's ongoing shortage of urban housing.⁶ Their results have so far been mixed. But at the close of the first decade of post-Cold War independence, there are now causes for optimism. Perhaps most significantly, newly formed public-private organizations such as the Lithuanian Housing Credit Fund are today beginning to broaden the process of privatizing housing, raising these efforts from the scale of individual apartments to the level of whole buildings and entire neighborhoods. Such privatization trends are now making it possible to achieve economies of scale that will in turn promote the emergence of viable private housing-management companies. The complete absence of such companies to this point has proven the main obstacle to successful completion of large-scale housing privatization and modernization projects by local investors, building contractors, engineering consulting firms, and developers.⁷ A further positive development today is that the Housing Credit Fund is participating in the drafting of new legislation to replace outdated laws governing housing, property ownership, and property management to better reflect the conditions of a growing market economy.⁸

For their part, architects have thus far concentrated on small-scale renovations of housing blocks that involve new joinery and insulation, structural stabilization, and modernization of water and heating systems. The strategy of adding an extra story of apartments beneath newly built sloped roofs has also been popular. In the city of Vilnius an architecture firm known as Jungtinės Architektų Dirbtuvės (United Architects' Workshops) has taken this approach to renovations of both two-story Soviet-period construction and larger, five-story apartment blocks (FIGS. 1,2). The resulting projects make the most of existing building structures, while attempting to enliven formerly bleak, gray, square-paneled facades through a variety of geometrical, structural and ornamental elements.

Responding to Lithuanian overtures in the West, meanwhile, an array of German architectural firms has begun testing the waters to see if they can apply the same methods in the Baltic states that they have been practicing in neighborhoods of former East Berlin and in the territories of the former German Democratic Republic that today

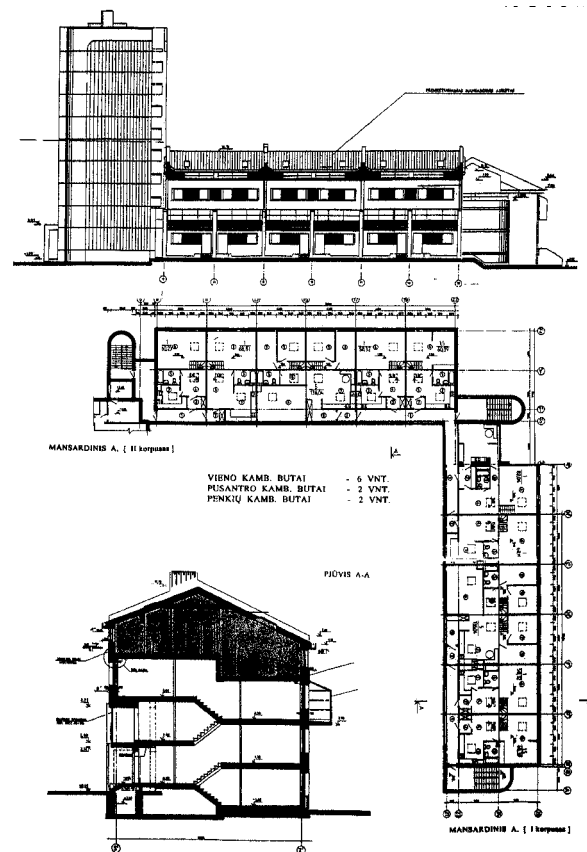


FIGURE 1. (TOP) Renovations of prefabricated concrete panel-block apartments from the 1960s and 1970s create pockets of private condominium apartments in the satellite residential towns ringing the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius. (Photo of models courtesy of United Architects' Collaborative, Vilnius.)

FIGURE 2. (BOTTOM) Elevation, plan and section of newly renovated apartments in Vilnius. (Source: United Architects' Collaborative, Vilnius.)

comprise Germany's "new federal states." For example, a private firm known as HoPro, Inc., which re-formed from the ashes of the planning wing of the East German socialist Wohnungsbaukombinat (Apartment Building Combine), has joined with the Lithuanian Housing Credit Fund to launch a pilot project in Vilnius. Its goal is to systematically renovate Lithuanian prefabricated apartment blocks within present German cost parameters of DM900 per square meter (approximately US\$500 per square meter), the minimum cost at which the company has found it can profitably carry out this work.⁹ And as the Lithuanian Parliament and state planning agencies gradually render the country's legal framework and market environment more transparent and congenial to Western investors, the number of companies working with Lithuanian architects and developers in this way appears poised to increase, possibly dramatically, in the opening decade of the twenty-first century.

The field of Lithuanian architectural education has undergone a similar level of radical reorientation during the 1990s. At institutions like the Vilnius Technical University, located a short distance outside Vilnius, administrators introduced a Master's of Architecture degree program in 1992. Modeled along Western lines, this two-year professional degree program is meant to follow four years of undergraduate study toward a bachelor's degree in architecture and to replace the Soviet system in which architects were prepared solely to serve in state planning and construction offices. Another significant development, dating to 1994, is the conversion of one of the three fifteen-student sections of the Master's program to English-language instruction.¹⁰ There is a strong push as well, through a combination of fellowships and foreign aid, to place Lithuanian students in accredited foreign architecture schools and exchange programs. To date Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Germany have hosted architecture students from Lithuania.¹¹



FIGURE 3. Vytautas Brėdikis, Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts Architecture and Design building (1981). (Photo by author.)

A similar reorientation can be seen in the architecture program of the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts, an older school whose newest building, the architecture and applied arts facility by faculty member Vytautas Brėdikis, is tucked into a forested, stream-side site in Vilnius' historic city core (**FIGS. 3,4**). The content of studio assignments at the Arts Academy also reflects a Western reorientation by facing the implications of privatization head-on. Increasingly during the 1990s, students in design studios here have been presented with assignments for commercial adaptive-reuse projects within Vilnius' sensitive historic urban fabric. At 300 hectares, this area resembles the historic centers of Poland's Krakow, Slovenia's Ljubljana, and (at a smaller scale) the Czech Republic's Prague. But in contrast to these cities' experiences, Vilnius appears to have begun its boom in restoration, renovation, and new construction only during the second half of the 1990s, in part reflecting the increased transitional lag time for a country that was not just in the former East Bloc, but which for 45 years was officially incorporated in the Soviet Union as one of its fifteen constituent republics.



FIGURE 4. View of Vilnius Old Town churches. (site of Academy of Fine Arts building at lower left). (Source: author's collection.)

One such adaptive-reuse project — this one given by professors Brėdikis and Vytautas Čekanauskas — presented students with the design of a new, privately owned Minolta camera and photocopy store. From a pedagogical standpoint, such a project challenged students to interrelate new private commercial premises with a downtown core that retained the scale and character of its many Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque buildings. But the instructors, both also veteran architects, were also striving to make the issue of contextualism an explicit on-site concern. Thus, while students were left free to explore currently fashionable high-tech and postmodernist approaches, as published in such popular journals as *Werk, Bauen und Wohnen*, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, and *Bauwelt*, they were also required to accommodate a hypothetical client's main request: to retain and integrate an existing large Renaissance staircase into the design of the new store.¹²

At the Fine Arts Academy projects for advanced students have also included preparation of submissions to a competition for a new bank in Kaunas, Lithuania's second city (and its provisional capital from 1920 to 1939). And other related courses have tried to introduce students to the practical aspects of running an architectural office in the new private-sector environment.

In the meantime, beyond the walls of academia, considerations of real property, commercial rents, and other common characteristics of a market-driven economy are now being factored into the production of designs for such real structures as hotels, department stores, and parking garages. Private investment and public funds are also beginning to reshape Vilnius (a city whose population is 54 percent Lithuanian, 19 percent Russian, 19 percent Polish, and 8 percent a mixture of Byelorussians, Jews, and other minorities) into a diverse, increasingly lively capital.¹³ Also indicative of efforts to rejoin a Western-style European urban community has been the appearance of the inevitable struggle between such businesses as Benetton and McDonald's (in 1996) and those who advocate the retention of local urban character. Politically, the election of President Valdas Adamkus in January 1998, signaled another turn to the West. As a refugee from World War II Lithuania and a former American civil servant, Adamkus has brought a decidedly non-Soviet, strongly Western outlook to the office of Lithuania's chief executive.

At the same time that such developments signal the potential for improved design output, the state of professional practice in Lithuania also provides ample evidence of the need to train new generations of architects in the challenges and responsibilities of quality design. For example, while residential commissions in Lithuanian cities are remarkably plentiful, a wave of gigantism in residential construction, marked by gaudy excess, has followed the repeal of limits on house sizes, which limited the size of private residences to 130 square meters (1,400 square feet) during the Soviet

years. In response, Algimantas Nasvytis, a venerated senior colleague of Brėdikis and Čekanauskas and current head of the Lithuanian Architects' Union, has campaigned throughout the 1990s for professional peer reviews and other measures to instill responsible values among today's private architects.¹⁴ Among his goals is a desire to curb situations in which "architects perform as consummate servants to their clients to the detriment of the quality, scale, and energy-efficiency of house designs."¹⁵ Nasvytis hopes that the participation of President Adamkus and former Lithuanian Republic President Algirdas Brazauskas (who, like Boris Yeltsin, is a former construction manager) in Lithuanian Architects' Union meetings will result in increased attention to the quality and character of Lithuania's built environment.

THE CROSSROADS OF THE 1980S: BRIDGING THE FUTURE AND THE PAST

As elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, the *glasnost* period saw a remarkably rapid flowering of new ideas within Lithuanian architectural circles. Construction and design standards were criticized with increasing frequency during the 1980s, and "postmodern" decorative accents emerged as a fashionable means of achieving more open architectural expression. However, a revealing change in Lithuanian architectural discussions both in international settings and in the national press emerged around the time of independence. International audiences before independence were often told, for example, how Lithuanians had studied Western examples and taken them into account in their attempts to grapple with local issues and traditions. But press accounts soon after independence placed far greater emphasis on evaluating Lithuanian architecture in light of a problematic Soviet legacy.

On both sides of this national and international divide can be discerned the figure of Gedeminas Baravykas, a well-traveled, prolific Lithuanian architect who was respon-



FIGURE 5. Architect Gedeminas Baravykas (1941-1995). (Source: author's collection.)

sible for the design of numerous buildings and monuments after graduating from the architecture program at the Vilnius Arts Academy in 1964 (FIG.5). Before his untimely death in 1995 at the age of 54, Baravykas perceptively and critically analyzed the historical influence of Western architecture in Lithuania in presentations in the U.S. in 1989 and in Estonia in 1990.¹⁶ Significantly, these presentations focused on the problematic nature of Lithuanian efforts in the 1970s to “quote” famous contemporaneous Western buildings while attempting to remain true to notions of a Lithuanian and Baltic *genius loci*. To illustrate the ways in which architects took on these challenges, Baravykas cited prominent buildings such as the Supreme Soviet (now Parliament) building in Vilnius, designed by Algimantas Nasvytis and his brother Vytautas and completed in 1982 — a building that owed an obvious debt to the Boston City Hall. Baravykas also praised another Nasvytis brothers’ project, the Lithuanian Drama Theater in Vilnius (1981), as an exemplary design representing a certain fold-art-influenced, modernist Lithuanian originality that had even managed to attract the praise of Western architects (FIGS.6,7).¹⁷ The design of this building sets a dramatic, highly sculptural brick, granite and bronze facade among the older buildings of Gedeminas Prospect (formerly Lenin Prospect), a strongly axial avenue connecting Vilnius Cathedral to the Parliament building. In articles and interviews, Baravykas maintained that his own works were deeply indebted to the preceding generation that had produced works like these. These older architects, he explained, had opened the door for younger Lithuanian architects by securing a significant degree of creative independence from Russian officials in Moscow.¹⁸

After independence in 1991, as Lithuanian architectural professionals and critics reevaluated their country’s architecture, a pronounced shift appeared in the emphasis of such architectural discussions, however. The very title of a 1992 article in the national press, “Architecture of the Soviet Period Weighed on the Scales of History,” contributed to a new sense of finality with which Lithuanians viewed their participation in the Soviet sphere of influence. The article, written by Jonas Minkevičius, opened with a dramatic quote by Baravykas to the Lithuanian Architects Union. “We are not at all ashamed of our works from the Soviet period,” Baravykas declared. “I do not reject a single one of my creations.”¹⁹ Sympathetic to this sentiment, Minkevičius nonetheless characterized it as barely relevant to the task of establishing which projects had contributed to the nation’s sense of itself, and which had helped destroy valuable parts of the country, its landscape, and heritage. Every period and generation establishes its own criteria with which to judge architecture, the author noted, and in the post-Soviet era the task of establishing criteria — beyond simply assigning blame or guilt — had yet to be properly addressed.

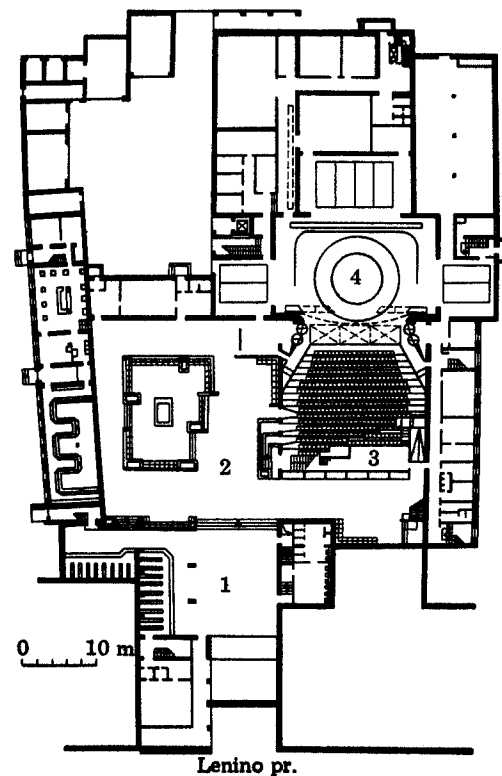


FIGURE 6. (TOP) Algimantas and Vytautas Nasvytis, *Lithuanian State Theater*, Vilnius (1966-1969). Sculptured bronze facade by Stanislovas Kuzma. (Source: K. Čerbulenas et al., gen. eds., *Vilniaus Architektūra, Vilnius, Mokslas*, 1985, p.220.)

FIGURE 7. (BOTTOM) *Lithuanian State Drama Theater*, plan. (Source: Čerbulenas et al., eds., *Vilniaus Architektūra*, p.219.)

WEIGHING THE HISTORICAL LEGACY: A BALTIC WINDOW ON THE WEST

An important implication of this article was that, while such projects as grand Stalinist apartment blocks and ubiquitous statues of Lenin were clearly part of an ideologically driven urbanist program in Soviet-era Lithuania, other projects had managed to pursue a different agenda. Today it is possible to ask to what extent, and with what force, such a legacy of “Western influence” can be detected in Lithuanian architecture of the Soviet years — that is, between 1945 and 1991. And if such influence existed, when and how did it begin, and how was it negotiated in a Cold War atmosphere in which Soviet rule, at least to Western eyes, was perceived as unequivocally opposed to Western “capitalist” and “bourgeois” design? Archival and journal evidence indicates that independent gestures of resistance were made by Lithuanian architects as far back as the Khrushchev thaw of the mid-1950s. These declarations were followed with guarded applications of Western ideas, realized in projects in the 1960s and 1970s.

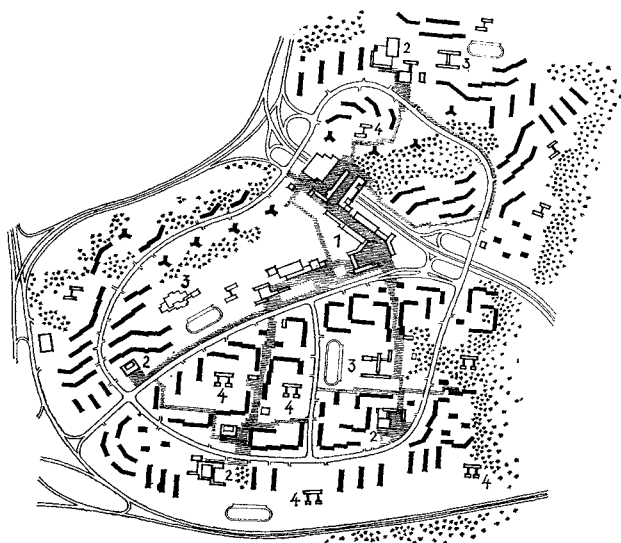
As a recent graduate of the Lithuanian Academy of Arts at the time of Josef Stalin’s death in 1953, Algimantas Nasvytis was among the first to protest Soviet design policies. In a still-celebrated defense of Vilnius’ old town to

the Russian-appointed heads of the Lithuanian S.S.R. Architects’ Union at their Second Congress in Vilnius in 1955, Nasvytis compared the buildings of the Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque periods to postwar interventions in the urban fabric. “If construction in the center of Vilnius continues to follow its present path, then without exception it can be maintained: In a few decades society will judge us — the architects of today — to have been barbarians, the despoilers of our capital.”²⁰ To protect this heritage, Nasvytis and design colleagues of his generation, notably Brėdikis and Čekanauskas, pushed for policies that would allow new construction to be located far outside the old center of Vilnius, preferably beyond an insulating greenbelt of forests. Their concerns were particularly directed toward the large-scale, industrially manufactured housing blocks that then formed the cornerstone of a Soviet housing policy, as defined by Khrushchev in the mid-1950s.²¹

Available evidence suggests that such Lithuanian architects succeeded in resisting the lockstep advance of housing policies from Moscow as early as the late 1950s and early 1960s. The key contribution of architects such as Brėdikis, Čekanauskas, Balčiūnas and Valiuskis from this period was Vilnius’ second *mikrorajon*, or residential satellite city of prefabricated concrete panel-block buildings, built at Lazdynai (Figs. 8, 9). A typical project



FIGURE 8. Aerial view of Lazdynai outside Vilnius, designed by Vytautas Čekanauskas and Vytautas Brėdikis (constructed 1964-1972; twenty-story towers added in 1982). (Source: author’s collection.)



5.35 pav. Vilniaus gyvenamasis rajonas (archit. V. Brėdikis, V. Čekanauskas):
1 – gyvenamojo rajono centras, 2 – mikrorajonų centrai, 3 – mokyklos, 4 – vaikų darželiai ir lopšeliai

FIGURE 9. Plan of Lazdynai showing separation of vehicular and pedestrian streets. (Drawing courtesy of Vytautas Brėdikis.)

for 40,000 residents, built within the framework of a tightly organized Soviet command economy, Lazdynai must also be understood as one of a few trail-blazing attempts to break with the bureaucratic rigidity of large-scale central planning.²² The architects themselves, however, are the first to admit that their tactics could do little more than provide a buffer against the tightly controlled, hierarchical program of Moscow-based central planning. Their input could not, for example, prompt a complete redesign of housing schemes, only lead to changes in site planning and housing-block design that challenged the existing order of things.²³

One stimulus for Lithuanian departures from Soviet norms, lingering from the period of independence of the 1930s in which Nasvytis, Brėdikis and Čekanauskas had spent their youths, was the difference between the role of the architect in the Lithuanian and Soviet contexts. Opposing the Soviet tendency to subordinate the architect's role to that of economists, policymakers, and planners in charge of all-encompassing five-year plans, Lithuanian architects (to hear Nasvytis describe it) clung to notions of a duty to their profession that was "higher than simply drawing," and extended to the organization of spatial experience, the promotion of harmony between buildings and the landscape, and the consideration of inhabitants' and users' needs.²⁴ By contrast, the extreme top-down nature of the Soviet housing system has been vividly described by Italian housing scholar Romano del Nord:

Like a series of bureaucratic pyramids converging toward a single vertex, central building committees, economic planning offices, regional institutes, and republican branches take part in a vertical flow of orders and guidelines. This structure permits almost no communication horizontally, and no constructive feedback between administrative branches.²⁵

If the subordination of the architects' creative role is not obvious from the rigid appearance of ubiquitous urban housing blocks that earned protest even in the heartland of Russia, then del Nord's description helps capture the institutional obstacles to creativity built into the Soviet planning system.

In Lithuania, although designs for Lazdynai were ready as early as 1962, construction was delayed to allow for the coordination of different building phases. Ultimately, these delays allowed local architects and planners to concentrate on developing alternative housing models, even if these had to be worked out within the strictures of the prefabricated 3x3-meter panel construction system developed by Gosstroj, the Soviet planning ministry (which, in turn, had been a revival of methods introduced by German architect Ernst May in the early 1930s).²⁶

Lazdynai today differs noticeably from typical Soviet housing sites primarily in that it consists of a series of stepped, forested terraces running parallel to the river Neris. Whereas standard Soviet and East Bloc procedure was to level a site to make it easier for cranes to set up on either side of a building, Brėdikis and Čekanauskas argued that building with the hillsides would soften the effects of such a massive development, distributing it across the landscape.²⁷ The Lithuanian architects were driven not simply by a desire to build at variance with the Soviet system. Rather, they were attempting to follow lessons derived from Finland, whose rolling hills, forests, and general landscape character resemble that of the Baltic states. Brėdikis and Čekanauskas, in particular, had both been part of official delegations of Soviet architects on visits to Finland in 1959 and 1960.²⁸

Brėdikis' observations of Finnish architecture prompted several of the departures from Soviet design doctrine that the Lazdynai project would come to embody. And both he and Čekanauskas acknowledged the strong impressions left by such examples of Alvar Aalto's projects as Sunila, Kauttua, and Tapiola from the late 1930s to the 1950s. Aalto's quest to humanize modernism was perhaps most evident in his designs for housing, in which he acted on the belief that large concrete structures did not necessarily have to project an ethos of domination over the sites on which they stood. Thus, his plans were laid out so as to fit large housing blocks in the best way possible to the existing contours of the hilly, wooded Finnish landscape. For example, many of his large buildings at Sunila and Kauttua were fitted into the folds of hillsides and along ridgelines, while others climbed up through forested areas in a stepped or terraced fashion (FIG. 10).²⁹



FIGURE 10. The sole example of stepped, terraced panel-block housing in the Soviet Union, reflecting the influence of Finnish architect Alvar Aalto. (Source: W. Rietdorf, *Neue Wohngebiete sozialistischer Länder*, Berlin, Verlag für Bauwesen, 1975, p.246.)

The humanizing potential of Aalto's designs for large-scale housing was not lost on the Lithuanian visitors. Back home, when ordered to design *mikrorajons* for an average of 30,000 residents, they proposed to Russian officials that they be allowed to develop their own block-and-panel system, one that would add variety to existing Soviet models. Initially, this request did not get very far. Permission was denied when Gosstroj planning officials from the local Lithuanian branch informed the architects that, in the view of central authorities in Moscow, such variant panel systems were unnecessary and impractical. Living at the Soviet periphery had its advantages, however. One was that of 130 housing combines in the Soviet Union during the 1960s, three were at work producing prefabricated panels in Lithuania. Working with Lietprojekt, the Lithuanian Ministry of Construction, a portion of a housing combine outside the city of Kaunas was quietly retrofitted to produce a different variety of housing block. This building would use the same concrete paneling system, but would be broken in plan to allow it to follow existing relief lines on a terraced site.³⁰

In 1969, in the Moscow journal *Novy Mir* (*New World*), Russian journalist Alexander Nezhny recounted the official response to Lithuania's construction of an independent housing model. "When the secret came out while the building was under construction, the republic State Construction Committee supported the institute, though it resented the lack of confidence in it shown by the architects."³¹ Other researchers of housing in the Baltic states have shown that the Soviet Union did tolerate a certain amount of what it called "democratic centralism" — a principle by which local and central policies were allowed to differ.³² But these differences were usually limited to the relative the amount of expenditures on items like education and other services. In this instance the architects had

clearly taken matters into their own hands, reappropriating important aspects of planning and construction control from their proper place in the Soviet hierarchy.

Nezhny's article also made the significant point that it was the republic level of the State Construction Committee that resented, but eventually supported, the architects of Lazdynai. And he explained how, after support became official on the local level, the architects gradually revealed six more designs for different types of housing blocks that they had been developing for the Lazdynai project. Bearing in mind that there were only eight panel-housing designs in existence in the entire Republic of Lithuania, it was significant that stepped, terraced housing blocks and five other alternative designs were now under consideration for a single *mikrorajon*. As the architects explained, they gained local support for each of their alternative designs over a long period, introducing them one at a time and convincing officials that the designs were sound and, more importantly, buildable within the limits of existing Soviet construction capabilities. Gaining this support on the local level proved easier as time went on, for after it became clear that residential organization, traffic patterns, and quality of life would be improved by the project, local officials had less trouble granting their approval.³³

Eventually, the ability to draw on local Lithuanian support from the Building Ministry and from the heads of the Lithuanian Communist Party also proved crucial in the arduous negotiations to gain approval for construction changes from officials in Moscow. By the end of this process, when accountability came to rest back on the shoulders of officials in Lithuania who had already been convinced of the merits of the project, seven different house-block designs for buildings between five and nine stories were approved to accommodate the complex relief lines of local topography at Lazdynai. Besides the broken-plan buildings that followed hillside contours, another type climbed slopes of up to 15 percent grade in a stepped fashion. The architects also dispersed housing blocks among the hills while leaving sections of forest intact, and new plantings were added once construction had been completed. The architects took these measures in the hope that "nature would be a partner to the architecture, rather than a victim" (an observation that again showed Aalto's influence). Both block types also afforded views into the surroundings for the greatest number of apartments. And, further reflecting the influence of the Finnish achievements in accommodating nature, architects Brėdikis and Čekanauskas wrote at the time:

The view through a window has a profound impact on an individual's psychology. . . . This view is the spatial continuation of the interior, an inseparable part of the surroundings in which a person lives. A real visual connection with one's surroundings is a fundamental part of designing for an apartment's overall comfort.³⁴

The construction delays which had lasted through years of negotiations also allowed the architects and planners of Lazdynai to depart from Soviet housing practices in their integration of infrastructure, site planning, and circulation networks. For clues on recent Western thinking in these areas, Brėdikis and Čekanauskas used information available from early 1960s French architecture journals about the efforts of Team X architects to rework the street in modern architectural contexts. Influenced by the way Georges Candilis, Alexis Josic, and Shadrach Woods had reconceived Toulouse-Le Mirail along the lines of “new urban units,” Brėdikis, in particular, pushed for an analogous separation of pedestrian and automobile street networks in the plan of the *mikroraion* (FIG.11).³⁵

Such integrated planning, attention to users’ subjective experience, and the separation of vehicular from pedestrian traffic are, of course, far from revolutionary in a Western architectural context. Their significance at Lazdynai lies instead in their contribution of previously unacknowledged and unwelcome approaches to Soviet *mikroraion* design. Where recent Western scholarly accounts document in increasing detail a history of Soviet housing that revolved around reductive calculations of square meters of living space per person, it is notable that the designs for Lazdynai by Brėdikis and Čekanauskas directly opposed this policy.³⁶ Their project for the terraced site at Lazdynai was a direct contravention of the Soviet centralized bureaucratic structure, carried out on behalf of a more successful architecture.

From a historical point of view, the completion of the project led to a juxtaposition of ironies. After years of bureaucratic opposition, Lazdynai was awarded the Lenin Prize for All Union Architectural Design in 1972. And, following this award, the project became something of a standard bearer for “socialist” design excellence, and was featured on the cover of the East Bloc’s most comprehen-



FIGURE 11. View of Lazdynai development’s separate vehicular and pedestrian streets. (Source: author’s collection.)



FIGURE 12. International socialist housing survey featuring stepped, terraced housing of Lazdynai. (Rietdorf, *Neue Wohngebiete sozialistischer Länder*, front cover.)

sive international survey of modern panel-block housing developments, Werner Rietdorf’s *New Residential Developments of the Socialist Nations* (FIG.12).³⁷ To the casual observer, Lazdynai represented a socialist housing scheme, a set of new and badly needed apartments churned out according to an industrialized panel-block building system. But for those familiar with the numbing repetitiveness and drab features typical of East Bloc *mikroraions*, the project signified direct Western influence through its appearance and underlying organization.

TRENDS IN POST-INDEPENDENCE LITHUANIAN ARCHITECTURE

In their work, the Lazdynai architects had sought to make a linkage with Western architectural currents that was entirely consistent with the efforts Baravykas later highlighted in his discussion of the Lithuanian Parliament building and the Drama Theater. The recurrence of this “Westward gaze” among leading architects reflects, in fact, the fusion of a Soviet-era Lithuanian historical longing with a practical strategy on the part of Lithuanian cultural and political leaders to support expressions of independent nationhood through culture. In so doing, these leaders underscored the geographical and historical realities that have, more often than not, consigned residents of this Baltic “mini-nation” to life as part of a Russian- or Polish-dominated conglomerate state.³⁸ Projects like Lazdynai preserved and expressed the same will to independent action that resurfaced when Lithuania became the first republic to secede from the Soviet Union in 1990.

Today, after almost a decade of independence, Lithuanians are still struggling to fashion a stable young republic with a society and economy that more closely resemble those of their Scandinavian and European neighbors. But in a part of the world where traditions of democratic public debate have had comparatively few opportunities to come to full flower, the Lithuanian built environment provides valuable clues as to the ways that architects sought to contribute to international discussions of architecture — discussions which, even during the Cold War, transcended simplistic and totalizing East-West divisions.

Facing increasingly powerful forces of global commercial investment, architects in Lithuania, as elsewhere, are today seeking to balance what is international and contemporary against what is local, unique, and worthy of preservation. It is unclear what the future holds,

though Western investment, local economic development, and living standards are gradually increasing — and with them the disparities of wealth common to capitalist societies. The Lithuanian hybrid architectural tradition will undoubtedly be challenged by the forces of economic globalization in ways now seen in most other parts of the developing world. Whether local architects can withstand this new onslaught of outside influences is, of course, unclear. Yet one thing appears certain: at the core of Lithuanian identity has been the experience of interacting with, accommodating, and adapting to the cultures living around Lithuania. If historical experience is any guide, then Lithuanians and their architects will again find ways to inflect their hybrid tradition and define their built environment in dialogue with the influences arriving from near and distant shores.

REFERENCE NOTES

An earlier version of this article was presented as “Lithuanian Architecture, 1955-1985: Testing Authority at the Soviet Periphery” at the Society of Architectural Historians Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, April 7, 1995. I would like to thank Vytautas Mačiuika, Greg Castillo, Blair Ruble, Dora Wiebenson, and the anonymous reviewer of this journal for their critical readings and comments on this work.

1. The best comparative analysis to date of Baltic politics and culture in historical perspective is A. Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Path to Independence* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1993. The classic history of Lithuania is A. Šapoka, *Lietuvos Istorija [History of Lithuania]* (Fellbach/Württemberg: Patria Publishers, 1950). Unless otherwise noted, all Lithuanian sources and quotations are translated by the author.
2. See K. Čerbulenas, “Valstiečių Kiemo Medinių Trobesių Dekorų Genėzė” [“The Origins of Peasant Farmyard Building Decorations”], *Lietuvos Architektūros Klausimai [Lithuanian Architectural Questions]* 4 (1974), pp.323-67; K. Šešelgis, “Lietuvių Liaudies Architektūros Tyrimas: Darbai, Rezultatai, Perspektyvos” [“Lithuanian Folk Architectural Research: Works, Results, Perspectives”], *Liaudies Ūkis [Peoples' Economy]*, July 1991, pp.13-15.

3. J. Zinkus, *Lithuania: An Encyclopedic Survey* (Vilnius: Vilnius Encyclopedia Publishers, 1984), p.36.
4. J. Minkevičius, “Sovietmečio architektūra ant istorijos svarstyklių” [“Architecture of the Soviet Period Weighed on the Scales of History”], *Literatūra ir Menas [Literature and Art]*, July 25, 1992, pp.8-9.
5. Municipality of Vilnius, *Vilnius Economic Profile 2* (Vilnius: Canada-Baltic Municipal Cooperation Program, 1998), p.9.
6. Limited foreign investment, conditioned by cultural differences and barriers posed by administrative inefficiencies and high transaction costs, continues to be a major theme in recent housing literature and conference reports emerging from Eastern and Central Europe. See, for example, H.-U. Schwedler, ed., *A Future for Large Housing Estates: European Strategies for Prefabricated Housing Estates in Central and Eastern Europe* (Berlin: European Academy of the Urban Environment, 1998), pp.162-65. Also see *Environmental Improvements in Prefabricated Housing Estates*, proceedings of the Conference on Cooperation between Berlin and Towns and Cities in Central and Eastern Europe, December 12-14, 1996 (Berlin: European Academy of the Urban Environment, 1996), pp.9-11.
7. A. Vitkauskas and V. Jonaitis, “Daugiabučių Gyvenamųjų Namų Priežiūra: Problemos ir Sprendimai” [“Apartment Block Management: Problems and Solutions”], *Statyba ir Architektūra [Building and Architecture]*, May 1999, pp.16-17.

8. A. Vitkauskas, “Bausparfonds bei der Sanierung von Plattenbauten,” presentation at the conference “Weiterentwicklung von Plattenbauten: Kooperation zwischen den Städten Berlin und Vilnius,” Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz, und Technologie, Berlin, June 17-18, 1999.
9. New housing, by comparison, can only be built at a cost of DM2,500 per square meter, drawing many firms to the prefabricated housing renovation market. Interview with Bernd Fohgrub, Business Manager, HoPro Bauplanung GmbH Berlin, June 18, 1999.
10. Currently, about half of the English-speaking section is comprised of foreign students, many from the Middle East. Beginning in fall 1994, a transition was completed to a four-year Bachelor’s of Architecture and a two-year Master’s of Architecture at the Vilnius Technical University. Interview with Architecture Program Dean Vytautas Dičius at Vilnius Technical University, May 24, 1994.
11. Vytautas Dičius interview, May 24th, 1994; A. Polis, “Keliai ir Takai: Vytauto Dičiaus Pokalbis” [“Roads and Pathways: An Interview with Vytautas Dičius”], *Statyba ir Architektūra*, May 1992, p.2.
12. Interview with architecture professors Vytautas Brėdikis and Vytautas Čekanauskas at the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts, May 25, 1994, and June 10, 1995.
13. While Vilnius remains ethnically extremely diverse, the rest of Lithuania is made up of approximately 85 percent

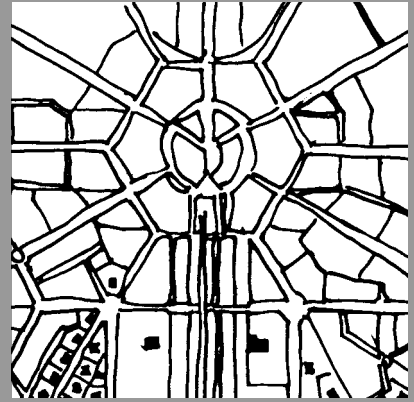
- Lithuanians, 10 percent Russians, and a 5 percent mixture of Poles and other minorities. Municipality of Vilnius, *Vilnius Economic Profile 2*, p.13.
14. Interview with Algimantas Nasvytis in Vilnius, May 22, 1994. A similar interview with Nasvytis was conducted in the summer of 1992, at which time Nasvytis was the Minister for Building and Construction in the government of Vytautas Landsbergis.
15. The works of Algimantas Nasvytis and his brother Vytautas, currently Dean of the Vilnius Art Academy's Faculty of Architecture, are surveyed in "Architecture USSR: Algimantas and Vytautas Nasvytis," *Architecture and Design* 5 No.1 (1988), pp.46-49; and "On the Architecture of Vilnius," *Lithuania Today* 1 No.25 (1985), pp.33-39.
16. G. Baravykas, "Western Influence in Lithuanian Architectural Development: 1960-1989," Sixth World Lithuanian Education and Arts Symposium, Chicago, IL, November 1989; and "Western Winds," First Northern European and Baltic Architecture Conference on "Metropolitanism and Provincialism," Tallinn, Estonia, August 1990. "Western Winds" ["Vakarų Vėjai"] first appeared as an article in *Krantai [Shores]* 15 (March 1990), pp.10-14. An article on Baravykas appears in *L'Arca* 27 (May 1989), pp.98-99, in which his buildings are praised for presenting a convincing blend of modernist contextualism. Another appraisal of Baravykas' work appears in P. Kulikauskas, "Architecture of the Stolen West," *Arkkitehti* 86 No.7 (1989), pp.34-37.
17. Baravykas, "Western Winds," Northern and Baltic Countries Conference presentation transcript, p.4.
18. Baravykas' position in "Western Winds" remained identical in an interview conducted in Vilnius by the author, June 21, 1992.
19. J. Minkevičius, "Sovietmečio architektūra," pp.8-9.
20. Algimantas Nasvytis, speech to the Second Meeting of the Lithuanian Architects Union, October 14, 1955, quoted in J. Vaskevičius, "Activities of the Lithuanian Architects' Union 1945-1990," *Lietuvos Ūkis [Lithuanian Economy]* 13 (July 1991), p.16. The politically charged content and date of this article locate it squarely within the "re-evaluation period" of literature during the crucial months before and after independence.
21. The best overviews of the Soviet housing history and its connection to urbanization and industrialization policies beginning with Khrushchev include G.D. Andrusz, *Housing and Urban Development in the U.S.S.R.* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1984); J.A. Sillince, ed., *Housing Policy in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.* (New York: Routledge, 1990); and W.C. Brumfield and B.A. Ruble, eds., *Russian Housing in the Modern Age: Design and Social History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
22. Others included the diversion of funds from urban construction projects in Vilnius Old Town to build Lithuania's first freeway, connecting Vilnius to Lithuania's second-largest city, Kaunas.
23. Information about Lazdynai derives from a combination of recent and historical sources. Recent sources include interviews in Vilnius with Vytautas Brėdikis during his tenure as Dean of Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts (June 16, 1992), Vytautas Čekanauskas (June 12, 1992), and Gediminas Baravykas (June 21, 1992). A number of articles on Lazdynai and Lithuanian housing during the Soviet period also provide valuable and contrasting information: K. Balėnas, "Vilniaus Mikrorajonai: Projektai ir Tikrovė" ["Vilnius Microrajons: Projects and Reality"], *Statyba ir Architektūra* 11 (1985), pp.4-5; V. Balčiūnas, "Tobulėjim ir . . . Panašėjim" ["We Are Improving . . . And Becoming More Alike"], *Statyba ir Architektūra* 8 (1982), pp.10-11; V. Šileika, "Vilniaus Namų Statybos Kombinas: Vakar, Šiandien ir Rytoj" ["Vilnius Housing Combines: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow"], *Statyba ir Architektūra* 6 (1980), pp.2-3; J. Vaškevičius, "Architektūros ir Landšafto Harmonija" ["Harmony Between Architecture and Landscape"], *Statyba ir Architektūra* 4 (1974), pp.4-7; A. Rasteika, "Socializmo Epochos Zmogui — Aukšto Meninio Lygio Architektūra" [For the Man of the Socialist Epoch — Architecture of a High Artistic Level], *Statyba ir Architektūra* 4 (1974), pp.2-11; and A. Nezhny, "The Cities That We Build," *Novy Mir* (October 1969), pp.188-206, reprinted in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* 2 No.3 (1969), pp.25-26. A book has also been published on the subject: V. Balčiūnas and J. Vanagas, *Lazdynai* (Vilnius: Mintis, 1983).
24. Algimantas Nasvytis, interviewed when still Minister of Building and Construction for the Landsbergis government, June 12, 1992.
25. R. del Nord, "Housing Policies U.S.S.R.," *Industrialization Forum* 7 (1976), p.8.
26. J. Gantner, "Abschied von den Russlandfahrern," *Das Neue Frankfurt: Internationale Monatsschrift fuer die Probleme Kultureller Neugestaltung*, Vol.4 No.9 (September 1930), pp.197; "Ernst May in Russland," in H. Hirdina, ed., *Neues Bauen, Neues Gestalten: Das Neue Frankfurt/die neue statdt, eine Zeitschrift zwischen 1926 und 1933*, (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1984), pp.77-78.
27. One is hard pressed to locate examples in the former East Bloc and Soviet Union of housing blocks built on sloping sites. See, for example, the authoritative survey of Soviet and East Bloc housing developments by G.D.R. author W. Rietdorf, *Neue Wohngebiete sozialistischer Länder* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1976).
28. Vytautas Brėdikis, interview, June 16, 1992.
29. Čekanauskas explained that Finland and the Finnish architects "left the greatest impression," since to him Finland "felt like a country similar to our own . . . it had a very similar environment . . . and it obtained independence from the Russians in 1918," roughly the same time period as Lithuania became independent for the first time. Čekanauskas interview in Vilnius, June 12, 1992. See also the discussion in H. Ginsberger, ed., *Alvar Aalto* (Zürich: Verlag für Architektur, 1963), pp.96-107.
30. Čekanauskas acknowledged that this retrofit of a production plant would have been impossible but for the cooperation and support of the plant's forward-thinking manager, Samuel Lubeckis. Čekanauskas interview in Vilnius, June 12, 1992.
31. Nezhny, "Cities That We Build," pp.188-206.
32. A. Bohnet and N. Penkaitis, "A Comparison of Living Standards and Consumption Patterns Between the RSFSR and the Baltic Republics," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 19 (Spring 1988), pp.35.
33. Vytautas Čekanauskas and Algimantas Nasvytis interviews, June 12, 1992; Gediminas Baravykas interview, June 21, 1992.
34. Quoted in Balčiūnas and Vanagas, *Lazdynai*, p.10.
35. "Toulouse-Le Mirail: City of 100,000 Inhabitants," *Architecture, Formes, Fonctions*

16 (1971), pp.346-58. Brėdikis interview, June 16, 1992. Čekanauskas interview, June 12, 1992. In his 1992 interview, Čekanauskas recalled that he had been trained in the 1950s by some older teachers who had been active well before the World War II. In the prewar decades of independence, Lithuanian architects had prized architectural journals from France and Germany highly, and though they were forbidden under Soviet rule (rule that demanded assertions of socialist design free from Western influence), they still commanded great interest among students. Articles in the 1990s are again popularizing the achievements of architects during the last period of independence — especially those who strove to design in the tradition of European modernism. See the discussion in E. Guzas, “Gerus Pamatus Padėjus: Apie 1918-1940 m. Lietuvos Architektūra ir jos Kurėjus” [“Having Laid Down Good Foundations: Lithuanian Architecture and its Creators From 1918-1940”], *Statyba ir Architektūra* 5 (1992), pp.14-15.

36. Historian Stephen Kotkin discusses how living space per square meter came to define the relationship between “space and subjectivity” in Soviet housing after 1917. See his “Shelter and Subjectivity in the Stalin Period: A Case Study of Magnitogorsk,” in Brumfield and Ruble, eds., *Russian Housing in the Modern Age*, pp.171-210.

37. Werner Rietdorf’s survey of postwar socialist housing in the Soviet Union and East Bloc countries, *Neue Wohngebiete sozialistischer Länder*, featured the stepped, terraced housing of Lazdynai on its cover (depicted in Figure 12).

38. “Mini-nations” was the term adopted by scholars committed to a field of Baltic Studies in the West, which opposed Soviet occupation by continuing to chart the social, economic and cultural trends of the three Baltic states. See, for example, A. Ziedonis, Jr. et al., eds. *Problems of Mininations: Baltic Perspectives* (San Jose, CA: Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies, Inc., 1973). A more critical and recent evaluation of Baltic politics and culture can be found in Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution* (see note 1). Vytautas Kavolis updates cultural reworkings of historical themes in the 1990s Lithuanian national revival in his “The Second Lithuanian Revival: Culture as Performance,” *Lituanus: The Lithuanian Quarterly* 37 (1991), pp.53-64.



Fractured Plans: Real Estate, Moral Reform, and the Politics of Housing in New Delhi, 1936-1941

JYOTI HOSAGRAHAR

This article explores the continuities and discontinuities between traditional housing solutions and the policies of modern state agencies. It focuses on state-initiated housing projects in Delhi between 1936 and 1941 that were located on the fringes of the old walled city and imperial New Delhi. From the British colonial government's perspective, these planned extensions were intended to serve as exemplars of controlled growth. However, investigations reveal that plural perceptions and political motivations were also behind them. Eventually, the realities of private enterprise and real estate speculation dominated the process of developing the extensions. In this way, customary building practices contested the authority of municipal codes, professional planners, and imperial institutions to create an incomplete, fragmented, and "informalized" landscape of planned neighborhoods.

Accumulating scholarship on the relationship between housing and culture has indicated that the appearance of dwellings in traditional societies is intimately tied to beliefs, customs, social structure, and geography. Confronted with picturesque and popular images of exotic, handcrafted edifices occupied by people in colorful costumes, experts and policy-makers are easily convinced that indigenous people from different regions are likely to build and use space differently. Nevertheless, as many non-Western countries struggle to provide adequate shelter for rapidly expanding urban populations, definitions of decent urban housing are assumed to be universal. And in the context of unprecedented expansion and commercial development, modern megacities are assumed to be neutral containers that may be painted with the hue of any culture. The implicit assumption behind such conflicting views is that traditional housing forms are the

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expressions of indigenous people who live naively outside the influence of the global economy. Also left unstated is the expectation that those with any pretension or aspiration to being modern will learn to inhabit modern dwellings: efficient, functional, safe, easy to construct, and predictable in value. Thus, in the modern metropolis, state agencies and officials, developers, and design professionals frequently disdain and delegitimize indigenous living and housing practices, and modify them to observe rational and scientific standards.

This article employs an historical investigation to explore the continuities and discontinuities between the modern/planned and traditional modes of providing housing. It focuses on state-sponsored housing projects initiated between 1935 and 1941 in the interstices of the walled old city of Delhi and the imperial capital of New Delhi. Here, the extreme milieu of power under British imperialism, the pervasive influence of high modernism, and the reality of a city Westerners perceived as the very picture of the Orient came together to highlight certain contradictions and disjunctures in the provision of state-sponsored housing. A close textual reading of official documents from that time reveals the plural perceptions behind such housing and the political motivations underlying its production.

When the planned extensions were first proposed, a sharp contrast existed between the old walled city of Delhi and imperial New Delhi. On the one hand, housing in the old city was traditional, incrementally developed, and seemingly chaotic. Blatant disregard of government regulations had resulted in illegal development and defiant disorder in its spatial practices, a situation which had frustrated municipal officials for decades. On the other hand, the newly complete capital complex of New Delhi stood as a shining, symbolic and authoritarian testament to the power of British colonial rule.

In initiating plans for the housing extensions, the colonial government intended to use rational planning processes to produce exemplars of controlled growth. As representations of modernity and progress, the new housing areas were to serve as model living environments that would provide a complete contrast to the seemingly random and incremental development of the old walled city. Thus, while the grand architecture of New Delhi would celebrate the state's imperial authority, the new planned communities would house its ideal subjects.

Between these two poles of settlement form, however, a type of development eventually emerged that mediated between the two extremes, reconciling the rebellious pattern of the old city with the authoritarian form of the new capital. While the extension areas were often filled with a planned landscape of tidy lots and identical units, the actual processes by which this housing came into being suggested certain processes that had long been at work in the vernacular buildings and neighborhoods of the old city. One reason was that the colonial state was torn between a desire to present itself as a social benefactor and a motivation to profit from the development of its real estate holdings. It was also torn between

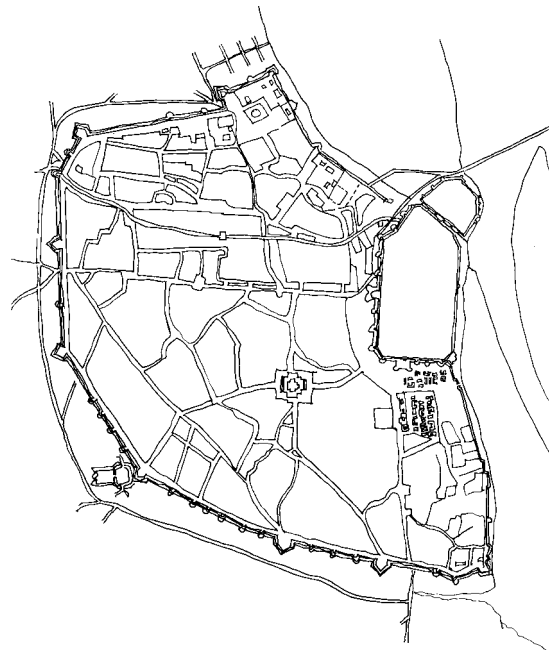


FIGURE 1. *The historic walled city of Delhi. Two main streets intersect before the royal palace at the eastern end. A web of narrow winding streets connects a dense fabric of houses and courtyards. (Drawing based on Plan of the Siege of Delhi and Surrounding Country, lithographed and printed by the Topographical Depot, War Department, 1857).*

efforts to transform a “traditional” society according to modern, Western ideals and the very tenets of that modernism, which promoted scientific and objective values. In the end, the realities of private enterprise and real estate speculation came to dominate the development of the planned extensions. And ultimately, customary building practices contested the authority of municipal codes, professional planners, and imperial institutions to “informalize” the provision of housing.

The article begins by looking at the picturesque disorder and processes of growth and development that characterized the fabric of the old city. Since the mid-nineteenth century, city officials had become increasingly frustrated by their inability to control development there. It next looks at the grand spatial order of New Delhi, designed to serve as the capital of the British Empire in India. The subsequent section provides a window onto colonial perceptions of the built environment of the old city. What Europeans had once viewed as romantic disarray eventually came to be seen as an unruly monstrosity, where sanitary conditions were believed to have deteriorated to such an extent that they posed a threat to the entire region. As a liberal and benevolent sovereign, the imperial government felt obliged to undertake new housing development schemes to remedy this situation. After discussing some of these schemes, I compare the premises behind them to customary ways of living and building in the old neighborhoods of Delhi. Finally, I conclude with a dis-



FIGURE 2. Hidden from the streets, courtyards in old Delhi homes were like private outdoor rooms, and much household activity occurred in these spaces. Until the late nineteenth century, airy pavilions surrounded the courtyards. (Photo by author.)

cussion of the speculation, profiteering, contestation, and noncooperation that eventually stalled and “informalized” the processes of creating new housing in the planned extensions.

THE PICTURESQUE AND THE DISORDERLY

Until the middle of the nineteenth century Shahjahanabad, the old walled city, had been the focus of urban life in Delhi (**FIG.1**). Its web of narrow winding streets contained palaces, mosques, temples and residences. The Mughal elite had once lived here in mansions consisting of interconnected apartments, pillared halls, and courtyards. By the late nineteenth century a typical middle- or upper-middle-class home consisted of pavilions or rooms around an open courtyard (**FIG.2**). One measure of the size of such a house (and the wealth of its residents) was the number of its courtyards — usually one or two. A two-courtyard *haveli* included a sep-

arate public reception area, which was primarily a male domain, and an interior courtyard, which was the territory of women. Several extended families might live in proximity to each other in such a residential setting. Typically, the household might include a patriarch, his wife, his married sons and their families, and unmarried children. But sometimes younger brothers of the patriarch and their families, and/or widowed sisters or daughters and their families, also were included in a single, multigenerational household. In such houses, the enclosed courtyards were the most important living spaces, and they were often furnished with shrubs, trees, bowers, and small fountains or ponds.¹

In the old city the process of growth and development was incremental. Intertwined as the buildings were, owners added to and extended their properties as they saw fit and as they could agree upon changes with their neighbors. Thus, as a family enlarged or contracted, or as a household’s occupations changed, they might add a room here or a floor there, sell off an entire wing, or converted streetfront rooms to shops. But for long-term residents and property owners, the need to maintain community respect — as well as avoid community censure — was paramount. In daily acts of living and building, rights were determined by custom and by the relative social positions of those involved. Property lines and construction was socially sanctioned, and disputes were settled by community and custom, without written rules.

Customary spatial practices, however, were frequently in disagreement with the official municipal vision of the city. Thus, when Kanhiyalal, a fictitious but typical resident, wanted to subdivide his property to make shops and add a floor, he did not apply for permission from the official Building Committee of the Municipality.² Instead, he left the streetfront untouched and stealthily added the extra floor at night and over the weekend. The following week, when the municipal inspectors objected to the illegal construction, Kanhiyalal was adamant that the entire structure had always been there and predated the building code, and his neighbors and influential friends vouched for him. From an official perspective, such cases only proved how disorder reigned in the city (**FIG.3**).



FIGURE 3. The built form of the old city was incrementally developed and seemingly chaotic, but the Jumma Masjid still dominated the skyline in many neighborhoods and formed a visual and cultural focus. (Photo by author.)

In response to such a prevailing disrespect for government control, city building regulations had been revised and made more elaborate and stringent over the years. Yet city residents found ever more ingenious ways of getting around these regulations and frustrating administrators' attempts to "safeguard" their health. For example, since building inspections typically occurred only once during construction, property owners often temporarily arranged buildings to conform to building ordinances, only to change them later. And after construction, property owners also took advantage of loopholes to legalize illegal structures. Renewing applications, filing appeals, and appealing to higher courts were other strategies citizens routinely employed. Municipal reports are replete with details of court proceedings pitting the city against residents in cases of irregularities in building. Despite the best efforts of the municipality, such problems persisted because the population of the city was rapidly increasing and the demand for living space far exceeded the supply.³

The seemingly random acts of building were not the only cause of disorder in the city. Over the decades, conflicts had also intensified over the definition of "public space" and the right to privatize it. Typically, here too, the more the authorities attempted to regulate, the more the people seemed to violate the definitions. The state's effort to control deviance ultimately extended even to definitions of acceptable public behavior. In an unwavering effort to restrict and control the use of streets and squares, the municipality created an elaborate and detailed set of rules intended to articulate not only the physical character of public spaces, but also their meaning and the activities that were permitted in them. And as new committees and officiating bodies were formed to guide the planning and building of the new capital complex, further attempts were made to limit activities in the public sphere. City government even took on the task of organizing and administering fairs.⁴

Yet even as the municipal administrators inscribed stringent regulations against *takths* (platforms) and other projections from shops on to streets, the appropriation of public space by hawkers and vendors became ever more institutionalized. Sidewalks were routinely taken over by small-time traders with push-carts, temporary stalls, or just a couple of boxes. "Foot-paths were intended for pedestrians but at present they are infested with beggars and hawkers," officials bemoaned.⁵ However, when police or health officials confronted offending individuals, they would simply pack up their goods and return after a short while:

It has been a daily experience that a hawker would leave a place when asked to but would invariably return to it a few minutes after. He gives a false name and address and can not be traced when prosecuted. If we are able to find him out the Courts take their own time for the disposal of such petty cases. At the end the transgressor is fined a rupee or so.⁶

Officials felt frustrated in their efforts to keep the city free of such daily acts of appropriation.

IMPERIAL ORDER

After its inauguration in 1931, the imperial capital of New Delhi emerged as the complete antithesis of old Delhi's spatial order. The total area of its site was about ten square miles — more than five times that of the old city (FIG.4). On land that had once held scattered villages, farmland, mosques, shrines, *mazars*, and walled gardens, Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker created a government center as a masterful and perfect whole. The design was intended to convey the idea of a "peaceful domination and dignified rule over the traditions and life of India by the British Raj."⁷

At the focus of the design was the Government House, Council Chamber, and two symmetrical blocks of the Secretariats, from which members of the governor-general's council administered the imperial government. At the eastern end of the great main avenue that led from the government center was Indraprastha, the site of the oldest of all the eight cities of Delhi. "Right and left the roadways go and weld into one the empire of to-day with the empires of the past and unite Government with the business and lives of its people."⁸

Behind the Government House were gardens and parks flanked by the general buildings belonging to the viceregal estate. Another broad avenue, set at right angles to the main one, connected the railway station, the post office, and the business quarters to the north with a cathedral to the south. Scattered to the southeast were the tombs of Safdarjang and Lodi in an area desig-

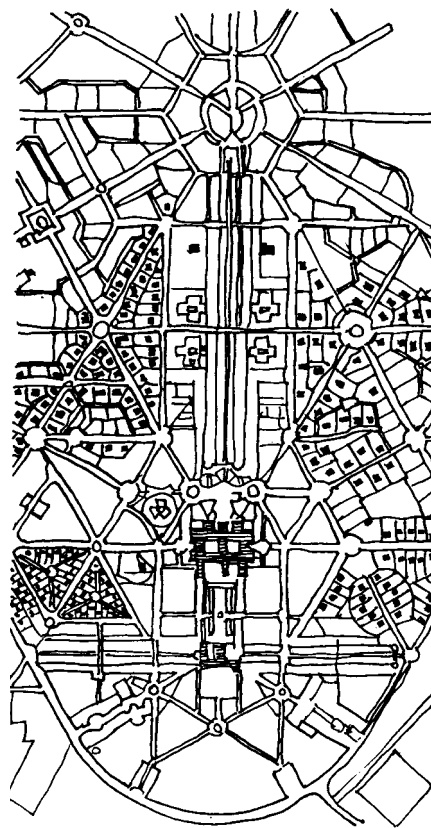


FIGURE 4. The tree-lined boulevards of New Delhi are straight and broad, with the Viceregal Palace as a focus. (Drawing based on R. Byron, "New Delhi," *Architectural Review*, Vol. LXIX No. 410, January 1931, p. 3.)

nated for city expansion and public institutions. An artery from the Secretariat to the Jama Masjid was to be the principal business axis. And a processional route leading due south from the railway station intersected the grand boulevard to create the setting for an intellectual center, containing the buildings of the Oriental Institute, Museum, Library, and Imperial Record Office.

The key to the spatial order of the new capital complex was a carefully constructed social hierarchy. At the highest point stood the Viceregal Palace and the Secretariat buildings. Fanning out radially from this core were the bungalows for those in service of the empire. Members of council, secretaries, European officials, Indian princes and chiefs, members of the local administration, European clerks, and Indian clerks: all had designated spaces in the scheme. Those in senior positions lived closest in, while petty workers were located farthest from the center of power. The size of a dwelling and the lot it stood on also reflected the status of the individual who inhabited it. Thus, the sprawling bungalows of senior European officials were set amidst vast gardens on a street with other sprawling bungalows and vast gardens, while lower-ranking workers and clerical staff crowded into two- and three-storied apartment buildings (FIG. 5). Finally, monuments, architectural splendors, gardens, banks, shops, administrative offices, and hotels were all carefully placed in this orchestrated world to reflect the empire in miniature.

Clearly, Kanhiyalal and his ilk did not belong in the idealized capital; such a splendid capital had no room for the daily humdrum of ordinary people going about their mundane business. The grand imperial city was about government and sovereignty; common folk and ordinary subjects were not included in a landscape whose purpose was to be elevated and awe inspiring. Instead, colonial planners envisioned that such people would be housed in new developments on the fringes of the city, which would provide ideal environments for the consummate citizens of the British Empire.



FIGURE 5. Bungalows set in vast gardens with low compound walls lined the streets of New Delhi. Compound wall, trees, hedge, garden, and verandah formed some of the many layers that screened the private quarters from the street. (Photo by author.)

SLUMS AND THE CITY

In contrast with the splendid ordered vision of New Delhi, the old city of Delhi represented to the British all that was threatening, disdainful and different about Delhi's indigenous residents and their culture. After the insurrection of 1857, the seemingly chaotic and dense pattern of building here seemed to pose a moral, sanitary and military threat. Yet by 1931, when the grand imperial capital was complete, little had been done to improve the situation. In fact, the walled city had become even more congested, and unplanned neighborhoods had proliferated around it.

In January 1934, the daily *Times of India* published an article entitled "Delhi the Death-Trap." Quoting a recently published report by the city's Medical Officer of Health, it noted that although the old city was comparatively small, covering only six square miles, its population had increased enormously since the imperial government had begun constructing its new capital. As a result, the old city had become "a hot bed of preventable disease." By the Medical Officer's representation, "so great is the overcrowding in some parts of the city that the houses are nothing short of death traps."⁹ The article went on to explain how much of the old city was without sewers, and how conditions were even worse in new suburbs that had appeared to the west of its walls. Readers of the article were no doubt further horrified to learn that in some neighborhoods sewage had found its way into sources of drinking water. Municipal officials blamed irresponsible citizens for Delhi's condition, while the public held the municipality guilty of neglect.

Such representations of the indigenous city recall late-nineteenth-century portrayals of slums in the industrial cities of Europe and North America. To physical and moral reformers of the time, these were places of tortuous lanes, densely packed quarters, small dark rooms, and inadequate infrastructure: perfect breeding grounds for people of questionable moral standing. As if to confirm such perceptions, the census of 1931 indicated that Delhi's population had increased by 40 percent in a decade, with an increase of 28 percent within the walled city alone. According to officials:

This cannot be viewed with any great equanimity . . . the apparent conclusion is that the congestion in the city is increasing, that buildings which were sufficient for one family are now housing more than one family, that as there is very little room for expanse outwards, extension is going upward notwithstanding the fact that majority of the lanes and streets are narrow.¹⁰

Unsanitary conditions in the native quarters of Delhi had long been a source of anxiety for British administrators, and the Medical Officer's report confirmed their worst fears.¹¹ If the old city of Delhi had become a slum, then direct intervention to eliminate blight was called for. Slum clearance and the building of new, planned extensions were the obvious solutions.

The report of A.P. Hume, a special officer appointed by the government to look into prevailing conditions, proved instrumental in initiating this process. Hume's *Report on the Relief of Congestion in Delhi* documented a twofold problem of congestion: congestion of people in houses, and houses on land. It indicated that there was an excess of population in the old city for whom better accommodation ought to be provided. And it identified numerous well-defined "slum" areas of "the meanest type." In addition, Hume's report portrayed the city as abounding in "insanitary lanes and dwellings constituting a menace to the public health of the whole urban area of Delhi."¹²

Hume argued that without concerted action to remove slums and ameliorate unsanitary conditions, the problem of congestion would not be solved. And he went on to propose that

large numbers of people be moved out of the walled city to reduce densities there to acceptable levels. Hume saw a need to provide a total new building area of 1,160 acres, sufficient to accommodate 106,000 people. This meant developing government lands on the outskirts of Delhi to full capacity. In addition, "vacant" lands would need to be acquired from private owners, and thickly populated "slum areas" would need to be redeveloped.

In 1936, following the recommendations of the report, the colonial government created the Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT) and gave it authority to administer a large government estate and deal with problems of slum clearance. Officials imagined that eventually the projects of the Delhi Improvement Trust, like Lutyens' grand design for New Delhi, would create a new vision of order that exemplified everything the old city was not (FIG.6).

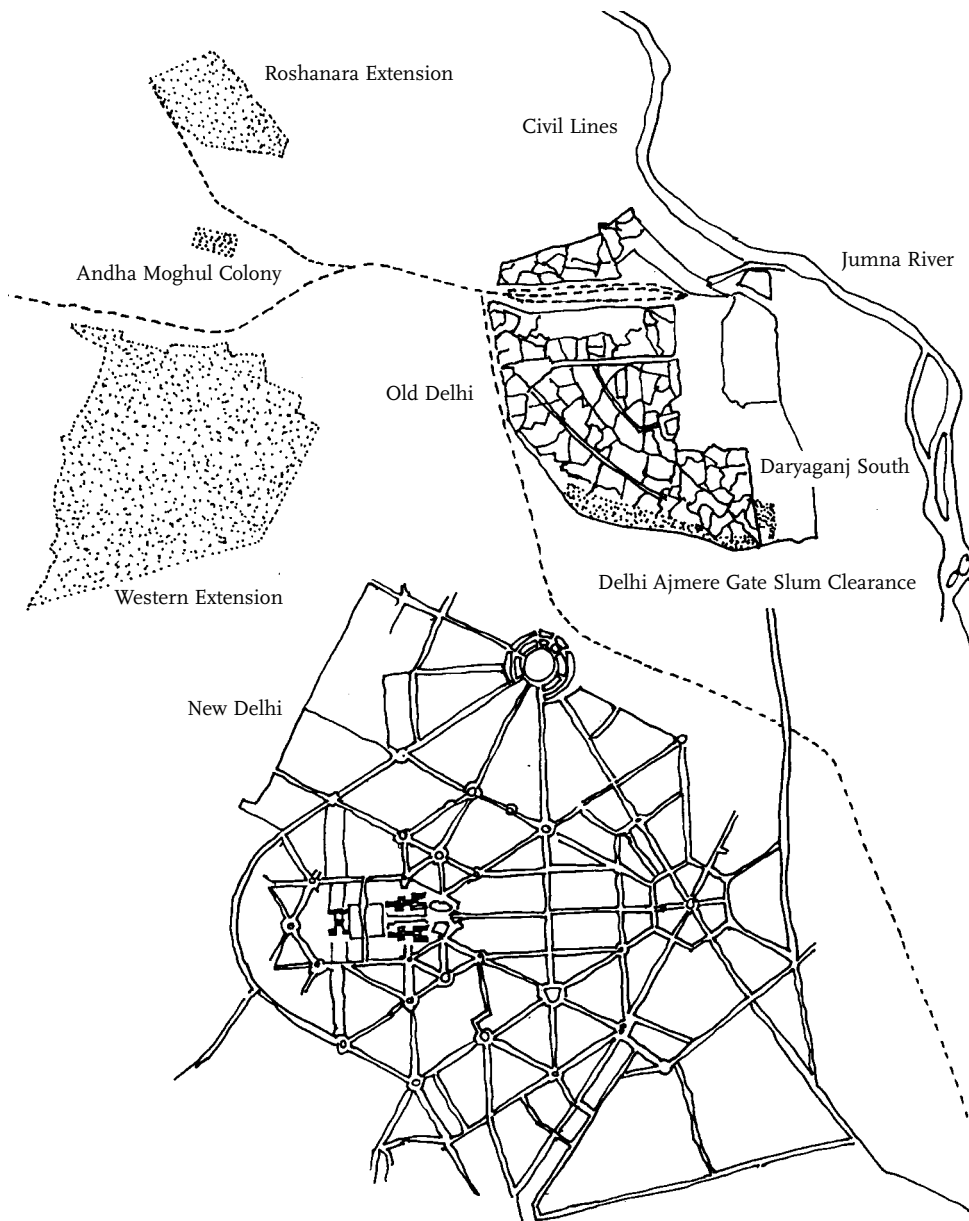


FIGURE 6. Layout showing the relative positions of the old city of Delhi and New Delhi. The projects discussed here are indicated by dotted areas. The Delhi Improvement Trust worked on the fringes of the old city and in the area to its west. (Drawing based on Delhi Improvement Trust Works and Schemes 1937-1939 and Delhi Improvement Trust Works and Schemes 1939-1941, Delhi Improvement Trust, 1939 and 1942.)

VISIONS OF ORDER

As established, DIT's principal responsibility was to manage the colonial government's real estate holdings in the Delhi area. But it was also understood the trust would propose alternative visions of an orderly landscape that would help create healthy, moral and responsible citizens. Thus, it was also given the tasks of relieving congestion, improving living conditions, and providing areas for new housing. In subsequent years the fate of DIT-sponsored housing projects came to signify the difficulty of reconciling these multiple purposes. Several of the DIT schemes are described below.

The Daryaganj Development Scheme

Between 1936 and 1939 a scheme was undertaken for the development of Daryaganj South, a government estate that lay within the city walls. Once an area of princely mansions, Daryaganj had been included in the clearances around the old fort following the insurrection of 1857. On this estate, the DIT developed housing for affluent residents. Conceived as townhouses, these dwellings were three stories high and occupied lots which ranged in size from 300 to 550 square yards. Also included in the layout were some bungalow sites a quarter of an acre in size (FIG.7).

As part of this redevelopment project, the main commercial spine through Daryaganj, the once prosperous Faiz Bazaar, was reorganized into shop sites. While design controls on the new residential lots in the area mainly took the form of restrictions on heights, the DIT enforced a standard frontage on shops along Faiz Bazaar Road. Another feature of this project was a grassy central park of about 2.5 acres surrounded by a neat hedge. Lots created as part of the development were auctioned on 90-year leases with an initial premium and an annual ground rent.

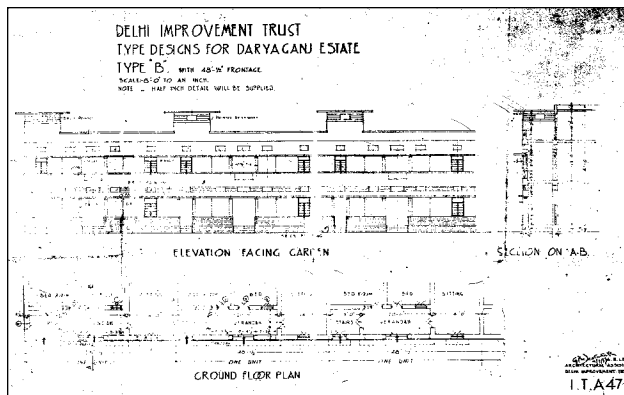


FIGURE 7. Delhi Improvement Trust, type designs for Daryaganj. DIT's designs spelled out the specifics of typical elevations and floor plans. (Courtesy of the Delhi Development Authority.)



FIGURE 8. (TOP) Delhi Improvement Trust, layout plan Rahgharpura, Western Extension. Low-income housing units were closely packed together in tidy rows. (Courtesy of the Delhi Development Authority.)

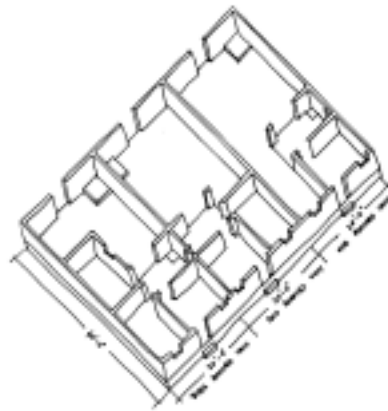


FIGURE 9. (BOTTOM) Designs were to be functional and efficient as one-, two-, and three-roomed units. (Drawing based on Delhi Improvement Trust, "Proposed 'Poor Class Houses' of the Delhi Improvement Trust," Administration Report of the Delhi Improvement Trust 1939-41.)

The Andha Moghul Housing for the Poor

In contrast to the Daryaganj scheme, DIT projects for housing poorer residents (referred to as rehousing projects) were frequently sited in less desirable locations. On the outskirts of the city, their densities were generally much higher, and their typical units much smaller. Of the projects designed to house the "poor class," the Andha Moghul colony was envisioned as a way of removing gypsies and "undesirable" people from the heart of the Western Extension scheme, a prized DIT middle-income housing project. The idea was to develop a site to accommodate a group — categorized as "criminal tribes," but also including tanners and pig keepers — whose continued presence, officials felt, would jeopardize the success of the scheme (FIGS.8,9).

Since development values were estimated by the government after improvements, removing undesirable people from a project area increased the profitability of government schemes. And since such people had to be moved to land that was less valuable than that from which they came, the Andha Moghul housing was located on a canal bank near a sewage pumping station. The Andha Moghul project also included rehousing for

poor families dispossessed in other slum clearance schemes. In this way, official efforts at “improvement” actively involved restructuring the social landscape of the city by creating ghettos and enclaves. The poor, the dispossessed, and the socially marginal were relegated to new “slums” in less desirable locations.

The Delhi Ajmeri Gate Slum Clearance Scheme

More than a decade before this project was initiated, the municipality had identified the area adjacent to the city wall between the Delhi and Ajmeri Gates as in urgent need of sanitary improvement. The DIT proposal for this area, perhaps the most ambitious of all its projects, involved bringing down the city wall between the two gates, acquiring outright all areas classified as “slum” (together with other “congested, insanitary and ill-arranged buildings”), clearing the acquired land, and redeveloping it according to a preconceived layout. This layout would not only provide new, wide roads and expansive open spaces, but set aside space for such community facilities as playgrounds, schools, welfare centers, and health centers. The initial scheme required wholesale clearance of the neighborhood to a general depth of 150 feet from the city wall, and the rehousing of more than 2,300 families.¹³ In addition to the redevelopment of large plots of government land, the scheme proposed acquisition of more than 42,000 square yards of privately owned land. In all, the intention was to make some 65,000 square yards of land available for residential construction. A total of 4,000 people were likely to be directly affected by the scheme. Although the owners of much of the existing property in the area were prosperous, a vast majority of the inhabitants were poor tenants: sweepers, barbers, *mochis* (shoe-smiths), *tongawalas* (horse carriage drivers), and *ghosis* (dairymen).

In contrast to the considerable amount of open space in the scheme, its new housing component was to include multistory blocks. In particular, eighteen blocks of modern buildings, shops and residences were to line the development frontage where it overlooked New Delhi along a mile-long green belt. This frontage was eventually designed as five- and three-story buildings, with the first floor containing large shops and showrooms, and the upper floors containing offices and flats. But in order that the DIT could maintain control over the type and use of such buildings, individual lots were developed on perpetual leases rather than as freehold.¹⁴

CUSTOMS AND COMMUNITIES

DIT housing schemes, such as those described above, were critical of existing traditional patterns in several respects. Most obviously, the planned developments offered a new model for the process of city development. Large capital investment, centralized decisions, and a single vision informed by experts and professionals replaced micro-investments, local control, and multiple competing visions. Furthermore, in a city where development had traditionally been piecemeal and incremental, the new projects involved construction all at once on large tracts of land to preconceived plans featuring lots of uniform size and wide, straight roads. Such designs

celebrated the virtues of homogeneity and efficiency. They also reinforced sharp divisions between public space and private property, in contrast to the old city, where custom and negotiation determined the ownership, usage and meaning of space.

The layout and design of the new DIT-sponsored housing was meant to provide the model for more sanitary and healthful spatial practices and life-styles. Officials even went so far as to promote the installation of Western-style toilets rather than the customary squatting-type. Density and building regulations that officials had unsuccessfully attempted to enforce in the old city could also now be accomplished in the new designs. In purporting to advance a model of living that was more healthful to the body, officials also attempted to instill spatial customs they hoped might improve the moral health of the citizens. Toward this end, clean streets and predictable homes helped police deviant behavior. And new norms of usage and activity in the public realm were more easily regulated in visually penetrable layouts.

Classification of activities and people was another critical component of the DIT designs. Although spatial segregation and sorting had been integral to the development of modern cities in Europe and North America, Delhi seemed to resist such neighborhood classification by income, religion, and social status until the time of World War II. Although the elite had moved out of the old city to the new Civil Lines area, the middle and lower classes seemed to coexist comfortably in the old city. But the new planned extensions would sort people by income, and express class differences through lot size, house size, and access to open space. In the extension projects, the location of housing, the sizes of lots, and the sizes of units would all correlate to real estate value. And each of these characteristics would signify a resident's relative position in the new social structure. Thus, wealthy neighborhoods such as those created by the Daryaganj project would feature large houses on sizable lots around parks, while the less fortunate would be shipped out to less desirable parts of the city and packed together in tidy rows of small units. The implicit goal of this effort was to replace inherited caste and community with income and class as identifiers of social position.

The new system of categorization was supported by the designation of areas within typical units as single-activity spaces, such as “kitchen” and “living room,” rather than allowing for the development of more traditional multipurpose interior spaces, as in the old city.¹⁵ Likewise, the new housing did not reflect such culturally significant and customary features of the old neighborhoods as transitions from public to private space and the segregation of men and women within the household.

Officials also emphasized visual harmony in the exterior composition of buildings. The DIT impressed from the beginning the necessity of imposing design controls in the interests of improving “standards of architecture in buildings.”¹⁶ Thus, in 1938 the trust set up a standing subcommittee to advise it on architectural questions and pass along recommended elevation types and standard plans prepared under the supervision of Western-trained architects. The trust exercised its design control either through provisions in land leases or through direct admin-

istration of building bye-laws. Such anxiety for visual conformity was yet another expression of the desire for social unity on the part of officials, who deemed it essential that residents subordinate their individual identities to the interest of civic good.

Finally, DIT's proposed new housing and neighborhood designs were premised on a particular functional interpretation of the home. The house was where a wage-earner retired with his family after a day's labor. Official concern for the residential life of the ordinary citizen, and the attendant effort to reform people by controlling home life, had appeared in Delhi by the turn of the century. Municipal records reveal that by the early decades of the twentieth century the provision of quarters for municipal workers had become a significant issue. However, in old Delhi, unsupervised, small-scale, home-based manufacturing and cottage industries were typical among lower-income families. Women and older children were active participants in such income-producing activities. Despite this, standard designs for the new poor-class housing in the DIT-sponsored extensions excluded the space necessary for such production. And although some designs were meant to be large enough to accommodate joint families, they did not account for the possibility of extended families living in proximity to each other across several sets of apartments. Official preoccupation with orderly layouts and orthogonal lines assumed a household's allegiance to class-based neighborhoods and a civic community rather than real social and economic networks.

In actuality, DIT's vision for new housing in the planned extensions was rarely achieved. The schemes were premised on the vision of a benevolent government providing a grateful and passive populace with what they could not provide for themselves. Yet, for their part, the citizens were distrustful of the colonial state's commitment to their varied individual interests. And social and political complexities muddied the waters further: citizens who were also officials acted according to split loyalties; colonial agents acted as speculators; and, above all, the colonial government, which presented itself as paternal and protective, was consumed by a desire to maximize profits as it went about developing its valuable real estate holdings.

"INFORMALIZING" THE "FORMAL": SPECULATION, PROFIT, AND THE PLANNED EXTENSIONS

The DIT schemes were undertaken largely on government property or on lands the trust acquired from private property owners. This included lands the colonial government had appropriated from the Mughal king, or which it had acquired after 1911 in connection with the new capital project. The DIT's mandate was to defray the heavy expense of laying out the extensions by generating development profits.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that within six months of initiating its program, both residents and officials of the old city disparaged the DIT's work. The chief criticism was that the DIT only took up extension schemes that were self-supporting or that were likely to yield a good margin of profit. Nothing was done in

reality, commentators observed, to remove slums from inside the city.¹⁷ Furthermore, since the DIT finances were not under city control, critics argued that its projects were designed only to bring profit to the imperial government. Even when the DIT undertook slum clearance, critics accused it of proceeding incorrectly. The DIT first dispossessed poor slum dwellers before it even acquired a property. Only after it had acquired, improved, and sold a property at a considerable profit did it take up the task of rehousing those it had originally displaced. As a consequence, the poor were pushed to the outskirts of the new developments (or forced to huddle together in slums) with no alternative accommodation, let alone continued access to former economic and social networks.

As an arm of the imperial government, the DIT also acted to protect colonial interests by retaining proprietary title to lands through long-term leases, and selling few lots outright. Not surprisingly, municipal officials found the DIT culpable of profiteering. Each year the DIT expenditures were considerably less than the income it earned.¹⁸ Meanwhile, expenditure on rehousing schemes was exactly equivalent to receipts, most of which came in the form of government loans and subsidies. This meant that the surplus income earned by the trust's real estate activities was never put back into housing. Rather, the rehousing account was entirely separate.

Like other city improvement trusts, the DIT assumed slum clearance as one of its main responsibilities. But contrary to rhetoric, it attempted to profit from this activity. The owners of slum sites were thus to be paid a minimum compensation, inhabitants were to be given building sites elsewhere, and the slum land was to be improved and provided with all essential services before being leased long-term to other tenants or sold at a public auction. In the process, a slum would be removed, a new sanitary colony would be established, and the DIT would gain a considerable sum of money.

Such a speculative pattern of activity was not limited to the DIT, however. Private enterprise flourished around the margins of DIT schemes in ways the DIT had never anticipated. One reason was the DIT's programs embodied the contradictory goals of stimulating private capital while attempting to control it. On the one hand, the DIT maintained a clearly stated policy of encouraging private development. This involved expediting the extension schemes and providing facilities to speculators to develop land outside the city.¹⁹ On the other hand, when an improvement scheme was still at a conceptual stage, the DIT usually issued a legal notification under the Land Acquisition Act which was intended to fix land prices and prevent speculation before the scheme could be realized. Officials feared that without such a notification, speculators would endeavor to take advantage of extension schemes the government proposed to undertake itself.

Yet, despite the apparent secrecy of the improvement proposals, Delhi's real estate investors learned of proposed projects when they were in the earliest stages of discussion, and speculation drove up land prices even before notification could go into effect. For instance, even as the government was appointing a commission to look into the problem of congestion, speculators began to invest in properties to the west of the walled city. Some developers were sub-

sequently able to sell land west of the walled city near the Grand Trunk Road for almost three times the prevailing prices. Landowners and developers were clearly aware of the possibilities of making a fortune by using the proposed improvements to their benefit.

Uncontrolled speculation by private developers eventually made the land too expensive for the government to acquire for improvement purposes, thereby complicating its efforts. Furthermore, the developments that mushroomed without supervision resulted in precisely the kind of haphazard growth that city officials wanted to check. Hume noted with frustration that the effect of such bullish investment sentiment was not only to make the cost of acquiring land for housing projects prohibitive, but also to create numerous unplanned, illegal and speculative developments.²⁰

For their part, city residents displayed their disregard for and disagreement with the goals of the DIT projects in a number of ways: in their lack of cooperation in forfeiting private land for trust schemes; in their reluctance to inhabit the projects; in persistent land speculation; and through formal protests. Thus, despite the number of government-sponsored schemes, only 242 houses had been completed by 1941, and only 104 of these had been occupied!

Generally speaking, wherever large-scale land acquisition was involved, a majority of property owners disagreed with the amount of compensation they were offered, and appealed to a tribunal set up by the DIT. For instance, in the Roshanara Extension project, of the 23 owners from whom land was acquired by compulsion, 21 appealed to the tribunal, obliging the DIT to negotiate with them over compensation.²¹ In other cases, the DIT was forced to exempt certain properties from acquisition. Although the owners of such properties were obliged to pay the DIT a substantial sum (equivalent to the estimated value of the land after redevelopment), many property owners preferred to make such payments if it meant they could remain in their old locations. The response of the citizenry was clear: people were unwilling to allow the trust to acquire their properties to “improve” the city, because they did not see how their own living conditions would be improved by accepting compensation and moving elsewhere. While this is considered a truism in urban redevelopment today, the modernist planning principles behind the DIT program embodied the view that disparate locations could be considered equivalent. The DIT officials naively attempted to separate “housing” from location, social network, and economic production.

Contrary to expectations, the extension areas were also never developed as spillover spaces for people from the congested old city. Rather, due to the immigration of entrepreneurs and workers to Delhi in response to the general expansion of the local economy, totally new categories of people came to occupy the housing outside the walled city. British occupation, official support of the mercantile classes, and the decline of the old nobility had already begun to undermine the established social hierarchy of Delhi in the nineteenth century. Construction of the new capital after 1911 magnified this phenomenon. Although the design of the new capital city included residential areas for bureaucrats and others in the immediate service of the colonial state, a vast number of other, less visible people could not be accommodated either in the old city or the new one. This included laborers and

menial workers employed in the construction of the new capital. And it included petty entrepreneurs, workers, and common people who migrated from across northern India, enticed by the opportunities of a fast-growing city. This motley group was forced to squeeze into the old city or its already-overcrowded suburbs.

The unruliness building in the old city, therefore, can be seen as a response to the displacement brought about by sudden growth and a transformed social order. In their disobedience, residents protested interventions into their living environments by a government that did not reflect their customs or their voices. From this perspective, growth in the old city was not haphazard, but proceeded according to a different set of rules, as property owners acted in an entrepreneurial, not an irresponsible, manner.

By contrast, the planned extensions preached a new way of living and building that was more in keeping with the grand design of the new capital. Although the magnificence of the tree-lined boulevards and vast bungalows of New Delhi was not meant for ordinary folk, the controlled and predictable spaces of the new housing estates still implied that customary ways of building and occupying urban space were deviant. In particular, hawking, street activity, and the multiple use of interior space were all errant behaviors. From the perspective of the authorities, the old city was diseased fabric that might spread its contagion to neighboring areas.

Ultimately, however, the new planned extensions only spelled the hope of a government in crisis. By the 1930s the imperial government was finding it hard to sustain its colony in India. Their hope was not only that the predictable and well-defined use of land and space in the extension areas would bring much needed income, but that it would produce subjects to help realize the dream expressed by the new capital. Dissent and insurrection were brewing everywhere across the subcontinent, but the new neighborhoods would be inhabited by “morally upright,” healthy, orderly, obedient people who would owe their loyalty to the colonial state rather than to extended family or community. Seen from this perspective, the new planned extensions were the mediating ground between the rebellious and unknowable old city, and the elegant but incomplete authority of New Delhi.

A LESSON FOR THE PRESENT DAY

Delhi was a city that nineteenth-century Western travelers perceived and represented as the very picture of the Orient. However, the British in the early twentieth century were driven to identify with the ideals of a high modernism that rejected such traditional ways of living. Beyond physical structures, the DIT schemes therefore sought to impose a new and different way of living and building on a people who had always built for themselves.

Official disdain for indigenous housing included a disregard for the processes of urban development. But the culture of a time and place had resulted in a particular form and process of building. And even with the displacement caused by modernization and colonization, the context could not be wished away: one way of living could not simply be exchanged for another. Furthermore,

the seemingly monolithic identities of state and citizen were rife with paradox and contradiction. The result was an incomplete and fragmented landscape of new development. At once modern and traditional, designed and spontaneous, professionally planned and politically negotiated, regulated and appropriated, developed by the state and driven by speculation, it reconciled the idealized world of the imperial capital with the everyday reality of the old city. Where they did develop, the tidy rows of houses were personalized and added onto in ways that obscured both the original grand design and the chaotic and informal processes that had led to their creation. Such housing was neither as imposed and authoritarian as the capital complex, nor as incremental, spontaneous and particular as the neighborhoods of Old Delhi.

This case example from history brings into focus the persistent duality inherent in the official ordering of state-sponsored housing, which often treats the vernacular as the cherished picturesque while expecting fast-growing metropolitan areas to conform to universal standards. Equally evident is the dominance of political economy in the provision of housing: a reality that overshadows the best of stated intentions. As cities all over the non-Western world routinely struggle to impose urban development schemes that represent modern aspirations, the experience of the DIT half a century ago should provide a warning that even in the most extreme milieu of power, government planners may not be able to disregard or displace customary ways of living and building.

REFERENCE NOTES

The author thanks the anonymous reviewers for their feedback, as well as Dell Upton, Thomas Metcalf, and Nezar AlSayyad for their comments on an early version of this paper. The initial research was made possible by a grant from the American Institute of Indian Studies, Chicago.

1. For a detailed discussion, see J. Hosagrahar, *Design, Domination, and Defiance: Negotiating Urbanism in Old Delhi, 1857-1910*, unpublished diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1997.
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5. *Report on the Administration of the Delhi Municipality for the year 1929-30*, Vol.I, General Administration (Delhi: Municipal Press, 1930), p.6.
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8. *Final Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee*, 1913, p.5.
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10. A.P. Hume, *Report on the Relief of Congestion in Delhi*, Vols.I & II (Simla: Government of India Press, 1936), p.113.
11. Dr. K.S. Sethna as Medical Officer of Health of Delhi published a report included in the year's *Annual Report on the Administration of Delhi Municipality*, 1934.
12. Hume, *Report on the Relief of Congestion in Delhi*.
13. *Report on the Administration of the Delhi Municipality for the year 1936-37*, Vol.I, General Administration (Delhi: Municipal Press, 1937).
14. Delhi Improvement Trust, *Administration Report of the Delhi Improvement Trust for the years, 1950-51* (New Delhi: Author, 1952).
15. Prior to the commencement of construction, the DIT required lessees and anyone wishing to erect a building to give notice to the lands officer of the trust. Potential builders also had to submit a detailed site plan, floor plans, elevations, and sections of proposed structures at a specified scale, and demonstrate its conformance with all trust bye-laws, including those for drainage. Plans for a residential building were further required to define the function of every room — e.g., as kitchen, bathroom, corridor, staircase, courtyard, etc. In addition, bye-laws prescribed front and rear setbacks for access to light and air for every building.

Thus, no buildings were to be erected within 15 feet of the center line of any street as determined by the trust, and every building not fronting a street was to have a permanent 15-foot-wide air space as part of the building. Similarly, a 10-foot air space was deemed essential at the rear of the building, and any habitable room that did not receive light and air from the front or back of a building was to have one side abutting a permanent courtyard. The trust even retained the authority to decide the kind of latrine that was to be constructed (i.e., water-borne or dry; Indian-style or Western).

16. *Report of the First Three Year Programme of the Delhi Improvement Trust*, 1939, p.32.
17. *Report on the Administration of the Delhi Municipality for the year 1936-37*, 1937.
18. For instance, The total amount that the DIT expended in 1939-40 was Rs.60,897, a mere 2 percent of the annual income of Rs.32,20,014. In 1940-41 the Trust expended Rs.9,34,871, or 79 percent of an income of Rs.11,76,473. *Administration Report of the D.I.T. for the years 1939-1941*, 1942, Annexure V.
19. Letter #30-M from A.P. Hume, Officer on Special Duty attached to the Delhi Administration, New Delhi, March 14, 1936, Chief Commissioner's Office, Delhi, *New File #122/B/1935*.
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21. *Report of the First Three Year Programme of the Delhi Improvement Trust*, 1939, p.25, also Annexure VIII.



Field Report

Bosnian Dwelling Tradition: Continuity and Transformation in the Reconstruction of Sarajevo

MARINA PECAR

This article discusses the characteristics of and potential for preserving the dwelling tradition of the city of Sarajevo in the context of changing historical conditions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the housing shortage caused by recent war devastation. Originally developed according to Ottoman vernacular design principles, many of the traditional neighborhoods of Sarajevo have been transformed or devastated over time. However, a few surviving traditional dwellings maintain their character and integrity as educationally significant examples capable of informing contemporary architectural responses to the current challenge of urban and neighborhood rehabilitation.

The city of Sarajevo has evolved over many centuries into a major multicultural center in the Balkan region of southeastern Europe. Growing from ancient origins, it developed the vibrancy of a Middle Eastern city but was also enriched by an ongoing process of intercultural dialogue between old-world civilizations and neighboring European cultures. Over half a millennium, while involved in this process of transformation and identity struggle, the city has also experienced recurring episodes of devastation and rebirth.

Archeological findings reveal that the area of today's Sarajevo was first settled in the Neolithic era. Later, a Roman settlement evolved, which was gradually replaced by a medieval parish. After 1462, as a town called Bosna-saraj, the city began to develop its present-day urban form as the westernmost center of the Ottoman Empire, gradually incorporating the medieval Vrhbosna parish and several other settlements in the valley of the Miljacka River. Its location was favorably positioned near the source of the Bosna River, at the foot of Mt. Trebevic, and at

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FIGURE 1. View of the marketplace (charshiya).

the crossing of major roads linking the city with the Middle East, the Orient, and other regions of the Balkans and Europe. With the main road extending east-west along the Miljacka River, the new business center, or *charshiya*, developed in the core of the emerging town (FIG.1). The valley slopes that surrounded this core were gradually occupied by residential neighborhoods developed according to Ottoman town-building traditions.

The characteristic qualities of Sarajevo, including its spiritual life and cultural diversity, subsequently evolved through a symbiotic mingling of different forms of heritage, brought about by the juxtaposition of four dominant confessional communities: Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish. In particular, a harmonious ambiance formed over time according to the Ottoman state policy of fostering the assimilation of native cultures by avoiding the use of force. Each confessional community was allowed to maintain its religious and national particularities, including the continuous use of native script and language.¹

Under Ottoman rule large numbers of local Christians gradually withdrew into nearby mountainous regions. Fragments of their rural settlements are still recognizable today in a few remote localities in the Dinaric Mountains. An authentic dwelling form, called the Dinaric house, developed in such communities, built of logs, covered with a pitched shingle roof, and enclosing a single interior space with a hearth at its center. However, in the lower regions along the rivers, suitable straight timber was scarce, and houses were predominantly built from wooden frames, filled in with wicker work, and then sheathed or plastered. Dwellings such as these, which typified residential construction in market towns such as Sarajevo, followed imported Ottoman dwelling and neighborhood traditions which provided for a variety of experiences within a series of multifunctional interior and exterior spaces. Individual houses were generally built as two-story,

walled-in family dwellings. And, always considering a family's right to private, unobstructed vistas, individual dwellings faced toward the *charshiya*, the city market district and focal point of daily activity. Such "human scale" houses, located amid private gardens and courts, lined a dynamic public realm of meandering streets that led to the town business center. According to Dusan Grabrijan: "As soon as some 40 or 50 houses and a mosque were erected along the road, the settlement became a *mahala* whereupon a fountain, school, coffeehouse, bakery, and green grocery were built around a square or market-place" (FIG.2).²

By the 1600s there were more than 90 Muslim *mahala* neighborhoods in Sarajevo, in addition to two Christian dis-



FIGURE 2. The street from traditional mahala neighborhood.

tricts (Orthodox “Varos” and Catholic “Latinluk”) and one Sephardic Jewish religious community. In most of these neighborhoods, Muslim and non-Muslim, dwellings were generally alike, consisting of two-story courtyard houses. Overall, they represented a variation of an Ottoman dwelling type also commonly found in the mountain towns of northern Greece, Macedonia, and Bulgaria.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

Following the Austro-Hungarian victory in Bosnia in 1878 over the Ottoman Empire, the city of Sarajevo underwent a period of rapid transformation and growth, becoming “a part of Central European civilization circle.”³ In the next several decades the influence of Secession, Art Deco, and early Modern Movement design left a strong mark on the architecture of both public buildings and housing forms at a variety of scales. A so-called Pseudo-Moorish style was also officially encouraged, which was mainly evident in the application of decorative motifs. Then later, at the turn of the century, an original Bosnian style evolved, as local designers tried to draw from the traditional building heritage. These latter efforts, in particular, clearly manifested an emerging desire to promote a national identity by maintaining continuity in the development of a regional architecture. However, the early 1930s were marked by a return to predominantly Central European influences. In addition to the influence of Le Corbusier’s design ideas, this was most obvious in the application of the design philosophy of the Bauhaus and the School of Architecture in Prague, where several generations of local architects were educated (FIG. 3).

With the emergence of the Yugoslavian federation in 1945 a new socialist approach to planning and design was introduced, and extensive new housing construction was initiated in Sarajevo. This effort ultimately led to the rapid expansion of the city to the west, giving it its present longitudinal spatial structure. Under the socialist government, professional guidance was sought for



FIGURE 3. European modern influences in urban housing design.



FIGURE 4. Recently built infill housing development located in a traditional neighborhood.

the design of apartment buildings and large-scale social-housing developments, as well as the revitalization of public and commercial buildings within older districts of the town. But single-family dwellings continued to be renovated and built during this period without professional input as unplanned, substandard suburban settlements through uncontrolled illegal construction.⁴

The decades leading up to the recent Bosnian War saw a further burst of construction activity, as local designers attempted to participate in progressive design movements at the international level. Mainly following developments elsewhere in Central and Western Europe during the 1980s, Bosnian architects were determined to achieve a competitive, quality architectural production, based upon concerns for siting, the structuring of architectural form and volume, external finishes, and contemporary architectural design expression which was responsive to the existing urban fabric and cultural patterns (FIG. 4).⁵

CURRENT CITY RECONSTRUCTION CHALLENGES

Catastrophic events such as natural disasters or political conflicts may have profound impacts on physical environments, as well as on the psychological well-being and social cohesiveness of a community. In the wake of the recent Bosnian war, and the physical destruction and massive population displacement that accompanied it, homelessness and post-traumatic stress syndrome are major problems today in Sarajevo. The experiences of war and displacement have affected both residents of the city, who have witnessed its destruction, and refugees from other more rural areas of Bosnia (and now Kosovo) who have been forced to move to the city. Many others who fled the city during the war are also now returning to find that it is impossible to recover their former lives.

As serious as these effects of the war may be, they are by no means unprecedented. And worldwide, in response to such physical and humanitarian crises, a standard package of post-

disaster/postwar reconstruction services has emerged. This consists of an externally funded and directed process of short-term aid, including international emergency care and maintenance projects. Such relief strategies, however, often lead to the development of a sense of dependency and disempowerment on the part of local people. Recently, however, in an exploratory paper focusing on the process of reconstruction in post-Yugoslavia, Roger Zetter proposed that the new concepts of “disaster as development” and “refugees as resources” become the basis for a new approach to planning and reconstruction in the region. Among other things, Zetter challenged the conventional humanitarian-response model, and instead advocated the direction of relief programs to long-term developmental objectives. This would include “deploying housing/shelter and refugees as key resources in a developmental framework which links macro-economic opportunities to micro-level enablements and the management and planning of physical environment.”⁶

In order to examine the relevance and potential of this long-term development approach to planning and reconstruction after a disaster, I will here focus on the possibilities for creating such conditions in Sarajevo while at the same time attempting to preserve the continuity of the city’s dwelling traditions. In particular, I examine the potential to rediscover the cultural and qualitative aspects of traditional house designs in Sarajevo as a way to generate integrative postdisaster housing-design methodologies. The investigation is based on interpretation of the key design parameters of this authentic local dwelling form in its urban context. Such an effort may provide a framework for developing contemporary design guidelines for neighborhood rehabilitation and future transformation by means of sensitive infill, responsive expansion, and the creation of a variety of quality new housing opportunities.

ROLE OF TRADITION IN BOSNIAN CONTEMPORARY HOUSING

The recurring desire among planners to recreate traditional small-town neighborhoods while re-establishing a sense of community may constitute an almost universal human pursuit. As such, it may be based on the perception that improved dwelling conditions may emerge from a reinterpretation of the models of the past in search of “timeless” building principles. Such a desire seems stronger than the equally legitimate concern of not living up to the challenge of new communities, and potentially repeating “old mistakes.”

According to the traditionalist view, common underlying planning and design principles that have evolved over a long period of time have created a variety of successful traditional housing examples. In Sarajevo these may still hold potential for infusing contemporary housing-design efforts with a culturally responsive structure. However, the issues, principles, and evaluation criteria used to define such a culturally responsive design and planning program ought also to reflect

contemporary international trends and approaches.⁷ Current local rebuilding efforts — their particularities, values, advantages, and potential difficulty in maintaining continuity with the city’s identity — should also be taken into consideration.

Throughout the second half of this millennium, housing traditions in Sarajevo have maintained a continuing identity and provided a continuous underlying spatial and cultural structure. The unique character of this dwelling form, introduced into the wider Balkan region during the rule of the Ottoman Empire by native Bosnian *dundjer* and highly skilled builders from northern Greece, has attracted various local and international research efforts, resulting in speculative discussions and interpretive studies. The key issues proposed in these works include consideration of origins; design and building process; scale and layout; dwelling experience; articulation of central qualities; and potential for their application in contemporary housing design.⁸

In order to understand the design principles that influenced the sense of continuity and dwelling experience within a traditional *mahala* neighborhood and house form, I will next discuss the characteristic features found in the few remaining unaltered family houses from the Ottoman historic period (FIG.5). In particular, I will observe how these characteristics relate to the “eight central qualities” of the Greek Ottoman house introduced by Walkey.⁹ In addition, I will discuss the relevance of these principles to the modern and contemporary dwelling culture by assessing the potential for their reintegration in housing design.¹⁰ In conclusion, I will relate these design issues, in the context of recent housing-design achievements in Sarajevo, to the theory of long-term postwar development proposed by Zetter.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL DWELLING

The features found in traditional Sarajevo houses and neighborhoods represent a variation of the common-sense characteristics as well as particular qualities evident in the form of



FIGURE 5. Hadzisabanovic family residence, built in the 1700s: view of the surrounding wall with the main gate leading into the entry courtyard (avliya).

the Ottoman house from the mountainous region of northern Greece. As already mentioned, such vernacular houses are introverted dwellings, placed within a garden/courtyard surrounded by fortified walls, lining private streets of distinct residential neighborhoods. Public life in such neighborhoods was centered around a square with a church or a mosque. Together with the main market and shopping streets, such squares represented the main places of cultural interaction in the city.

In formal terms, both large and small houses exhibited similar qualities and construction, containing household and production facilities and communicating family social status and identity. According to Walkey, the evolution of such dwelling forms in the Balkan region also indicated a high level of construction quality and characteristic design and building methods that was typical of designer-builders descended from guild builders of medieval Byzantium. Such designer-builders based their ideas for the design of a new dwelling of any size on a nonverbal collective sense of an iconic house. In Walkey's interpretation, the eight central qualities of this iconic design for a northern Greek Ottoman house were the following: 1) the seasonal house; 2) strong back-open front; 3) mass and fine detail; 4) ascending lightness; 5) the floating roof; 6) the balanced center; 7) the struggle to square; and 8) the special room.

By focusing on consistencies among Walkey's eight central qualities, and by analyzing how Sarajevo traditional neighborhoods focused on "human scale" and "the right to unobstructed views," as described in Grabrijan and Vogt, I have identified six design themes that are characteristic of dwelling form and use, spatial and visual experience, and the urban and neighborhood context in Sarajevo:

1. House spaces, forms, and elements are composed in accordance to "human scale."
2. Protected ground-floor areas contain winter living quarters, an entry courtyard, and work spaces.
3. Lightweight, projecting second-story spaces contain main living and sleeping quarters.
4. Screened-in elevated porches and verandahs are used as summer-time living quarters.
5. Elevated windows and porches provide "unobstructed views" to the street and community.
6. Transitional spaces create a layered spatial extension from the interior dwelling space to the outside.

By describing and illustrating these themes using the example of the traditional *mahala* dwelling, it is possible to articulate the key characteristics and relationships that could provide a direction for the development of design guidelines for contemporary and future housing in Sarajevo.

In the *mahala* traditional house, interior spaces were composed as a sequence of linked, alternating transitional and stationary spaces. Thus, a streetfront gate acted as a threshold, first leading into a large entry court (*avliya*) with a walled-in garden containing running water. The rest of the



FIGURE 6. View of *avliya* with the formal entry

ground-floor level accommodated the winter living quarters with the kitchen, pantry, and dining space (*halvat*).

In traditional Muslim family houses dwelling areas were then further separated into male and female living quarters, consisting of a series of rooms that could be altered to accommodate a variety of daily activities. Each of these intimate rooms contained a private shower bath, which was integrated into a characteristic built-in linen storage cabinet, developed into a rather sophisticated wooden partition system (*musandera*). This convenient lightweight partition evolved from the requirement, related to the Islamic religion, of providing a private space for ritual ablution before prayer, which took place several times a day. Common hygiene habits, as well as the attitude toward nature in general, were thus integrated into the spatial structure of the dwelling as a manifestation of family spiritual life. However, non-Muslim family houses often utilized this feature also (FIG.6).

In addition to sleeping quarters for family members, the upstairs of the traditional *mahala* dwelling also contained a large formal reception room (*cardak*) and a series of open-air porches. These upper-story porches and verandahs were used as major living spaces during warmer months. They contained elevated seating areas (*doksati*), often including a built-in bench (*sechiya*) similar to the interior built-in variation. These open-air seating areas were roofed and screened in by thin wooden bars (*mushebak*). Since they projected over the ground-level courtyards and entry facade, they allowed inhabitants to be physically removed, and yet able to observe and hear, and thus participate in the neighborhood and street life. The long windows of rooms placed along the outer walls were complemented by the built-in interior seating (*divhana*), and represented a design strategy that integrated interior space with surrounding exterior space. These features, in their close relation to the adjacent upper-level outdoor spaces, allowed for unobstructed views to the outside, as well as for the prolonged presence of natural light inside. Both these features had a substantial impact on the experience of reciprocity between interior and exterior space (FIG.7).



FIGURE 7. Main room (halvat), with built-in seating and storage partitions.

The six design themes I have identified may be traced to and identified in the so-called Bosnian-style house of the turn of the century. They may also be found in examples of residential developments designed in recent decades. The characteristic design elements found in these examples include mostly formal and functional elements, and not necessarily interior spatial features. These elements include the use of deeper roof eaves and projected upper-story windows and porches (FIG.8).

HOUSING DESIGN AND NEIGHBORHOOD REDEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Evidence that design principles and features characteristic to traditional Sarajevo neighborhoods have been periodically reintegrated by city architects and city planners indicates a sustained level of interest in preserving the continuity of this particular urban housing tradition. Such principles ought to be once again considered as part of the process of fostering local professional and public input into the planning, design and construction of new housing, and the devising of long-term development strategies and official housing policies to solve the city's current housing shortage.

As mentioned above, Zetter's challenge to the conventional humanitarian-response model of postdisaster planning and reconstruction identifies a need to develop strategies for redirecting relief programs to long-term developmental objectives. This suggests establishing a process that would utilize input from local professionals and the public (including war refugees newly arrived in the city) as a key resource. In other words, by being afforded appropriate venues for communication and participation, the actual population in need of shelter should be able to contribute to the process of creating their own future housing. Such a strategy of incorporating group and individual citizens' input would potentially facilitate the process of enabling these people, through the development of their skills and competencies, to become the future managers and planners of their shared physical environment.

According to Zetter, the transition from emergency aid to developmental planning needs to be facilitated by the implementation of a coordinated spatial planning framework. This might reinforce the long-term perspective, integrating both refugee assistance and the host country's (in this case the host city's) development objectives:

- To maximize the long-term benefits of a "developmental strategy."
- To coordinate and deliver a shelter program.
- To ensure that due weight is given to environmental considerations and sustainability.
- To provide efficient patterns of land use and settlement distribution.
- To achieve productive coordination between development investment and project design.
- To help achieve social integration and economic revitalization policy objectives.

Crucial steps in this process include using existing local planning capacities, engaging local professional capabilities and institutional structures, and accommodating a reorientation toward innovative planning methodologies and interventions at the local and regional levels. Such a postwar rebuilding and housing rehabilitation process should also include support for self-help shelter mechanisms which might build on the capacities and skills of war refugees themselves and so bring cultural and social benefits. In Zetter's words, "Fuller participation in physical rebuilding or new construction may facilitate community rebuilding process and, by encouraging coping mechanisms, may enhance the potential for self sufficiency and refugee empowerment."¹¹

Implementation of such a process of participatory self-help and shelter production and enablement will require the use of locally manufactured building materials and components as well as the provision of sufficient building tools, machinery and equipment. To apply and further expand the



FIGURE 8. Elevated open-air porch (doksat), with mushebak screens.

ideas proposed by Zetter, I suggest that housing design and planning guidance in Sarajevo be provided jointly by the government housing department and local architectural design professionals — with potential assistance from the faculty and students of design programs of Sarajevo University. Such a participatory process would also benefit from professional assistance in establishing construction procedures, in recommending a variety of finish materials and architectural details, and in ensuring the production of a reasonable variety of plan sizes and layouts.

The development and design approach to the postwar rebuilding introduced above, including the interpretation of the traditional urban context as a means of establishing key design parameters, may provide a framework for developing design guidelines for neighborhood rehabilitation and future transformation of devastated neighborhoods through sensitive infill, responsive expansion of existing buildings, and the creation of a variety of new contemporary dwellings.

At this time the leading issues in the process of selection/creation of an optimal planning approach, appropriate design and building strategies, and a reasonable postwar rebuilding timeline have yet to be discussed by all groups potentially effected by these changes. According to the diverse views of the participants in the process, the proposed strategies may be perceived as attractive and desirable by some, and inadequate or inappropriate by others.

This situation, in the context of extreme complexity of the socioeconomic and cultural-political issues involved, will no doubt demand careful and gradual consideration and the substantial support of the Bosnian national government, the Sarajevo city government, and citizens. Only then will the quality professional guidance and the assistance currently provided by the local and international community be capable of providing the meaningful, sustainable, and timely response to the growing housing needs in Sarajevo of both displaced local people and incoming refugees.

REFERENCE NOTES

An earlier version of this text was presented by the author at the XXVII IAHS World Housing Congress in San Francisco, June 1-7, 1999, as a research paper entitled “The Role of Culture and Tradition in the Development of Contemporary Housing: The Bosnian Oriental House in Sarajevo.”

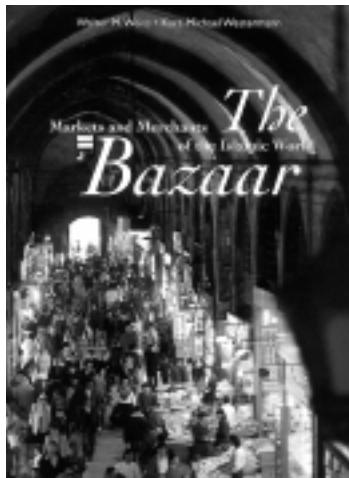
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 8. R. Walkey, “A Lesson in Continuity: The legacy of the Builders’ Guild in Northern Greece,” in D. Seamon, ed., *Dwelling, Seeing and Designing: Toward a Phenomenological Ecology* (SUNY series of Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology) (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993).
 9. In a way similar to the origins of the eight central qualities articulated by Walkey, Le Corbusier’s “five points” were also derived from the design principles found in traditional Turkish house examples, which he encountered during his trips to the

Orient after 1911. These principles represent five pairs of contrasts between the common European masonry house and this type of lightweight dwelling from the Balkans: 1) the “house on pilotis,” lifted above ground; 2) the “roof garden,” an outdoor space above the dwelling’s interior; 3) the “free ground plan,” liberated due to the absence of solid load-bearing walls; 4) the “long window,” providing unobstructed, wide views to the outside; and 5) the “curtain wall,” allowing for an extension of the interior space to the outside. For a detailed discussion of these issues, see A.M. Vogt, *Le Corbusier, the Noble Savage: Toward an Archaeology of Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), p.31.
 10. J. Neidhardt, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Toward Modernity* (Sarajevo: Drzavna Zalozba Slovenije, 1957).
 11. Zetter, “From Relief to Reconstruction,” p.11.

(All photos by author.)

Book Reviews



The Bazaar: Markets and Merchants of the Islamic World. Walter M. Weiss and Kurt-Michael Westermann. Thames and Hudson, London and New York, 1998.

This book will allow readers to experience the Islamic bazaar without having to penetrate the *casbahs* of the old cities of North Africa and Muslim Asia. The writing by Walter Weiss and the superbly rich and captivating photographs by Kurt-Michael Westermann create a vivid record of the activities of *suwwaqa*, or “market people,” such that readers will almost be able to smell the fragrance of spices, hear the sound of brass being hammered, and feel the rumble of the crowds. The premise of this book is that the bazaar, more than any other institution, embodies the inherent character of urban life within the Islamic city, and that it provides a focal point for understanding Islamic history and culture. The bazaar also provides a glimpse of an earlier way of life, once centered on traditional crafts and modes of exchange that came into existence long before mass marketing and department stores.

The book essentially comprises four sections. The first discusses the history and importance of trade in Islamic civilizations, providing an outline of historical events and trading routes and methods in North Africa and the greater Middle East. The second describes general aspects of Islamic society and culture, specifically as they form an integral part of the economic and social activities associated with the bazaar. Both these initial sections provide only broad renditions of Islamic history and culture, covering diverse geographical areas and historical periods — from Morocco to Central Asia, and from the time of the Prophet to the present. Such a basic level of understanding of Islamic society, culture and customs may be disappointing for the scholar. Yet of particular value for the general reader may be Weiss’ attempts to go beyond popular, often misconceived, explanations of Islamic customs, and explore the deeper meaning and motivations behind certain traditions, such as the social significance of bargaining and misconceptions of “Oriental fatalism” and women’s dress codes.

The third section of the book begins with a detailed and picturesque tour of the many traditional crafts and economic activities that comprise the Islamic bazaar. The book concludes with a discussion of specific bazaars in famous Muslim cities, exploring their long histories and current state of affairs, and including layout plans (should you find yourself lost in their tangled maze of streets).

The weakness of this work may be its failure to address more scholarly issues related to the bazaar, one of the most important institutions of the traditional Islamic city. Also its generalizing of phenomena across the Islamic world tends to reduce all Islamic societies to a single way of acting, which does not adequately account for variation and differences. Likewise, leaping from century to century to highlight traditional aspects of Islamic culture often neglects aspects of change and development within Islamic societies — although, to the author’s credit, such changes are often addressed in relation to specific

industries within the bazaar. As well, the architectural historian is left yearning for more specific diagrams and pictures to document the historic structures in the bazaars themselves. But it needs to be remembered that the focus of this work is less on the physical form of the bazaar itself, than on the people and activities which bring this institution to life. In that sense the general reader, and possibly the scholar too, can overlook these shortcomings for such an insightful look into a fascinating and otherwise inaccessible world. ■

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A History of Architectural Conservation. Jukka Jokilehto.

Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford, 1999. 353 pp.

In addition to being comprehensive and excellently produced and illustrated, this is a very timely book. Being published at the end of the twentieth century, it represents a summation of an era in building conservation. According to Jukka Jokilehto, “one can well ask if the conservation movement, as it evolved from the eighteenth century, cannot be considered concluded, and whether modern conservation should not be redefined in reference to the environmental sustainability of social and economic development within the overall cultural and ecological situation on earth.” Over the course of the book, it becomes clear that Jokilehto is right: the time of the old order is well and truly over.

Jokilehto is Assistant to the Director General of ICCROM, and his views on the future of conservation are only a small part of this work. The book first provides a competent history of the restoration of buildings from antiquity to the present day through a series of chapters entitled “Rediscovery of Antiquities,” “The Age of Enlightenment,” “Classical Monuments,” and “The Age of Romanticism.” It then progresses to consideration of “Stylistic Restoration,” “Conservation,” and “Theories and Concepts.” It concludes with a treatment of “International Influences and Collaboration” and “Definitions and Trends.”

The initial historical chapters document how the Renaissance was crucial to awakening architectural interest in the Classical period. They also show how the eighteenth century was probably most important to the foundation of the modern conservation movement. With its notion of a “grand tour” and its Neoclassical revival, this era was dominated by a fashion for things Classical — be it sculpture, art or architecture — and such interest encouraged the conservation of Classical remnants and the imitation of Classical styles. Unfortunately, limits on the already-large scope of Jokilehto’s book preclude much exploration of the underlying reasons for this explosion of interest in the Classics. There is no real discussion, for instance, of the significance of the industrial revolution. Readers are, however, treated to such insights as “There emerged a new, critical appreciation of antiquity, emphasizing the importance of antique sculptures as the highest achievement in the history of art, and urging the conservation of originals for both their artistic value, and as ‘lessons’ for

contemporary artists.” Such language seems to imply that “antique” means “Classical.” And the tenor of the book is likewise dominated by references to European monuments. Does this mean that such institutions as ICOMOS, to which the author repeatedly mentions his connection, are similarly dismissive of activities in Asia, the Far East, and the Americas?

The book contains interesting short biographical notes on key people, societies, and institutions who have proven influential in the growth of the building-conservation movement. People include Abbé Henri Gregoire (1750-1831), Bishop of Blois, who first drew attention to the educational purpose of the conservation of cultural heritage. Gregoire introduced public legislation for the imprisonment of people who damaged or destroyed “the monuments of art and science” in France. Another important historical figure was Antonio Canova, a sculptor and (until his death in 1822) an inspector, then President, of the Accademia di San Luca. Canova guided work on many major conservation projects in Rome, including the Baths of Titus, the Arch of Septimius Severus, the Colosseum, and the Pantheon.

Also important to history was Albert Thorwaldsen (1770-1844), a distinguished Danish sculptor who became a leading figure in the field after the death of Canova. Where Canova attempted faithfully to restore every fragment of an original, Thorwaldsen proposed a higher degree of intervention so that “On the one hand, there was respect for and pure conservation of the original material; on the other, the supposedly faithful reconstruction of the missing parts. . . .” There was also a third way, as practiced in the restoration of the Arch of Titus. Here, original elements were conserved, and missing parts outlined, so the new material was distinct from the original. (All three approaches are still applied to conservation projects today.)

Jokilehto describes how the development of laws was also extremely important to the conservation of European buildings. For example, Greece passed an elaborate law in 1834 calling for the protection of historic monuments. It contained the much-quoted phrase: “all objects of antiquity in Greece, being the productions of the ancestors of the Hellenic people, are regarded as the common national possession of all Hellenes.” This law also contained a passage at its end which specified that “those objects which also have been handed down from the earlier epochs of Christian art, and from the so-called Middle Ages, are not exempt from the provisions of the present law.”

In addition to such legal structures, Jokilehto describes a varied range of institutions that have proven influential in the conservation movement — from established religious bodies to community-based organizations. The role of philanthropic societies was extremely strong within the middle classes. In York, for instance, the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, founded in 1822, became active in defending the historic monuments of that city, and was able to arouse public opinion to save its great city walls. Meanwhile, in America, Pamela Cunningham called on Southern women in 1853 to preserve Mount Vernon, home of President George Washington. Funds were ultimately raised for this projects by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association.

In every country outstanding architects have played key roles in the conservation of historic buildings. In Britain, James Wyatt, Augustus Pugin, and Edward Blore were hugely important. In France, Eugene Viollet-le-Duc, Jean-Baptiste Lassus, and J.-J. Bourasse did much to save not only great ecclesiastical buildings but also civic monuments such as the walls of Carcassonne. In Germany, Johann von Goethe, Friedrich Gilly, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, and Ernst Zwirner were all instrumental in restoring and conserving medieval monuments during the era of the German Gothic revival. The book includes descriptions of the work of such people, their ideas and their achievements. The views of art historians were particularly influential to the work on monuments in many countries.

In the twentieth century internationalism has emerged as a major theme in conservation work. After World War I, the League of Nations established the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which met for the first time in Geneva in 1922. This was the first of many international bodies that have concerned themselves with the conservation of national and global heritage. The destruction of historic cities and buildings in World Wars I and II provided an enormous challenge not only to national governments but to such international bodies.

The twentieth century has also seen a shift to a more open-ended philosophy of building conservation. For example, the Charter of Athens, signed by 23 countries in 1941, was marked by a tendency to abandon stylistic restoration of monuments in favor of an approach to conservation and maintenance that respected the styles of all periods and that recommended the occupation of historic buildings to ensure their continuity. Since then, the interests of conservation have

been supported and funded by a range of international bodies such as UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS and ICOM, as well, of course, as by related national organizations.

As compelling as this historical narrative may be, an equally interesting feature of Jokilehto's book is its implicit position that a new era is dawning in the conservation movement. In particular, the book heralds the final decline of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century "prima donna architectural conservation critic," of whom John Ruskin was perhaps the most effective proponent. Ultimately, as in the criticism of art, there is no actual right or wrong in actions taken to repair a building — only fashion and opinion. Yet, with hindsight, one can see how some approaches have had more to do with the ego of the restorer than with the aspirations of the original buildings. The pretensions of some pontificators on this subject are astounding, some of which have even been written in the last few decades. By contrast, my own experience working in building conservation in Iran, Iraq and Pakistan has drawn me to the down-to-earth views of such people as Sir Bernard Fielden, ex-Director of ICCROM. In his 1982 book *The Conservation of Historic Buildings*, he wrote:

Conservation is an action taken to prevent decay. It embraces all acts that prolong the life of our cultural and natural heritage, the object being to present to those who use and look at historic buildings with wonder the artistic and human messages that such building possess. The minimum effective action is always best; if possible the action should be reversible and not prejudice possible future interventions. The basis of historic building conservation is established through listing and scheduling buildings and ruins, through regular inspections and documentation, and through town planning and conservative action.

Jokilehto's book, on the other hand, emphasizes how the practice and study of building conservation has been dominated by an elitist Classical vision of the building as an object d'art. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in its foreword, written by Paul Philipott, Professor Emeritus of ICCROM. With an astoundingly Rome-centric bias, and an almost eighteenth-century tone, Philipott claims that even the shape of Christian architecture arose solely from the "antique world." Fortunately, the very poor impression given by this foreword is compensated

for by the following chapters. What is worrying, however, is that those at the top of international organizations, funded by the international community, are so backward looking and biased in their inclinations. Such views provide a strong argument for moving such institutions away from Rome as soon as possible to more intellectually dynamic and appropriate locations. Jokilehto has recognized this, and one might ask whether he would not be an appropriate person to lead such a move, perhaps to his native Finland, where the conservation of fascinating vernacular buildings is well advanced.

The importance of such a shift in attitude should not be underestimated. The twentieth century has brought exceptional changes to the face of the planet: the world's population has exploded; older cities have become almost unrecognizable; and traditional cultures and communities are dying. Conservators must now strive to save examples from the encyclopedic stock of the world's vernacular buildings. Every culture and community should be, and often is, engaged in the conservation of its own cultural heritage. Thus, visitors to such far-flung cities as Vancouver, Trondheim or Peshawar may take a Heritage Trail around the key historic monuments and building types, restored not according to the tenets and pontifications of scholars in Rome, but according to what local people believe to be the most important aspects of such buildings. The focus now and in the future should be on such integration of conservation activities into the day-to-day fabric of every society.

Global travel has encouraged the growth of the phenomenal tourism industry. The World Travel Organization (wto) currently predicts that world tourism will grow at a rate of 4 percent per annum, reaching a level of more than 700 million international arrivals and more than us\$600 billion in revenue by the year 2000. By 2010 wto predicts arrivals will reach 1 billion and revenues will mount to nearly four times the current level. As cultural heritage attractions, conserved buildings offer an opportunity to provide income to some of the poorest, as well as the richest, communities in the world.

Recently, the European Community launched its Fifth Framework program, which includes large-scale funding for cultural heritage projects. It represents a recognition that not only has cultural heritage become big business, but that it is important in social, technical, economic and political terms. Cultural heritage buildings hold the regional secrets

to good climatic design. And they embody a significant proportion of the cultural genetic code of a society — which, if lost, may cause the destruction of the society itself.

As Sir Bernard Fielden pointed out, conservation is about listing, scheduling buildings, inspections, documentation, town planning, and conservative actions. It is no longer the realm of the prima-donna scholar, theorist or artist, who once viewed historic structures as objects d'art. Jokilehto's book is a must for all interested in understanding more about the history of building conservation in Europe. And it makes a significant statement about the direction of conservation efforts in the future. ■

Susan Roaf

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The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System.

Brian S. Bauer. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1998.

Brian Bauer's latest book, *The Sacred Landscape of the Incas: The Cusco Ceque System*, explores the Inca *ceque* system, a widely known but little understood aspect of Inca culture. This system included an elaborate network of ritual pathways and shrines radiating from the heart of Cusco, the Inca capital, into the surrounding countryside. The specific form and meaning of these sacred lines has long been a center of debate among scholars. Bauer's work is important because it provides a detailed synthesis of past scholarship, and furnishes new data in the form of a comprehensive field survey. His careful presentation of written sources highlights the problems of historical investigation on the topic, while his field research reveals that there are more physical remnants of this system than were previously thought. Furthermore, Bauer suggests new ways of understanding the *ceque* system and its relationship to Inca politics, social structure, and territorial organization. In doing so, he demonstrates how political and social institutions become embedded in the landscape. Although some scholars may disagree with Bauer's methodology or his interpretations of historical sources, he presents evidence clearly so that future investigators can come to their own conclusions.

Bauer's book is organized into ten chapters, beginning with the historical and field evidence, and ending with a discussion on ritual pathways across the Andes. In the first chapter, he provides a brief introduction to the Cusco *ceques*. According to the specific ritual, people walked the sacred pathways to the 300-400 shrines (*huacas*) that lined the routes. In the first centuries after the European invasion, Christian zealots carefully documented the sacred shrines so they could send out crews to destroy them. Ironically, these same writings are what allow scholars today to study the *ceques*. Unfortunately, many colonial writings have been lost, and those that survive are incomplete and often contradictory. In the second chapter, Bauer examines the important historical sources and assembles a list of possible shrines. The original authorship and degree of accuracy of the texts has been a question of debate among scholars. Bauer clearly outlines the problems and suggests his own interpretations. To aid the reader, he even includes a translation by John Rowe of a key text: Bernabe Cobo's "An Account of the Shrines of Cusco."

With a list of possible shrines in hand, Bauer and his Peruvian colleagues went into the field, interviewing local residents and looking for landmarks to match the descriptions in the chronicles. In chapter three, and in chapters five through eight, he details the methodology used and the field evidence gathered. Shrines are marked according to the reliability of evidence collected. As recorded by Bauer and his colleagues, the shrines reveal a complex understanding of the landscape, ranging from caves and stones to springs, hills and fields. Bauer argues that the shrines — which may have arisen as boundary markers or as places associated with important events — served a variety of functions including protection from death and assistance in battle. The shrines were viewed as sacred places, and offerings were given to them in exchange for guidance and help.

The field evidence that Bauer collects allows him to shatter the belief that the *ceques* were rigid lines that emanated from a single temple in Cusco. Instead, he demonstrates that the exact form of the *ceques* was largely altered by the area's topography — an idea that has been previously discussed, but never conclusively proven. In chapter four, Bauer explores the relationship between the *ceques* and Inca society. Building upon the important work of other scholars, such as Rowe and Tom Zuidema, he offers a new interpretation of the intimate relationships among the elite Inca kin groups, their extensive responsibilities to the shrines, and the physical organization of the capital. In the concluding chapters, Bauer places the *ceques* within a broader geographic and cultural context. He summarizes the evidence on the Cusco *ceques*, and relates them to the many non-Inca shrines and radiating ritual pathways found throughout the Andes. Many of these sacred paths and shrines are still walked and worshipped today, despite continuing efforts from Christian missionaries who view the shrines as pagan.

This volume contributes significantly to the understanding of Inca religion and landscape. Brian Bauer provides a sourcebook for future scholars and sheds new light on the form and meaning of the *ceques*. Although this book is geared to a specific audience, its careful study and intriguing insights are relevant to anthropologists, archaeologists, geographers and historians. ■

Stella E. Nair
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Indigenous Architecture in Borneo: Traditional Patterns and New Developments. Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Borneo Research Council Proceedings Series, No.5. Borneo Research Council, Phillips, ME, 1998. 234 pp.

The papers in this edited volume focus on vernacular architecture of indigenous Dayak peoples of the island of Borneo, and on their recent development and transformation. The collection draws on classic ethnographic studies of indigenous cultural diversity across Borneo. Authors analyze material culture as a “window” on processes of cultural and political change. In addition to editor Robert L. Winzeler’s own chapters, the book includes articles by such prominent scholars of Borneo cultures as Timothy Jessup, Balan Laway, Vicki Pearson-Rounda and Jay Crain, Antonio Guerriero, Richard Drake, William Kruse, and Bernard Sellato. Most chapters were originally presented at 1996 Borneo Research Council meetings in Brunei — with a few additions for this publication. The authors assume readers are somewhat familiar with major features of Borneo ethnography (at least, its Dayak ethnic groups), and that readers have a general understanding of the region’s geography and history.

Most chapters describe architectural styles and building techniques that are rooted in ways of life which are rapidly changing under the onslaught of national and global culture and in the face of the depletion of sources for natural building materials in Borneo’s forests. These descriptions are valuable as a record of cultures rooted in forest landscapes of the past. But they are also valuable as records of forms of cultural production that contribute to a strengthening and revival of cultural pride that will hopefully extend into the future.

Most chapters are accompanied by graphics, but these vary in quality. They include black-and-white photographs and line drawings. While some readers may long for a glossy coffee-table edition of this volume, others will be relieved that the articles’ cultural analyses outshine their graphics.

For readers coming from orientations in comparative contemporary architecture, this book will provide an entry point to the cultures from which indigenous Bornean design traditions have emerged. Readers familiar with James Fox’s edited collection *Inside Austronesian Houses* (1993) will welcome this book’s nuanced picture for Borneo. The collection also tackles some long-standing debates in the cultural anthropology of

Borneo. To what extent are or were Dayak longhouses “communal” dwellings? What are some of the implications and demands of longhouse construction and settlement patterns for surrounding forest resources? To what extent do recent adaptations, abandonments, or alternatives to the construction of longhouses embody changes in the means of political control? To what extent do such issues reflect political change from within versus from outside Dayak communities?

Most of the papers in this collection are written by anthropologists without extensive background in either the professional practice of architecture or in critical scholarship on design. The postmodern semiotics of contemporary “cultural studies” and the rhetoric of postcolonial discourse weigh only lightly on the ethnographic richness of this volume.

As a collection of conference proceedings, *Indigenous Architecture in Borneo* is limited in scope, reducing the temptation to call it this generation’s definitive text on the topic. In his introduction to the book, Winzeler sidesteps the political quagmire of defining “indigenous” versus nonindigenous cultural influences. However, the book’s focus on the traditionally longhouse-dwelling Dayak peoples in Borneo’s interior means that it largely ignores other rich architectural traditions on Borneo: of Dayak communities who never built longhouses; of Borneo’s Malay peoples (many of them, it may be argued, who are as “indigenous” to Borneo as their Dayak neighbors); and of non-Dayak coastal settlements. A notable exception is Sellato’s treatment of contemporary adaptations of a wider variety of both Dayak and Malay vernacular design elements in urban institutional architecture.

This book’s most significant contributions to the literature on Borneo’s built environment are in its descriptions of contemporary architecture and building; analyses of the influences of state policies and international tourism on Borneo’s vernacular design and construction; and its explorations of the revival and strategic use of indigenous cultural icons in recent institutional architecture. ■

Judith Mayer
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From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement: Capitalist Development and Urban Planning in Lusaka, Zambia. John Tait. Avebury, Aldershot, 1997. 377 pp.

The idea for this book was originally conceived in 1987 at the International Habitat Conference in Berlin. It was then developed through discussions with the Lusaka NGO Human Settlements of Zambia, and further expanded through case-study work during the late 1980s. John Tait describes himself as a “sociologist/political scientist ‘converted’ to town planning after working on developmental and rural problems in Africa” (p.xiv). His aims in the book are both theoretical and practical: initially, he seeks to present a convincing base for the political economy of self-help housing; then he attempts to move to a development history of Lusaka and general recommendations for African urban development. With respect to these goals, he succeeds to varying degrees. But with respect to the reference in the title to sustainability, he fails completely. Sustainability is not defined, nor even discussed. Moreover, Tait’s theoretical cooption of capitalism as a development tool provides a suspect basis for policies designed to achieve such ends.

The book can be divided roughly into four sections which are relatively independent of each other — although Tait does not attempt this segregation. (As a whole, the book would have benefited from a better integration of these sections into a cogent and pragmatic statement.) The first section (chapters 1–14) takes up theoretical issues. It provides an even-handed re-examination of self-help housing; it presents aspects of self-help debates as conceived by the major participants; it describes recent reconceptions of the informal sector; and it offers a lengthy discussion of the political economy of the informal sector relative to Marx’s theories of labor-power reproduction. Although the author is sympathetic to many of these debates, he ultimately suggests that such academic critiques are inappropriate with regard to the exigencies of developing countries. There are several reasons: the inadequacy of any single theory to address complex and heterogeneous localized economies; the lack of alternatives to capitalist expansion; and the inability of high levels of abstraction to encompass a rapidly changing global capitalism. Interestingly enough, the author recognizes this lost relevance in the book’s preface, but he persists in subjecting the reader to four chapters of unfocused, dense and inaccessible writing, nevertheless.

In Chapter v, Tait finally comes around to reinforcing his introductory remarks. But after hours spent deciphering his ineffective writing, readers may feel more than a bit let down when he gives up the fight and reconceives capitalist development as an appropriate tool for planning. Despite all of his previous good intentions with regard to safeguarding poor residents from the onslaught of top-down state intervention, unchecked land and housing commodification, inappropriate planning transfer, downward filtering, gentrification, rising costs, and untenable planning regulation, Tait succumbs to simply advocating a more compassionate enabling approach. And although some of his recommendations at the end of Chapter v may be particularly helpful in planning for vulnerable groups, others are dated and problematic. In particular, his advocacy of resettlement areas to meet project requirements, his misunderstanding of leasehold tenure, and his downplaying of NGO and housing-industry opportunities all seem to indicate a sloppy understanding and a narrow vision with regard to integrated housing policy.

The book's second section (chapters vi-x) takes up colonial, postcolonial, and urban development history in Africa — specifically Zambia and Lusaka. It might as well be part of a different work (and it should be), as it barely touches on topics presented in the first four chapters. And whereas the first section was largely dense and indecipherable, this one is highly readable, clear and focused, and provides a good addition to the limited literature on African urban development. Chapter vi presents an introductory discussion of colonial urban development in Africa. Chapter vii narrows the focus to the development history of northern Rhodesia. Chapter viii expands once again to discuss African urbanization and proletarianization. And Chapter ix narrows once again to discuss colonial planning and African urbanization trends in Lusaka. The section concludes with a discussion of the political and economic determinants of housing provision in postindependence Zambia.

This second section fills an evident void in the literature on southern African urban development history. While others have contributed to a better understanding of specific African locales (e.g., Mazrui on Mombassa, Dethier on Morocco, AlSayyad on Cairo), or have concentrated on sectoral aspects of the Zambia/Lusaka experience (e.g., Rakodi, Cliffe, Eriksen, Bamberger et al.), Tait's focus on the differentiated, historical

circumstances of development in Zambia is enlightening because it sets southern Africa within the historical continuum of colonial/postcolonial processes. However, the very strength of this portion of the book leads one to question even more deeply why he included the Latin America-dominated debates of the first section: Zambia is not Brazil. In this second section, the author presents a rich description of the physical, economic, social and institutional circumstances of Zambian urban development, along with a recounting of the relative successes and failures of historical policies and projects respective to various populations — British, native, elite, peripheral, and women. The section is particularly useful in understanding and generalizing upon the reasons for the failure of several costly, yet unexecuted Western master plans for the city, which are presented in detail.

The primary flaw in the middle portions of the book is a lack of organization — jumping back and forth from general African experience to the specificity of Lusaka with little direction. These chapters needed better organization and editing (as did the book in full) to clarify information and better introduce the reader to the third section (Chapters xi and xii), which presents case studies of two informal settlements (researched in 1989) and the various project interventions they have experienced. These valuable cases, although somewhat dated and incomplete, contain all sorts of relevant spatial, housing and economic data. Unfortunately, they lack detailed analysis (save for a quick list of recommendations), an additional step which might have tied the case studies to the larger issues presented earlier on.

The fourth section (Chapter xiii) is a short chapter that provides a series of general, watered-down urban development and housing policy recommendations for the African continent. Unfortunately, these fly in the face of earlier recommendations to recognize the specificity of the local against the universal. And the book's final recommendations simply reiterate well-understood enabling practices advocated by the World Bank and others. With respect to what has gone before, this finale represents either a distressing capitulation to status-quo capitalist development, or a weak, yet pragmatic, call to create new partnerships and political arrangements — with little direction provided.

The major thrust of any serious analytical work, of which this surely belongs, is to be read and understood by a willing

audience. Finding an audience for this book will be difficult. For those interested in development theory or housing, the theoretical chapters at the beginning are difficult, unclear, need editing, and simply reiterate discredited theory with few new findings. For those interested in African or Zambian urban history, the second section is invaluable and necessary, but it is buried behind several chapters that might scare away the uninitiated. For those interested in urban sustainability issues, the book may provide a reference for current housing and urban development practice in Zambia, and Africa in general, but it provides little progress toward establishing appropriate policy or practice in this area. Respective of the southern African context, the void in literature and research on this issue still goes largely unfilled. ■

Michael Angelo Larice
University of California, Berkeley



THE END OF TRADITION?

As we approach the next millenium, there is a great deal of contentious debate regarding the “end of history”, the “end of geography”, and the “end of tradition”. The emergence of the term “post”, as in post-developmentalism, post-modernism and now post-traditionalism, serves as an indicator of our present day discourse.

In past conferences, IASTE scholars and practitioners have attempted to make sense of this ever-changing intellectual landscape and have grappled with how processes of globalization are irrevocably restructuring space and place. This conference will be concerned with a specific historical moment, one where a seemingly all-consuming late capitalism levels differences and particularities, but where there is at the same time a resurgence of localisms, populisms, and fundamentalisms. It is this paradoxical simultaneity which necessitates our question: The End of Tradition?

The conference will be structured around three broad themes:

1. Deterritorialization/Globalization. The idea of globalization has unsettled the conventional connections between place and culture. While some see these dislocations as new traditions in and of themselves, others argue that the spatial basis of tradition is still firmly grounded. Both groups, however, have come to accept that globalization is forcing a rethinking of the very idea of tradition. The new research on vernacular and traditional settlements may demonstrate both the dynamics of localization (or the process by which spaces become places redolent with meaning) and placelessness (or the process by which the meaning of environments ceases to be fixed or attached to given places).

- ◆ Sites and agents of globalization
- ◆ Localizing global traditions
- ◆ Discourses of place/deterritorialization
- ◆ “Local” traditions in the post-imperial/ colonial city
- ◆ Territorial implications for a placeless society
- ◆ Tourism and the construction of tradition
- ◆ Education and the globalization of place
- ◆ Mutations of language and the making of place

2. Tradition as a Call to Arms. The fervent revival of some place-based traditions marks the landscape of much of the world at the end of the millenium. From the ravages of the Balkans to the nitty-gritty neighborhood battles of post-industrial first world cities, “the politics of difference” are playing a major role in shaping cities, nations, and entire regions. Such exclusionary, often segregationist, invocations of tradition have destroyed the Archimedean vantage point, and the supposed neutrality, of vernacular studies and research on traditional settlements. A recognition of what some consider the hegemonic and oppressive nature of traditions should be a central tenet in our new research agenda.

- ◆ The insidious revival of tradition
- ◆ Invented nations/invented traditions
- ◆ Mobile/izing spatial scales: the shifting politics of tradition
- ◆ Politics of space in post-war reconstruction
- ◆ Usurping traditional forms: stabilization or homogenization?
- ◆ The rhetoric of tradition: co-opting policies of participation
- ◆ Uses and abuses of tradition and the rise of kitsch
- ◆ Gender perspectives and dwelling transformations

3. Practice and the New Technologies of Place. Technology has often been seen as a positive force in everyday practice. However, lurking within the liberatory possibilities of technology are its hegemonic tendencies. New professional practices in the field of traditional environments may need to engage in self-critique, examining not only the implications of technology but also its subversive potential.

- ◆ The technology of knowledge: learning from place
- ◆ Technology for whom? dwelling in the space age
- ◆ Practice and the rise of post-traditional places
- ◆ Multiculturalism as a new paradigm in planning practices
- ◆ Civil society and the space of resistance
- ◆ Science as a maker/breaker of traditions
- ◆ Technology, pedagogy, and the making of urban landscapes
- ◆ The impact of global technology on architectural education

IASTE has always been an unconventional intellectual space, drawing upon the strengths of interdisciplinary and cross-cultural investigations. Perhaps it is now time to extend this unconventionality to our analytical strategies. We thus propose an interrogation of the traditions of “place”; for the “End of Tradition” should be interpreted as a dislocation of intellectual traditions as well.

Seventh IASTE Conference OCTOBER 12-15, 2000 TRANI, ITALY

SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS

Interested colleagues are invited to submit a hard copy of a short, one page abstract not to exceed 500 words. Do not place your name on the abstracts but rather submit an attached one-page curriculum vitae with your address and name. All authors must also submit an electronic copy of their abstract and CV at the same time via e-mail. Abstracts and CVs must be placed within the body of the e-mail and not as an attachment. E-mail this material to iaste@uclink4.berkeley.edu.

Authors must specify one or two of the above sessions when submitting abstracts. Proposals for complete panels and poster sessions are welcome. All papers must be written and presented in English.

Following a blind peer-review process, papers may be accepted for presentation in the conference and/or publication in the conference Working Paper Series. Contributors whose abstracts are accepted must preregister for the conference, pay registration fees of \$325, and prepare a full-length paper of 20-25 double-spaced pages. Please note that hotel accommodations and travel are not covered by the registration fees.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

January 15, 2000	Deadline for receipt of abstracts and CVs
March 15, 2000	Notification of accepted abstracts for conference presentation
July 1, 2000	Deadline for preregistration and for receipt of papers for possible publication in the Working Paper Series
August 1, 2000	Notification of accepted papers for the Working Paper Series
October 12-15, 2000	Conference Presentations

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CONFERENCE SITE

The conference will be held at the medieval castle in Trani, Italy north of the city of Bari. In order to obtain special conference room rates at local hotels, reservations, accompanied by full payment, will have to be made by July 1, 2000. Hotel and travel arrangements should be made directly with the designated travel agency.

Interprogram, Via Talefati 89, Bari, Italy
Phone/Fax 39.080.521.2853

OPTIONAL EXCURSIONS

A number of one day and half day trips to nearby sites will also be available after the conference to conference participants for an additional fee. These include Castel del Monte, Apulia, and Aberobello.

INQUIRIES?

Please send all inquiries regarding the conference to:

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Conferences and Events

UPCOMING CONFERENCES

“Megacities 2000,” Hong Kong, China: Feb. 8-10, 2000. International conference sponsored by the Center for Architecture & Urban Design for China and Hong Kong. For more information, contact: Ms. Freda Fung, Conference Secretary, Megacities 2000, Department of Architecture, University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong SAR, P.R.C. Tel.: (852) 2859 2133; Fax: (852) 2559 6484; E-mail fylfung@hku.hk; Web: <http://arch.hku.hk/events/megacities2000>.

“Berlin-Washington, 1800-2000: Capital Cities, Cultural Representations, and National Identities,” Washington, D.C.: March 30-April 1, 2000. Conference organized by the German Historical Institute. For more information, contact: Berlin-Washington Conference, Attn. Baerbel Thomas, German Historical Institute, 1607 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington, D.C., 20009-2562. Tel.: 202 387 3355; Fax: 202 483 3430; E-mail: bkthomas@idt.net; Web: www.ghi-dc.org.

“Sustainable and Humane Cities — Cities 2000,” Manila, Philippines: April 10-12, 2000. International Conference organized by the College of Architecture and Fine Arts of the Royal and Pontifical University of Santo Tomas, in cooperation with the National Commission for Culture and Arts, United Architects of the Philippines, and the Philippine Institute of Environmental Planners. For more information, contact: Conference Secretariat, Cities 2000, 3/F Roque Ruano Bldg., College of Architecture and Fine Arts, University of Santo Tomas, España, Manila, Philippines, 1008. Tel.: (632) 740 9721; Fax (632) 740 9703 or 731 4343; E-Mail: cities2000@ust.edu.ph or cities2000@yahoo.com.

“Pines, Mines and Lakes,” Duluth, Minn.: June 7-10, 2000. Annual Meeting of the Vernacular Architecture Forum. For more information, contact: Michael Koop, Minnesota Historical Society, 345 Kellogg Boulevard West, St. Paul, MN, 55102. Tel: 651 296 5451; E-mail: michael.koop@mnhs.org; Web: www.vernaculararchitecture.org.

“Cross Currents: Trans-Cultural Architecture, Education, and Urbanism,” Hong Kong, China: June 10-14, 2000. ACSA International Conference, hosted by the University of Hong Kong. For more information, contact: ACSA International Conference, 1735 New York Ave. NW, Washington, D.C., 20006. Tel.: 202 785 2324; Fax: 202 628 0448; E-mail: edwards@acsa-arch.org; Web: <http://www.acsa-arch.org>.

International Conference on Chinese Hakkas' Houses, Guangzhou, China: July 23-27, 2000. Conference organized by South China University of Technology. For more information,

contact: ICCHH Secretariat, Foreign Affairs Office, South China University of Technology, Guangzhou, P.R.C., 510641. Tel.: 008620 87110948; Fax: 008620 85516862; E-mail: faoc@scut.edu.cn.

“European Cities: Networks and Crossroads,” Berlin, Germany: Aug.31-Sept.2, 2000. Fifth International Conference of the European Association of Urban Historians. For more information, contact: Prof. Dirk De Meyer, University of Ghent, Dept. of Architecture and Urban Planning, Jozef Plateastraat 22, 9000, Gent, Belgium. Tel.: 32 9 264 3742; Fax: 32 9 264 4185; E-mail: dirk.demeyer@rug.ac.be; Web: <http://eauh2000.tu-berlin.de>.

“Preserving the Recent Past II,” Philadelphia, Penn.: Oct. 11-13, 2000. Conference sponsored by the National Park Service, Heritage Preservation Services; Association for Preservation Technology International; National Park Service, Philadelphia Support Office; Historic Preservation Education Foundation; General Services Administration; Society of Architectural Historians; Public Works and Governmental Services Canada; Parks Canada; Society for Commercial Archaeology; DOCOMOMO. For more information, contact: Program Director, Preserving the Recent Past II, P.O. Box 75207, Washington D.C., 20013-5207; Tel.: 202 343 6011; Web: <http://www2.cr.nps.gov/tps/recentpast2.htm>.

RECENT CONFERENCES

“Sustainability in Desert Regions,” Al-Ain, U.A.E.: Nov. 20-22, 1999. Second international conference organized by the Departments of Engineering and Civil Engineering, United Arab Emirates University. For more information, contact: Yasser Mansour, Acting Chair, Conference Organizing Committee, Department of Architectural Engineering, United Arab Emirates University, P.O. Box 17555, Al-Ain, U.A.E. Tel.: (9713) 62238; Fax: (9713) 636925; E-mail: sustain99@uaeu.ac.ae; Web: <http://eclsun.uaeu.ac.ae/arch/arch.html>.

“Sites of Recovery: Architecture’s (Inter)disciplinary Role,” Beirut, Lebanon: Oct. 25-28, 1999. Fourth International Other Connections Conference. For more information, contact: Mazen Labban, Sites of Recovery, American University of Beirut, Department of Architecture and Design, P.O. Box 11-0236, Beirut, Lebanon. Fax: (961) 1744 462; E-mail: sitesofrecovery@aub.edu.lb; Web: <http://www.aub.edu.lb/sitesofrecovery/>.

“Architecture Culture by 1900: Critical Reappraisal and Heritage Preservation,” Buenos Aires, Argentina: Sept. 1-3, 1999. Conference organized by the Secretary of Culture of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires, the Center of Contemporary Architecture of Torcuato Di Tella University, and ICOMOS-Argentina. For more information, contact: Executive Committee, International Conference “Architecture Culture by 1900,” Minones 2159, 1428 Buenos Aires, Argentina. Tel.: (54 11) 4784 0080 (int.166); Fax: (54 11) 4783 8654 or 4822 6630.

Guide for Preparation of Manuscripts

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The editors invite readers to submit manuscripts. Please send three copies of each manuscript, with one copy to include all original illustrations. Place the title of the manuscript, the author's name and a 50-word biographical sketch on a separate cover page. The title only should appear again on the first page of text. Manuscripts are circulated for review without identifying the author. Manuscripts are evaluated by a blind peer-review process.

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Manuscripts should not exceed 25 standard 8.5" x 11" [A4] double-spaced typewritten pages (about 7500 words). Leave generous margins.

3. APPROACH TO READER

Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the journal, papers should be written for an academic audience that may have either a general or a specific interest in your topic. Papers should present a clear narrative structure. They should not be compendiums of field notes. Please define specialized or technical terminology where appropriate.

4. ABSTRACT AND INTRODUCTION

Provide a one-paragraph abstract of no more than 100 words. This abstract should explain the content and structure of the paper and summarize its major findings. The abstract should be followed by a short introduction. The introduction will appear without a subheading at the beginning of the paper.

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Please divide the main body of the paper with a single progression of subheadings. There need be no more than four or five of these, but they should describe the paper's main sections and reinforce the reader's sense of progress through the text.

Sample Progression: The Role of the Longhouse in Iban Culture. The Longhouse as a Building Form. Transformation of the Longhouse at the New Year. The Impact of Modern Technology. Conclusion: Endangered Form or Form in Transition?

Do not use any numbering system in subheadings. Use secondary subheadings only when absolutely essential for format or clarity.

6. REFERENCES

Do not use a general bibliography format. Use a system of numbered reference notes as indicated below.

A condensed section of text might read as follows:

In his study of vernacular dwellings in Egypt, Edgar Regis asserted that climate was a major factor in the shaping of roof forms. Henri Lacompte, on the other hand, has argued that in the case of Upper Egypt this deterministic view is irrelevant.¹

An eminent architectural historian once wrote, "The roof form in general is the most indicative feature of the housing styles of North Africa."² Clearly, however, the matter of how these forms have evolved is a complex subject. A thorough analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.³

In my research I discovered that local people have differing notions about the origins of the roof forms on the dwellings they inhabit.⁴

The reference notes, collected at the end of the text (not at the bottom of each page), would read as follows:

1. E. Regis, *Egyptian Dwellings* (Cairo: University Press, 1979), p.179; and H. Lacompte, "New Study Stirrs Old Debate," *Smithsonian* 11 (December 1983), pp.24-34.
2. B. Smithson, "Characteristic Roof Forms," in H. Jones, ed., *Architecture of North Africa* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), p.123.
3. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see J. Idris, *Roofs and Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).
4. In my interviews I found that the local people understood the full meaning of my question only when I used a more formal Egyptian word for "roof" than that in common usage.

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TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

is the official publication of IASTE. As a semi-annual refereed journal, *TDSR* acts as a forum for the exchange of ideas and as a means to disseminate information and to report on research activities. All articles submitted to the journal are evaluated through a blind peer-review process. *TDSR* has been partially sponsored by grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Getty Publication Program, the Graham Foundation, the Center for Environmental Design Research, and the Office of the Provost at the University of California, Berkeley.

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