TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

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SPECIAL THEME

Traditions of Preservation

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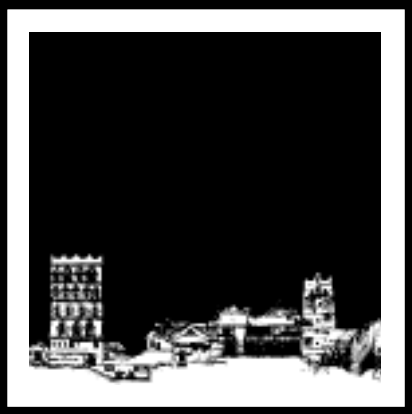

The International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) was established at the First International Symposium on Traditional Dwellings and Settlements held at Berkeley in April 1988. IASTE is an interdisciplinary forum where scholars from various disciplines and countries can exchange ideas, discuss methods and approaches, and share findings. As opposed to disciplinary associations, IASTE is a nonprofit organization concerned with the comparative and cross-cultural understanding of traditional habitat as an expression of informal cultural conventions. IASTE's purpose is to serve as an umbrella association for all scholars studying vernacular, indigenous, popular and traditional environments. Current activities of IASTE include the organization of biennial conferences on selected themes in traditional-environments research, a public outreach program which includes supporting films and documentaries, and the publication of the Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series, which includes all papers presented at IASTE conferences and accepted for publication.

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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Contents

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Newly restored *siheyuan* gatehouse and the *ying bi* "spirit wall" just inside. Photo by Daniel Abramson.

Editor's Note

The events of September 11 have shocked all of us and redefined our world in the first year of a new millennium. While no one can provide reasonable justification for these terrorist attacks, we must all labor to understand their nature and repercussions. In doing so, we should refuse to read the attack on the World Trade Center as a meaningful protest against long-established traditions of urbanism, against globalization, or against America's role in it. The individuals who perpetrated this atrocity harbor a fundamental ignorance of America and of the global landscape within which they exist. Their intolerance and fanatical belief in a singular invented truth remains the only rationale for their action. The new global realities demand that we be intolerant of intolerance itself. The failure of a few countries and peoples around the world to understand this message has allowed a climate in which a few maniacal individuals managed to hold the entire world hostage to their will, even after their death.

In IASTE, we have always labored to understand fundamentalisms and extremisms, and the ways in which they have historically shaped built environments. In our last conference, we organized a theme session entitled "Tradition as a Call to Arms," in which participants presented papers attempting to show how traditions may be deployed as instruments of oppression. We will need a lot more of this form of research in the next few years, and we will need to explore the relationships between fundamentalism and tradition. When does a tradition, which may sustain local beliefs in one part of the world, become the terrorism that befalls another?

Recovery in all its forms will be hard and long, but it must happen. Neither the expedience of blame, nor the politics of justification are appropriate at this moment. We must proceed with the conviction that one form of violence does not justify another. The burden of recent histories should also make us wary of the rhetoric of war. Today, we live in a multicivilizational world. The challenge we face is one of effectively dealing with the origins and elements of hate and terror without compromising our appreciation for other cultures, for hard-earned civil liberties, or for world peace.

As urbanists, we also share in mourning the buildings that were destroyed — the twin towers themselves — both as architectural monuments and as symbols of an American tradition. But while the World Trade Center towers may have represented New York and defined its skyline, they were not New York, and could never substitute for it. We therefore take solace in the fact that New York will still be New York without the towers. The towers would not have carried any symbolism — or certainly not the same symbolism — without New York City as their backdrop. And someday another building will rise, in that or another site, which will once again be quintessentially of New York and of America, giving rise to a new tradition. We hope this day will come soon.

This issue of TDSR, in production before the September events, begins with a special section on the traditions of preservation: Daniel Abramson discusses a preservation policy in Beijing that exposes the deep contractions in China's accelerated developmental agenda; Alexandra Sauvegrain examines dialogues present in safeguarding a particular area of Hanoi; and Michael Ann Williams demonstrates how the preservation of traditional culture provided implicit justification for the creation of a U.S. National Park. The other contributions come from Ritu Bhatt, who offers a Critique of a tendency to "Indianize" architecture in the postmodern works of prominent architects in that country; and Gabriela Muri, whose Field Report examines the cultural roots of a tourist attraction called "The World's Smallest Village." I hope you all enjoy this issue, and I remind you to take a look at the IASTE 2002 conference call for papers included at the end.

Nezar AlSayyad

Beijing's Preservation Policy and the Fate of the *Siheyuan*

DANIEL ABRAMSON

This close study of the policies and practices currently at play in the preservation and transformation of vernacular courtyard housing in Beijing reveals some of the sharpest social and political problems facing Chinese urban planning in this era of economic reform and the newly emerging land market. In addition to expressing the conflict between modernization and preservation that is common throughout the world, recent attempts to restore or mimic traditional dwellings expose deep contractions about Beijing's accelerated developmental program — contradictions exacerbated by the particular architectural form of these dwellings, the *siheyuan*.

The *siheyuan* — the traditional Beijing family "quadrangle," or courtyard house — has long received attention as a classic example of Chinese vernacular architecture (FIG.1).[1] The courtyard house is particularly renowned worldwide for the way it is an integral part of old Beijing's entire layout — as the basic, microcosmic unit of a capital city plan that is itself cosmological in scale and intent.[2] During the past decade of sudden and rapid change in Beijing's historic center, however, the architectural and cultural significance of the courtyard house has come under a new spotlight in both the Chinese and non-Chinese popular press, as well as professional and academic planning discourse (FIG.2).[3]

Before 1990 the courtyard house was viewed chiefly in terms of the typical opposition between tradition and modernity — as embodying half of the equation that balanced the claims of historic identity against the modernization imperative.[4] However, for the majority of residents in Beijing's old city, courtyard housing had long since ceased to function as a private dwelling for one extended family, and had become crowded with many households under a bureaucratic housing-allocation system that could not afford to build new apartments for everyone (FIG.3). And ever since the modernization program for central Beijing was linked to an increasing segmentation of the land and housing market in the early 1990s, the courtyard house's significance has been complicated by

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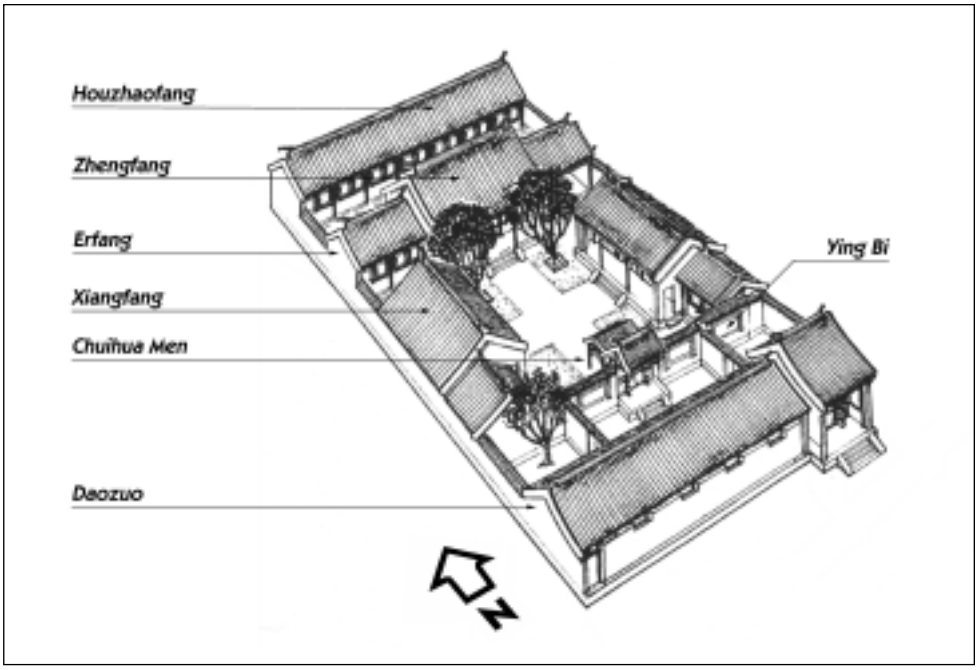

FIGURE 1. *A classic Beijing* siheyuan. *(Drawing based on a part of the Ke Yuan multicourtyard compound, as depicted in J. Cheng and L. Yang, "Beijing Chuantong Jiefang de Baohu Chuyi — Nan Luogu Xiang Siheyuan Jiefang [A Modest Proposal for the Preservation of Beijing's Traditional Street Blocks — the Nan Luogu Xiang Block of Courtyard Houses]," in* Jianzhu Lishi ji Lilun Yanjiushi [Architectural History and Theory Research Room], ed., *Jianzhu Lishi Yanjiu [Architectural History Research] (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Kexue Yanjiuyuan Jianzhu Qingbao Yanjiusuo [Architectural Intelligence Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Architectural Science], 1982).*

new forms of national and class symbolism, nostalgia, and concern for social solidarity in the wake of increasing "social inequality and divisions."[5]

For all its newfound and newly forged significance, the preservation of vernacular residential architecture in Beijing remains overshadowed by an even larger and older discourse on the preservation of the city's monumental aspects — that is, its particular historic monuments and the structure of the entire Old City itself as a monument to ancient Chinese urban planning.[6] This discourse not only predates the current interest in the courtyard houses themselves; but because the preservation of Beijing's monumental qualities involves problems of national-cultural, political, and ideological symbolism to a greater degree than does the preservation of vernacular housing, the discourse has also tended to ignore the socioeconomic dimension of heritage preservation in Beijing. Ever since Liang Sicheng and Chen Zhanxiang's celebrated 1949 plan for the capital, the cause of preservation has often found itself opposed to Maoist urban priorities and policies.[7] But this alignment has generally obscured the fact that, had the market rather than Mao been given full play in Beijing's Old City, far more of the historic vernacular would likely have disappeared

FIGURE 2. *The former residence of the Beijing opera singer Mei Lanfang, now a memorial hall and museum of his career. As a rare example of a well-preserved* siheyuan, *it is being used here as a set for a film about the life of Zhou Enlai.*

FIGURE 3. *A courtyard house in a typically dilapidated and crowded condition. Most of the open courtyard space is filled with "temporary" shelters, kitchens, and storage sheds.*

before 1990. In fact, it has only been since the entry of the market into Beijing's development game that the neighborhoods of old courtyards have really begun to disappear. Like no other element of Beijing's cityscape, the *siheyuan* now highlights the social and economic tensions of the Reform Era.

The fate of the *siheyuan* in many ways reflects the challenges that face the preservation of architectural heritage throughout the developing world.[8] However, it also casts light on China's particular evolution of urban policy and planning techniques in the context of an emerging market for housing and urban land. Even before the land market began to drive the redevelopment of Beijing's Old City in the 1990s, historic preservation had become a key component of a reborn Reform Era planning professionalism.[9] Concern for architectural heritage, as elsewhere in the developing world, remains a predominantly elite concern in China. Its proponents often find themselves opposing both the political establishment's profit-making visions for the city center, and also the aspirations of residents to improve their living conditions. Yet while this situation is encountered in many countries, what is perhaps unusual about Chinese urban redevelopment is the prominence of its legitimizing socialist mandate and its paternalistic attention to the average citydwellers' welfare. Although redevelopment is in practice driven by profit-seeking parastatal development companies, the redevelopment program itself can be justified only if it results in a significant improvement in the affected residents' standard of living *and* it contributes to an improvement in the city's overall public infrastructure.[10]

In the early experimental stage of the program, residential improvement was achieved primarily by replacing dilapidated housing with better (but not necessarily larger) dwellings for the residents *in situ*. Architects took it upon themselves to design these new buildings in a contextually sensitive manner (FIGS.4,5). This approach was too small-scale and unprofitable to include significant infrastructure improvements, however. Municipalities needed to capitalize on land values in the old central neighborhoods in order to improve both housing conditions and infrastructure, and so the redevelopment program soon involved relocating whole communities to distant suburban greenfield sites, while the original neighborhoods were replaced with increasingly denser and higher buildings for sale to wealthy companies or powerful agencies and their employees.[11] The demolition and relocation involved in this effort was relatively easy, because the bulk of old courtyard housing is owned by the government (in Beijing, perhaps as much as 60 percent across the entire old city center). But the resulting impact on the historic cityscape has been severe (FIG.6). And from the perspective of displaced residents, the improvements in standard of living have been questionable, given the increased commuting time and disruption of community life that has attended relocation to the far suburbs.[12] Finally, there has been a hidden or latent impact of the redevelopment program: a potentially dramatic increase in socio-geographic segregation. Traditional Chinese neighborhoods historically accommodated a relatively diverse mix of residents of different levels of wealth and influence. The traditional courtyard typology itself was largely responsible for this, since it allowed dwellings of varying quality and crowdedness to coexist in close proximity without mutual impact.[13] The wholesale replacement of courtyard house neighborhoods by self-contained superblock estates of multistory apartments threatens to divide the city into distinct, socially exclusive enclaves.

Given the sharpness with which large-scale demolition and relocation is beginning to highlight social inequalities in Beijing, and the government's failure to test a broader range

FIGURE 4. (LEFT) *New low-cost housing in Dong Nan Yuan, south of the historic Liu Li Chang arts district. Preservation regulations limited the height of the new buildings to approximately nine meters. All units have running water, flush toilets, and a south-facing room. All original residents returned after redevelopment. (Photo courtesy of Tan Ying.)*

FIGURE 5. (RIGHT) *New, moderate-to-high-cost contextual housing in Ju'er Hutong, in the Nan Luogu Xiang historic courtyard district. In addition to the amenities at Dong Nan Yuan, the new units have central heating, and they are larger. From one- to two-thirds of the original residents returned.*

FIGURE 6. *Demolition of* siheyuan *and* hutong *for new apartment blocks. According to Beijing's master plan, new high-rises are allowed only at the edge of the old city, along the Second Ring Road. But it is not unusual to see eight-story apartments now being built more than one kilometer inside the Ring Road.*

of alternative development approaches, the preservation movement has the potential to move beyond its current elite intellectual circle, to encompass a more socially broad-based opposition to the prevailing government-sponsored redevelopment. Outside Beijing, the demolition of historic vernacular houses has provoked landmark lawsuits by residents against their municipal government.[14] In Xi'an and in Beijing itself, residents have publicly protested and filed lawsuits against lower-level government agencies and developers to correct abusive demolition and relocation practices, if not to defend historic architecture, per se.[15] The following description of historic preservation attitudes and practice in Beijing should help clarify why preservation has not yet emerged as a viable social alternative to redevelopment. On the contrary, preservation in Beijing has tended to reinforce the current narrow and exclusive approach to urban investment, and in some cases it has exacerbated social inequity even further.

THE CLASSIC *HUTONG*-AND-*SIHEYUAN* NEIGHBORHOOD AS AN OBJECT OF PRESERVATION

In the debate over what precisely is worth preserving in the face of redevelopment in the Old City of Beijing, the neighborhood itself is the most recent battleground. That is, while palaces, temples, and other monumental features are broadly accepted as worthy of preservation, the historic value of the city's vernacular residential environment is still being hotly debated. Central to the preservationist position is the fact that Beijing was an integrally planned city from its inception. Not only does this place Beijing in a nearly unique position among world capitals of its age, it also means that the significance of indisputably important monuments like the Forbidden City cannot be fully appreciated except in the context of the neighborhoods that were laid out in orderly fashion around them in all directions for three kilometers (FIG.7). Indeed, the architecture of even the humblest courtyard house is only a simpler, smaller-scaled version of the Forbidden City itself. Ultimately, however, it is the individual courtyards themselves, not the urban fabric in which they sit and of which they are a part, that has captured the imagination of the public and the powers-that-be in Beijing. The *siheyuan* as a focus for poetic recollection of Beijing's genteel and humanely sociable past (in contrast to the city's frantic and anonymous present) has overshadowed its historical urbanistic significance.[16]

Descriptions of the Beijing *siheyuan* have been published often enough that they hardly need to be repeated here.[17] Still, it is worth mentioning a number of features of the *siheyuan* that pose special conditions or challenges to its preservation, as will be discussed in greater detail later. Figure 1 shows all the elements mentioned here, except for the open-air galleries, which would normally run from the inside of the *chuihua men* along the back of the wall separating the main courtyard from the front court, and would connect up the verandahs of each of the *xiangfang* and the *zhengfang*. Basically, a *siheyuan* is not a single structure, but a rectilinear walled compound of many pavilions composed around internal rectilinear courts, and often connected by galleries. Each court is a kind of modular unit, with a *zhengfang*, the main, south-facing pavilion on the north; two *xiangfang*, or east/west-facing side pavilions; and a wall or *daozuo* ("sitting reversed") along the south side. The *zhengfang* typically has two small wings on its west and east, called *erfang* ("ear buildings"). When plot size allows, there is a narrow courtyard behind the *zhengfang*, and behind that a rear pavilion called the *houzhaofang* ("covering the back building"). All these buildings are almost never more than one story high, and never have basements.

The whole compound occupies the entire house lot, which may run the full depth of a block between two lanes, or *hutong*. Typical *hutong* are 6–9 meters wide, spaced 60–70 meters apart, and run east-west in parallel lines, though variations on this pattern are common. The *siheyuan*

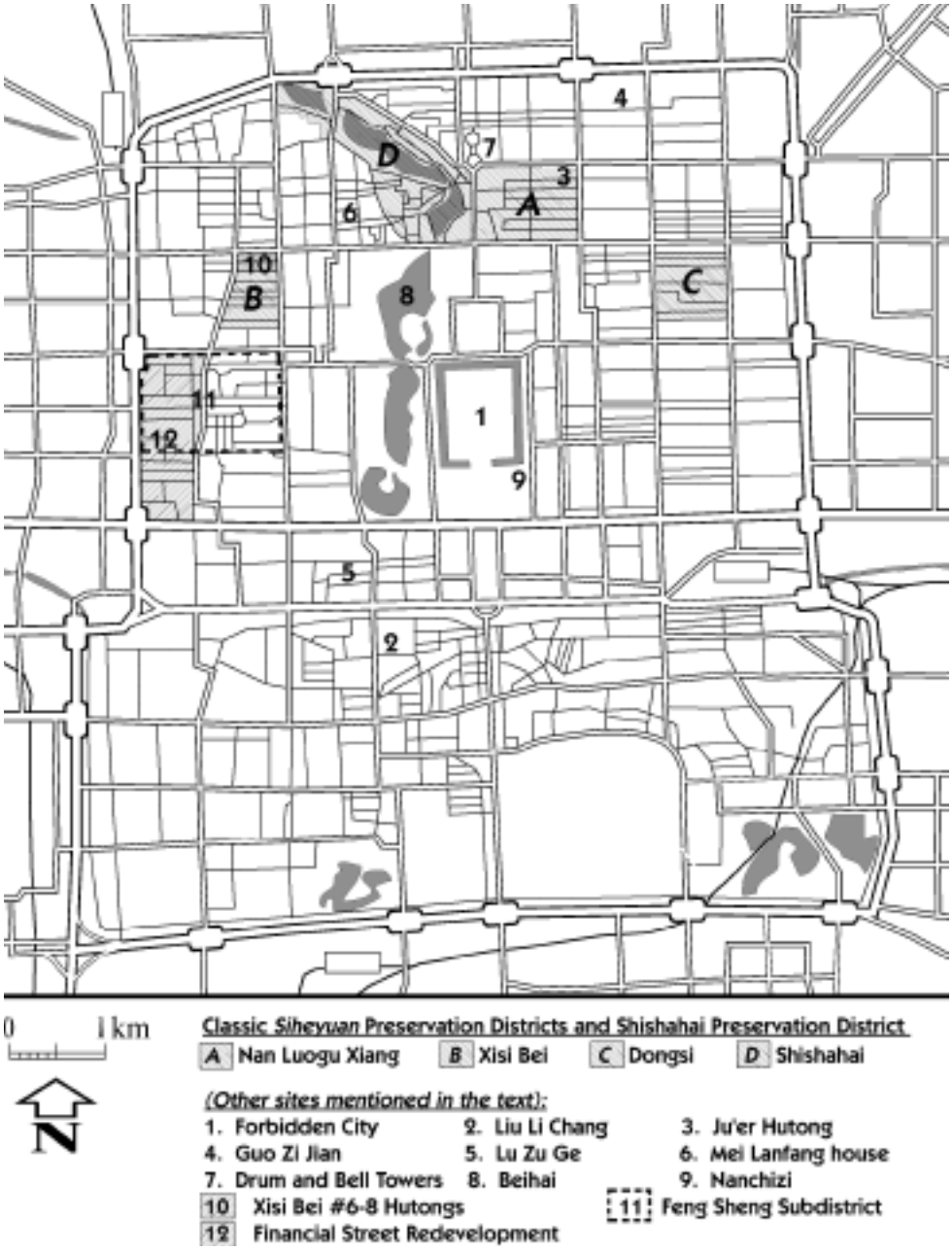

FIGURE 7. *Map of the Old City of Beijing, delineated by the Second Ring Road, which has replaced the old city walls. The Ring Road's entrance and exit ramps are located where the city gates once were.*

turns a nearly blind face to the street; only high, small windows and the gate interrupt the gray brick facade. The publicly visible coloring and detailing are subdued, except for the gate, which could be colorful and richly ornamented, depending on the social rank of the inhabitants, and according to imperial sumptuary laws. Also depending on the wealth and rank of the family that built the *siheyuan*, the size of the entire compound varies a great deal. The larger and more articulated houses are subdivided into many subcompounds, separated by additional walls with gates. In the classic *siheyuan*, these walls and gates have symbolic importance, expressed in the high level of artistry that went into their making. The intricately carved *ying bi* ("shadow wall" or "spirit wall") guarantees both privacy and good fortune in response to the geomantic requirements of good *feng shui* (FIG. 8). The *chuihua men* ("hanging flowers" gate) is the point that separates the inner part of the compound, reserved for family members, from the outer part, for use by servants and guests. In the strictest households, marriageable women were generally not allowed outside this gate.[18]

The commonly understood definition of the classic courtyard house has been gradually translated into preservation law and policy, and the *siheyuan* as an object of preservation emerged at a particular time in the evolution of Chinese plan-

FIGURE 8. *Newly restored* siheyuan *gatehouse and the* ying bi *"spirit wall" just inside. This courtyard is used for a business, not a residence.*

ning law. The earliest monuments designated for preservation by the post-1949 regime appeared in the law in 1957. But, courtyard houses, *as such*, were not designated for preservation until 1984, one year after the State Council proclaimed Beijing a "Renowned Historic and Cultural City."[19] At this time all courtyard houses listed among the city's preservation sites were designated at the municipal level, as opposed to the higher national level or the lower district level. In 1985 height limits were imposed on new construction in the Old City, and in 1987 these were further refined to include special "construction control zones" around designated monuments.[20] Thereafter, even the four districts that occupy Beijing's Old City began to designate certain fine *siheyuan* for preservation. As of the 1993 master plan revision, thirteen courtyards in Beijing have been designated municipal-level preservation sites, solely because they are considered worthy of preserving as examples of classic Qing residential architecture, and at least as many district-level preservation sites have been listed for the same reason. This is not to mention the many more houses and mansions of various sizes that are being preserved mainly because of their association with historic figures, families or politics, but which are also good examples of classic courtyard architecture.

At the same time that classic *siheyuan* have become enshrined in preservation law, they have also become a celebrated object for presentation in a variety of other contexts. Real estate advertisements, storefront window displays, tourist promotions of Beijing, and other propaganda, for example, use images of the *siheyuan* to symbolize the essence of dwelling in Beijing. Richly illustrated books displaying all the elements of the classic courtyard house in great detail have been published to assist restorationists and replicators, or simply to document nostalgically a disappearing environment.[21] The disembodied quality of these presentations is actually not unlike the way in which most *siheyuan* are destined to be preserved. Those courtyards which are officially listed for protection, are surrounded by the above-mentioned construction control zones, which limit building heights within a certain distance of the protected architecture. The zone closest to the preservation site is usually designated as "green" space where any form of construction is prohibited. Construction Control Zone maps are the most detailed tool that Beijing's planning authorities use to regulate development around preservation sites (FIG.9). They rarely delineate the context of the site; they only show the structures to be preserved, the boundaries of the site itself, and, for locational reference only, the outlines of the surrounding *hutong* and nearby large, modern structures. The maps also include the "red lines" that mark the limits of the block to be formed by major streets, once those streets are widened. The bulk of the predominantly one-story fabric of courtyard houses not shown on these maps is assumed to be subject to demolition.

The sparseness of Beijing's preservation-related regulations is due as much to a lack of resources as to a lack of regard. Just as the government relies on development agencies to improve the city's infrastructure and public environment in general, so it relies on them to augment the preservation plan with their own initiatives to find and preserve valuable architecture. Besides listing certain *siheyuan* for official protection, the Municipal Planning Institute has also promulgated a policy that each neighborhood redevelopment project should identify other "pearls" of classic architecture for preservation within the bounds of its site.[22] Inevitably, though, developers resist this policy because it results in lower overall built floor area on sites that normally allow multistory buildings. They overcome the problem by making the preserved one-story buildings a part of required green space standards (FIG.10).

This preservation practice, jokingly referred to as the *penjing* ("potted landscape") approach, has many practical advantages: it renders maintenance and fire prevention easier; it ensures a degree of prominence for preservation sites that are otherwise threatened by new high buildings in their vicinity; it combines conservation with the general need for more public park space in the city; and it is usually compatible with the use of the site itself, which is often of a public nature, even when it is an old courtyard house.[23] The advantages notwith-

FIGURE 9. *"Plan of the Preservation [Site] Limits and Construction Control Zones" for the Lu Zu Ge, listed with its address, Bei Xinhua Jie #112. Although the Lu Zu Ge is actually a Taoist temple, its treatment is similar to that for listed* siheyuan. *Another preservation site, a* siheyuan *at #87 Xi Jiaomin Xiang, is also shown at right, encroaching on the right-of-way of a future major thoroughfare. (Courtesy of West City District Urban Planning Bureau.)*

standing, this manner of historic conservation is problematic, for it breaks the traditional close relationship between the monument and its vernacular context. When the "monument" is a courtyard house, itself an example of vernacular architecture, this rupture with context is even more severe.

In recognition of the problem, the Municipal Government initiated a new type of preservation object in 1990: of 25 listed historic-cultural "districts," two large areas were designated as "traditional one-story courtyard housing preservation districts."[24] These districts, the blocks of *hutongs* at Nan Luogu Xiang in the East City and Xisi Bei in the West City (Figure 7, areas A and B), have long been valued for their particularly high concentrations of relatively intact Qing Dynasty neighborhood architecture: the classic *hutong* and *siheyuan*.[25] Since then, a third block of *hutongs*, to the northeast of Dongsi, has also been designated to be preserved for the same reason (Figure 7, area C). In contrast to other historic and cultural preservation districts in Beijing, which are considered worth protection either because they are adjacent to important elements in the immediate urban landscape, like the streets that flank the Forbidden City (for example, Nanchizi Street, shown in Figure 7, site 9), or have particularly important cultural histories of their own, like Liulichang, the Qing dynasty arts and crafts street (Figure 7, site 2), or the Shishahai lakes district, valued primarily for its scenic landscape and multitude of temples and palaces (Figure 7, area D), the particular histories of Nan Luogu Xiang and Xisi Bei are rarely invoked in justifying their

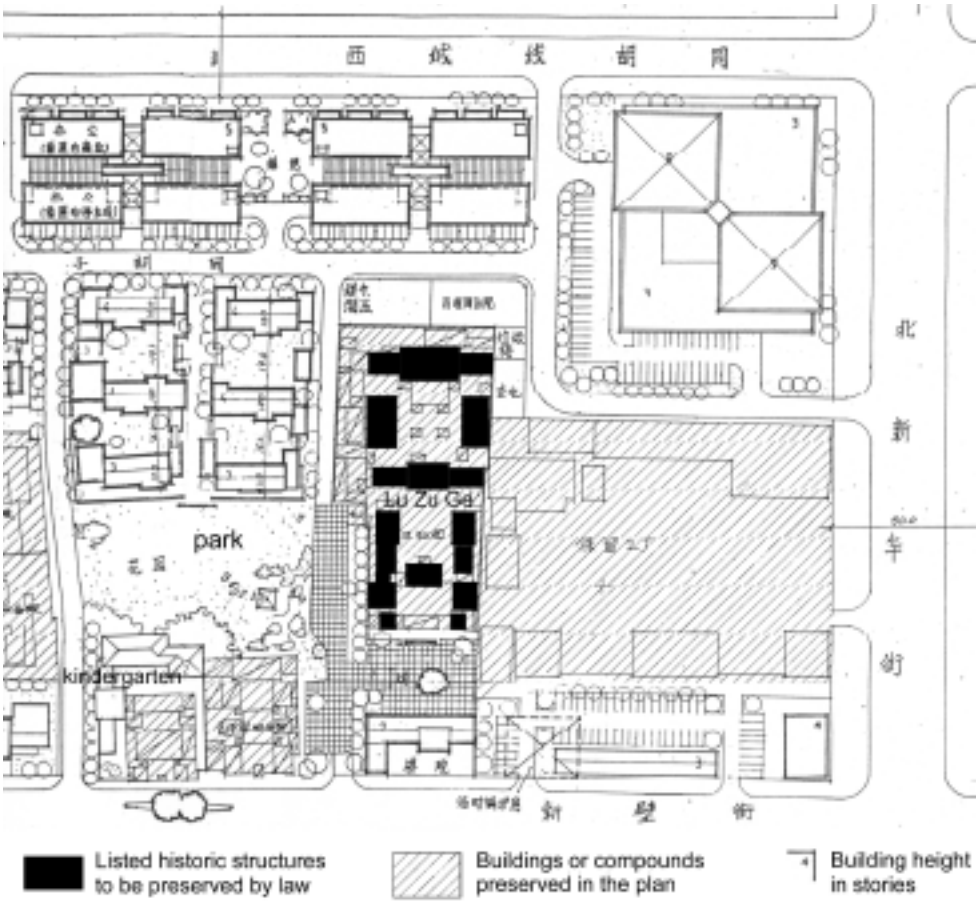

FIGURE 10. *A scheme for redevelopment around the Lu Zu Ge, showing the preservation site surrounded by denser development, some of which encroaches on the required green area. This scheme is actually unusually sensitive: besides the Lu Zu Ge, it also preserves two unlisted courtyard houses (incorporated into a kindergarten), and the closest new buildings are less than five stories. (Courtesy of Urban Investment Development Consultants, Beijing.)*

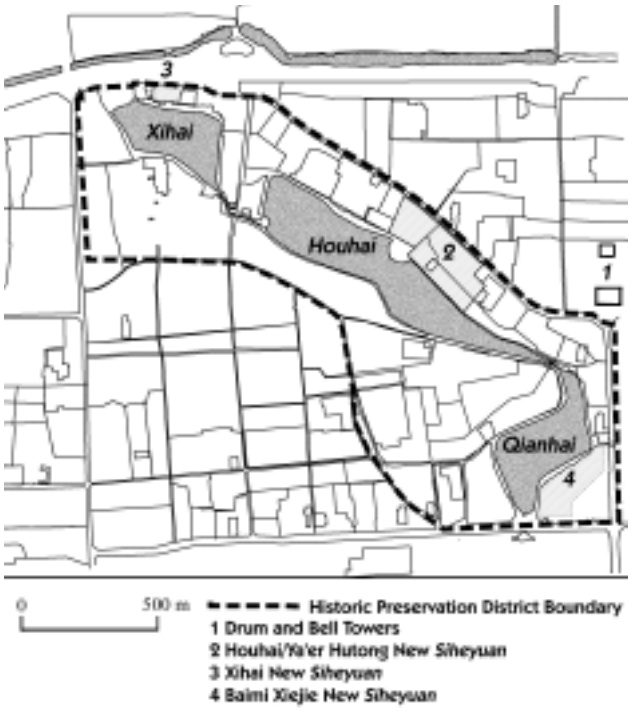

FIGURE 11. *Map of the Shishahai lakes area.*

preservation; their value is almost entirely presented in terms of their representativeness of a broader, "classic" residential architecture and culture (FIG.11). But just how extensive was this environment in the history of Beijing's residential environment, and what remains today?

According to an analysis of aerial photographs published in 1989, there were only 805 relatively large and classically laid-out courtyard houses remaining in the Old City, occupying only 115 hectares, or about 1.9 percent of the Old City's total land area of 6,200 hectares.[26] The highest concentrations of these fine *siheyuan* were in the Nan Luogu Xiang and Xisi Bei blocks. Thus, the survey generally supported the initial policy of limiting preservation of vernacular housing to a very few isolated *siheyuan* and to two or three large, well-defined districts. But it also underlined how conservative the definition of "classic" *siheyuan* is. This conservatism has not only limited the application of legal and regulatory protection to vernacular housing in Beijing, it has also limited the feasibility of rehabilitating courtyards on the basis of existing or prospective residents' needs, even where such courtyards are not designated for preservation. The current push to redevelop and densify the city center wherever the regulations allow (and sometimes even where they do not) presents serious enough difficulties to the maintenance of a low-rise, ground-

connected vernacular dwelling tradition; conservative assessments of this tradition's preservation value give even less room for alternative approaches to housing rehabilitation.

There have been a number of design studies that explore ways in which a mix of preserved *siheyuan*, upgraded or enlarged courtyard compounds, and new housing types could coexist within the historic pattern of *hutongs*, or in which most of the existing buildings are replaced by modern "new courtyard prototypes" that carry on the "spirit" of the *siheyuan* while satisfying residents' changed housing needs.[27] According to some of these studies, this "spirit" has more to do with the courtyard environment's hierarchies of access, indoor-outdoor relationships, flexibility of use, and ease of modification, than with specific architectural detailing.[28] Some of these studies were actually carried out as pilot projects for the overall renewal program, as mentioned above — the most famous being the Ju'er Hutong project designed by Wu Liangyong. All of these studies and projects, however, have so far failed to sway the municipal and district governments from their fixation on city-center land values as a short-term source of income for all manner of urban improvements. At the same time, the contribution these studies and projects might make to the preservationist toolkit has also been ignored by officialdom, largely because the architecture they advocate strays too far from what is considered worth preserving.

LUXURY *SIHEYUAN*: THE LOGICAL PRODUCT OF A CONSERVATIVE DEFINITION OF BEIJING'S ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

Where courtyard housing is rehabilitated on a plot-by-plot basis, it requires the intervention of real estate companies and well-connected and wealthy individuals **(FIG. 12)**.[29] It is necessary to have some back door in the bureaucracy to gain approval for this kind of construction, because individual courtyards are not normally allowed to install a septic tank for modern plumbing where such did not exist before. And it is expensive because the new resident must pay for the relocation of all existing residents of the courtyard to new housing — a process that requires the approval and intervention of the local Property Management Bureau. Some real estate companies — often spun off from the Property Management Bureau or other government agencies[30] — specialize in hunting for good-sized courtyard houses with relatively few residents who can easily be relocated, and then arranging for the houses' rehabilitation for sale on the luxury market. Cases of this kind of rehabilitation are increasing but still quite isolated, since only a few areas within the Old City appear safe from widespread demolition and redevelopment. These are either the designated courtyard preservation districts, or other preservation districts and areas surrounding major historic sites or monuments. In the block around

FIGURE 12. *A privately rebuilt* siheyuan *on its original plot within the Shishahai preservation district. Note the garage door on the left.*

the Guozijian and Confucian Temple, for example, a small concentration of individually rehabilitated luxury courtyards has emerged, with prices for *siheyuan* of 400 square meters reaching 3 million yuan (US$360,000).[31] Other areas in the Old City that have attracted this type of investment are the streets on either side of the Forbidden City and the neighborhoods around Beihai, Shishahai, and the Drum and Bell Towers; of course, the traditional courtyard preservation districts of Nan Luogu Xiang and Xisi Bei are also prime locations for individual luxury courtyard rehabilitation.

Critics of the individual luxury *siheyuan* have identified a number of problems. These houses are often not the primary residence of their wealthy owners, and thus bring gentrification and absenteeism to the neighborhood. Being owned by the wealthy, they also bring an increased level of car traffic into the narrow *hutong*. As isolated points of investment, they do nothing to improve neighborhood infrastructure. And to suit their owners' modern living, they often involve jarring elements like large "garage entrances, air conditioners, satellite dishes and aerials."[32] In the name of solving one of these problems — the improvement of neighborhood infrastructure and the public environment — some developers in Beijing have successfully proposed the wholesale redevelopment of old courtyard neighborhoods into estates of new or rehabilitated luxury *siheyuan*. This approach effectively allows developers and district governments to capitalize on city-center land values even as they conform to the requirements of historic preservation districts.

In order to compensate for the low building density required by preservation district regulations, the prices for these new "old-style" houses are extremely high — in the order of US$3,000–4,000 per square meter for houses of between 600 and 800 square meters. A brochure for one such project covering about 5.5 hectares along Ya'er Hutong (Crow Lane) on the north shore of Houhai in the Shishahai historic district (Figure 11, area 2), the self-proclaimed

"largest-scale Quadrangle residential district in Beijing so far," emphasizes that it is located in an officially designated historic preservation district of traditional courtyard houses, and that the design of the new courtyard houses complies with the "Engineering Rules" of the Ministry of Construction of the Qing Dynasty and the "Building Standard of Qing [Dynasty] Style."[33] Certain well-known features of the classic courtyard house were then listed to describe these new residences. And the brochure goes on to describe the particular attractions — "traditional architectural style" and "a taste of long culture" — of the Shishahai environment, including its history as a waterway since the Yuan Dynasty, its natural lakeside scenery, its many historic preservation sites ("cultural and architectural relics"), its many former residences of historic figures, and, last but not necessarily least, its convenient access.

Finally, under the slogans "Extend Traditional Culture" and "Reproduce the Style and Image of the Ancient Capital," the brochure illustrates the product: a *siheyuan* which on the outside and from the courtyard appears completely traditional to the nonexpert (except for the garage door!). Indeed, the design principle for the Houhai project was "Very modern in living, very traditional in character and appearance."[34] The interpretation of "traditional" character and appearance was very strict. According to the designer, Prof. Zhu Zixuan of the Tsinghua University architecture faculty, an expert on historic Beijing architecture, "if the galleries and verandahs around the yard are enclosed, then it isn't a *siheyuan*." In order to follow this rule while also allowing residents to pass through the entire house without walking outside, later versions of the courtyard design included two layers of galleries surrounding the yard: one enclosed, next to the rooms; another open, next to the yard. Inside, the rooms range in decor from "Chinese Classical" to "Western Modern," and accommodate various uses from business conferences to servants quarters, to karaoke and billiards. There is even space for a bar, a gymnasium, and a swimming pool **(FIG.13)**. The final touch in the brochure is a sauna, complete with a blond, semi-nude model. However, since utmost effort was made to maintain the courtyard's visual integrity, including its one-story height, many of these accessory modern functions had to be placed in an untraditional basement.

Although this brochure doesn't mention explicitly what the market for these houses is, a brochure for another company selling individual courtyards of similar standard states very clearly in both Chinese (unsimplified characters, used primarily by Chinese outside the People's Republic) and English that "the new quadrangle in Beijing becomes the most ideal residential investment for those overseas Chinese in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and other countries."[35] The fact that the Houhai brochure was printed only in English indicates that their market is even wider. At another new *siheyuan* project in the Shishahai district, along the north shore of Xihai (Figure 11, area 3), the arrangement for the interior design of the new courtyards also indicates the dominance of the Hong Kong

FIGURE 13. *Designs for New Courtyard House in the Houhai redevelopment. (Courtesy of Beijing Shichahai Economy Construction and Development Co.)*

and overseas market; Zhu Zixuan (who planned this project as well as the Houhai project) had responsibility for the exterior appearance of the housing, but the developer retained a Hong Kong architect to design the interiors.

These estates of new *siheyuan* involve the demolition of all but about a few of the existing houses in an entire neighborhood, the complete disappearance of the existing land division pattern, the realignment and widening of most of the lanes and access ways, and an increase in public green space. The entire population of this neighborhood also must move to the far suburbs, to be replaced by only a fraction of their number. The luxury courtyards designed for Houhai typically accommodate residents at a standard of 75m²/person, while crowded courtyards prior to renewal typically provided less than 8m²/person.[36] The first phase of the Xihai project displaced 230 households from 0.8 hectares in order to build only seven new courtyard houses.[37] A similar scheme by the same designer for the northernmost three *hutong* in the Xisi Bei courtyard housing preservation district (Figure 7, site 10) would replace a population of 900 households with only 47 **(FIGS.14,15)**.[38] In both cases, the entire

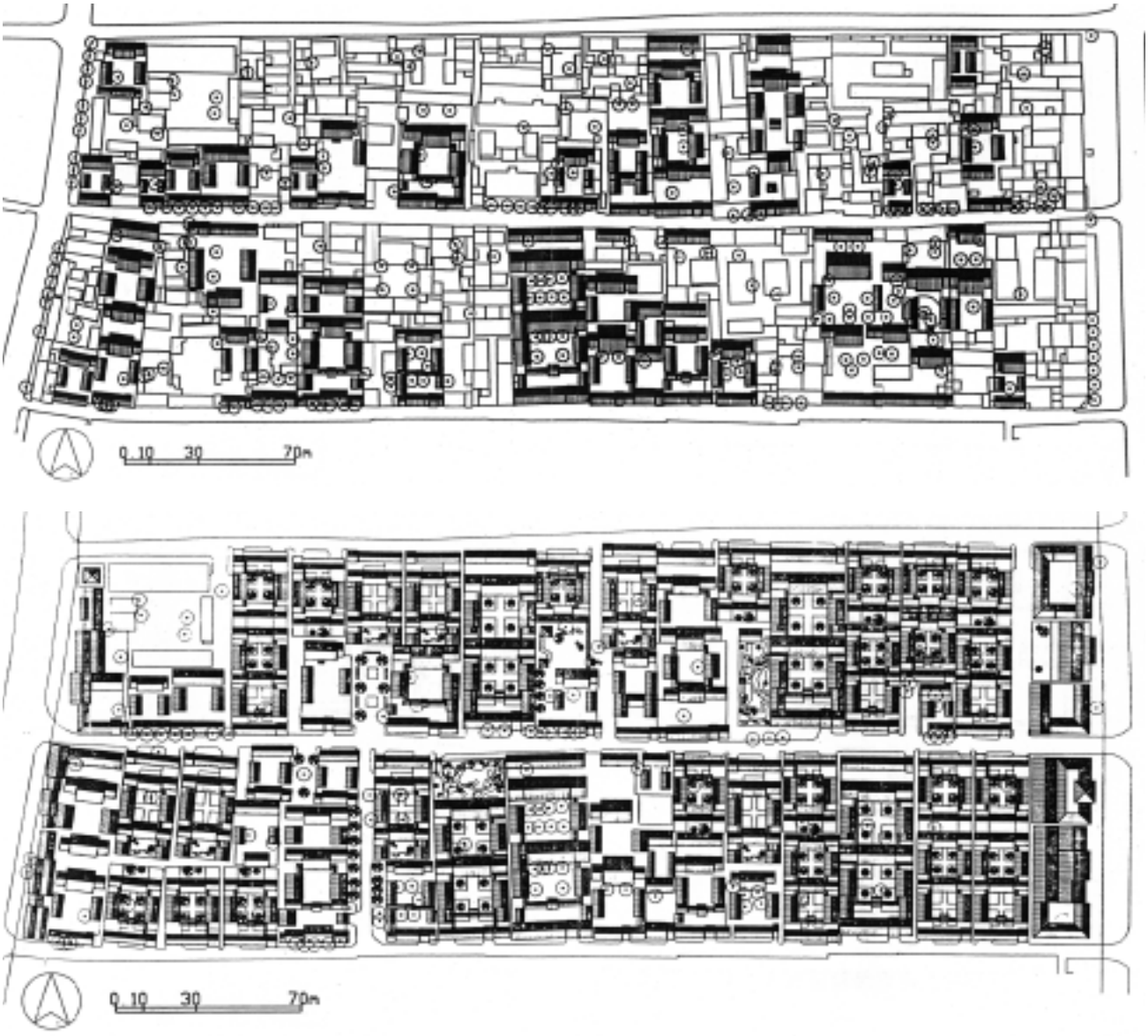

FIGURE 14. (TOP) *Survey plan of the existing layout of courtyard blocks between the sixth and eighth* hutongs *of the Xisibei district.* Siheyuan *considered worth preserving are shown in roof plan; less regular, "replaceable" courtyards and buildings are shown in outline only. (Courtesy of Tsinghua University, Prof. Zhu Zixuan; drawing by Zhong Ge.)*

FIGURE 15. (BOTTOM) *Plan of proposed redevelopment of the courtyard blocks between the sixth and eighth* hutong *of the Xisibei district. Compare with Figure 14 to see how many of the original* siheyuan *and how much of the old plot layout are preserved. (Courtesy of Tsinghua University, Prof. Zhu Zixuan; drawing by Zhong Ge.)*

neighborhood is likely to have its own professional maintenance staff and security patrol to guarantee the good condition of the common areas and the safety of the residents.

The Xisi Bei project — which remains for the time being only a scheme on the drawing boards with a low likelihood of ever being implemented — actually represents a different approach to large-scale luxury courtyard preservation and rehabilitation from that seen at Houhai and Xihai. The Xisi Bei scheme differs from these projects in three major respects: (1) its design preserves more of the existing courtyards because more of them are classically laid out to begin with; (2) it would therefore preserve the existing street layout and width, and much of the lot pattern as well; (3) it would not be marketed to wealthy overseas investors, but rather is designed for high officials who are being displaced from their current large courtyard compounds to make way for redevel-

opment elsewhere. As indicated in the survey of aerial photographs referred to above, 80 percent of the largest and best-maintained *siheyuan* in the Inner City are occupied by military or central-government work units. Many of these, in fact, are the homes of high-ranking officers, officials, or "old revolutionary" leaders. A particularly high concentration of these is in Feng Sheng subdistrict, in the area being redeveloped into the vast 103-hectare "Financial Street" high-density commercial and office district, from which nearly all existing residents must be relocated.[39] Whereas most of the existing residents must move to suburban counties like Daxing, the high-ranking elite would have the option of moving to new or rehabilitated courtyards in the Xisi Bei classic *siheyuan* preservation district. But in order to make room for them, the original residents of Xisi Bei would also have to move out.

It would seem that the decision to redevelop some neighborhoods as completely new high-density commercial districts, plus the decision to preserve other neighborhoods as completely old-style low-density housing, have exacerbated a situation in which the mass of residents in both types of neighborhood will have to be relocated far from the Old City. In the case of Xisi Bei, the convenience of an aging revolutionary elite who devoted their active careers to the liberation of the mass of people, would become a direct link in this rolling process of displacement, even though the more basic catalyst would be the pursuit of profit in the initial commercial development. In the written description of the Xisi Bei scheme draft, the cultural contradictions appear clearly. Along with the goal of preserving the "ancient capital's style and image," as embodied in the classic courtyard residential block at Xisi Bei, the plan calls for "strengthening neighborhood vitality (*zengjia jiequ huoli*)" by, among other things, "maintaining the original social structure (*baochi yuanyou shequ jiegou*)." The next goal listed, however, is to "raise the standard of living" by moving original residents out to presumed better-quality housing elsewhere, and allowing the *shouzhang* ("superiors") to move into the improved old courtyards. On the one hand, the draft considers the existing community to be of cultural value and worth preserving, but on the other hand, as long as the existing residents are moved to adequately improved dwelling conditions, the draft implies that the fine courtyards in this district are more appropriate as dwellings for families who have grown accustomed to the luxury of traditional *siheyuan* space.

For all its contradictions, this scheme for Xisi Bei is actually much more palatable to the district and municipal government, and perhaps even to the current residents, than is the situation on the ground at Houhai. At least the exclusive courtyard neighborhood of *shouzhang* at Xisi Bei could be considered the property of the state, on loan to deserving public servants. At Houhai, on the other hand, a prime piece of the city's historic and scenic landscape may become the exclusive stomping ground of foreign investors. Although the advertising for luxury courtyards usually makes a point of selling to ethnic Chinese abroad, the developer would be just as happy (and in general legally entitled) to sell to anyone who could pay, including non-Chinese foreigners. This concern for the image of the historic neighborhoods' overall cultural-demographic profile has led the municipal government to issue an informal policy that any housing sold close to the Forbidden City should not be sold to "foreigners." An East City District development company, eager to turn an historic parcel along Nanchizi Street just adjacent to the Forbidden City moat into luxury courtyards, had to insist on defining investors from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, etc. as "Chinese."[40] The Nanchizi project was aborted, but the problem still remains at places like Houhai. Local officials' sensitivity to this issue reflects how politically explosive the whole preservation and renewal program is in Beijing's Old City. Popular nationalistic sentiment could easily combine with resentment against relocation to become an excuse for protest against the entire program and the blatant inequities it expresses.

Also, from a dwelling-cultural perspective, the designer Zhu Zixuan much prefers the Xisi Bei approach because the *shouzhang*, being Chinese and being relatively old-fashioned, do not require the completely modern, international interiors that the luxury-commodity courtyard residents do; likewise, their courtyards can be more faithful restorations or reproductions. Moreover, they require a wider variety of standards that more closely resembles the original mix of sizes and shapes of courtyards in the neighborhood, so that more of the old can be preserved and mixed in with the new. Zhu admits that the Xisi Bei residents are very suspicious of his group's survey work and fear the displacement that may result from redevelopment. He, himself, also fears the consequences for public access: that the security demands of both foreign investors and domestic *shouzhang* would conflict with the public's right to be able to appreciate the historic environment.

Displacement and exclusion appear to be the inevitable result of a preservation policy which (1) is coupled with a program of large-scale renewal as a strategy for infrastructure improvement, and (2) defines culturally valuable residential environments only according to the strict terms of a classic architectural form, especially when the essence of that architecture is as private and inward-oriented as the *siheyuan*. Unlike the historic urban housing of Europe and Europe's colonies, which has a public facade that is in itself often considered worth preserving even if the interior is entirely remodeled, the essence of the traditional *siheyuan*, conservatively defined, is in its internal detailing and spatial layout, which evolved in tight relation to a premodern imperial-Confucian social structure.[41] Planners and developers must go to great lengths to find a group of inhabitants whose social position and way of life can be practically accommodated by such architecture today. Then, having found such a group, there is no way to ensure that the group's successors will be equally well accommodated. Whether these well-restored *siheyuan* remain in the hands of the *shouzhang's*

children, or are in turn sold to different, wealthy residents, their utility will certainly change. Moreover, since the enclosed, introverted form of the houses itself prevents the public from appreciating them without being able to enter them, it will be particularly difficult to monitor and regulate any remodeling their inhabitants may wish to make. Indeed, the inherent public "invisibility" of the *siheyuan* architectural heritage raises in a new context the common but fundamental question facing so many preservation/restoration projects: for whom is this heritage to be preserved?

Finally, it is still not clear that even the current generation of *shouzhang* families can be accommodated by a scheme such as the current proposal for Xisi Bei. The architecture may be fine, but the social life of this kind of neighborhood has drawbacks. According to remarks by the West City District vice-mayor in charge of urban development, many of the *shouzhang* themselves do not like the idea of living next door to one another, where their every move can be scrutinized by peers who already know too much about their lives. They belong to a rank of society which is extremely exclusive and riven by factional in-fighting, and prefer the "buffering" effect of having the *laobaixing* ("old hundred-names" — the commonfolk) as their neighbors. Currently, the walls of their compounds and the familiarity of neighbors and local neighborhood police are enough protection from intruders. Developers are so wary of disturbing them that they prefer to design an entirely rebuilt neighborhood around the *shouzhang* courtyards rather than require them to relocate. In many schemes, the good-quality courtyards that are preserved as *penjing* in the midst of new multistory construction belong to high-ranking families who are left where they are precisely for this reason.

THE EVOLUTION AND IMPLICATIONS OF COURTYARD HOUSE PRESERVATION POLICIES IN BEIJING

In order to understand the nature of the apparent conflicts involved in conserving the city's cultural identity through luxury-standard courtyard restoration, it is necessary to realize that the situation is evolving very quickly, and view it in a dialectical light. All of the remarks above about these projects must be tentative, because none of the projects has been completed yet or taken root on wide scale. The Xihai project is still under construction after breaking ground six years ago. Demolition and relocation for the Houhai project is only partially complete, and Xisi Bei has run afoul of difficulties inherent in accommodating a politically sensitive class of residents. Moreover, all the projects are under intense scrutiny by planners, developers and local authorities, who are prepared to take lessons from them and change the preservation policy and development approach if that appears desirable from any of a number of angles — political, social or financial. The entire development situation in Beijing has been extremely fluid over the past decade, and it is impossible to predict with certainty what its outcome will be.

At the root of Beijing's developmental fluidity is, of course, the recent and rapid introduction of market reforms, and their various political ramifications. When detailed preservationist visions for particular neighborhoods in the Old City first took shape in the early 1980s, there was no real estate market to contend with.[42] Nor was there any fear among Old City residents of having to relocate en masse as far as the suburban counties. At that time, the primary threat to the environmental integrity of these neighborhoods was general overcrowding and neglect, plus the occasional insensitive construction projects of individual work units. Another threat was the grand modernist architectural visions of government leaders and planners themselves.[43] But this was secondary, because there was little chance under the centrally planned economic system that these visions could ever actually be implemented in the vast majority of neighborhoods.

Given this reference frame, it is understandable that preservation advocates welcomed any opportunity to bring the interests of preservation into line with the interests of the political leadership. After all, only the leadership had the clout and resources to maintain buildings in reasonable condition. Preservation advocates therefore welcomed the inhabitation of as much traditional housing as possible by high-level officials. As late as 1992 one East City District preservation official went so far as to propose that the entire Inner City should revert to its feudal status as the home of officials and wealthy businessmen, who could afford the privilege and obligation of occupying and maintaining traditional *siheyuan*.[44] Gradually, this view adapted to see the land market as an opportunity to fund preservation too. The authors of one of the most thorough books on the architecture of Beijing's *siheyuan* noted that high land values in the center of the city should not be allowed to turn the Old City into a business district, but could be channeled into the preservation of old neighborhoods as exclusive, high-income residential districts.[45] Thus, when the first temptations of market-driven restoration projects began to emerge (most of them tourist-oriented, but some also geared to luxury housing), architects and planners who valued the historic environment could not resist the chance finally to build something in the classical tradition, regardless who would be the occupants.

The work of Tsinghua University's Prof. Zhu Zixuan is an exemplary strand in this evolution. His research has contributed much to the theory of urban neighborhood and historic district preservation and redevelopment in Beijing and elsewhere in China.[46] Much of this research is based on years of devotion to the preservation planning of the Shishahai district, and he was the driving force behind the design of most of the projects that have been realized there. The first of his designs to be built at Shishahai were primarily landscape enhancements and touristic facilities conceived in the mid-1980s and built along the shore of the lakes.

When the *Wei-Gai* program began on a large scale, he was commissioned to recreate classic residential courtyard districts on the north shore of Xihai, along Ya'er Hutong on the north shore of Houhai and along Baimi Xiejie between Qianhai and Di'anmen (Figure 11, area 4). Having invested so much of his career in the research and design of the Shishahai district environment, Prof. Zhu could not refuse this commission. Moreover, he saw it as a primarily architectural opportunity — far preferable to the massive housing projects that were displacing residents elsewhere in the Old City.

Nevertheless, the Houhai experience confirmed two lessons for Prof. Zhu. The first is that, from a purely architectural standpoint, even in all-luxury-standard, classic-style environments, it is far better to preserve more of the old and mix in less of the new than to replace large areas of old housing with brand new "old-style" housing. In this respect, the project at Xisi Bei represents progress over Houhai. The second lesson, to use Jane Jacobs's term, is that "catastrophic" changes in the economic and social status of a district are not complimentary to its traditional character, no matter what architectural form these changes take. Zhu's most recent plan for the entire "Shishahai Scenic, Historic and Cultural Tourism District" recognizes this drawback of "newly built *siheyuan* districts," and essentially places a moratorium on their further development.[47]

Municipal policy, too, evolved as a result of this experience. The Director of the Municipal Cultural Relics Bureau during the mid-1990s, Shan Jixiang, remarked in a meeting at Tsinghua University that individual courtyard restoration and rehabilitation is preferable to large-area estates of new or restored courtyards because the former at least allow for a mix of social types among the residents. By the end of 1999 this preference had become municipal policy. In the year 2000 the municipal government confirmed that no large-scale development of any kind could occur within the city's 25 historic preservation districts.[48] It is now exploring the possibility of selectively selling courtyard houses to their current residents, on the condition that they rehabilitate them according to preservation guidelines.[49]

In the shifting landscape of redevelopment and preservation policy in China's capital, issues of housing and environmental improvement, social stability, economic growth, and cultural stewardship, are all inextricably entwined. As for the fate of Beijing's *siheyuan*, it is clear that there will always be at least a few classic examples to serve as displays of a highly refined building tradition. But unless that tradition itself is defined in a more flexible and inclusive way — a way that allows it to continue to house the mass of Beijing's "commonfolk" — it is doomed to an unusually extreme kind of museumization or gentrification.

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33. This author was unable to locate such a document. Even the architect did not know of it, so it is likely the reference was invented by the developer.

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35. Beijing Hongtai Real Estate Limited Company (established in February 1993).

36. Beijing Shi Xicheng Qu Shishahai Fengjing Qu Guanli Chu [Beijing West City District Shishahai Scenic Area Management Office], Beijing Shi Shishahai Jingji Jianshe Kaifa Gongsi [Beijing Shishahai Economic Construction and Development Company], and Qinghua Daxue Jianzhu Xueyuan Chengshi Guihua Xi [Tsinghua University School of Architecture Department of Urban Planning and Design], *Shishahai Lishi Wenhua Luyou Fengjing Qu Kongzhixing Xiangxi Guihua [Detailed Regulatory Plan for the Shishahai Historic-Cultural-Tourist-Scenic Area]*, discussion draft, (November 1995), p.16.

37. Y. Li and Z. Chen, "Jinghua Shengdi Shishahai de Guihua Jianshe [Planning and Construction of the Capital's Famous Scenic Area at Shishahai]," *Beijing Guihua Jianshe [Beijing City Planning and Construction Review]*, Vol.41 No.4 (July 1995), p.37.

38. Tsinghua Daxue Jianzhu Xueyuan Chengshi Guihua Xi [Tsinghua University School of Architecture Urban Planning Department], *Beijing Shi Xicheng Qu Xisibei Liu zhi Ba Tiao Zhengzhi yu Gaijian Xiujianxing Xiangxi Guihua [Detailed Restoration Plan for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of Xisi Bei Hutongs 6–8, West City District, Beijing]*, unpublished discussion draft (June 1994), pp.1,4.

39. G. Wang, "Kaifa Jianshe Zhong de Beijing Jinrong Jie: Ji Beijing Jinrong Jie de Guihua yu Jianshe [Beijing's Financial Street in Development and Construction: Notes on the Planning and Construction of Beijing's Financial Street]," *Beijing Guihua Jianshe [Beijing City Planning and Construction Review]*, Vol.41 No.4 (July 1995), pp.32–34.

40. In the Spring of 1993 the author was a member of the planning team commissioned by this developer.

41. For the European case, see J. Fredet, "A Survey and Structural Diagnosis of Ancient Domestic Buildings. A Comparative Case Study: Paris, Shanghai, Calcutta," paper presented at the International Conference on Renewal and Development in Housing Areas of Traditional Chinese and European Cities (First Year), Beijing, Quanzhou and Xi'an, July 6–18, 1995, pp.373–74. For the Chinese case, see C. Samuels, "Cultural Ideology and the Landscape of Confucian China: the Traditional Si He Yuan," Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1986.

42. See, for example, J. Cheng and L. Yang, "Beijing Chuantong Jiefang de Baohu Chuyi — Nan Luogu Xiang Siheyuan Jiefang [A Modest Proposal for the Preservation of Beijing's Traditional Street Blocks — the Nan Luogu Xiang Block of Courtyard Houses]," in [Jianzhu Lishi ji Lilun Yanjiushi [Architectural History and Theory Research Room], ed., *Jianzhu Lishi Yanjiu [Architectural History Research]*, (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Kexue Yanjiuyuan Jianzhu Qingbao Yanjiusuo [Architectural Intelligence Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Architectural Science], 1982), pp.73–93.

43. P. Jonathan, "Pekin: la restructuration du centre historique de Pekin: Projet d'urbanisme et d'architecture dans le quartier de Shishahai," Mémoire de fin d'étude, Unite Pedagogique d'Architecture, 1982, p.36.

44. Interview at East City District Cultural Relics Office, September 1992.

45. Lu and Wang, *Beijing Siheyuan*, p.166.

46. His writings include Z. Zhu, "Chuantong Shangye Qu Gaijian Guihua [Planning for the Rebuilding of the Traditional Commercial District of Qianmen in Beijing]," *Chengshi Guihua [Urban Planning]*, 1985, pp.3–12, 52; Z. Zhu and G. Zheng, "Beijing Jiucheng Chuantong Geju yu Guji Baohu Tantao [Discussion on the Traditional Layout of Beijing's Old City and the Preservation of its Historic Sites]," in Editorial Board of Chengshi Guihua [Urban Planning], ed., *Jiucheng Gaijian Guihua [Planning for Urban Renewal]: A Compilation of Results to Date* (Beijing: c.1986), pp.1–29; and Z. Zhu, "An Exploratory Study of the Preservation and Renovations of Old Town," *China City Planning Review*, Vol.5 No.4 (December 1989), pp.38–55.

47. Beijing Shi Xicheng Qu Shishahai Fengjing Qu Guanli Chu [Beijing West City District Shishahai Scenic Area Management Office], Beijing Shi Shishahai Jingji Jianshe Kaifa Gongsi [Beijing Shishahai Economic Construction and Development Company], and Qinghua Daxue Jianzhu Xueyuan Chengshi Guihua Xi [Tsinghua University School of Architecture Department of Urban Planning and Design], *Shishahai Detailed Regulatory Plan*, p.15.

48. D. Wen, "25 Pian Jiu Jiequ Buxu Kaifa: Beijing Huachu 2300 Gongqing Baohu Jiucheng Wenwu Guji [No Development Allowed in 25 Old Neighborhood Parcels: Beijing Designates 2300 Hectares for Preservation of Historic Sites and Structures in the Old City]," *Beijing Wanbao [Beijing Evening News]*, July 23, 2000.

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All illustrations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Dialogues of Architectural Preservation in Modern Vietnam: The 36 Streets Commercial Quarter of Hanoi

ALEXANDRA SAUVEGRAIN

This article examines the significance of dialogues present in the safeguarding of a particular urban site: the "36 Commercial Streets Quarter" in Hanoi, Vietnam. These dialogues expose both the contemporary needs of local inhabitants and the agenda of the government with regard to architectural preservation. Similarly, the dialogues allow for residents of this historical quarter to react to and contest the preservation practices being used on site. This contrast between the views of the government and of local residents reveals how various notions of architectural preservation — in particular, an indigenous sense of preservation and the colonial influence present in the "modern" practice of preserving the past — depict the true nature of Vietnamese culture in its postcolonial state.

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After a protracted period of political unrest and war that followed nearly one hundred years of French colonization and more than one thousand years of Chinese influence, Vietnam has emerged as a nation-state with an incredible melting pot of architectural styles. Across the country, and particularly in its cities, an array of Chinese-like pagodas, temples and palaces, French villas, and Russian-inspired apartment blocks and government buildings can today be found — in addition to local forms of construction. Amidst this diversity, the government is promoting, among other sites, the "36 Streets Commercial Quarter" of Hanoi, or the city's Old Quarter, as an untainted representation of true Vietnamese identity. This is a site that largely survived French colonialism and war, where many of the trades after which its streets were originally named are still practiced (FIG.1).[1]

The 36 Streets Quarter originated in the fifteenth century to service the needs of the adjacent citadel and royal palace. The quarter's commercial streets developed according

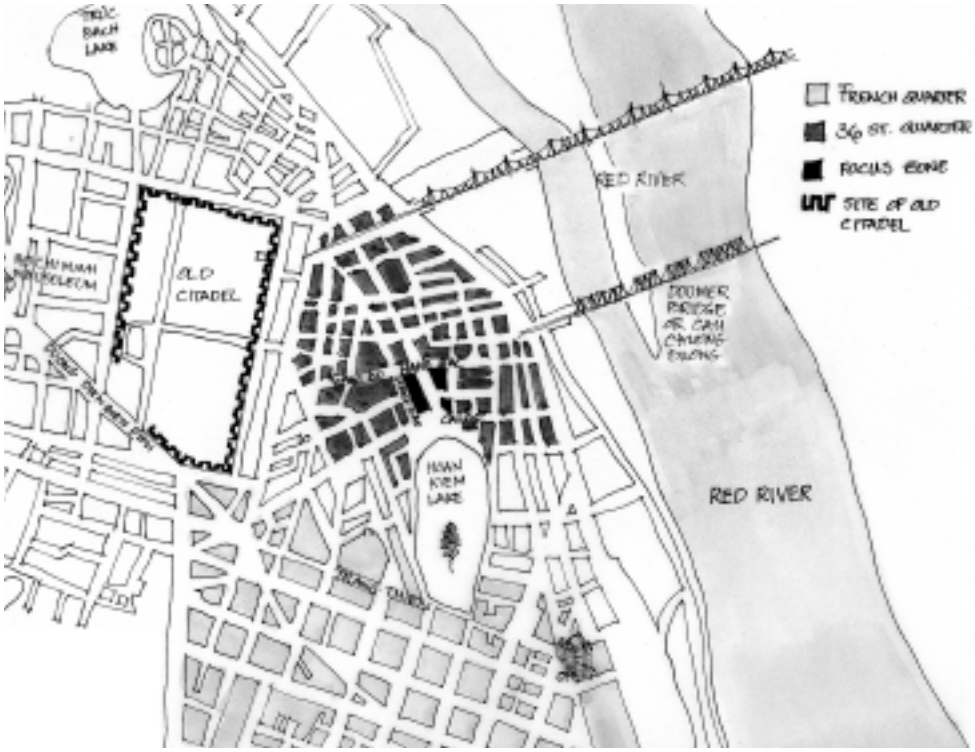

FIGURE 1. *Map of central Hanoi. (Based on Hoang Huu Phe and Yukio Nishimura,* The Historical Environment and Housing Conditions in the "36 Old Streets" Quarter of Hanoi: A Conservation Study, *Bangkok, Division of Human Settlements Development, Asian Institute of Technology, Research Report No.23, 1992, p.xi.)*

to the particular trades that were practiced in villages in the vicinity, and which were imported to the capital city to form what was, in essence, a permanent marketplace **(FIG.2)**. The building type that came to define the district, lining its narrow streets, was the shop house, a work-live space typical of the Southeast Asian region. Over time these structures took on distinctly Vietnamese characteristics, growing deeper and narrower and developing into what are now known as "tube houses" **(FIG.3)**.

FIGURE 2. *Streets in the Old Quarter were named for the particular crafts once practiced there. Here bamboo is stacked in front of a shop on Ladder Street. (Photo by author.)*

Today views surrounding the preservation of the 36 Streets Quarter, particularly those espoused by the government, tend to focus on design solutions reflecting incomplete interpretations and representations of what the area looked like in the fifteenth century, at the time of its birth. By contrast, inhabitants of the quarter, the very people who make it what it is today, have had little say on the preservation of their own neighborhoods — unless their views serve the official agenda.[2] In many ways, the government's idea for the preservation of the area is for a built environment frozen in time, where culture is defined outside the present. Such an idea is representative of a certain current within contemporary preservation practice that promotes the safeguarding of designated moments in history — and worse, portrays these as true representations of the past.[3] In other words, it sacrifices other historical moments to a single, often fictitious vision.

Contrary to such preservation practices, this article argues for an examination of other questions that may help reveal what traditional Vietnamese identity means in Vietnam today. For example, what is the reaction of Hanoians who occupy the 36 Streets Quarter to the safeguarding, upgrading or demolition of their neighborhoods? What tensions exist between the views of residents and of the government? And do residents' desires to preserve their lifestyle in the quarter validate a traditional structure, or favor a total renewal of the area? In other words, should culture in today's postcolonial Vietnam be better conceived as preserving the past, or adapting it to serve contemporary needs.

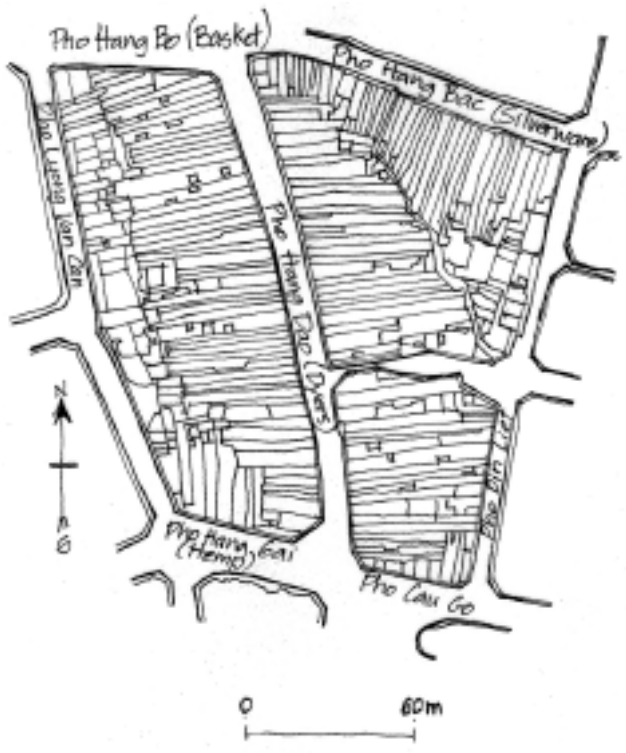

FIGURE 3. *Agglomeration of tube houses on three blocks. (Based on Hoang Huu Phe and Yukio Nishimura,* The Historical Environment and Housing Conditions in the "36 Old Streets" Quarter of Hanoi: A Conservation Study, *Bangkok, Division of Human Settlements Development, Asian Institute of Technology, Research Report No.23, 1992, p.20.)*

The contrast between official concerns and the concerns of local inhabitants illustrates how ideological and historical factors are at play in attempts to define a postcolonial identity in Hanoi. The conflict over the preservation, modernization or demolition of the 36 Streets Quarter also indicates how the definition of culture and its preservation through built form is a constantly evolving process. I begin with a brief history and physical description of the area.

THE 36 STREETS QUARTER

An official capital of one sort or another has existed in Hanoi for more than one thousand years. However, the city only began to develop at an accelerated pace in the fifteenth century, when the commercial quarter of the 36 Streets grew in order to cater to the needs of the adjacent citadel, or royal encampment. At that time the streets of the area were modeled after the social organization of traditional villages, where single trades were often practiced.

Each of the streets in the quarter is today comprised of rows of shop houses, known as "tube houses" **(FIG.4)**.[4] Aside from these ubiquitous live-work structures, pagodas, temples, and communal houses are also scattered around the quarter **(FIG.5)**.[5] The elongated tube-house form was developed in response to the practice of seventeenth-century imperial administrators to tax the width of shop fronts. For merchants to continue to attract customers without paying a lot in taxes, their storefronts by necessity became very narrow **(FIGS.6,7)**. Such rules also meant that as a family grew, its house would deepen, since houses could not grow taller, "supposedly to prevent any attempt on the life of the emperor as he was carried around in a palanquin."[6]

FIGURE 4. *Street scene in the 36 Streets Quarter, showing typical, narrow tube house facades. (Photo courtesy of Mui Ho.)*

During the period of French colonization, Hanoi was the French capital in Southeast Asia, and the city came to be marked by the French architectural styles of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the 36 Streets Quarter was little changed by the French. Although its

FIGURE 5. *Temple on Fan Street in the 36 Streets Quarter. (Photo by author.)*

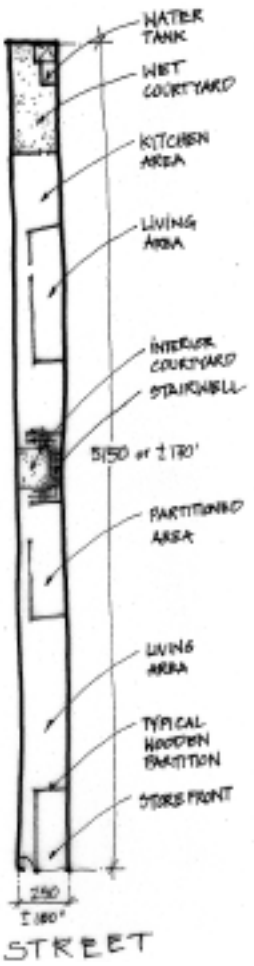

FIGURE 6. (LEFT) *Plan of a typical tube house. (Based on Hoang Huu Phe and Yukio Nishimura,* The Historical Environment and Housing Conditions in the "36 Old Streets" Quarter of Hanoi: A Conservation Study, *Bangkok, Division of Human Settlements Development, Asian Institute of Technology, Research Report No.23, 1992, p.34.)*

FIGURE 7 (RIGHT). *Interior corridor of a tube house. (Photo courtesy of Mui Ho.)*

streets were widened and certain colonial architectural features were inserted, the French, for practical reasons, left it largely intact. Their administration in Hanoi needed domestic help as well as easy access to local facilities and everyday services, and the preservation by neglect of the quarter may have been a practical consideration.[7]

Today, although its shop houses mostly date to the late nineteenth century, the quarter is the only area of Hanoi that resembles in plan the older, precolonial city. It has, therefore, a significant historical and cultural value, which has been recognized by the Vietnamese government. As Vietnam slowly enters a competitive market economy in a world where nation-states strive to define themselves as distinctive, officials want to use the 36 Streets Quarter to promote national identity on the world stage.

ARCHITECTURAL PRESERVATION IN VIETNAM

Over the past sixteen years, Vietnam has become increasingly active, if cautiously so, in the world economy — a move punctuated by its joining the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1995. During this time, Vietnam has made a major effort to define itself as an autonomous entity among its immediate neighbors, negating at the same time the all-encompassing "Asian Values" paradigm that emerged as a reaction to the homogenizing effects of the West in Asia. Vietnam's admittance to ASEAN, as the group's seventh member, marked a paradigm shift of sorts in the region. The country's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Manh Cam, described this as a "qualitative change in the condition of our region 50 years after the end of World War II . . . an eloquent testimony to the ever-growing trends of *regionalization* and globalization in the increasingly interdependent world [my emphasis]."[8]

As part of this effort at reintegration, the Vietnamese government has placed strong emphasis on defining a Vietnamese cultural identity, particularly in the nation's capital city, Hanoi. The nature of this state-defined effort was reflected in a 1994 article on Hanoi in the government-oriented *Vietnam Investment Review (VIR)*. According to that article, "Local inhabitants strictly follow principles of respect, dignity, trust and honor — a far cry from living standards usually associated with a burgeoning metropolis in Southeast Asia."[9] Such representations seek to set Vietnam apart from neighboring countries, as a highly authentic and rooted culture with a thousand-year-old capital containing still-vibrant quarters dating to the city's foundation. At the same time, such statements also seem to express Vietnam's desire to be perceived as a fully fledged modern nation, one drawing sustenance from a precolonial ideology.

Such repositioning of historical awareness is important in terms of the nation's architectural preservation discourse. The notion of architectural preservation clearly predated the arrival of the French in Vietnam, as can be seen by precolonial imperial codes which contained a number of references to the preservation of old buildings. However, such references did not carry the modern aspect that related architectural preservation to historical consciousness.[10] For example, the Annamite Code had 21 different groups of laws. Articles that can be interpreted as guidelines for the preservation of buildings can be found in sections referring to civil law, under the subtitle "rice-fields and habitations"; on ritual law, under the subtitle "sacrifices and etiquette"; and on construction law.[11] But the relative scarcity of articles relating directly to architectural preservation suggests that this imperative was aimed not at defining cultural difference between states (since such a concept did not exist), but at establishing an ideology based on respect for social rank.

In general, precolonial building preservation guidelines embodied concern that the common man should take care of certain forms within the built environment to show respect toward things, animals, people, the sovereign, and the gods that were considered superior. Laws were therefore enforced to maintain buildings, repair them, and avoid their destruction. And in such matters, the appropriate degree of care (or choice of ornamentation) depended on one's rank in society as set down in article 157 of the Annamite Code: "*. . . suivant le degré d'élévation ou d'inferiorité, de noblesse ou d'humilité de la condition de chacun* [according to the degree of elevation or inferiority, nobility or humility of everyone's condition]. . . ."[12]

Broadly speaking, "conservation" efforts were thus concerned with maintaining respect for the imperial family, religion, and morals. Cultural inheritance was automatic in Vietnamese feudal society. In every case, whatever one owned would be passed on to the next generation. Furthermore, the nature of one's inheritance was protected by a very detailed ordinance relating the materials, colors and shapes that could be used for each object (and how many of them one could own) to one's rank.[13] Such a definition of heritage was never meant to transmit specific representations of built heritage to future generations, as in contemporary Western societies. Indeed, there is evidence that such a transnational historical consciousness only came into being during the modern era, when the project of nation-building created a need to instruct all nationals in a common history and culture.

Today, however, as it attempts to single itself out through cultural representation and attract foreign capital, the Vietnamese nation has embraced the modern concept of architectural preservation in combination with these older precolonial ideas. And to link modernity to historical ideology, it has focused its promotional efforts on such areas as the 36 Streets Quarter, which may be depicted as representative of Vietnamese identity through history. This intent was evident in an October 2000 issue of *VIR*, which noted, "Even today, the Old Quarter has changed little in terms of design or atmosphere, a unique facet for a city that surely must be a strong contender for the title of 'oldest capital city in the world.'"[14] Such statements also indicate how the Vietnamese government is following the same path as French colonizers, who wished to demonstrate the presence of traditional structures in a modernizing city.

This state position toward heritage preservation would also seem to assume a heritage narrative that fixes the architectural representation of tradition in one historical moment. According to the same October 2000 *VIR* article, "day-to-day life in the Old Quarter for many of its residents has not changed since the first foundations were laid in the fifteenth century."[15] This statement ignores the reality that all that remains of the fifteenth-century quarter is its pattern of clogged narrow streets. Meanwhile, actual commercial and daily activities have changed to cater to visitors and residents, no longer to the citadel.

In many ways, the state appears to want to treat the district as a living museum of Vietnamese traditional urban life, based on the colonial zoning plans of the Chinese and the French, and as bathed in an aura of cultural diversity. About Hanoi, the October 2000 *VIR* noted, "nowhere is the city's cultural diversity more apparent than [in the 36 streets]."[16] Thus, the authorities are attempting to use their preservation agenda to recover symbolic representations of tradition needed to sell the country abroad as an autonomous modern state. Within this project, the emphasis on cultural diversity — the reflection of an already historically globalized city — is important, because it defines the country as a modern, globalized place, whose precolonial past has already demonstrated its ability to accommodate multiple cultural backgrounds.

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL GUIDELINES

In an effort to solidify its political and ideological agenda, the government has taken steps toward preserving the

built heritage of the 36 Streets Quarter and other areas. Among other things, these actions reveal how globally defined concepts become intertwined in local affairs. In particular, one can see how international preservation guidelines have become important to areas such as the Old Quarter, where they have been instrumental in elaborating local urban planning laws and building codes.[17]

The use, and sometimes adoption by the Vietnamese government of these guidelines did not come about overnight. Such guidelines are actually rooted in nineteenth-century European philosophies regarding notions of historical and cultural preservation.[18] But they were exported to the colonies and institutionalized in such schools as the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), whose head office was in Hanoi. This colonial legacy is evident in many ways in the formulation of Vietnamese preservation strategies today.

Among other things, these imported preservation philosophies treated buildings as single specific cases. During the colonial period they were applied across Indochina in restorations such as the Single Pillar Pagoda and the Temple of Literature, and in independent Vietnam they surfaced in restorations of Hanoi's Opera House, Metropole Hotel, and National History Museum.

After decades of war, economic dearth pushed Vietnam to preserve other parts of Hanoi, following yet again principles inherited from the colonial era. For example, a 1992 study by the Asian Institute of Technology (AIT) suggested that, due to lack of money, many of the older buildings that are today being considered for preservation were converted to residential use as a solution to Hanoi's housing shortage.[19]

Such a campaign is comparable to that which also took place in post-World War II Europe, which also needed to reconstruct its cities. Part of Europe's strategy then was to relocate surviving populations into older buildings that were still standing. This concept was explicit in the work of Cesare Brandi, which was subsequently translated into the 1964 Venice Charter. This charter was also the direct outcome of the evolution of European architectural preservation principles, most of which had already been exported to the colonies.

As mentioned above, many European colonial powers established institutions to safeguard the monuments of other cultures, setting up a precedent of universalism for future theories of preservation. Their efforts obviously varied from nation to nation. However, in the French case, Paul Rabinow has shown how as society was being freed from previous historical and natural constraints, certain norms (social functioning) and forms (cultural objects) were elevated to universal status to serve as model elements of a productive social order.[20]

In addition to the direct influence of colonial architectural preservation principles (whose formalization in Vietnam can be traced to at least 1964[21]), in 1987 Vietnam joined the UNESCO Convention, based on the Venice Charter, to protect monuments worldwide. Among other things, this has made Vietnam eligible to receive funding from foreign countries for conservation projects. With this funding, it has been possible to elaborate a body of urban planning laws and codes. Indeed, regulations such as those for the protection of Hoan Kiem Lake, adjoining the 36 Streets, were implemented in 1997, and today they assure that big international projects cannot substantially modify this landscape.[22] This example is among the many that still remain to be made in order to reach an official protection management plan backed by laws and codes proper to Vietnam.

Other government involvement can be seen in invitations to foreign governments and nongovernmental organizations, particularly those from France, Japan and Australia, for planning and preservation assistance. Such foreign organizations have provided financial aid and worked with the Ministry of Construction in surveying, planning and registering areas like the 36 Streets Quarter, as well as training local inhabitants and architects in methods of construction and preservation. The 1992 AIT study of the 36 Streets Quarter also pointed out that the introduction of modern services like running water, sewerage, and electricity was also subsidized by the City Land and Housing Department.[23]

All these efforts to define a unique Vietnamese identity through architectural preservation have resulted from national and international concerns over heritage. But they also reflect ideologies that are particular to Vietnam, since they include precolonial and colonial historical impacts in their postcolonial treatment of heritage. I am not endorsing the Vietnamese government's position here, but merely pointing out its capacity to reveal the relevance of the global for the local. In fact, the global and the local may be seen as working off each other and in parallel, rather than as opposites. Just as Manuel Castells and Michel Laguerre have tried to deconstruct this supposedly oppositional relationship elsewhere, the preservation debate in Vietnam shows how the two are complementary and necessary to each other.[24]

As complements, the two forces have also allowed local and national history to reveal itself as essential to the understanding of architectural preservation in Vietnam. Yet even when such policies can have a good effect through the preservation of a site, they should not be the only ones taken into account.

LOCAL POSITIONS ON THE 36 STREETS QUARTER

While today's activities and life-styles in the 36 Streets Quarter may resemble those of the fifteenth century, one must be careful not to mistake them for an exact replica. In this regard, it is important to understand how the inhabitants' representation of the area differs from that which the state is actively trying to promote. The government is selling an object of the past that belongs to an invented or frozen tradition.[25] But residents of the quarter live in the present, dealing with the many constraints and advantages of this old area.

Rabinow has pointed out that an "anti-nostalgic attitude toward the modern world" already existed during the nineteenth century.[26] Indeed, some writers of that time, including Charles Baudelaire, were already insisting there was "no right to despise the present."[27] As Janet Abu-Lughod has said, "tradition can only be defined from where we stand."[28] In other words, a *present* approach to architectural preservation should take into account the tensions and exchanges between an existing static built heritage and the present social life of the people, their desires and problems. From this point of view, the recognition of a traditional way of life associated with a building should concentrate on a process rather than the preservation of a fixed entity. According to Abu-Lughod, such a process can be called "traditioning," or the "creative recycling of existing forms, rather than either its rigid adherence to old ones or its invention of totally new ones."[29]

Today, Hanoi's Old Quarter reflects various layers of architectural style, reflecting Chinese, French, vernacular and contemporary Vietnamese influences. All of these must be considered when dealing with preservation issues. Brandi and Giovannoni's theories have long promoted the view that all the various historical moments that create or modify cultural heritage must be taken into account in a preservation project. Furthermore, all the actors that "influence space by acting on the built environment" and "crystallize time in it" should also have a say in preservation decisions, Castells has written.[30]

As explained earlier, the 36 Streets Quarter is made up of narrow streets delineated by long tube-like shop houses, pagodas, temples and communal houses; all would seem to be worthy of some attention architecturally. Yet, interviews with inhabitants reveal different motivations than those of the government when it comes to the preservation of these houses and other cultural elements. In particular, their interest seems to be based more on a desire to preserve their life-styles and businesses than any modern sense of heritage awareness.[31]

Two of the residents' main motivations for wanting to remain in the area would appear to be economic and speculative.[32] Ever since the 36 Streets Quarter began to be promoted abroad as representative of the city's true identity, tourism has become a major revenue source for inhabitants of the district's quaint shop houses. In 1992 the price of land per square meter also jumped from US$240 to over $700. As Templer has written, "the economic gains of rebuilding higher and bigger were irresistible."[33] However, these same constructions are what Ngo Quang Nam has referred to as illegal "overnight renovations."[34]

Vietnam has a very rigid hierarchy stemming from its communist and socialist years. With economic liberalization, this hierarchy has lost much of its logic, and at the same time individual entrepreneurship within the law has proven very difficult. As a result, those seeking financial profit often consider it faster to skip the formalities of an outmoded bureaucratic system.

However, there are other reasons for wanting to stay in the area that are not based on economic gain. These include wanting to avoid time-consuming transportation between home and work and a desire, particularly among older residents, to maintain present community habits and patterns of religious worship. An article published on the Web in 2000 cited these same concerns when it claimed, "[The 36 Streets inhabitants] want to be near the old lake, the market, near my old neighbors and friends."[35]

However, remaining in the quarter often means dealing with such conditions within existing buildings as leaking roofs, flooded floors during the monsoon season, and old plumbing systems. In addition, each shop house has historically accommodated up to one hundred people, making the quarter the most densely populated area of Hanoi.[36] Efforts by local inhabitants to preserve the neighborhood's houses already include refurbishment and restoration of some existing structures, as well as some demolition to make space for new buildings with modern infrastructures.[37] However, those residents who seem most inclined to pursue such individual renovation appear to be owners, rather than renters of state-owned property.[38]

As confirmation of this trend, the AIT study showed that members of families who had lived in the 36 Streets Quarter for generations were most aware of the architectural heritage there. The study indicated that the people who were merely employed in the quarter or who were renters were not as aware of this heritage.[39] Renters would eventually move back to their original villages, limiting their sense of heritage and cultural ties to the 36 Streets Quarter. Such a tendency would appear to correlate with the Vietnamese tradition of returning to one's place of birth at the end of one's life.[40]

According to the AIT study, 67 percent of the inhabitants of the 36 Streets Quarter were satisfied with their housing conditions. However, these same people cited some elements they felt were lacking in their homes, particularly running water and adequate kitchens. Many stated that they intended to make these improvements themselves, reflecting the fact that the area is not a slum, but actually houses a considerable middle class.[41]

In parallel with the above trends, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the old trades of the quarter are becoming obsolete or too expensive to run. Already, a younger generation has begun to move out in search of other sources of income. One recent article on the future of the Old Quarter's inhabitants predicted that "as the economy improves, an affluent second generation will move out in search of better living standards." Quoting workers in a project run by the Australian agency AusAID, the article projected that in the next ten years, "young families will move west to new housing projects where they will have space for a car."[42]

Nevertheless, other residents have found alternate crafts to practice in the area, or they have begun new commercial enterprises there. And for members of other families who

have resided in the quarter for generations, it will continue to be important to remain near the district's temples, pagodas and communal houses. The AIT study found these sites continued to be visited mainly for worship, and only secondarily for sightseeing.[43] For such people, the preservation of the area would seem to embody less the restoration of a glorious architectural past (what the government is trying to promote), but rather the continuance of everyday customs and traditions.

There is thus a sharp divergence over identity behind differences of view between the agenda of the government and the concerns of people who live in the 36 Streets Quarter. For most residents, the area is of historical (in a traditional family sense), practical, and commercial importance. There is little sense it represents an architectural artifact in the static cultural sense imagined by the state. However, one sense of identity inevitably influences the other, and this interconnectedness makes Vietnamese identity appear to be of one kind in sites like the 36 Streets Quarter.

In truth, there is a certain awareness of the architectural value of their shop houses in the minds of local inhabitants. However, the survival of a stable business appears to be of higher priority to them.[44] The inhabitants are therefore willing to preserve the buildings, but only if practical concerns of comfort, wealth, and easy access to neighborhood facilities are addressed. From this perspective, a true reason for the preservation of this area would seem to lie in the modern identity of its inhabitants, and their concerns for comfort and space, rather than in the modern national identity the government is trying to promote, which would seem to reflect an idealized traditional life-style that does not exist, and has probably never existed in the way depicted.

Either way, the area has the potential to be preserved. But to reflect the needs of residents, architectural preservation may also have to include upgrading. And when an existing shop house has become too dilapidated, it may need to perish, to be replaced by a newer version. Abu-Lughod, as cited above, referred to this process as the "creative recycling of existing forms." Thus, with materially realizable concerns for structural security and proper infrastructure, the newer "wedding cake"-like shop houses of the 36 Streets Quarter can be thought of as modern versions of cultural heritage (FIG. 8).

When it comes to defining the identity of a community, and determining whom that identity primarily serves, the 36 Streets Quarter is clearly "contested space."[45] Such differences in opinion however clearly illustrate the importance of local, national and international concerns over the understanding of cultural heritage. All three levels of concern must be taken into account if guidelines for the preservation of cultural heritage are to be effective. As preservation discourses surrounding the 36 Streets Quarter show, there are often characteristics of culture and tradition that are less visible than the facades of buildings. People's interactions and social organization are very much part of the existing built environment, and will continue to be so.

FIGURE 8. *Newer versions of tube houses are generally taller than their historical antecedents. (Photo courtesy of Mui Ho.)*

This quarter, its history and the people involved in its fate, reveal that a Hanoian "sense of place" and a local identity rooted in tradition and history are qualities found in sites where local identity is being contested. Whether the definition of identity through architectural preservation responds to a political agenda followed by the state or to private economic interest pursued by an individual owner, all steps taken toward architectural preservation pertain to the survival of local traditions. The problem resides in the choice of tradition to be revived or depicted, and whether one decides to acknowledge the multifaceted aspect of tradition and culture, mirrored by different people.

Aside from property developers who claim that heritage preservation hinders investment or a state economy that is mainly concerned with poverty alleviation and social integration, local communities and their people often have extremely relevant concerns — albeit sometimes injected with national ideas — that may reveal important questions surrounding preservation projects.

CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to unravel some of the complexities surrounding architectural preservation in Vietnam today. Many different factors must be taken into account in understanding what architectural preservation means there today. These include how the present government is depicting its country's cultural heritage to its neighbors and the world; how this depiction has been influenced by traces of architectural preservation methods and practices from the colonial era that are now part of Vietnamese culture; and how the people express their concerns, live their daily lives, and fight for their own sense of tradition and place, sometimes rooted in precolonial ideologies. Only when all these factors are considered can the full meaning of cultural heritage emerge in Vietnam and true reasons for an architectural preservation program be understood.

When seeking to define culture, identity and urbanism in a historical context, it is important to understand how "societies are constructed in relation to one another," Nezar AlSayyad has written.[46] Therefore, the importance of local concerns and ideologies, neighboring countries, and even invading powers can help explain why and how to preserve a building.

It can be extremely reductionist to look only at buildings as particular cases of a country's cultural heritage. Likewise, by referring only to existing international guidelines when evaluating a program to safeguard a country's built heritage, one may deny a people's right to decide on the fate of their culture according to factors that may not be visible in the built form alone.

Vis-à-vis the world, only part of the reason for making preservation sustainable in Vietnam is economic gain. Locally, this case study of Hanoi's 36 Streets Quarter has shown that many individuals feel that their identity and culture derive from different traditions and roots. When the government of Vietnam is engaged in a process that redefines history, citizens may react to the legitimacy of this history. Hence, there is an increasing level of complexity with regard to heritage that the government is not fully capable of translating in its architectural preservation choices.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. For a brief description of the official image of culture defined by the Vietnamese government, see any recent publication by the Vietnam Tourism Authority or report in the local press.
2. In 1994, the year during which Hanoi's heritage was to be promoted by UNESCO, an article in the *Vietnam Investment Review* (hereafter *VIR*) assured that both heritage and modernity would be taken into account. See "Gold-old, Bad-old Hanoi," *VIR* (November 14–20, 1994).
3. On the problems of looking for tradition in a precolonial era and fixing it at a certain time, see N. AlSayyad, "Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism: Manufacturing Heritage, Consuming Tradition," in AlSayyad, ed., *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism* (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp.7–8.
4. M. Askew and W.S. Logan, eds., *Cultural Identity and Urban Change in Southeast Asia: Interpretive Essays* (Geelong, Australia: Deakin University Press, 1994), p.50. According to Askew and Logan, tube houses may now range in street-frontage width from six to fifteen feet, and can reach a depth of 300 feet.
5. For a detailed description of the area, see the monograph by F. Decoster and D. Klouche, *Portrait de Ville: Hanoi* (Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture, 1997), pp.14–19.
6. R. Templer *Shadows and Wind: A View of Modern Vietnam* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1998), p.208.
7. For more detail about this form of domestic necessity, see E.M. Hébrard, "L'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux," *L'Urbanisme en Indochine*, Vol.1 (1932), p.279: ". . . all European groupings need an indigenous population to live; either to enjoy an indispensable domesticity, or for commerce. . . ." Translation from the French by Alexandra Sauvegrain.
8. ASEAN Web page: <http://asean.com> History and Evolution of ASEAN. The word "regionalization" refers here to the Southeast Asian region, not to the whole of Asia as reflected in the "Asian values" paradigm.
9. "Growing Old Gracefully," *Vietnam Investment Review (VIR)*, No.469 (October 9–15, 2000).
10. Indeed today, the term preservation relates to the sustaining of a cultural heritage, as in its conservation and restoration. In Bernard Fielden's words, conservation "is an action to prevent decay," that must happen with a "minimum effective action" (as cited in S. Roaf, "Book Reviews," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol.11 No.1 (Fall 1999), pp.58–61). This conservation process, therefore, comes prior to restoration, which must be preferably reversible. As for the term restoration, Jukka Jokilehto has defined it as "the continuation of the [conservation] process, when conservation treatment is thought to be insufficient, to the extent of reinstating an object, without falsification, to a condition in which it can be exhibited." See Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford and Woburn, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, Linacre House, 1999), p.9.
11. P.L.F. Philastre, *Le Code Annamite* (Paris: Ernest Leroux Editeur, 1909), pp.15–16.
12. Ibid., p.651. Translation from the French by Alexandra Sauvegrain.
13. As an example, decree V. of article 156 of the Annamite code, stipulated the number of umbrellas and parasols a person could possess according to rank, based on such variables as size, color, ornamental details, materials, and number of ribs. See Philastre, *Le Code Annamite,* p.658.

14. "Growing Old Gracefully," *VIR*, No.469 (October 9–15, 2000).
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. UNESCO, as an agent of the World heritage, has come up with a set of preservation guidelines that allow member countries to appeal to other member states for funding with regard to their own heritage, following preservation principles established by UNESCO and its partner organizations.
18. Such theories as that of Viollet-Le-Duc, George Gilbert Scott, and (in the twentieth century) Giovannoni and Brandi were critical in the elaboration of preservation philosophies and are the remote fathers of the 1972 UNESCO Convention.
19. H.P. Hoang and Y. Nishimura, *The Historical Environment and Housing Conditions in the "36 Old Streets" Quarter of Hanoi: A Conservation Study* (Bangkok: Division of Human Settlements Development, Asian Institute of Technology, Research Report No.23, 1992), p.1.
20. P. Rabinow, *French Modern* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp.11–13.
21. Tran Hung, a professor of architecture at the University of Hanoi, has written that conservation regulations were first promulgated in Vietnam in 1964. They were followed in 1984 by the "Decree on the Preservation and Protection of Historical and Cultural Vestiges and Famous Sites and Sights." See Tran Hung, *La Conservation du patrimoine urbain à Hanoi* (Montreal: ICAHM, Atelier A, 1994), p.109.
22. W.S. Logan, "Heritage Planning in Post Doi Moi Hanoi: The National and International Contributions," in *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol.61 No.3 (Summer 1995), p.336.
23. Hoang and Nishimura, *"36 Old Streets" Quarter*, p.42.
24. On the repositioning of the global and the local, see M. Castells, "The Space of Flows," in *The Rise of the Network Society*, Vol.1 of *The Information Age, Economy, Society and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp.376–428; and M. Laguerre, *The Global Ethnopolis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); and "Diasporic Globalization: Reframing the Local/Global Question," paper presented at the "Architectures of Globalization" Conference, November 9–11, 2000, organized by the Dept. of Architecture, University of California at Berkeley.
25. For the notion of "invented tradition," see E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
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27. C. Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," in the *Oeuvres Complètes*, as cited in Rabinow, *French Modern*, p.7.
28. J. Abu-Lughod, "Disappearing Dichotomies: First World — Third World; Traditional — Modern," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol.3 No.2 (1992), p.9.
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30. Castells, "The Space of Flows," p.411.
31. Hoang and Nishimura, *"36 Old Streets" Quarter*, p.44.
32. Templer, *Shadows and Wind*, Chapter 11; and Hoang Huu Phe and Nishimura, *"36 Old Streets" Quarter*, p. 44.
33. Templer, *Shadows and Wind*, p.231.
34. S.W. Logan, *Heritage Planning in Hanoi in the Context of the Hanoi Master Plan*, 1994, p.7
35. http://www.sinhcafevietnam.f2s.com/english_info/house-proud.html
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37. A.P. Nguyen, "Good-old, Bad-old Hanoi," *VIR* (November 14–20, 1994).
38. "Owner" in Vietnam means that an individual owns the building, not the land.
39. Hoang and Nishimura, *"36 Old Streets" Quarter*, p.21.
40. See G. Azambre, "Les Origines de Hanoi," *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, New Series, Vol.33 No.3, 3rd trimester (1958), p.268.
41. Huong and Nishimura, *"36 Old Streets" Quarter*, p.47.
42. http://www.sinhcafevietnam.f2s.com/english_info/house-proud.html
43. Hoang and Nishimura, *"36 Old Streets" Quarter*, p.43.
44. Ibid., p.44.
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46. N. AlSayyad, "Culture, Identity, and Urbanism in a Changing World: A Historical Perspective on Colonialism, Nationalism, and Globalization," in M.A. Cohen, B.A. Ruble, J.S. Tulchi, and A.M. Garland, eds., *Preparing for the Urban Future* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p.109.

Vernacular Architecture and the Park Removals: Traditionalization as Justification and Resistance

MICHAEL ANN WILLIAMS

The creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, authorized in 1926, entailed the largest removal of a local population for a park in United States history. After an early policy change that halted the wholesale elimination of the cultural landscape, the National Park Service used the preservation of traditional culture as an implicit justification for the park's creation. In contrast, the families of those removed sought new meanings in the remnants of the cultural landscape within the park and established new rituals that celebrated an alternate interpretation of the selectively edited landscape.[1]

To speak of tradition is invariably to speak of the end of tradition. Tradition, so labeled, is almost always perceived to be endangered, if not dying. The ascription of tradition is always motivated, and the perception of loss is part of the rhetoric of traditionalization. Tradition as a call to arms is most successful when it plays upon anxieties about the loss of tradition, even when that tradition was not valued as such until the death knell was sounded. As much recent scholarship has pointed out, the uses of tradition can be "oppressive and hegemonic" in nature. Care should be taken, however, not to create false dichotomies between "invented" and "authentic" traditions. All tradition is inherently constructed, and all can be used for nefarious purposes. Still, the symbolic power of constructed tradition is available for use by individuals and groups with diverse agendas. Tradition as a call to arms can be used for resistance, as well as oppression.

Increasingly, folklorists and other students of culture have defined tradition not by specific objective criteria, but instead have seen it as the product of a specific process of ascribing meaning.[2] In the past 25 years, concern for the invention of tradition has dominated much of the literature in Appalachian Studies. Henry Shapiro, David Whisnant, Allen Batteau, and Jane Becker, among others, have all examined how powers external to

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the region (especially governmental and philanthropic agencies) defined tradition within southern Appalachia in order to facilitate their own agendas.[3] A limitation of this scholarship is that it generally has not examined how people within the region also utilized the concept of tradition to resist the efforts of these agencies of change. As has recently been argued in the edited volume *Usable Pasts*, "the politically powerless may also have the power to invent, to apply the creative impulse to their own private heritages, and in doing so to keep their own walls vibrantly renewed."[4]

An examination of the uses of tradition in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park removals provides a provocative case study through which to understand more recent examples of the politics of tradition. A perceived loss of tradition was used by park officials to help justify the creation of the park, and hence the removal of the local population by the power of eminent domain. On the other hand, traditionalization became a means by which the displaced could lay claim — emotionally, if not physically — to the buildings that marked the remnants of former homes and communities. The conflict was not between "invented" and "authentic" tradition, but rather between opposing uses of tradition as a "call to arms."

THE CREATION OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

In 1926 the creation of three national parks was authorized in the southeastern section of the United States. Unlike earlier parks that had little native population, or were depopulated prior to authorization, the creation of these three parks entailed the removal of local populations by the power of eminent domain. Although there were plenty of similarities, the histories of these three park removals were also distinct. The creation of the Shenandoah National Park involved experimentation with planned resettlement, and it spawned the most radical contemporary group of park descendants, the Children of Shenandoah. Mammoth Cave was the smallest, but most densely populated, of the proposed parks. Its creation was marked by the only act of violence of the park removals. Although there still exists some tension between the local community and park officials, it generally has had the most quiescent group of park descendants. The creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, quite simply, involved the largest park removal in the history of the United States. And, unlike the Mammoth Cave and Shenandoah National Parks, it involved a substantial effort to preserve part of the vernacular landscape within the park.

Official histories of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park tend to emphasize the fact that a few timber companies owned a large portion of the land within the proposed park.[5] While the creation of the park might be seen as an act of environmental conservation, it should be noted that by the time of the park's authorization, the timber boom was declining and the timber companies were often being relieved of cutover land. It might also be argued, correctly, that the creation of the park prevented commercial development within its boundaries. However, much of the development of the region was in fact spawned by the park's creation, and subsequently there was a massive touristic development at the park's gates, with all its attendant environmental problems. Today tourism within the park itself poses a substantial environmental threat.

Although a few environmentalists did advocate the creation of the park, most notably writer Horace Kephart (who did fear its impact on the local population), local sentiment for the creation of the park came mainly from business interests who saw their salvation in tourism and good roads. The proposed parks created a perceived "wilderness" within a day's drive of major metropolitan areas. In providing outdoor recreation within easy access to many Americans, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was wildly successful. Today it is the most visited park in the United States.

The people who paid the price for the park's creation were not the timber owners but the more than one thousand families who lost farms, many of which had been in their families for generations. It is striking that even today the National Park Service is reluctant to deal honestly with this part of the park's history. Although quietly it has sponsored oral history collection and worked cooperatively with the former residents and park descendants on homecomings, publicly its representation of the removal has tended to be appalling, when it is not ignoring the issue altogether. In a summer program a few years ago, a young interpreter dramatically representing former park residents, portrayed John Oliver, who fought the loss of his land through the legal system for years, as an ignorant gun-toting hillbilly who couldn't accept change. Oliver was, in fact, an educated and well-to-do man; if he had not been, he, like his poorer neighbors, would not have had the means to challenge the government. Governmental officials at the time expected the progressive businessman to support their actions, and felt betrayed when he did not.[6] The current Website for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park barely mentions local opposition in its history of the park's creation, except to cast aspersions on those who resisted. The brief mention reads, "Land was difficult to buy despite the park movement. Greed, private property rights, and personal glory often clashed with government condemnation and the park movement."[7]

The reaction of the local population to its removal was as varied as the individual circumstances. Some sold out and felt that they were better off. Such a person was the late Celia Baxter who told her grandson in 1994, "We was glad to get out. Didn't get much for it. We didn't have many acres." At the time financial imperatives were more important. "[My husband] just wanted to get out somewhere where he could make a living. Because we just had a little rocky farm. Rocks

— a few smooth places where you could raise a little garden — but the rest of it was just rocks."[8] Others opposed the park but felt it was useless to fight. Many spent the rest of their lives heartbroken or bitter over the loss. Those, like Oliver, who fought through legal means, eventually lost. Finally, some took the government up on an offer of tenancy, accepting half the settlement in order to continue to live in their former homes. However, most eventually found this choice untenable, when stores, schools, neighbors, and all the other social supports that sustained life in the mountains disappeared, and as rules which governed a farmer's relationship with the environment were changed. Tenants soon found that they could no longer, legally, shoot the bear raiding the hen house.

The park removals dragged on through the 1930s. Ironically, although the park's creation was intended as economic development, during the years of the Depression, it also served as a source for work relief. The Civilian Conservation Corps built much of the park's infrastructure. In 1940 the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was finally dedicated in a ceremony presided over by President Franklin Roosevelt.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CULTURAL PRESERVATION PLAN

The primary intent of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was, and still is, preservation of the natural environment. Originally, in all three of the parks authorized in 1926, only those artifacts on the cultural landscape that were deemed particularly "sensitive," mostly churches and graveyards, were slated for preservation. Former owners were sometimes given salvage rights, or the park service, in order to discourage squatters, simply burned former homes. The latter action, the park superintendent wrote unironically, aroused "considerable ire among residents."[9]

Park records do not present a clear picture of why there was a distinct change of policy toward the preservation of cultural resources in the Smokies. Much of the impetus seems to have come from below and subsequently received the blessing of park management. Two individuals on the payroll of the Civilian Conservation Corps, H.C. Wilburn and Charles Grossman, along with park naturalist Arthur Stupka, spearheaded a "mountain culture program." By the mid-1930s, the official policy of the park was that preservation of mountain culture should come second only to the preservation of the natural environment of the park. Such a program did not develop for the culturally similar Shenandoahs, and justification for the cultural efforts was predicated on the supposed uniqueness of the Smokies. A 1936 park memo noted that the significance of Smoky Mountains culture lay in the fact that

> *. . . there has survived a manner of living, an entire cultural complex, which almost everywhere else within the boundaries of the United States has disappeared entirely. The Smokies might be conceived of a cultral [sic] island, to a great extent, isolated from the outside world, where we are able to see the survival in our contemporaries of language, social customs, unique processes, that go back to the 19th century and beyond.*

The Secretary of Interior's annual report in 1939 stated, "attention has been given to the unique opportunity presented in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park to preserve frontier conditions of a century ago, which have vanished elsewhere."[10]

The casting of Appalachians as dwellers of America's mythic path has a long history. Much of the literature about Appalachia that developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century emphasized not just that mountain people were backward, but that their lives were somehow representative of the past of all Americans. In the 1890s William Goodell Frost, the president of Berea College in Kentucky, labeled Appalachians "our contemporary ancestors." In their now classic article, "Appalachian Fables and Facts," Charles Perdue and Nancy Martin-Perdue argued that stereotypes about mountain people were used to justify the park removals in the Shenandoahs by suggesting that the lives of these supposedly isolated and ignorant folks would be improved by relocation from their homes.[11] In the Smokies, the official stereotypes were generally more positive, but in glorifying a mythical mountain culture, they obscured the reality of the former residents' lives. To recognize this is not to besmirch the good intentions of those who actually did the cultural work in the Smokies. Grossman, especially, seemed to have an understanding and sympathy for local people and left a lasting contribution to the documentation of the architecture of the region.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the mountain culture program that developed in the Smokies in the 1930s was Charles Grossman's "cabin survey." Grossman's work was one of the first systematic surveys of vernacular architecture ever conducted in the United States. During the 1930s and early 1940s, Grossman systematically documented more than 1,700 structures within the park area. Far from being only cabins, the structures surveyed included "dwellings, barns, corn cribs, apple houses, pig pens, bridges, six types of grist mills, smokehouses, and blacksmith shops." Unfortunately, the use made of his work left a public impression that was quite opposite of what the results of his survey revealed.

Although most of Grossman's notes, maps and negatives have been unfortunately scrambled over the years, the photographic evidence still in the park's archives clearly demonstrates the diversity of the architecture in the Smokies at the time of the park's creation. True, Grossman's work does show the survival of a large number of log structures, but it also demonstrates the popularity of single-walled "boxed" construction, the building method of choice for many rural people of modest means during the timber era **(FIG. 1)**. Also documented were prosperous frame houses and a variety of industrial, commercial, religious and civic

FIGURE 1. *Lucinda Benson House, Cosby Creek, Tennessee, 1937. Demolished. (Photo courtesy of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.)*

structures. Grossman dreamed of a "comprehensive program to preserve the architecture of the region in natural settings and to permit tracing the development of structures from the most primitive to pretentious frame house," and he advocated that representatives of each building type, including the boxed house, be preserved. In 1943, however, he wrote that "up to the present time personnel and funds have been lacking to carry on the program in a logical manner."[12]

While Grossman was avidly documenting vernacular architecture within the park, the park service had begun its process of selectively editing the landscape. Many buildings disappeared because the park service was unable to maintain them. However, the results of the building preservation plan show a more deliberate effort. By the time an interpretative program actually began in the 1950s, most of the "pretentious frame" houses, all the boxed houses, most of the industrial and commercial structures, and virtually all remnants of the twentieth century had disappeared. Most of the buildings left on the landscape were log structures and a handful of frame churches. While it is easy to see why park personnel may have made the choices based on perceived significance, the surviving cultural landscape neatly confirms the stereotype of the former residents as living in frontier conditions even at the time of the removal.

The cultural landscape that most tourists now encounter in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park is in Cades Cove. The cove today bears little resemblance to the Cades Cove of living memory. Bonnie Meyers grew up in a two-story frame house, as did many of her neighbors.

> *Most of them frame houses that I knew. . . . We never noticed these cabins, growing up, paid them no mind. . . . All those [frame] houses were torn down. They left the cabins, you know, more pioneerish. . . . [Visitors] can't believe that people used to be here and you had schools and stores and churches and stuff like that.*

The large school buildings, the boardinghouses and tourist cabins, the cannery, and other twentieth-century structures were all gone. As Meyers mused, "lot of people think that we never did go out to town, you known, and people here just lived and died and never went to the city. But, cars were in here in 1915, the first car came in. My mother was fourteen years old."[13]

The interpretations of the surviving structures in the park tell the visitor little, if anything, of the lives of those displaced by the park's creation. As with many salvage operations in historic preservation, buildings are preserved on the basis of cultural significance, but the cultural contexts that give them meaning are not. It is evident that those directly involved in the development of the cultural program in the 1930s intended for the interpretive program to have more of an emphasis on context. Presentations of mountain music and culture were planned, and help was elicited from western North Carolina folk entrepreneur Bascom Lamar Lunsford, who felt that mountain people "could easily be persuaded to use the park and to contribute much to its educational program if approached properly." Wilburn, Grossman and Stupka proposed "field exhibits" of original structures

(some moved, others *in situ*) and tentatively suggested a plan to make "the exhibits live." They suggested that local people might be engaged to produce marketable crafts, and that

> *. . . the persons employed in this connection might be permitted to live in the cabins included in the field exhibits, and so carry on their activities under natural and realistic conditions. Thus they would serve as custodians of the buildings so occupied and also continue the cultivation of such fields as are designated to be kept open in these areas.*

Later, in a memo to the superintendent, Wilburn called attention to an article on the "living" folk museums of Norway and Sweden, indicating that this was generally what they had in mind.[14]

The irony of repopulating these cabins so soon on the heels of the removal would probably not have been lost on the local population, had they known about it. However, the plan was never implemented, and it is clear that the upper echelons of the park service were much more comfortable with mountain culture in the abstract than they were with real mountain people. For example, early Superintendent Reports reveal an attitude that clearly saw most local people as potential lawbreakers. However, considering the emotions of many of the local population at the time, it is striking that in fact no incidents of violence accompanied the park removals in the Smokies. Most of the records of conflict between the local population and the park service involved a stubborn insistence on the part of some local people to continue to use the park area as a commons, where they could gather, hunt and fish, without legal restriction.

Reflecting the attitude of the upper echelon of the park service, in 1941 Dr. Hans Huth prepared yet another report on the preservation of mountain culture as part of a survey undertaken by the Branch of Historic Sites of the National Park Service. While he generally endorsed the previous plans, Huth felt there was "little hope of still finding much of the past in the present and retaining it." Still, he took the idea well beyond what was previously proposed. "According to the project, carefully selected settlers, some of them skilled craftsmen as well as farmers, would live and work in the park area wherever it would be deemed necessary and possible to rededicate a farm, for example, to actual life." The process of selecting "desirable" people would be difficult, since, as Huth stated, many of the local people had criminal records. Among his suggestions was the possibility that girls from a college in nearby Asheville, North Carolina, might be used for this purpose. Huth also suggested that the crafts production would have to be closely supervised, since craftsmen in the region had "lost the faculty of creating a worthy piece." Huth's scheme, however, went far beyond producing marketable items. For example, he wrote that the "enterprise should be regarded as an experimental form similar to biological laboratories."[15]

Several months later a meeting of cultural experts was convened to discuss this "Brave New World" approach. In it, the experts transformed the local population into exotics. One expert advocated that a "broader anthropological view of the mountaineers — as if they were the tribesman in the northern Riff of Africa or the Seri Indian of Lower California — should be accepted as a basic concept." Another emphasized the "many undesirable characteristics of the mountaineer's culture," and questioned the value of "establishing mountaineers in typically primitive conditions and then subjecting the group to the scrutiny of visitors." Yet another questioned whether local people would be cooperative, believing that they could not expect that "individuals will be content to live in crude, rigorous surroundings following the hard way of producing their handcraft solely for the intangible reward of being a scientific guinea pig, particularly when their neighbors can have cars, radios and new dresses."[16]

The discussion turned out to be moot in any case, for the United States was soon to be embroiled in a world war, and it would be a decade before an interpretive program began. Meanwhile, the tenants helped maintain the historic structures, and in a few cases became museum pieces themselves. The most famous tenants were the Walker sisters, who lived in a massive single-pen log home in the Little Greenbrier section. Their antiquated life-style attracted tourists, and the sisters made a modest income from peddling poems and souvenirs to the visitors. While the five elderly sisters might have seemed a compliant attraction, they were not incapable of protest. One of the poems composed by vernacular poet Louisa Walker addressed the removals:

For us poor mountain people
They don't have a care
But must a home for
The wolf lion and the bear

The poem expresses the clear violation of the natural order, confirmed by their religious beliefs. Louisa Walker found comfort in the fact that they still had a "title" in heaven.

When we reach the portles,
Of glory so fair
The Wolf cannot enter
Neather the lion or bear

And no Park Commissioner
Will ever dar
To desturbe or molest
Or take our home from us there[17]

In the 1950s park personnel were still writing of the survival of a "unique cultural complex," but mountain culture was something of the past. One report admitted that preservation

also meant destruction; "the Great Smoky Mountains National Park is guilty of hastening the rapid loss of the Highlander's character. But the Park has also gone a long way towards preserving a small section of our pioneer past for the present and all future generations to see and enjoy."[18] The use of the plural possessive, "our pioneer past," is significant for the surviving structures no longer represented individual families or communities, but a common past of all Americans. This emphasis in the interpretation of extant structures obscured the realities of the lives of actual people, and the trauma of dislocation was ignored while the park service invested in the myth that Smoky Mountains folk culture was a unique remnant of the past.

HOMECOMING AND THE ASCRIPTION OF MEANING

While the National Park Service developed its own interpretation of the structures allowed to survive within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the former residents quietly went through their own process of reinterpretation. The now-vacant structures represented, not a mythic pioneer past supposedly shared by all Americans, but the history of specific families and specific communities. By developing rites of homecoming, the dispossessed and their families asserted their own continued connection to the land they no longer owned. The remnants of the vernacular building system that once sustained the rural communities of the Smokies, while not romanticized as structures of simple pioneer living, were imbued with meanings they formerly did not hold.

Undeniably, the Great Smoky Mountains region had a conservative system of building. Horizontal log construction was used by some well into the twentieth century. But the long survival of log building was not attributable to complete isolation, or even necessarily to the lack of availability of sawn lumber. It was a construction method that simply made sense in terms of the economics and social system of many mountain communities. In particular, a strong ethic of labor exchange sustained log building. A family which was willing to conform to the community's architectural norms could have a house with relatively little cash outlay. However, other building options were available if the family had the means to take advantage of them.

The switch to boxed (single-wall, vertical-plank) construction was tied to the large number of men who entered "public work," paid employment away from home, in the early twentieth century. The cooperative building system still held, but neighbors often had less time to spare. The timber industry provided cheaper sawn lumber, many people had more cash to spend, and, most importantly, boxed houses were much faster to build. Most did not mourn the passing of log construction, and many saw boxed houses, flimsy as they may have seemed, as a step up.[19] Economic reasons even drove some to build large frame houses in order to take advantage of the large influx of visitors to the region by turning domestic space into a commodity.

The cooperative building ethic also worked against a positive valuation of old houses. Despite (or, in fact, because of) the conservative building pattern, houses were seen as easily replaceable, and each generation tended to build anew. This attitude helped facilitate the acceptance of the relatively impermanent boxed house. Although attitudes are beginning to change, many older people outside the park have refused to sentimentalize their old houses. Former homes were once commonly burned for firewood. (Having the park service burn one's former home, however, turned out to be a completely different matter.) This is not to say that there wasn't a strong attachment to the homeplace, but the attachment was quite literally to a place, not to the structure built upon it.[20]

For many of those removed from the park, the physical remains of former homes and communities did take on a new significance. Of course, the reaction of those who were removed by the park's creation was varied. Celia Baxter and her husband moved to Kentucky and started a new life. Martha White Bennett of Little Cataloochee settled nearby, but was so heartbroken that she refused to set eyes on the former community again. Bonnie Meyers, who left Cades Cove as a child, returned to work at the visitor's center — although she understood the sentiments of her mother who blamed the family's brief struggle with tenancy for her husband's early death and remained bitter all her life. While there were many like Bennett who could not bear to visit, one of the most common ways to come to terms with what had happened was through the act of homecoming. In 1940 linguist Joseph Hall who was doing research in the Smokies wrote,

> *I am told by the local fire-guard that a certain family returned frequently, as often as every two or three weeks in the summertime, and sat on the site of their former mountain-side home drinking water from the nearby spring and eating wild strawberries which run rampant over the place.*[21]

Larger gatherings were also common. In 1940, 678 people attended a homecoming at Cataloochee, and 600 attended one at Smokemont. Community gatherings, church homecomings, and family reunions sprung up throughout the park. Attendance dwindled a bit during the war years due to gas rationing, but hundreds still came, even if they had to come on horseback or in the back of a truck. In 1950 Robert Woody, a professor at Duke University who was born in Cataloochee, wrote of the homecoming for the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Woody was not pleased with the transformation of his home community.

> *Homecoming on Cataloochee strikes a contrast between happy memories and the drab present. The Palmers and the Caldwells, the Messers and the Bennetts have departed. . . . Only when those with the happy memories are gone will the present Cataloochee seem better than the old.*[22]

FIGURE 2. *Palmer Chapel at Cataloochee Homecoming. (Photo by author.)*

In his article, Woody wrote that "time approaches when these reunions must cease," but he underestimated the meaning that the homecomings still have a half-century later. The Cataloochee homecoming is still the size it was before World War II, and the more remote Little Cataloochee continues to attract a couple of hundred participants. The events are loosely structured, consisting of much visiting and claiming kin, grave decorations, huge potluck suppers, and informal services within the churches (FIG. 2). Each year the church bells at Palmer Chapel in Cataloochee and at the Little Cataloochee Baptist Church toll to mark the passing of former residents, but descendants come even if the family members who were once former residents have passed away. At the informal service, the youngest and the oldest former residents are identified and almost everyone is categorized according to their affiliation with a particular family. This is not the mythic past presented by the park service, but a celebration of individual family and community. The churches and the cemeteries serve as reminders of former communities, and many families make pilgrimages to former homes or homesites, if they can still be identified.

The park sponsors its own "old-timers day" twice a year in Cades Cove. Although earnest young park rangers started it, the event has grown uncontrollably and has little to do with former residents. The event today resembles a bluegrass festival without a central stage. As Bonnie Meyers observed, "it seems like it's kind of strayed. There's just so many people, it's not really old timers anymore. They play music that we'd never even heard of and instruments we'd never heard of here in the Cove. But people like it, so I guess it'll continue."[23] In contrast, the Park Service goes out of its way to conceal the dates of the homecomings. However, a stranger would be perfectly welcome there, as long as no one lost sight of the meaning of the event.

Even the family of Celia Baxter, who seemed so unsentimental about leaving the Smokies, now goes to the mountains to find a connection with family history. The family retreat began as a birthday trip for one of Mrs. Baxter's granddaughters. Now, at the end of October, about sixty family members, some from Kentucky and Tennessee, but others from as far away as Oklahoma and Hawaii, gather in Gatlinburg, immediately outside the park. The homeplace of Mrs. Baxter's late husband, James Baxter, has become an important symbol for the family. The small single-pen log dwelling is a short hike up Maddron Bald Trail in the park, near Cosby (FIG 3). Most members of the family make the pilgrimage to the house during the retreat. When they found the structure was named for a later tenant, the family also petitioned the park to have it officially named for Willis Baxter, the builder. Ten years ago the Baxters also collectively made a quilt to celebrate their family. Surrounded by individually made blocks representing hobbies, pets, achievements, or simply aesthetic preferences, is the central square containing a silk-screened image of Papa Baxter's homeplace.

During the retreat the Baxter family touches base with other physical reminders of family history. The house that James and Celia Baxter lived in when they were first married is gone, but the hedgerow Papa Baxter planted for Granny can still be found. Some years family members make the more arduous hike to the "upper place" where Granny Baxter's own family lived before she was born. An old chimney, the foundation of an apple cellar, and the family graveyard, where her brother was buried, can still be found. Celia Baxter, when in her mid-eighties, made the hike herself. The family carried a lawn chair, so she could rest along the way.

Other families and communities have not had as much opportunity to either seek healing in the homecoming process

FIGURE 3. *Willis Baxter House. (Photo courtesy of David Baxter.)*

or reconnect with family history. Within all three of the southeastern parks authorized in 1926 conflict still simmers between park families and the park service over maintenance of and access to those remnants of the cultural landscape that survived the efforts to return the land to wilderness. At Mammoth Cave, where only a few churches and well over 70 cemeteries still survive, nearby families feel that the park service lied to them when they promised to keep up the cemeteries. Only those in view of the roads are well kept; most others are increasing inaccessible, and some can no longer be located. In the Smokies, one of the more heated conflicts of recent decades was with the former residents of Hazel Creek, who lost their homes in the 1940s when construction of the Fontana Dam flooded the only access road to their communities. The land was given to the park, but the former residents were promised an access road to their former homes. The infamous "road to nowhere" only made it a few miles into the park before it was halted by environmental concerns and a change of park policy. The perceived betrayal spawned anti-environmentalist sentiment among some in the community, but also encouraged the development of an active historical association, made up largely of former residents and park descendants. The park service now helps provide limited boat and vehicular access to Hazel Creek for the annual decoration of the cemeteries.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The justification usually offered for the creation of the three southeastern parks was the need to preserve wilderness. For the former residents, the land was not wilderness, however; it was home. Even the park service understood that in the park wilderness needed to be reinvented, not preserved, and they systematically began to remove the cultural traces. In the Smokies there was a strange change of heart. The culture there was so unique, they argued, that it should be preserved; but it was so endangered that it could only be preserved in a museum-like context. In an act of cultural taxidermy, they killed the culture in order to preserve it. In essence, the cultural landscape of the Smokies was not preserved, it was radically edited. Anything that did not tell the story of a quaint and isolated people, still living in frontier conditions, was ripe for removal — just as the individuals themselves, who could have told a quite different story, were banished.

If the call for the preservation of tradition was used to help justify the park removal, traditionalization also was at the core of a quiet rebellion. For those removed, sense of place was not enough, as the landscape was dramatically transformed. Park families clung tightly to the surviving fragments of the cultural landscape, and they created new traditions to celebrate their connectedness to the Smokies centered on these remnants. For many, these rituals were part of a healing process that helped them come to terms with the removal. But they also continue to constitute a form of "back talk" to the official park interpretation. These buildings, cemeteries, and landscape features are not about America's mythic past. They represent real individuals, real families, and real communities.

Celia Baxter's youngest son, John, believes that the family retreat will continue. The retreat, which is simply about "just being a Baxter," could probably take place somewhere else, but there is something special about going to the Smokies.

We still probably would all go [somewhere else]. And yet, when we get that close, in terms of miles, to the log cabin and to the apple cellar . . . the hedgerow, the graveyard, we want to just go back up there and stand there and look and think, you know, "My Daddy, he lived right here. And he walked and played right here. And people that have been kin to people that I know — this has been part of their home." . . . It just gives you an eerie feeling to be up on the side of a mountain that's now grown up and you can't hardly find your way in and find your way out. And you think, "This is the home of people that also were kin to me, but so long ago."[24]

REFERENCE NOTES

1. For a fuller examination of the folklife of the region and the impact of the creation of the national park, see M.A. Williams, *Great Smoky Mountains Folklife* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995). I am grateful for the assistance of my husband, David Carpenter, a park descendant (of the Bennetts of Little Cataloochee), and the help of my former graduate assistant David Baxter, who made it possible for me to tell the story of his family's retreat.
2. Over 25 years ago, Dell Hymes reinvented the notion of tradition in his presidential speech to the American Folklore Society. Hymes wrote, "Let us root the notion not in time, but in social life. Let us postulate that the traditional is a functional prerequisite of social life. Let us consider the notion, not simply as naming objects, traditions, but also, and more fundamentally, as naming a process. It seems in fact the case that every person, and group, makes some effort to 'traditionalize' aspects of its experience. To 'traditionalize' would seem to be a universal need." D. Hymes, "Folklore's Nature and the Sun's Myth," *Journal of American Folklore* 88 (1975), p.353.
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7. www.nps.gov/grsm/gsmsite/welcome.html
8. Celia Baxter, tape-recorded interview with David Baxter, Keavy, Kentucky, March 15, 1994.
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11. C.L. Perdue, Jr., and N.J. Martin-Perdue, "Appalachian Fables and Facts: A Case Study of the Shenandoah National Park Removals," *Appalachian Journal*, Vol.7 No.1-2 (Autumn/Winter 1979–80), pp.84–104.
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14. See A.B. Stevens, "A Preliminary Report on a General Museum Development Plan for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 1935; H.C. Wilburn, C.S. Grossman, and A. Stupka, "Report on the Proposed Mountain Culture Program for Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 1938; Charles S. Grossman, "A Study for the Preparation of Mountain Culture in Field Museums of History," nd.; and other materials in the Wilburn and Grossman papers, Great Smoky Mountains National Park Archives, Sugarlands Visitors Center.
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Critique

Indianizing Indian Architecture: A Postmodern Tradition

RITU BHATT

Since the 1980s a tendency to Indianize architecture has emerged in the works of prominent architectural practitioners in India. What makes this development postmodern as well as distinctly Indian is the rhetoric of mythical symbolism that has accompanied it. In this article I analyze two architectural productions: *Vistara*, a catalogue for the Festival of India; and the Jawahar Kala Kendra, the Center for the Arts and Crafts, Jaipur, by architect Charles Correa. Both productions have been very popular, and it is useful to take a closer critical look at them, not so much to find faults, but to reveal some of the latent biases and assumptions such cultural productions engender.

Postmodern architecture in the West is characterized by a distinct nostalgia for the past whose references to history are openly and candidly ahistorical. Brightly colored building facades, pasted columns and pilasters, broken Greek pediments, and arbitrarily chosen building ornamentation adorn the so-called "Po Mo" buildings. This approach of embracing history (while mocking it) emerged as a critique of the earlier banality of modernism of the 1960s. Buildings such as Michael Graves's Public Services Building in Portland, Oregon, Philip Johnson's AT&T Building, and Charles Moore's Piazza d'Italia exemplify such a stylistic revival. Proponents of postmodernism have claimed that through a return to the decorative and scenographic, buildings become more communicative.

In India this version of postmodernism has manifested itself in the works of prominent architectural professionals such as Hafeez Contractor and others who have used historical elements to create fancy housing estates filled with French and continental villas for India's nouveau riche. But another tendency has also emerged that deserves serious

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consideration. This is evident in work by prominent architects such as Charles Correa, B.V. Doshi and Raj Rewal who make serious claims to be searching for an Indian identity buried under layers of history. This rhetoric centered on identity has shifted the discourse of Indian architecture from the quasi-scientific social concerns of the early postindependence period to a culturally based search for "Indianness."

This shift was initially coincidental with a shift in cultural policy during the 1980s, which broadly stated a desire to incorporate India's past into planning and architectural design at the national level. This included a conscious recognition of culture in all aspects of development, such as preservation of cultural heritage, establishment of organizations such as crafts museums, organization of Festivals of India, increased spending on tourism, and so forth. By then it had come to be recognized that India's blind embrace of modernism had marginalized traditional modes of arts and handicrafts. By linking itself to the modern sector of production and construction, the architectural profession in India (initially dependent on the Royal Institute of British Architects) had also come to marginalize the products of craftsmanship in the traditional sector. Yet under the guise of using modern materials, building construction continued to be based largely on traditional labor-intensive methods, such as the use of bamboo scaffolding and the carrying of cement to the highest stories on the heads of male and female laborers (FIG.1). In fact, the Indian cityscape is full of building forms derived from high-tech materials, the surfaces of which conceal the traditional methods of an earlier mode of production.

The discourse on the building of a modern India prided itself on its mediation between the binary oppositions of continuity and change, traditional and modern, regional and international, handicraft and technology, and so forth. However, when prominent architectural professionals began their inner search for an Indian identity in the 1980s, most (perhaps quite inadvertently) resorted to an imagery of symbols, myths, and magic diagrams culled from ancient Indian treatises (FIG.2). This imagery conforms not only to the stereotypical Western "Orientalist" understanding, but to a postmodern eclecticism common in the West. In this article, I will analyze two architectural productions that exemplify this approach: *Vistara*, a catalogue for the exhibition on Indian architecture prepared for the Festival of India held in Britain, France, Japan and the U.S. between 1983 and 1986; and the Jawahar Kala Kendra, the Center for the Arts and Crafts, Jaipur, by architect Charles Correa.[1] The choice of these case studies allows me to analyze the formation of this Indianized Indian identity, first through a critique of the textual and visual rhetoric produced in a context outside of India, and then though a study of the influence of this rhetoric upon actual building production in India.

FIGURE 1. *"Landscape, Old Delhi." © Raghu Rai/Magnum* Photos from India: A Celebration of Independence © *Aperture, 1997, p.112*

VISTARA: A POSTMODERN NARRATIVE

Vistara is the title of the exhibition on Indian architecture prepared for the Festival of India held in Britain, France, Japan and the U.S. between 1983 and 1986. The exhibition presented a narrative of the history of architecture in India. It invoked Indian themes, Sanskrit and Hindi titles, and included traditionally neglected vernacular architecture and buildings from the colonial era in an unconventional, pluralistic approach (FIG.3). Well-known proponents of Indian architecture such as Charles Correa and Ashish Ganju were involved in the creation of this manifesto.

The very title of the exhibition and its catalogue, *Vistara*, suggested a spiritual interpretation of Indian architecture as a series of epiphanies. Indeed, the various epochs of Indian history were presented as a succession of myths — the myth of the Vedic period, the myth of the Islamic period, and the myth of the Modern period — matched to underlying formal ideograms which purportedly reflected the "deep structure" of the society of the time. The Vedic times were characterized by the world of the nonmanifest: buildings generated by magic diagrams called *vastu-purusha-mandalas*. The introduction of Islam was seen as having caused a fundamental shift from the metaphysical to the sensual and hedonistic, as represented by the *char-bagh*, the paradise garden. Finally, the coming of the Europeans in the seventeenth century was presented as bringing in reason, science, progress and rationality.[2] The parallels between these changing myths and Thomas Kuhn's shifting paradigms are obvious. Just as the idea of shifting Kuhnian paradigms questions a positivistic science progressing to a better knowledge of the world, the exhibition was based on a historical narrative of Indian architecture that avoided being either progressivist or historicist.[3]

The presentation categories, which proceeded more or less chronologically, were given Sanskrit titles such as "Manusha," "Mandala," and "Kund-Vapii," which seemingly related the entire structure of the exhibition to a coherent

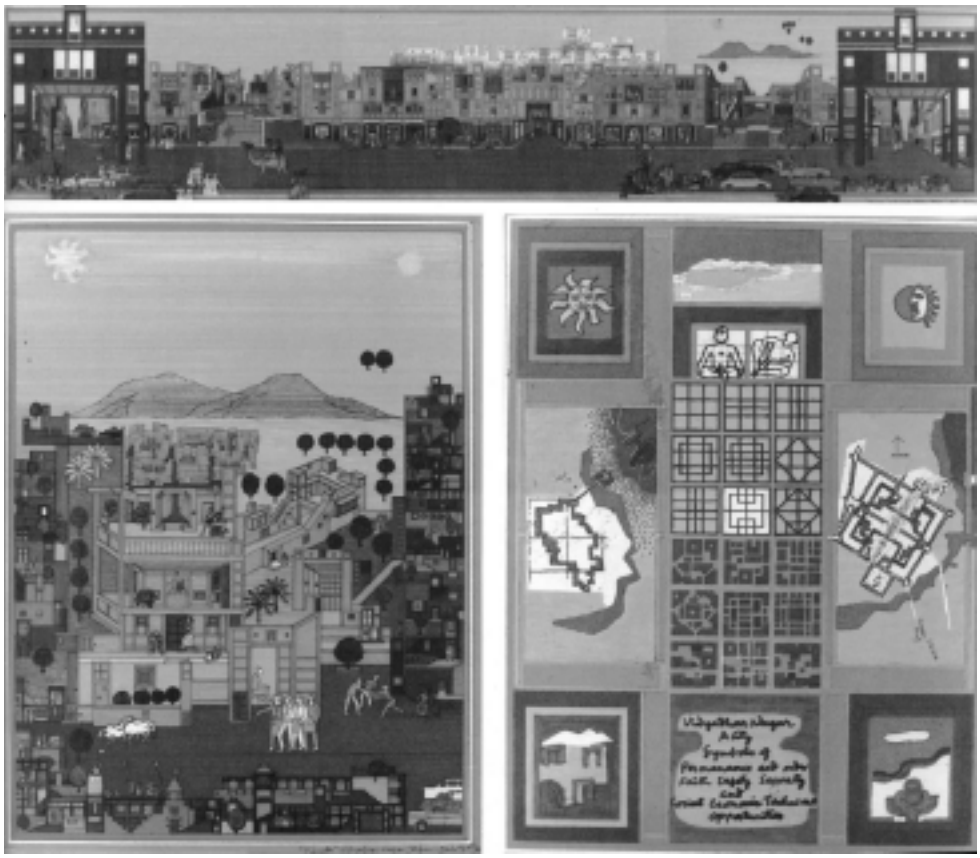


FIGURE 2. *B.V. Doshi's rendering of a housing complex in the form of a miniature painting exemplified the approach of prominent architectural professionals in their search for an Indian identity in the 1980s. (From C. Kagal, ed.,* Vistara: The Architecture of India, *Bombay, Tata Press Limited, 1986, p.201.)*

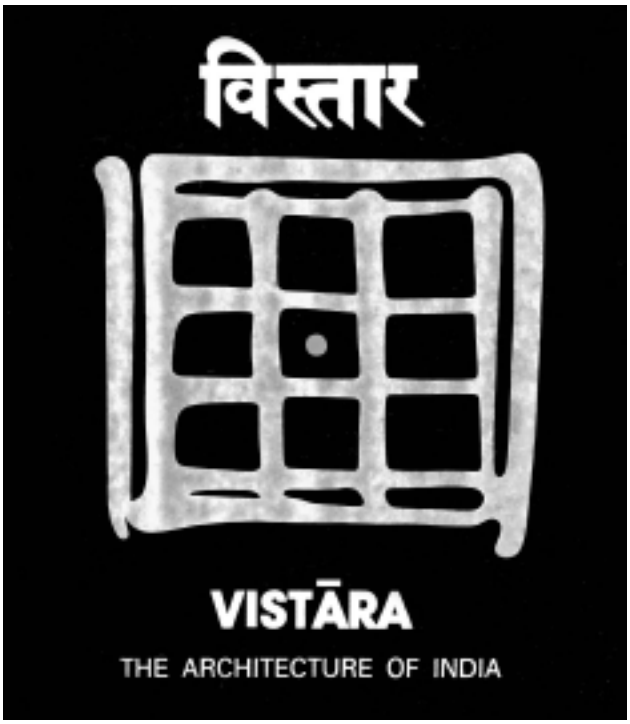


FIGURE 3. *Cover page of the* Vistara *exhibition catalogue. (From C. Kagal, ed.,* Vistara: The Architecture of India, *Bombay, Tata Press Limited, 1986.)*

Indian philosophy.[4] Categories like "Mandala," "Manthana," and "Islam" further served to accentuate the distinction between "Islamic" and "Hindu" architecture. This distinction is a legacy of English historians, who used it in an initial effort to come to terms with the bewildering variety of architecture on the subcontinent. Ultimately, the categorization of Indian architecture as Hindu, Islamic, Buddhist, and so forth can be traced back to James Fergusson, whose pioneering *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876) turned these from merely stylistic descriptions to operative categories.[5] Architecture, for Fergusson, was fundamentally a "racial art."[6] Thus, structural clarity, simple rhythms, and large expanses of walls were not attributes of Islamic buildings, but of the very races that built them **(FIG.4)**. Similarly, a Hindu mind considered to be mysterious, metaphysical, and transcendental was supposed to have created the complex Hindu forms **(FIG.5)**.

Though such distinctions made stylistic sense, their attribution to religion fundamentally influenced the perception of architecture in India. For instance, any building that represented a mixture of elements from both the styles was necessarily seen as a confluence of two thoughts. Fatehpur Sikri near Agra serves as a case in point: here a whole political history of the construction of the building complex was based on a simplified reading of its architectural styles.[7] Similarly, Datia Palace was projected as the mirror image of

FIGURE 4. *The expansive courtyard of Fatehpur Sikri embodies the stereotypical image of Islamic architecture in India. (Photo by author.)*

Diwan-i-Khas — for here a powerful Rajput king used the architectural syntax of Islam (domes, colonnades, structural clarity) to reinforce the classic *mandala* plan of Hindu mythology.[8] The point is that such readings have simplified complex political realities, and served only to reinforce an already overdrawn Hindu vs. Islamic polarity.

It is important to point out that what was largely a stylistic confluence of two building traditions — a trabeated one, with a plastic aesthetic, from the Indian subcontinent; and an arcuate one stressing surface decoration and simple volumes, developed in Central Asia — was given the status of a religious and political statement. Such a reading also concealed the fact that almost all formal Indian architecture of the present millennium is a product of that confluence, including such Mughal masterpieces as the Taj Mahal and the Pearl Mosque, as well as later Rajput palaces. To call such architecture "Hindu" or "Islamic" is to reinforce an incorrect and anachronistic understanding.

A further negative effect of the simplified distinction between Hindu and Islamic architecture has been a consistent depreciation of Hindu art and architecture in comparison to the Islamic within Western scholarship. In *Much Maligned Monsters*, Partha Mitter pointed out that while Islamic art in the form of Mughal paintings and architecture was acceptable to Europeans, and even found admirers, Hindu art still presented problems of accommodation to Western aesthetics.[9] Most particularly, Mitter attributed the resistance of Western historians to Hindu iconography and the profuse ornamental sculpture of South Indian temples to a fundamental Classical bias in the historical tradition of Western art.[10]

In picking up the discursive classification between Hindu and Islamic architecture, *Vistara* merely reversed Western judgements and accorded the qualities of mystery and transcendence a positive value. For instance, in the introduction to the section entitled "Mandala," Correa wrote, "For us in India, the answer goes back thousands of years. To the Vedic seers, the manifest world was only a part of their existence; there was also the world of the non-manifest."[11] Despite the overt regard, the many references to mythic heritage (with its attendant themes of timelessness and ancient wisdom integrating all intruding civilizations) only helped reinforce the underlying reductionist image of the "Indian" mind as mystery-loving, nonmaterialistic, transcendental, and so on (FIG.6). Furthermore, the production of *Vistara* managed to transform and commodify "nonmanifest" phenomena into consumable entities.

The misrepresentations embedded in the history of architecture in India can be attributed not only to the Orientalist biases and interpretations of English historians, but also to discursive definitions embedded in the discipline of architecture in the nineteenth century. Thus, much of the discussion of architecture in India has been limited to historic monuments such as temples, mosques and palaces. The *Vistara* exhibition and catalogue fell into this same historiographic mold. Thus, while its categories traced shifts in the succeeding myths and paradigms of formal architecture — i.e., from Vedic to Islamic to colonial — all "unselfconscious" architecture was lumped together in a single ahistorical category ("Manusha"). In this way such important traditional and

FIGURE 5. *The sculpted walls of the Khajuraho Temples embody the stereotypical image of Hindu architecture in India. (Photo by author.)*

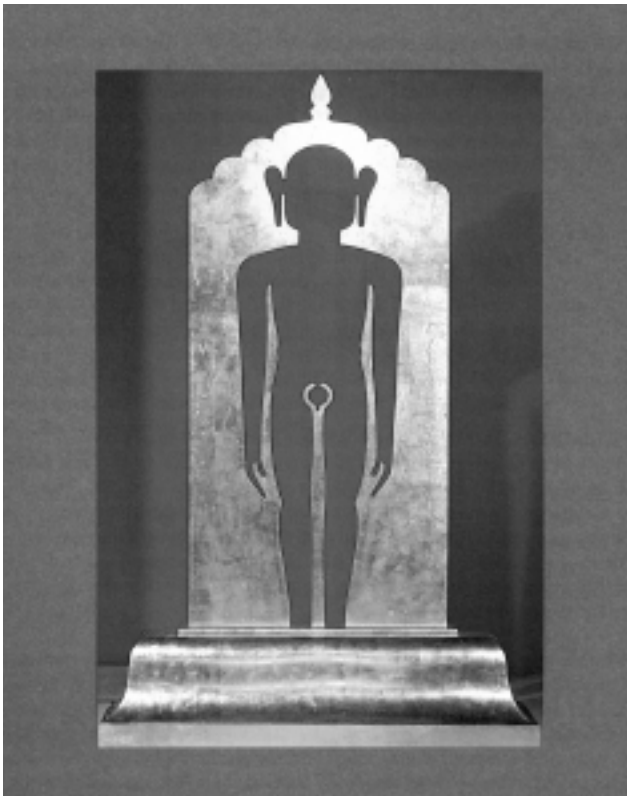
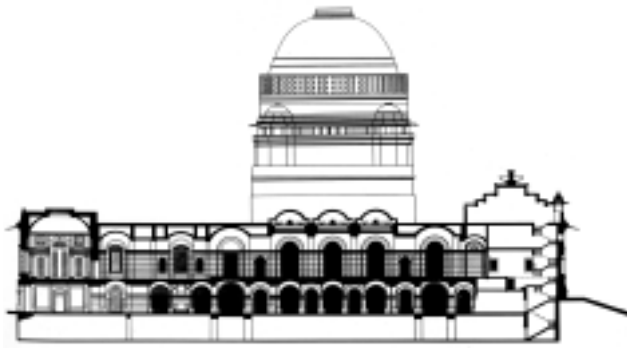


FIGURE 6. *Central to the exhibition stood Purusha — a large-scale replica of an ancient Jain icon representing man in his two principal aspects: human and cosmic. (From C. Kagal, ed.,* Vistara: The Architecture of India, *Bombay, Tata Press Limited, 1986, p.7.)*

informal housing productions as the round huts of Banni, Kutch, squatter settlements in Bombay, and the urban shrines of Jaipur were seen as timeless and unchanging (FIG.7). Cut off from the larger formal argument of succeeding myths, they continued to represent a marginalized front within the larger discourse on Indian architecture.

Furthermore, biases in reading political content into stylistic choices were apparent in the section on colonial architecture. In particular, *Vistara* praised buildings by architects such as Chisholm, who made explicit efforts to integrate traditional Indian elements into contemporary architecture and so produce an "Indian style," while denigrating the efforts of talented architects such as Lutyens, who struggled to redefine his Classicism in the context of India (FIGS.8,9). Indeed, *Vistara* called Lutyens's incorporation of Indian elements "an architectural pastiche involving superficial transfer."[12] Racist rejection of Indian architecture should have earned Lutyens criticism, but to discredit his work purely on these grounds, with no appreciation of its architectural qualities, could only indicate an inconsistency in the criterion of judgment. It is further interesting that *Vistara* chose to venerate the arrival of Europeans on the Indian subcontinent as bringing an age of reason, science, and industrialization. Quite ironically, such a view promoted the colonization hypothesis of an irrational and mysterious India brought to a new age through a contact with Europeans.[13]

In hindsight, *Vistara's* pluralistic approach — the idea of using underlying myths and Sanskrit titles to capture and present the shifting discourses on Indian architecture — can be interpreted on two levels. On the one hand, it placed the catalogue in the larger postmodern discourse on myths, memory,



FIGURES 8(TOP), 9(BOTTOM). *Senate House, Baroda; and Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi.* Vistara *praised such buildings by Chisholm, while denigrating the efforts of Lutyens, who was struggling to redefine his classicism in the context of India. (From C. Kagal, ed.,* Vistara: The Architecture of India, *Bombay, Tata Press Limited, 1986, pp.103,104.)*

FIGURE 7. *Squatters in pipes, Bombay. The Vistara exhibition lumped all nonformal architecture together in a single category. (Photo from* Charles Correa, *Bombay, The Perennial Press, 1996, p.171.)*

and identity in the West.[14] On the other, it represented a critique of earlier universalist values blindly borrowed from the West, and offered a statement of renewed confidence (however stylistic) in Indian values. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that *Vistara* classified rationality and modernity as a "myth." This placed the whole enterprise of the exhibition yet again within a larger postmodern discourse and made it more acceptable to a Western audience. With its criticism of positivism and rationality as universal values, the exhibition discarded the idea of historical progress. Myths were simply shown to have replaced each other, with new ones born, assimilated, digested, and finally transformed into new architecture.

This critique has thus far focused on the contention that several stereotypes about Indian architecture went unquestioned in the conception of the exhibition. The distinction between Hindu and Islamic architecture was reiterated; the idea of Europeans introducing an age of reason was cast as a major theme; and the discussion of traditional architecture promoted the image of a timeless and unchanging India. On that front, *Vistara* has emerged as an iconic representation of how "notions" and "images" of Indian built form have recently been perceived, categorized, and congratulated in the West. As a part of the "exhibition" of India, the catalogue was structured to fit within a larger discourse on architecture and on India, and helped promote certain long-standing Western stereotypes, biases and misconceptions. However, the story presented by *Vistara* was also the very same history that architects were seeking to construct to legitimize their agendas within the profession in India.

JAWAHAR KALA KENDRA: NINE-SQUARE HOUSE OF CULTURE

The context for the production *Vistara* was not just the overt Festival of India, but also the construction of a historical narrative that would serve to legitimize specific architectural agendas in India. A case in point is the Jawahar Kala Kendra, a state-sponsored institution, designed by architect Charles Correa, built in the city of Jaipur, and devoted to the preservation and promotion of traditional arts and crafts. In this structure the agendas presented in *Vistara* are used to formalize theories about an Indian architecture. The building's design is based on a theme of myths embodied in the nine-square plan of *vastu-purusha-mandala* (with one of its squares wittily "misplaced") (FIG.10). The nine squares presumably also reflect the nine-square plan of the city of Jaipur. Each square in the building is thus associated with a specific planet and myth: for instance, the northern square, called the Mangal Mahal, or the palace of Mars, expresses power and houses the administration; while the central square signifies the creative energy of the sun and houses an open-air theater.

Correa has claimed that the inspiration for the building was derived from the cosmic diagram of the nine-square

FIGURE 10. *Plan of Jawahar Kala Kendra, showing the "misplacement" of one of nine squares in the* mandala. *(Courtesy of the office of Charles Correa, architect, Bombay.)*

vastu-purusha-mandala (FIG.11). He described *mandalas* as "square diagrams subdivided symmetrically about the center, creating series of 4, 9, 16, 25 . . . up to 1,024." Although they may form the basis for architectural plans, he also noted that *mandalas* are "not plans; but that they represent energy fields."[15] Furthermore, he explained that the Jawahar Kala Kendra makes a very specific reference to Sawai Jai Singh's design for the old city of Jaipur.

> *Maharaja Jai Singh, who founded the city, was also a renowned astronomer. . . . In the planning of Jaipur, he embarked on a truly extraordinary venture. He sought to combine his passion for the latest tenets of contemporary astronomy with the most ancient and sacred of his beliefs. The plan of the city is based on a nine-square mandala corresponding to the* navagraha *or nine planets. The void in the central square he used for the palace garden. (Because of the presence of a hill, a corner square was moved diagonally across.)*[16]

Similar to Sawai Jai Singh's plan in which one square is slightly shifted, Correa dislocated one of the nine squares of his plan (even though there is no hill in sight). By shifting the northeastern square (which houses the auditorium) diagonally, he allowed a space for the entrance. Correa claimed these design gestures were not mere transfers of imagery, but transformations of a deeper order. Much like the references in *Vistara*, the story of symbolic references is meant to impart "Indianness" to the design.

At a very basic level the correspondence between the *mandala* and the plan of Jawahar Kala Kendra is very evident: they both have nine squares.[17] It is known that Hindu tem-

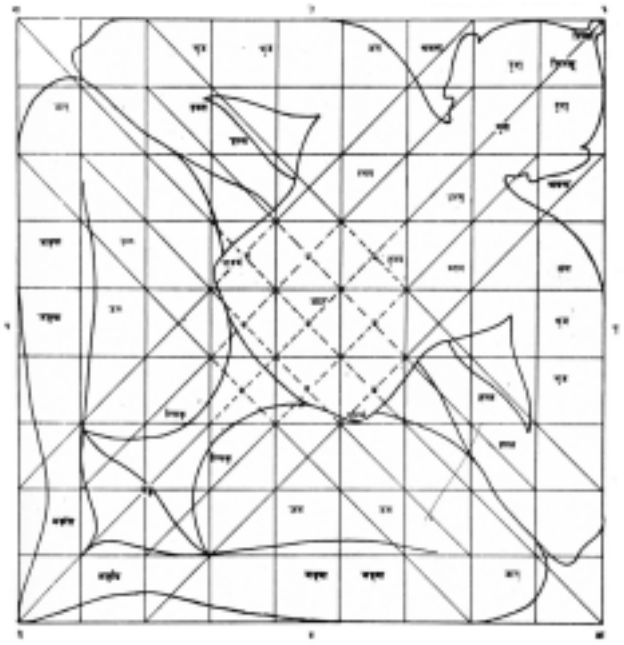


FIGURE 11. Vastu-purusha-mandala. *Hindu temples are based on* mandalas, *but the relationship is ordinarily an approximation.* Mandalas *represent the ideal, unmanifest order of cosmos, while temples are particularized, manifest embodiments. (From C. Kagal, ed.,* Vistara: The Architecture of India*, Bombay, Tata Press Limited, 1986, p.37.)*

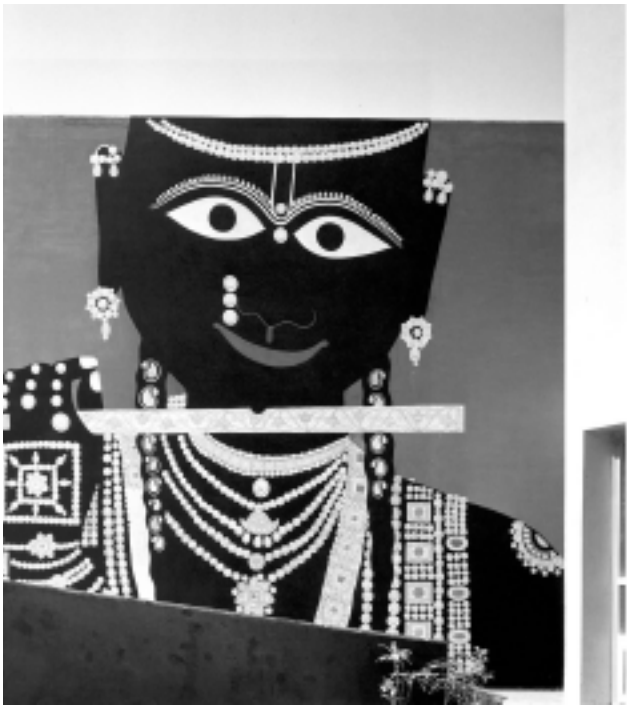


FIGURE 12. *Krishna in Ketu, Jawahar Kala Kendra, Jaipur. The architectural symbolism employed in the building is displayed as if on a billboard. (From* Charles Correa*, Bombay, The Perennial Press, 1996, p.229.)*

ples are based on *mandalas*, but the relation is normally one of approximation. Thus, if *mandalas* represent the ideal, nonmanifest order of cosmos, temples are particularized, manifest embodiments of *mandalas*. In fact, as material manifestations of an order that must by definition remain ideal, the plans of the temples are actually derived by geometric displacements that ensure that temple walls do not occupy the ideal geometry of the *mandala*.

Correa's reference to the *mandala* functions in just the opposite way. By making a literal reference, Correa's plan easily corresponds with the nine-square diagram. It is easily readable, comes with a simple message, and is up for display — much like Robert Venturi's billboards. Furthermore, identifiable stereotypical "Indian" elements, such as *jharokhas* and Jain paintings, decontextualized from their original sources, are recontextualized in the Indianized postmodern interiors of the building **(FIG.12)**. With its bright Indian colors and oversized billboards, the building is literally designed for the camera.[18] The calculus here is the same as in advertising: its fundamental focus is imageability, playing the game of grafted simulation — a game that allows it to be completely oblivious to the real needs of those whose traditions are displayed in it. Thus, the Museum of Indian Culture becomes a classic theme-park building. Without having to interact with the complexities of Indian cultural history, its design allows visitors to consume all aspects of Indian culture in one visit.

Another aspect of the search for Indianness, and a condition of postmodern thought in architecture in general, has been the latent theme of the autonomy of architecture.[19] In the Jawahar Kala Kendra it is very evident in the stress on the formal aspects of architecture. Most particularly, the singular emphasis of the building on displaying its names — its semantics and syntax, and its lack of interest in social, economic and functional issues, make it an ideal case for postmodernism.

AFTERWORD

From the above two analyses, it is evident that the history presented to the West in *Vistara* was the very story architects needed to legitimize their architectural agendas within the profession in India. From this angle, the perpetuation of the stereotypes that underlie the exhibition, and that surface in the images of the Jawahar Kala Kendra, are no longer simplifications that make the narrative more contextual for the West; rather, they are evidence of appropriation of history to "create a tradition," as Eric Hobsbawm has discussed in *The Invention of Tradition*.[20] The theme of myths as a criterion for describing and evaluating buildings is an illustration of one such "invented postmodern tradition." In colonial histories it has been seen as crucial to discuss paradigms and stereotypes, which help legitimize the ideological and political posi-

tions. One thus finds that even in postcolonial revisions the same stereotypes are used to pave the way for new ideological landscapes — new *vistaras* — that appropriate the past to create a program for the future.

This critique is particularly pertinent in the context of contemporary debates about the impossibility of representing the "self" and the "other." Both the modern and postmodern representations of Indian architecture are invariably tainted with ideological agendas. Both undo the very premises they claim to seek. There is nothing that can be claimed to be truly Indian or truly Western — both legitimate the Other through unequal power relationships. What happens when we begin to accept the integral nature of these binary categories? Can we ever undo their politics? Can we ever grasp anything called a pure "authentic" tradition? Or, are all references to tradition bound to be mere "inventions"?

In an insightful piece published in the Spring 2001 issue of *TDSR*, Ananya Roy offered the possibility of discussing the modern through the trope of tradition, which she claimed to be inherently inauthentic. She argued for an epistemological framework in which the categories of the modern and the postmodern can be accepted as always incomplete and always contested. In doing so, she suggested that the future can be made possible through the impossibility of remembering an authentic past.[21] If so, the questions that surface are these: Can Indian architects indeed draw upon their past (however impossible it might be to remember it)? Would it allow them to make claims to their cultural heritage without falling into the traps of legitimating stereotypes? Is there an epistemological framework that will allow us to distinguish a "more appropriate" embrace of history and tradition from an inappropriate one? In answering this question, it may be possible to create the space for a new *vistara* for architecture in India.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. Also see R. Bhatt and S. Bafna, "Post-Colonial Narratives of Indian Architecture," *Architecture + Design*, Journal for the Indian Architect, Vol.12 No.6 (Nov.–Dec. 1995), pp.85–89.
2. C. Correa, "Introduction," in C. Kagal, ed., *Vistara: The Architecture of India* (Bombay: Tata Press Limited, 1986), p.8.
3. T. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).
4. Kagal, ed., *Vistara*, p.5.
5. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Far Eastern Architecture* (London: J. Murray, 1876), however, later recognized the simplification that such classification entails. In a lecture given to the Royal Society of Arts entitled, "On the Study of Indian Architecture," Fergusson said, "I learnt that there was not only one Hindu and one Mohammedan style in India, but several species of class; that these occupied well-defined local provinces, and belonged each to ascertained ethnological divisions of the people." Reprinted in J. Fergusson, *On the Study of Indian Architecture* (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1977), pp.5–6. However, it was not long before architectural historians were casually writing about two fundamentally different architectures in India, each identified with a religious community. See, for example, B. Fletcher's *History of World Architecture on the Comparative Method* (London: Scribner's Sons, 1899), pp.889–909.
6. Fergusson, "Introduction," in *On the Study of Indian Architecture*, pp.3–49.
7. *Vistara*, pp.80–83. The tradition of studying Fatehpur Sikri as a confluence of Hindu and Islamic styles was criticized in an issue of *MARG* entitled "Akbar and Fatehpur Sikri," Vol.38 No.2 (Bombay, 1986). This approach was found to be too simplistic to define the profusion of styles in Akbar's palaces. Fatehpur Sikri's eclecticism was attributed to several factors: the formative character of the Mughal court, Akbar's support for experimentation in the arts, and his fascination with his Timurid ancestry. Furthermore, some authors have suggested that the British projection of Fatehpur Sikri as a representation of the Akbar's religious tolerance was politically motivated. Its role was to legitimize British rule over India. See, for example, T. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
8. Kagal, ed., *Vistara*, pp.84–85.
9. P. Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
10. P. Mitter "Western Bias in the study of South Indian Aesthetics," *South Asian Review*, Vol.6 (Jacksonville, FL: South Asian Literary Association, 1973), pp.125–36.
11. Kagal, ed., *Vistara*, p.33.
12. Ibid., pp.105–6.
13. Ibid., p.94.
14. This is particularly true of the architectural discourse of the late seventies and eighties in the West, which was dominated by Aldo Rossi, Robert Krier, Leon Krier, Robert Venturi, Charles Jencks, Charles Moore and so forth. See, A. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982); C. Jencks, *What Is Post-modernism?* (London: Academy Editions, 1987); K.C. Bloomer and C.W. Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); R. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966).
15. C. Correa, "Public, Private and Sacred," *Architecture + Design*, Vol.8 No.5 (1991), p.92
16. Ibid., p.96
17. In 1978 Kulbhushan Jain, a professor at the School of Architecture, Ahmadabad, proposed that the plan of the city of Jaipur was significant because it was based on the nine-square *mandala*. He also stressed its importance because in practice it embodied a secular adaptation of the underlying cosmic principle. K. Jain, "Morphostructure of a Planned City: Jaipur, India," *Architecture + Urbanism* (August 1978), pp.107–20.
18. V. Prakash, "Identity Production in Postcolonial Indian Architecture: Re-covering What we never Had," in G.B. Nalbantoglu and C.T. Wong, eds., *Postcolonial Space(s)* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), pp.45–50.
19. It may seem paradoxical to assert that the recognition of the autonomy of architecture is an aspect of the postmodern discourse and a search for Indianness. It must

be pointed out that this awareness for the "cultural" has replaced the earlier emphasis of the sixties on the "social" role of architecture. Most architects today are concerned with addressing issues of cultural meaning, which manifests itself in a preoccupation with visual and iconic aspects of architectural form. It is this emphasis on the visual that has led to an increased autonomy of the architectural object.

20. E. Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions," in Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

21. A. Roy, "Traditions of the Modern: A Corrupt View," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol.12 No.2 (Spring 2001), pp.7–13. See also the other articles in the issue, several of which were originally presented as papers at the IASTE 2000 conference in Trani, Italy, organized around the theme "The End of Tradition?"

Field Report

"The World's Smallest Village": Folk Culture and Tourism Development in an Alpine Context

GABRIELA MURI

Tourism has become one of the most important systems for transmitting culture worldwide. Its history also indicates a successful custom of transmitting tradition. According to the *Guinness Book of Records*, "the world's smallest village" lies in Austria. A self-styled tourist attraction, it unites the most important characteristics of a structure of symbols selectively prepared in alpine regions to transmit standardized representations of a traditional hometown ethos. This article seeks to show how such representations were derived from folk culture but have now been refunctionalized through historic processes of European tourism development. "The world's smallest village" thus serves as a case example illustrating the processes of global mass tourism.

In the Montafon valley, an alpine area in southwestern Austria near the Swiss border, lies a tourist attraction listed in the *Guinness Book of Records* as "the world's smallest village" (FIG.1). Actually, its entirety is a white-painted concrete cube subject to siege and penetration from all sides by gabled building fragments in the chalet style. From the exterior, the structure gives the impression of being a compactly built alpine village. But its interior houses only a disco and a restaurant where tourists can consume fondues and other "alpine-country" specialties.

This symbolic and eye-catching construction provides the starting point for my analysis of the traditional in the context of folk culture and its functionalization in the historic process of European tourist development.

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FIGURE 1. *"The world's smallest village" in the Montafon valley, Austria.*

TRADITION, GLOBALIZATION AND FOLKLORE

According to contemporary social and cultural scholarship, cultures are collective life-styles that grew historically, are group specific, and are linked to certain geographic areas.[1] Recently, however, international migratory movements have caused a divergence between peoples and the geographic areas where they once carried out important survival functions and social relationships. As a result, what is now conventionally packaged under the fuzzy term "globalization" has created a problem: the loss of vital local ties with identity.[2] In counterpoint to this forward-driving spiral of globalization, some have identified tradition as a reservoir of certainty and identifiable focus on native geographic and social values.

In everyday usage "tradition" commonly designates a transmission process ascribed to the past — often a far distant one. But from the inner perspective of a tradition's devotees, tradition may simply be linked to habit — "the way we have always done things." Working from these two perspectives, one can trace two essential elements of tradition. Regarded by outsiders, it marks out a field of interpretation and attribution that results from social discourse, an agreement process, and the imparting of symbols. Yet when viewed by an insider, tradition may merely result from consensus within a certain group or community through adaptation to the power of convention. Tradition, as a social matter, thus covers fields of both action and interpretation.

Traditional behavior is often nonhistorical — in other words, its subjective chronologies may flow in distinctly nonhistorical ways. It was in just this way that many apparently ancient pre-Christian rituals were reconstituted in Europe during the nineteenth century. Such examples show how the validity of tradition need not depend on any chronologically comprehensible reference to the past, only on a love of the tried and true. Nor does tradition depend on things or actions themselves, only on an aura of credibility. The transforming power of tradition is crucial: it declares "heritage" to be valuable.

Traditional elements have generally been assigned to the folklore area. Folklore, or "folk culture," can be described as those systems of knowledge, sign and communication that human groups use to impart their uniqueness. Thus, so-called traditional cultural elements and values are normally the focus, and sometimes the outcome, of a retrospectively oriented interpretation process.

There is no such thing as a tried-and-true folk culture in its own right. In Europe, intellectuals discovered a number of traditional value systems during the mid-nineteenth century, which they then idealized and made to function as romantically transfigured folk concepts for nationalistic purposes. In the process, so-called "genuine" texts, melodies, gestures, rituals and customs were sought and collected as popular heritage. The attribute "genuine" here stood for first-hand folk culture, for a natural and untainted core of folk spirit. Yet it was precisely such rurally shaped folk cultural elements that had already lost much of their meaning to urbanization and industrialization.

Traditionally and genuinely interpreted folk culture may provide orientation, legitimacy and integration within a sociocultural community. For this reason, religious, political and business forces have long tried to integrate traditionally anchored folklore into their programs.[3] This is usually achieved by attributing new meaning to existing forms of folklore. History shows it is easier to transform existing folklore

than to create new expressions, as was attempted through governmentally decreed festivals during the French Revolution. The Third Reich and the former Soviet Union understood well how to manipulate existing folklore.[4] Their cultural programs showed how essentially artificial traditions could be made to function quite successfully in reference to preestablished and familiar symbol structures.

Viewed globally, it is today apparent that individualizing and differentiating processes, as well as modern mass communication, have caused folklore to lose much of its power to endow life with meaning within communities determined by geography, society and culture. Folklore has thus been largely freed to serve as the artificially pliable raw material for impressive effects and showcase tactics. Sensational presentation of folklore was considered bad taste within cultural scholarship until the 1960s. Nevertheless, folklore criticism has long recognized the romanticized basis behind the concept. Indeed, second-hand presentations of folklore have been known in Europe since the Middle Ages. Other waves to renew supposedly genuine folk customs appeared during the nineteenth century, and again during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1950s. But only during the last fifty years has interest in folklore and customs been widely revitalized with the help of mass media.[5] In this sense, the media has been instrumental in preserving traditions that only appear to have been imparted continuously. Folklore is thus part of a process whereby mass and folk culture have had a mutual influence on each other.[6]

Tradition thus marks out a field covering communication, action and interpretation. Depending on historic context, it may be embedded in established structures of communication and symbol systems. As part of this process, the essential qualities of cultural objects imparted as traditional may originate in folk culture. But regard for them as "genuine" only emerges from a process of historic interpretation. Both the communicators and the recipients play a role in orchestrating the values, actions and objects that emerge from this process. In Europe, tourism has long been part of this process of cultural revaluation.

"THE WORLD'S SMALLEST VILLAGE": THE SETTING

Das kleinste Dorf der Welt, "the world's smallest village," lies in the Montafon valley, an area surrounded by mountains in the south of Austria's Vorarlberg state. In addition to the textile and energy industries, tourism is one of the most important business activities here. About a quarter of the population comes in professional or other contact with tourists every day.

The valley's orientation to tourism emerged as the result of larger patterns of development typical of Europe's alpine areas. A fascination with nature first arose in Switzerland during the eighteenth century, but it spread to the Vorarlberg at the turn of nineteenth century. Mineral springs and summer-holiday tourism originally accounted for the discovery of the Montafon valley as one of Austria's first tourism regions.[7] By 1871 an association for common purposes had already assumed responsibility for the organized exploitation of tourist resources.

As in most alpine areas, the valley itself had not formed a closed or traditional farming community for more than five hundred years. Instead, emigration and immigration had caused it to fall under the influence of transregional and urban cultural forces. During the Middle Ages the area's meager agricultural potential had already led to the development of subsidiary income-producing strategies, such as homemade textiles, seasonal migration of male artisans, and the sending of children to Swabia (southern Germany) to work.[8] Outside factors were thus instrumental in the formulation of so-called traditional and domestic cultural values. Specifically, such values were developed within contexts that reflected both economically motivated mobility and the spread of mass tourism among the European middle class.

For these reasons Montafon folk music, folk dance, and customs cannot be said to have arisen from the centuries-old cultivation of folk culture. Instead, they were revived, or created from scratch, by cultural associations at the end of the nineteenth century. In comparison to earlier informal ways of upholding customs, the association structure permitted the enhanced sense of a "proper" folk cultural aesthetic. Thus, the Tirolean National Custom Association created a Committee to Preserve the National Costumes in 1893, and this group engaged in a selection process to determine the single most expressive costume (i.e., the most colorful and richly decorated), which it then designated as traditional.

A second wave of interest in folk customs emerged in the 1970s, which is now amply reflected in the current tourism program of the Montafon valley. Among the most important tourist attractions today are so-called folklore-imparting "home village evenings," handicrafts from grandfather's era, alpine hut tours for cheese-making, and trips to old Walser settlements. The associational field of traditional customs, alpine culture, cow stalls, and village idylls further asserts itself in the design of tourist-oriented buildings and menus. Beside internationalized foods like spaghetti and *Wienerschnitzel*, rustic pubs offer revitalized regional specialties such as shepherd's meals eaten out of bowls with wooden spoons or "original Bregenz forest cheese pastas."[9]

Seen from such a historical perspective, "the world's smallest village" can be understood as uniting some of the most important characteristics of a symbolic structure prevalent in all alpine tourism regions. Such tourist activity succeeds by linking cultural outsiders to an insider interpretation of traditional and local domesticity.

Typical of these conditions, the architecture of "the world's smallest village" calls upon modern technologies to achieve contemporary leisure-oriented social and economic values. But while surfaces, designs, and food may impart traditional alpine symbols, they fail to correspond to tradi-

tional alpine proportions, materials or recipes. Nevertheless, according to Ackerknecht and Kenworthy, this strategy has been a mainstay of the tourist industry worldwide:

> *At traditional events in tourist regions, but even in the case of political folklore, relics of an apparently genuine traditional folk culture are prepared in altered contexts with new functions. The culture industry in the background produces building components and souvenirs in rustic style. It sells advertising brochures serving up tradition with the esthetic originality that tourists expect, and they consume a staged and decorative pseudo-folklore — one communicating the facade of an unorchestrated, original, spontaneous, and grown tradition. A result of this are the corresponding role conflicts that can be summoned among the mountain population no longer living traditionally.*[10]

ALPINE METAPHOR AS A TRADITIONAL MESSAGE

The concept of the alpine village stands at the heart of the symbol structure of "the world's smallest village." The image of mountains looming far above grazing lands, and not just a village — but the "smallest village," are successfully blended in a mural near its entry **(FIG.2)**. For 150 years high mountains have been an essential component of the European identity exploited by tourism. For example, during the mid-nineteenth century, bourgeois-oriented circles in Germany discovered the advantages of mountain trips **(FIG.3)**. The house organs of the alpine associations formed by these groups further contributed to the spread of alpine tourism through the stylization of an image that is still effective today. According to this image, the purifying effect of heights, the state of being deprived of civilization's comforts, and the asceticism of mountain climbing are all ennobling and regenerating to the human spirit.[11]

FIGURE 2. *A mural near the entrance imparts a symbol structure that can quickly be decoded as traditional. The image of mountains rising high above human habitations has long provided an important element of European identity exploited by tourism.*

FIGURE 3. *Tourists discovering the Alps in the nineteenth century. (Courtesy of K. Lukan, ed.,* Alpinismus in Bildern, *Vienna, Anton Scholl & Co., 1967, p.78.)*

It was in this context that the construction of aerial cable cars began during the 1920s. Cable cars were initially seen as an efficient means of attaining spiritual uplift and independence.[12] They contributed to a new mountain aesthetic that emerged from a synthesis of measurement, designation, and occupation of the landscape. This aesthetic (which also included construction of mountain huts and trail networks) was well represented in the publication of pictorial volumes. Images here contrasted bold pylon construction and alpine highways with snow-capped mountain peaks, and were rarely complete without a circling airplane in a radiant blue sky.

However, at the same time that cable cars were opening alpine regions to tourists, a countervailing natural aesthetic arose in dialectical opposition to the modern forms **(FIG.4)**. Thus, during the 1920s the alpine associations came to accept the reform ideas of environmental and historic preservation based on conservative ideals. Given the background of World War I, they also came to oppose occupation of the homeland's ideologically elevated mountains by masses of people. In particular, while the aerial cable car was thus viewed as a means of escape by many people, for others it became the symbol of the very civilization that they desired to flee. Mountain climbing eventually became the activity of choice for those for whom individual, national, and ecological causes were paramount.[13]

The mountain — the shining alp reduced to poster size and providing the background for traditional cultural activities — thus belongs to a long-standing Central European symbology **(FIG.5)**. But it is not necessarily nature, but the alpine cultural landscape, that has best served as a collective treasury of such identity-creation. Alpine landscapes promoting tourism

FIGURE 4. *Advertising poster for an alpine area in Switzerland, 1950s. A specific natural aesthetic continues to provide the dominant image for alpine regions today. (Courtesy of P. Hugger, ed.,* Bündner Fotografen*, Zurich, Offizin, 1992, p.72.)*

FIGURE 5. *Poster-size reproductions of the shining Alps have been used to promote mass tourism since the 1920s. (Courtesy of P. Hugger, ed.,* Bündner Fotografen*, Zurich, Offizin, 1992, p.124.)*

are thus the product of a deliberate ideology of innocence: they aim to impart a slice of the world as an integrated whole, as an intact cosmology. In this way. the cultural landscape of the Alps functionalizes so-called traditional relationships and interpretative patterns for specific target groups, according to a defined historic context. Toward this end, the aesthetic view of foreigners has been combined with the utilitarian perspectives of the local population.[14]

Those who first imparted such patterns of cultural interpretation were aristocratic foreigners. But they soon came to include all manner of middle-class groups: tourists, people seeking relaxation, scientists, painters, authors. It was these people who actually measured the tourism landscape: who literally put it on the map, took inventory of its cultural objects, and brought a certain image of it back home. Such groups also imported value and behavior imagery into the region, and created a distinctly middle-class ideology. And their efforts were soon complemented by the activities of nature romantics, alpine associations, and skiers, who sought and imparted their own visions and practices. Local people further functionalized the alpine tourism landscape and shaped its present image, both as entrepreneurs (caterers, mountain guides, cable car builders, etc.), and as institutional agents (local politicians, association members, and leaders of folkway groups).[15]

A SYMBOL OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES

While nature's innocence forms the backdrop to "the world's smallest village," the building itself seeks to foreground an equally appealing social innocence. In purely structural terms, the "village" is composed of a densely clustered gabled-roof superstructure atop a cement cubicle **(FIG.6)**. Colorful, higgledy-piggledy fragments of holiday homes, built in the so-called chalet style, are made to blend with one another in front of nature's scenic background

FIGURE 6. *"The world's smallest village" is actually composed of a dense cluster of gabled roofs that serves as the superstructure for a cement cubicle.*

FIGURE 7. (LEFT) *Fragments of holiday homes built in so-called chalet style.*
FIGURE 8. (RIGHT) *The higgledy-piggledy arrangement of chalet gables bears little structural relation to the underlying concrete cube.*

(FIG.7). But this eye-catching array maintains little continuity with the building's concrete support structure (FIG.8).

Meanwhile, the main interior court serves multifunctionally as a disco, bar, and scenic setting, complete with an artificial mountain brook (FIG.9). Wagon wheels, a medieval mountain ruin, a crucifix, a Michael Jackson doll, and other set pieces decorate the ceilings and walls (FIG.10). Other props seem thrown together from a rural farm-furnishings catalog. Naturally, tourists fill this successful bar. But young residents of the surrounding area are also regular customers. Their strikingly youthful age is consistent with the clientele of similarly conceived ethnic taverns in Switzerland.

From this central room, guests may enter various anterooms representing different alpine regions, mostly paneled with wood (FIG.11). But references here also confine themselves to simple, quickly decodable signals, such as differences in wall décor, furniture styles, and the regional culinary specialties offered on the menu. Thus, the Canton Valais room is a narrow, low-ceilinged space with simple furniture where one can order fondue and other cheese dishes. The Tyrolean room features ornately carved tables and chairs with heart openings in the back and matching curtains. By contrast, the complex's few hotel rooms and offices are located in a hidden annex with no architectural link to the main structure.

Above all, the most important architectonic effect achieved by the structure is compactness. Iconography and semantics speak a clear language: the small — yes, even "the smallest" — village exists in dialectical contrast to the mod-

FIGURE 9. *The main inner court serves multifunctionally as a disco, bar, and scenic setting.*

FIGURE 10. *The main court is decorated with artificial pieces from a primitive inventory.*

FIGURE 11. *Guests may dine in various anterooms representing different alpine regions.*

ern, industrialized world. Thus, small villages remain places where closeness, self-determination, and clarity prevail; where the validity of traditional construction technology, building materials, and picturesque customs are all retained. The "world's smallest village" presents an aesthetically stylized image of just such a community's superimposed desires.[16]

Viewed historically, however, compactness has hardly been a continuing determinant of villages in the Vorarlberg. Indeed, since the sixth century there have been many types of village and social structure, and one might equally point to the widely scattered settlements of pre-feudal times.[17] Neither has nature been valued so much for the enjoyment of a beautiful view as for the basis of life. Wood, for example, was long viewed primarily as a building material, and only secondarily as part of a home-spun tradition for creating a picturesque village image (FIG.12).

FIGURE 12. *Traditional alpine stable buildings. (Courtesy of G. Bodini,* Menschen in den Alpen, *Rosenheim, Rosenheimer, 1991, p.79.)*

Furthermore, the social structure of villages in the Vorarlberg was long characterized by low vertical mobility and high social control. Political relationships were mainly reinforced by choice of marriage partners and family ties. Idealized forms of village communication — familiarity, participation, and communal experience — were confronted by equally typical forces of narrowness, supervision and control (FIG.13).[18]

The traditional alpine farming village is also thought of as a place exhibiting an intense care for customs and festival activities. But there is no evidence that such activities were ever stressed more in remote rural regions than elsewhere. What practices did exist were often influenced by urban ideals, and traditional village culture often had little to do with self-made cultural objects.

Indeed, the purpose of many of the cultural associations that arose during such innovative periods as the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries was often to ensure the institutional character of customary practices (e.g., carnival processions). Prior to this time, such practices may have been largely informal (as was the case with boyhood rituals and courtship customs).[19] Many such associations actually created their own traditions. Thus, they might produce their own carnival figure (if one was lacking), and make the claim in newspapers that it was a "symbolic figure with a rich tradition."[20] Often against their will, villagers were also forced to relearn from urban specialists how to renovate their buildings (e.g., with small windows and rooms). And in the process, they came to internalize typical urban middle-class aesthetic images.[21]

FIGURE 13. *Idealized images of alpine life were established in sharp contrast to rural realities. (Courtesy of P. Pfrunder,* Ernst Brunner: Photographien 1937-1962, *Zurich, Offizin, 1995, p.83.)*

Indeed, the current touristic view of the alpine village bears striking resemblances to that which influenced middle-class education in Europe during the nineteenth century. This expressed certain functional divisions of space characteristic of the modern age. On the one hand, vacations were ascribed to so-called holiday regions stylized as rural or as villages; on the other, spheres of work and everyday life were assigned to cities and industrial areas like the Ruhr, or to regions of high-performance farming.[22]

A WORLDWIDE SYSTEM FOR IMPARTING TRADITIONAL IMAGES

"The world's smallest village" can be seen as only one element in a worldwide system of imparting culture through tourist imagery. Tourism has today become one of the most important systems for imparting culture at the global level. Its growth in postmodern society has been striking. Social and cultural frontiers are hurdled by tourism, while space is redefined and culturally reevaluated.[23]

Today's forms and symbolic structures for tourism emerged from specific historic processes that were largely introduced in the nineteenth century. One common feature of such processes has been a tendency to impart tradition according to value districts — areas where touristic products and practices can be spatially localized as pure and customary, untouched by civilizing influences.

The touring culture introduced to the European middle class in the nineteenth century drew its ideological basis from Enlightenment thought. It borrowed from the polar relationship between human beings and nature formulated by Descartes. Western ideology also presented romance, nature and simplicity as an antidote to mass production and industrialization. And as social organization was increasingly rationalized, leisure and tourism came to be valued as a form of compensation.

In alpine regions, tourism's "counter-cultural" value came to rest on four basic interpretations: the transfiguring power of nature and of the Alps; the simplicity of living at tourist sites (as if on a trip into the past); the middle-class practice of adventure holidays (overnights in alpine huts, cooking on an open fire, etc.); and culture as compensation — specifically, as imparting testimony from a past, harmonious world.[24]

Today such original touristic concepts have been subject to additional individualizing, pluralizing and rationalizing pressures — and to a disorienting compression of time and space. At the same time, postmodern social change has caused international economic restructuring and a breakdown of differentiation between classical spheres of culture. The inflation of images propagated by the mass media further reinforces the need to economize on imparted signs, while second-hand information, arriving in an almost continuous flow, allows a nearly habitual reshaping of aesthetic life-styles. Nevertheless, a search for traditional values — untouched and genuine — continues to serve as an essential component of middle-class romantic travel ideology. Only the functioning of tourism ideals has experienced a basic change.

In particular, one might note how the counter-cultural significance of tourism has waned today — just as there has been a lessening of the romantic polarization between the pure/genuine and the socially rationalized. "Authenticity" was only important within European tourism to the extent it could be imparted or experienced as staged hyper-reality. But even this has now been replaced by a blend of colors, an aesthetically designed scenery that includes the pluralizing of tour semiotics. In other words, the symbolism of simulated worlds now seems to fulfill the needs of tourists better than "reality," and postmodern adventure environments treat nature, history, experience, culture and style with playful irony.

Given these conditions, however, satisfaction with tourist products remains weak, and there is an ever-present demand for fresh escalations of experience. In response, tourist activities increasingly avoid links to value spheres or cultural interpretations that depend too closely on an ongoing relationship with history. The same may be said for contexts that may be overly determined by actual societies or spatial locations.

CULTURE FOR TOURISTS AND TOURIST CULTURE

As a result of the above transformations, certain symbolic behaviors (as well as the processes for imparting them) have assumed a foreground position. The cast today includes tourists as actors as well as recipients; global and local scenes incorporate professionally composed images; and the mass media has become crucial in the process of imparting meaning within tourist environments. Furthermore, while people from visited cultures still may influence cultural values and practices at a supporting level, their actions and attitudes are compromised by tourist expectations, prior tourist behavior, and the requirements of professional travel agents.

Today the individual tourist stands at the center of a global marketing process. Among other things, this has meant the establishment of behavioral norms on the part of tourists themselves. Tourists now must learn to identify and appraise vacation options, play the proper role while on holiday, and correctly set their priorities according to consumer preferences. They are assisted in this role by standardized visions produced by the tourism industry through vacation programs, brochures, leisure-time articles, etc.[25]

Tourist culture and behavior has thus been marked by increasing levels of standardization and ritualization. For example, group sightseeing now occurs over standardized routes that guarantee nonstop activity. A fixed repertoire may include craft demonstrations, photo opportunities, visits to monuments, ritualized frontier crossings (e.g., of the Arctic Circle), targeted and selective meetings with residents, and the

consumption of local culinary specialties. During such events, representative signs and symbols of a showcased culture may be arranged in two ways: by confirmation and fixation through recordable contact (photos, videos, postcards, souvenirs, etc.); and by systems of appreciation based on simple cognitive categories such as "everyday" versus "festival," "city" versus "countryside," "poor" versus "rich," and "beautiful" versus "ugly."[26]

Culturally standardized role transferals on the part of tourists may also underscore the desired contrast between the visited culture and "everyday life." Thus, tourists are often noted for their demonstrative and expressive vacationing behavior. They may adorn themselves with amulets and hats bought on the tour, or dress in traditional costumes and lose their self-restraint at folk dances. A program of such evening festivals, diving excursions, and so forth may be used to break up the sightseeing routine.[27]

Standardized activity patterns are also useful in relieving the strain of traveling and preventing any sense of disappointment with the tourist product. Typical, globally established tourism rituals now include visits to historic monuments, showplaces, museums, natural spectacles, markets, harbor facilities, impressive transportation infrastructure, artisans at work, and staged folklore. Sightseeing also reflects a global system of order and orientation, and significant objects are presented in specific attention-getting ways. They may be framed, isolated, enhanced, illuminated, and even written upon. Whatever historic references may attend them may thus be suitably mythologized or stylized to increase the validity of the object and confirm its value within tourist culture.[28]

The design of supporting buildings in tour areas is further important to this process. Such structures — from the bank to the grand hotel — are often matched to the local style through the use of subdued associative symbols. Postmodern architecture thus becomes the aesthetically prepared ambassador for the postmodern production of accumulated signs and symbols.[29]

In a similar manner, tourist souvenirs may be understood as fundamentally alike. They aim at immediate impact and wish fulfillment, referring at once to local uniqueness and universal values. As such, they belong to a certain global image and object culture. Their underlying symbology is most effective when it unites the historical and the materialistic, permitting forms and materials that are typically recognizable and easily reproducible. Stereotypical images are often imparted in advance through tourism advertising to generate corresponding levels of consumer expectation.

Tourism operators take similar pains to avoid both disappointment and surprise at staged "home-town evenings." The function of these events is to conjure up a suitably symbolic mysticism of pseudo-archaic customs, without forcing tourists to engage in lasting contact with the host country.[30] Ironically, however, such displays may have a transfiguring effect on the host culture itself, as local people lose sight of the fact such customs have only recently been promoted for tourist purposes. Thus, alpine tourists and their hosts may come to believe certain elements are as old as mountains themselves, just as many people in the Montafon valley now assume that the forest costume worn only by older farm women after World War II was popularized by young women far into the twentieth century.[31]

TOURISM AND GLOBAL CULTURAL-EXCHANGE PROCESSES

As I have been trying to show, tourism belongs within the context of all-inclusive globalization processes. Both modernization and postmodernity have had far-reaching impacts in this regard, involving the standardization and "McDonaldization" of experience as well as an increasing lack of reference for signs and symbols.

Space is newly constituted in this process to the extent that new meanings are attributed to it and experience is structured to support tourist activities. Such a restructuring allows the reality of specific tourist regions to recede in favor of self-referential stage enactments.[32] It also allows the tourist to feel temporarily anchored anywhere. Contrasting spaces must, of course, be clearly established within such a homogenized tourist milieu. But as "the world's smallest village" shows, these can be rationalized according to symbolic structures that impart the expected life-style for only a brief period.[33]

Once an area is seized by tourist activities, constituent and homogenous standards for infrastructure, quality and taste produce a comprehensive impact. Typically, as original spatial structures, previously experienced as a continuum, disintegrate, tourism brings a loss of local identity and traditional ties. Within this context, newly built hometown areas are interpreted as spheres of possibility, while real spaces are selectively revalued and restructured symbolically to allow their successfully decoding according to global norms.

Once such a restructuring is underway, "global players" may use streams of data, information, and images to generate tourism proposals for realization at the local level. Once these are marketed worldwide, the expectations they arouse can only be satisfied through a further alteration of the tourist area. Thus, through an essentially circular process, staged constellations of experience and atmosphere achieve a satisfactory pretense to the "authentic."[34] In reality, however, such mass-tourism localities, attractions, events, behavior patterns, and products easily decode into resolvable structures such as good and bad (the penitentiary on Alcatraz; tourists as Mafia hunters in Palermo); poverty (sightseeing in Harlem, Manila, etc.); and wealth (Buckingham Palace). The symbolic structure presented as "genuine" is merely accepted as part of a game (FIG. 14).[35]

Such a tourism culture, imparted by the mass media, has fit seamlessly into the development of global leisure markets. Today the cultural practice of touring has even been

FIGURE 14. *Tourism culture: wall decoration in a restaurant where tourists can consume "alpine-country" specialties, Switzerland.*

marketed successfully in such places as amusement parks, where staged cultural components may be represented as conflict-free utopias for deliberate enjoyment as inauthentic.[36] Considering their increasing worldwide interchangeability, one has to wonder why such leisure-time activities continue to exert such magnetic appeal. One compelling explanation involves the interaction between social structures and cultural objectification.

Worldwide, globalization has been accompanied by a new far-reaching sense of insecurity, as employees and consumers feel powerless in relation to large corporations. At the same time, communications and transportation systems have liberated people from community interaction based on geography. Cultural objects, media products, political ideas, and identities can now be projected simultaneously around the globe. Although similar waves of mobility, motivated largely by economics, had great impacts in earlier eras, the twentieth century has been characterized by an increasing linkage between spheres of everyday life. Individual activity spheres have now expanded beyond residential areas, so that work, consumption, social contacts, leisure time, and vacations have all been delocalized.[37]

The concept of "McDonaldization" originally arose to describe the impact of fast-food culture, but the capabilities summarized by this term have also had a major impact in the fields of leisure time, travel, and tourism.[38] There are four basic elements of McDonaldization: efficient flow of work; simple food dispensed in equal portions; predictability of food composition and quality worldwide; and monitoring of employee behavior.[39] Similar components can be found within the mass culture of tourism: efficiently planned sightseeing; vacation options detailed in travel brochures, catalogued and priced to avoid surprise; anticipated sights and food options identically structured worldwide (specialty "local" buffet plus familiar international fare); and monitored contact with strangers.

According to these principles, the tourist industry has now made it possible to experience everything from standardized evenings of folk entertainment to comprehensive and exotic programs of sightseeing. In addition, theme parks such as Disney World offer "mock" tourist attractions for leisure consumption. The acceleration of modern lifestyles is thus cushioned by a guaranteed dramaturgy, as tourist experience presents at least the sense of identification with important cultural concepts tied to traditional, national, or childhood symbols.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this article, tradition marks out a field for imparting, acting and interpreting. Tourism has long played a role in this cultural transmission process. But today social interaction and activity structures, as well as institutionalized regulatory systems, have established a globally determined background for tourism. These forces are accompanied by a leveling process inherent within mass culture. Individuals can thus choose from among a variety of touristic spheres based on their own emotional and cultural viewpoints. The selection criteria are prepared by the tourism industry and renegotiated over and over in a cultural exchange process regulated worldwide.

At the local level, a simple system that promptly decodes signs, symbols and representations imparts an appropriate staged identity. Modern time and space structures then generate a program of tourist activities according to international norms. In the case of alpine tourism, these activities promote anti-urban values which individual tourists may perceive as a contrast to their everyday lives.

Such programs of activities may, however, produce relationships between the visitors and visited that are influential in their own right. Thus, preparation of cultural objects and practices for touristic viewing may result in new forms of custom, cuisine, music, dance, and folk stereotype. In this way the social sphere of the people visited may become a theatrically structured projection of tourist desires.[40]

THE THEATER OF TRADITION

"The world's smallest village" provides the stage set for a cheaply staged theater of tradition. The mural near its entrance imparts in pictures and words a symbol structure that can quickly be decoded as traditional. The "smallest" village thus represents a social community in which traditions, as well as a pseudo-rural hometown architecture, still apply. Consumption of alpine-country food to related musical accompaniment further helps to create the appropriate ambiance in which traditions can be experienced as adventure.

Is "The End of Tradition?" what is being played here? Traditional values and the processes of imparting them have long been subject to change. But today these values are increasingly determined by globalization. In the present context, economically determined structures for organizing and

imparting tradition operate globally, and traditional symbol structures are made to function for commercial gain. The power of tradition, once produced by agreement within specific social groups, has now shifted to a global scale, where its products are accidental, variable and incoherent, and where ties between tourists are evident only as abstract trends of consumption.

In response to these conditions, tourists now expect programs of activities that are standardized and symbolically stereotyped. Thus, the symbol structures of tourism are imparted simply as consumable objects and practices. Traditions associated with this process no longer derive their meaning within defined social groups, but rather emerge as the result of stylistic differentiation within a common value sphere. Tradition thus imparted loses its ability to function as a group tool for coping or for survival. No longer a collective force lending meaning to existence, it serves only as a distancing factor within a system of individually designed life-styles.

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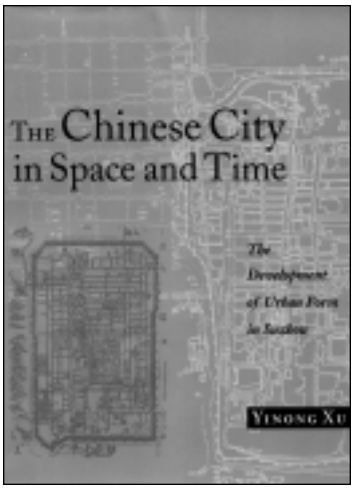
All photos are by the author except as otherwise noted.

Book Reviews



The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou. Yinong Xu. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000.

Although the literature on Chinese urban history accumulated so far is vast, most attention is paid to the imperial capitals. Given that local cities were profoundly different from imperial capitals in terms of building, maintaining and governing, the insufficient treatment of the vast majority of urban centers which were not capitals indeed clouds many important explanations about China's urban development that otherwise could be sought. Yinong Xu's book is a particularly valuable contribution in filling the gap. Suzhou was not an imperial capital, but it was the hub of a large region on which the economic and cultural flourishing of the whole Chinese empire increasingly depended from the ninth century. Indeed, the city claims a legacy that extended back to the late sixth century B.C., and this long history reflected many of the important social changes in China, such as the transition to a unified imperial structure in the Qin and Han Dynasty and the development of the market economy in the Ming and Qing Dynasty, to name just a few.

Xu's book offers a tempting, if protracted, analytical journey into premodern Suzhou. The first three chapters provide an overview of the historical background, the early development, and the perceived cosmological symbolism embodied in the form of the city. Subsequent chapters examine more discrete aspects of the urban transformation of Suzhou. Of these, Chapter 4 discusses the development of the walls and gates of the city, giving special attention to such topics as the history of the reconstruction of the city walls, changes in the length of the walls, and the symbolic meanings of city gates. Chapter 5 offers a detailed investigation of the transformation of the overall urban structure of Suzhou, highlighting issues such as the development of the canal network, the vicissitudes of the city's geometrical center, and the partitioning of urban space. In Chapter 6, architectural forms and styles of buildings in the city are examined in relation to those of rural areas. Finally, the book's last chapter looks at the role of *feng shui* (Chinese geomantic) ideas in the construction of the city.

While the book's primary purpose is to examine the construction and transformation of Suzhou in a way that is particular to the city's historical development, it also raises many issues that concern China's urban history in general. For instance, the urban-rural relationship receives serious treatment in the book. It is widely held in both Chinese and Western scholarship that there was a rural-urban continuum in imperial China, and that the Chinese city was fundamentally an open institution that served the interests of the state. Xu agrees with this view, and emphasizes repeatedly that, in contrast to its counterpart in medieval Europe, the traditional Chinese city was not a world apart from the surrounding countryside, and that basic social divisions existed more in terms of class and occupation than between the rural and the urban. Xu enriches this debate by looking at it from several angles specific to Suzhou. Thus, in Chapter 5 Xu notes how a prominent

change in the city's form accompanied the rise of an energetic market economy, as the area outside the city's west wall assumed the role of a center of commerce and banking, and came to appear even more "urban" than most areas enclosed by the walls. The increasingly blurred physical boundary between the urban and the rural, however, did not change the basic form of the city, as scholar-officials of the time consistently held that an ideal city should always be enclosed and represented by a wall. Xu rightly points out that this contradiction between the extensive urban growth and the largely unaltered city boundaries could be explained by the symbolic significance of city walls in society.

From here Xu moves on to examine in Chapter 6 the urban-rural relationship from the perspective of architecture, asking whether distinctions existed in built forms between city and countryside. Some have insisted that Chinese urban structures were indistinguishable from rural ones. Thus, according to Frederic W. Mote, "There is in traditional Chinese architecture no such thing as a 'town house' style, a 'country church' style, or a 'city office' style." Others (notably William Skinner) have maintained that Chinese cities did have distinctive edifices, such as the drum tower and the great examination hall. Xu instead approaches this issue by looking at the typical lack of formal connection between building type and type of social institutions. He argues that the uniformity of building styles between the city and the country was less caused by influences cast by the urban-rural continuum than by the very trait of architecture itself, which I think would be a good point if the argument on the architectural nature of traditional China had been further elaborated.

The nice analysis Xu weaves on the role of *feng shui* in the construction of Suzhou also serves as a strong corrective to those who would quickly proclaim that *feng shui* operates proactively in Chinese manmade environments of all kinds. Xu reveals that, at the urban level, *feng shui* was more often applied in terms of retrospective evaluation of a city's siting and evolution than in terms of actual guidelines of construction projects. Through careful case studies, Xu proposes that two factors could have contributed to the limited influence of *feng shui* on the construction of Suzhou: the ambiguous attitudes toward *feng shui* of the classically educated scholars, and the particular social and ideological context of the regional and local governments.

Xu comments that one of the primary goals of his book is to stimulate "a sound historical approach to the study of Chinese cities." Starting with primary Chinese data and applying judicious arguments, he succeeds admirably in remedying some common biases in Western analysis. However, failing to take account of developments in environmental and cultural study that would enrich his analysis hinders the realization of his broader goal of connecting the study of architectural form with the study of society. For example, as Xu discusses the issue of public urban space in the Chinese city, his account of social experiences in Xuanmiao Guan, a renowned Daoist temple in Suzhou, would be crucial to understanding the Chinese-pattern "public space." Yet his narrow focus on the perspectives of a few intellectuals on space and his lack of attention to everyday usages of the structure by different social groups provides little sense for the kinds of human experience the temple courtyard supported.

The Chinese City in Space and Time is a marvelous architectural history with rich details and cogent arguments. I appreciate Xu's solid traditional historical scholarship, and consider the book a firm foundation for subsequent research on Chinese architecture and planning. I am, however, left yearning for more research into what life was like inside the city. ■

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Ottoman Jerusalem. Edited by Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand. ALTAJIR World of Islam Trust, 2000. Boxed set of 2 volumes with 1,166 pages of text and illustrations.

Ottoman Jerusalem is more than a book. A collector's item, this magnificent red-velum-bound boxed set provides an exhaustive record and analysis of historic structures at the heart of what is surely one of the most spiritually important cities in the world. As Prince Charles states in his foreword:

> *Jerusalem is a place of the mind and, even more, of the spirit. It is enshrined in the beliefs of Islam, Christianity and Judaism as a holy city, beloved of God. . . . Alongside, and underpinning Jerusalem as a spiritual and political idea, there is the city of stone, wood and mortar which is celebrated in this book.*

Included in the scope of these tomes are buildings that were extant, or were built, within Jerusalem during the four centuries when the city was part of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the books provide a record of the life-styles of those who lived in these buildings during this period, from 1517 to 1917.

The first stunning volume includes 35 chapters by eminent scholars, edited by Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. The second provides a comprehensive architectural survey of the Ottoman buildings of Jerusalem assembled by Yusuf Natsheh, Director of the Department of Islamic Archaeology in Jerusalem, with the cooperation of the Administration of the Auqaf and Islamic Affairs in Jerusalem. Much of this work was completed with the financial backing of the World of Islam Trust. All scholars interested in the city should be grateful to His Excellency Mohamed Mahdi Altajir, who has supported the Trust generously, for without him this important book would certainly not have been completed. The publication follows directly the earlier volume on Mamluk Jerusalem (1250–1517), written largely by Michael Burgoyne, and published, again, on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem by the World of Islam Festival Trust. Between them, these studies of Mamluk and Ottoman times offer a comprehensive picture of what must be one of the best-preserved medieval cities in the world.

It is not uncommon for pilgrims who visit Jerusalem to become disturbed, disoriented, and even to suffer nervous breakdowns. There is a regular trade in nurses escorting tourists who have suffered such attacks back to their home countries by plane. A powerful magic fills the narrow streets of this city, on which so many great figures, including Christ himself, have walked. *Ottoman Jerusalem* gives some sense for the enormously rich mix of cultural, political, social, religious and historical ingredients that can trigger such intense emotions. It describes this city with a text that is full of surprises, and illustrates it with drawings and photographs that are full of delight.

Jerusalem itself sits at 740m above sea level, in the shadow of the Mount of Olives and encircled by hills that during Ottoman times were planted in olives and occupied by such sites as the Garden of Gethsemane. Within this bowl lies the ancient walled city of large hewn stone, excellently crafted over ancient ruins, its skyscape of domes separated from the countryside by walls that were rebuilt by Saladin, the great Kurdish Mamluk sultan of the mid-thirteenth century, and again by the Ottoman Sulayman the Magnificent in the middle of the sixteenth century. The city itself was divided into various quarters. Some were named after the religions of their inhabitants (e.g., Christians, Jews) or their ethnic or tribal backgrounds (Moroccans, Kurds, blacks). Others were named after gates in the 2.7-mile-long city wall, or in the walls of the Haram al-Sharif, the holy citadel that houses the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock.

A new phase in the history of Jerusalem was entered when Ottoman forces overran it in 1517. Just as the Crusaders and Mamluks had celebrated their capture of the city with a building boom, so too did the Ottomans. The difference in architecture between the buildings of the preceding Mamluks and the Ottomans also reflected a sea-change in the role of the city. Under Sulayman the Magnificent, between 1537 and 1541, many of the monuments, most notably the Dome of the Rock, were Ottomanized — not necessarily for the better. The city walls, for the first time were also made continuous so they could act as a real defensive perimeter for the city. These two factors acted as a magnet for pilgrims, and the city boomed. However, much was to change before, four hundred years later, Ottoman rule came to a close. By the middle of the nineteenth century many of the empire's component states were brought to their knees. But the advent of new roads and easier transport in Jerusalem in the last decades of the nineteenth century also fueled a new influx of pilgrims and a new boom in the city.

These two magnificent volumes chart the development of the city over the course of these 400 years. The 36 chapters in Volume 1, by authors from a variety of countries, cover a gamut of subjects: from the historical and political history of the city, to its perception through Arab and Western eyes, to the sources of its iconography and honorary names. There are chapters on its social structure, intellectual life, architects, libraries, songs, musical instruments, baths, urban structure and physical organization, and the life-style of its nineteenth-century inhabitants. Others investigate the nitty-gritty of what constitutes the "Jerusalemness" of its buildings. Here are commentaries on the finer details of vaults, windows, the ceiling decoration; on new forms of timber construction during the late nineteenth century; and on decorative stonework in both its unique Jerusalem, and generic Ottoman, styles. In addition, several chapters cover the ongoing reconstruction of individual structures, including water fountains, mosques, and bath houses.

The catalogue of buildings by Yusuf Natsheh in Volume 2 presents the city in detail — with plans, sections, elevations and photographs. In 1,000 pages in English, with a 64-page summary in Arabic, more than fifty buildings are described, and their locations, histories, dates, founders, endowments, and architectural features are illustrated and comprehensively referenced. At its end, this second volume also contains a very useful "Grammar of Architectural Ornament in Ottoman Jerusalem" and glossary of local terms, compiled by David Myers. The boxed set also includes a folio of elevations and photos of the walls of the Harram and a plan of the city and its major Ottoman monuments. It is excellently referenced, indexed and edited, making a good read of what is a fairly heavy subject.

There is something here for everyone with an interest in Jerusalem and the Near East in the Ottoman period, whether sublime or banal. My interests lie rather at the latter end of this spectrum. Thus, I was fascinated with the details of life in a city that was, until the mid-nineteenth century, a rather backward medieval town. For example, it was not considered unusual when the whole city was locked up within its walls for the summer months, while those inside tried to survive a cholera outbreak and those outside threw them bread across an exclusion zone. There was a very active leper colony in the city until the 1860s when it was moved outside the walls. Beneath the city was an extensive and ancient systems of water channels and sewage drains; but it was also not unknown for the whole city to run out of water. The greatest physical threat to the buildings came from earthquakes — and, more surprisingly, from snow that irregularly fell in the city and caused havoc. Descriptions of the dress and bath houses and musical life are fascinating, while those with an interest in architectural details will delight in the plethora of descriptions provided in the exhaustive architectural survey of Volume 2.

It is only by chance that the timely conjunction of necessary forces occurred — of funders, historians, architects, engineers, and the institution of the British School of Archaeology — to make this unique publication happen. I would suggest that these volumes are a must buy for any library, collector of books on vernacular buildings (particularly those in the Near East), or historian of the period. They are surprisingly reasonable in price, given the quality of their production (thanks to Len Harrow, who designed the books) and the comparative prices of other current publications in the field. Do hurry if you are going to get a copy of this limited, heavily sponsored, edition. And if you are lucky, there may still be a few copies of the previous volume on Mamluk Jerusalem available too.

We can only hope that the very existence of the ancient buildings of Jerusalem described here, some of which stood at the time of Christ, and where Jew and Arab lived side by side for centuries, is not threatened by the current tragedy of wars in the Middle East today. ■

Susan Roaf
Oxford Brookes University

At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture. James E. Young. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000. 248 pp.

In October 2000, after five-and-a-half years of planning, Rachel Whiteread's Judentplatz Holocaust Memorial was officially added to the historic urban landscape of Vienna. In August 2001, Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin, more than ten years in the making, offered its first public exhibitions. Libeskind and Whiteread are part of a new generation of post-Holocaust artists whose experience of the Holocaust is characterized by a lack of direct experience of its horrors. Professor of English and Judaic Studies James Young's collected essays in *At Memory's Edge* offer a penetrating analysis of a handful of recent Holocaust memorial projects, including those mentioned above. His book focuses on the ideological, political, bureaucratic and creative processes through which they were brought into being. As living witnesses to the Holocaust decrease in number, the problem of how to capture its history and allow it to continue to live on in human memory has become more urgent. It is this theoretical question, worked out in material culture by artists and architects, politicians, academics and ordinary citizens, that is a the heart of Young's third book.

Volumes of essays by a single author over a period of years risk being read as disjointed; not so here. Although there is some repetition of phrase and overlap of argument from chapter to chapter, there is integrity to the whole along geographic, thematic and rhetorical lines. The sites Young discusses are largely urban and German, with a focus on Berlin; many of the challenges faced by the artists are generated by and through the history of their specific sites. Although the interpretive genres covered in the book range from Art Spiegelman's comics to Libeskind's buildings, Young's vision and the artists' conceptions are unified because they are premised on three interrelated preoccupations.

Young's first preoccupation is that what he calls "memory-work" — the memorials — should not be redemptive. Under no circumstances should beauty of conception or execution restore or establish coherence in history, or offer comfort to either victims or perpetrators. Thus, the term "counter-monument" was offered in Young's second book to distinguish these memorials from ones that tried to achieve a palliative effect. Young's second concern is that artists should feel an ethical responsibility to represent the memory act itself. This postmodern perspective refuses to separate the events remembered from the way that they are remembered and the people who remember them. The third preoccupation is that the void left by the destruction of European Jewry is as important, as an object of reflection, as the details of the destruction. This, of course, is a geographically specific condition, which is not entirely unproblematic, and upon which I will comment further toward the end of this review.

The first three chapters are most closely connected with the second premise of Young's triad. Art Spiegelman's Maus comics, David Levinthal's photographs of toy Nazi action figures, and Shimon Attie's projected images all engage the question of how a generation of artists with only second-hand knowledge of the Holocaust might tell its story. Each, in the end, presents not only a narrative about the Holocaust, but also a powerful story about the narrative process itself.

Spiegelman's two volumes of Maus move between wartime events in Poland and the tense contemporary relationship between a Holocaust survivor and witness and his son. The stops and starts of the tape-recorder and the typewriter, the painful revelations and the attempts to conceal on the part of Vladek, Art's father, and even the illustrator's crisis over how to represent his wife (a French convert to Judaism), have become part of Spiegelman's vicarious experience of the Holocaust.

According to Young, when photographer David Levinthal was asked why didn't he photograph "reality," but preferred to photograph the toy figures with which he enacted scenes from the Holocaust as a child, he answered that those toys were his reality.

After finishing art school in San Francisco, Shimon Attie moved to Europe and began to explore its cities in the manner of those who are familiar with the history of a place. With a knowledge of the whys and hows of Jewish absence, Berlin, Kracow, Dresden and Cologne became for him what Pierre Nora has termed *lieux de memoire*, or places that, without the intent to remember, would only be *lieux d'histoire*. Attie's attempt to create places where memory would live materialized through the night-time projection of images of Jews and their possession onto the buildings where they once lived and worked, the train stations from which they were deported, the halls in which their domestic objects were auctioned.

The second half of the book is more closely associated with the problem of the counter-memory, the countermonument, and

the problem of how to represent a cultural void in material form. Jochen Gerz is now famous for his challenge to the permanence and rigidity of the traditional monument — what he and creative partner Esther Shalev saw as "the fascist tendencies in all monuments." His Disappearing Monument, commissioned by the city of Hamburg as a "Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence," was a forty-foot square pillar made of hollow aluminum covered with soft lead. Citizens were invited to add their names to the column as it was sunk into the ground, and to remember that when the monument against fascism had disappeared "it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice." Significantly, and in keeping with the anti-redemptory intent of the countermonument, the artists rejected a pleasant park setting for the monument in favor of a what they perceived to be a blighted cityscape — a site of everyday life.

The site for which Daniel Libeskind was to design Berlin's Jewish Museum could not have been more different, laden as it was with historical monuments and formal public places. The problem for the city planners and for the architect was how to make "a Jewish Museum in the capital city of nation that not so long ago voided itself of Jews, making them alien strangers in a land that they had considered home." An anti-redemptive building was called for, one that could not only speak to the current absence of Jews in Germany, but also represent their significant contribution to the history of the city. Libeskind's uncanny design, with its tilted walls, broken, jagged plan, inner voids, and untempered zinc facade (in lively dialogue with its Classical surroundings) convinced the selection committee that it could simultaneously embody and disrupt meaning. The burden of judgement will, in the end, be left with the viewers and users who have begun to filter through the exhibitions as I write this review.

Finally, and in one of his most original and interesting contributions, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem — And Mine," Young provides an insider's view of the competition for Berlin's Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe. Young was one of five members of the Finkungskommission appointed to choose a design for the memorial. He was the only foreigner and the only Jew. This absorbing essay traces his journey from skepticism to support for a memorial. Using the lens of his experience, Young details the wrenching debates through which individuals and institutions brought the national conundrum into sharp focus. Young's story was left incomplete at the time of publication, and awaits completion of Peter Eisenman's winning design.

In the April 1996 edition of *Lingua Franca*, Professor Michael Shudson of UC-San Diego wrote:

> *There are two kinds of studies of collective memory — those that examine the Holocaust, and all the others. Even people whose own work lies in that second group find Holocaust studies inescapably important, capable of illuminating every corner of the general topic with intellectual clarity and urgency.*

My initial reaction to Young's essays on the memory-work on the Holocaust by a handful of artists in Germany was to ask how his very specific examples could be applied more broadly. The last century, and now the first year of this one, produced more than its share or tragedies that, arguably, call out to be remembered. Further, memorials need not only be seen in relation to tragic events. Like the best micro-histories, which excavate the life of a single person or village, Young's work offers a sound theoretical framework for asking questions, and he models some of the questions themselves. How does memorialization change when the population memorialized is present or absent? What are the limits on the formal expression of a event or process? How can historical events, experienced both socially and individually, be captured in such a way that individual people can and will remember? What can the existing (in these cases) urban context reveal or conceal? What layers, temporary or permanent, is it appropriate to add, and in some cases, subtract, from the city? This book, with its careful and plentiful illustrations, will reward readers interested in these issues.

A final comment needs to be made in respectful dissent. Although the Nazis intended to rid Germany, Europe and the world of Jews, they succeeded in none of these. Even before the immigration of Russian Jews to Germany, there was a population several thousand strong of Germans who have made their home there in the post-Holocaust period. Now, approximately 9,000 Jews make their home in Berlin alone. It is true that the history of the Nazi period can never be redeemed; it should also be remembered that away from the places of formal, public monument and memorial, in the ordinary suburbs, streets, houses, apartments, shops, cafes and theaters of Berlin, Jews go about their lives like other German citizens. This may be the most powerful counter-monument of all. ■

Jennifer R. Cousineau
University of California, Berkeley

Fire and Memory: On Architecture and Energy. Luis Fernàndez-Galiano. Translated by Gina Cariño. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000. 325 pp., 129 illus. [Orig. Spanish edition: *El fuego y la memoria: Sobre arquitectura y energia*. Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1991.]

Perhaps because we live in "the age of the tube and the exile of fire" described by Fernàndez-Galiano, we are desperately lacking intelligent books on thermal aspects of architecture. There are few texts that plumb the region between Heschong's *Thermal Delight in Architecture* and Bachelard's *The Psychoanalysis of Fire*. The English edition of *Fire and Memory*, coming nearly a decade following the 1991 Spanish edition, was eagerly anticipated to address this void.

Fernàndez-Galiano presents a profusion of relationships between energy and architecture, drawing on more than "500 voices" and disciplines as diverse as physics, biology, ecology, psychology, economics, city planning and literature. The text reads exactly as the author promises: "a metaphorical plundering of diverse disciplines — Matter and energy, architecture and fire, construction and combustion are once again placed in relation to one another."

The seven chapters flesh out and celebrate the "inextricable tangle" of these relationships. A history of thermal space begins as a choice: a nomadic tribe stops to spend the night in the woods. Do they use the fallen branches to build a shelter or to make a bonfire? Construction or combustion? "An entire theory of architecture is encapsulated in this simple question," writes Fernàndez-Galiano. Additional dualities are brought in to extend the discussion, among them the "formidable ontological and existential opposition" between the cosmological sun (Logos) and cosmogonical fire (Chaos), as well as "solar Le Corbusier and igneous Wright."

At the heart of the book, the author posits the dichotomy of a Newton-mechanistic paradigm (bad) against a Carnot-thermodynamic paradigm (good). In general, this opposition operates metaphorically to explicate architectural attitudes toward energy and fire, although Boulée, Mendelsohn, Le Corbusier and Wright make their appearances. Later chapters develop the proposition of a thermodynamic architecture, a heliotechnic versus bioclimatic architecture, and a dialogue between organisms and mechanisms as architectural models. A genealogy of energy accounting begins in eighteenth-century France and comes forward through the 1973 oil embargo. Here the fact that the book was written in 1982-83 diminishes its currency; significant work in this area has been completed since. The final chapter presents a history of thermal space in architecture, again through the lens of the mechanistic versus the thermodynamic.

The thesis is often overwhelmed by the experience of reading, which is reminiscent of compositions by Beck or Philip Glass in which patterns of overlay become more powerful than the contents of any one layer. Alliterative dualities and triptychs abound as sectional headings (built order, combustible order; clockwork sun and unpredictable fire; trajectories and processes; Panopticon or panthermicon; time and entropy; between tabula rasa and the memory of place; heliotechnology, bioclimatism, rehabilitation), stealing thunder from the argument.

Enjoyment of the book will depend on the reader's expectations of architectural literature as we move into the postmillennium, new-media age. The elegant and closely argued proposition, exemplified in essays by Robin Evans or Colin Rowe, is not the model for *Fire and Memory*. Rather, Fernàndez-Galiano offers an exuberant and polemical tour through many disciplines unknown to architects. ■

Susan Ubbelohde
University of California, Berkeley

Conferences and Events

UPCOMING CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

Conservation and Regeneration of Traditional Urban Centers in the Middle East: "Learning from Regional Experiences & Building Partnerships," Amman, Jordan: November 24–30, 2001. First International Conference, sponsored by Jordan University of Science and Technology (JUST); the Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL); and Darat al Funun of the Abdul Hamid Shoman Foundation. For more information, contact: Dr. Rami Farouk Daher, P.O. Box 402, Amman 11118, Jordan. E-mail: radaher5@just.edu.jo; or turath@joinnet.com.jo. Or contact: Dr. Bill Finlayson, Director, Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL), P.O. Box 519, Jubeiha 11941, Amman, Jordan.

"***American Architecture and Art," Toronto, Canada:*** March 13–16, 2002. Conference hosted by the American Cultural Association. For more information, contact: Joy Sperling, Art Department, Denison University, Granville, OH 43023. Tel.: 740-587-6704; Fax: 740-587-5701; E-mail: sperling@denison.edu.

Vernacular Architecture Forum, 2002 Annual Meeting, Williamsburg, Virginia: May 15–19, 2002. For more information, contact: Gary Stanton, Department of Historic Preservation, Mary Washington College, 1310 College Avenue, Fredericksburg, VA 22401-5358. Tel.: 540-654-1313; Fax: 540-654-1068; E-mail: gstanton@mwc.edu; Web: www.vernaculararchitecture.org.

"***De-Placing Difference: Architecture, Culture and Imaginative Geography," Adelaide, Australia:*** July 4–6, 2002. Third International Symposium, sponsored by the Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture (CAMEA), Adelaide University. For more information, contact: Dr. Samer Akkach, Director, Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture, Adelaide University, South Australia 5005, Australia. Tel.: 61-8-830 35832; Fax: 61-8-8303 4377; E-mail: camea@arch.adelaide.edu.au; Web: http://www.arch.adelaide.edu.au/camea/

"***Who Was Running the Cities? Elites and Urban Power Structures, 1700–2000," Edinburgh, U.K:*** September 5–7, 2002. Sixth International Conference on Urban History, Power, Knowledge and Society in the City. For more information, contact: E-mail: beckert@fas.harvard.edu; Web: www.le.ac.uk/urbanhist/urbanconf/index.html.

RECENT CONFERENCES, SEMINARS AND EXHIBITIONS

"Preserving the Livable City," Newport, Rhode Island: November 2–3, 2001. The second Boston University/Preservation Society of Newport County forum on preserving historic cities. For further details, contact: Academic Programs Department, Preservation Society of Newport County, 424 Bellevue Avenue, Newport, RI 02840; Tel.: 410-847-1000x154; E-mail: acprog@NewportMansions.org.

"Odysseys," ACSA Southeast Region Conference, Atlanta, Georgia: October 26–28, 2001. Hosted by the College of Architecture, Georgia Institute of Technology. For more information, contact: Beverly Brown, College of Architecture, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, GA, 30332-0155. Or contact Prof. Sabir Khan: Tel.: 404-894-4855; E-Mail: sabir.khan@arch.gatech.edu.

"Commodifying Everything: Consumption and Capitalist Enterprise," Wilmington, Delaware: October 12–13, 2001. For more information, contact the Center for the History of Business, Technology, and Society, Hagley Museum and Library, P.O. Box 3630, Wilmington, DE 19807. Tel.: 302-658-2400; E-mail: crl@udel.edu.

CALL FOR PAPERS

EIGHTH CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

[un]bounding tradition:

the tensions of borders and regions

The study of traditions has for the most part been grounded in neatly bounded regions. Indeed, it can be said that the understanding of traditions of certain built environments has been as influenced by regional genres of research — what in the U.S. academy is called "area studies" — as it has been by the mandates of related disciplines.

The current moment of globalization necessitates and provokes a remapping of such intellectual cartographies. The restructuring of nation-states, the emergence of megaglobal institutions, and the speeding up of labor, investment and commercial flows have all served to unsettle old regions and borders. Until recently, the study of tradition has been bounded by preordained geographical regions. Such study has also been accompanied by a belief in the inherent stasis of the "traditional" condition. Contemporary debates about space and place seek to take these changes into account by drawing attention to the traditions endangered through migration, diasporas, and hybrid cultures. At the same time, there is a growing recognition that despite porous borders and shape-shifting regions, despite e-freedom and e-trade, social and spatial fixities continue to intensify.

In a world bearing the premise of global citizenship, the legacy of political borders — and thus of identities — is creating unprecedented tensions between groups of people, which is manifested in practices of exclusion, segregation and conflict. Thus, border stories have increasingly become identity stories. It is worthwhile to remember that the act of establishing a border between two entities, separating lands and peoples, is based on endorsing and often magnifying differences to the point of binary antagonism. But the border has always had a dual role, which, while defining the "other," has simultaneously validated the self. It is not surprising that the very borders which once served to exclude and differentiate have now reemerged as celebrated icons of cultural overlap and political mediation.

As in past IASTE conferences, scholars and practitioners from architecture, architectural history, art history, anthropology, archaeology, folklore, geography, history, planning, sociology, urban studies, and related areas are invited to submit papers that address one of four main tracks.

1. Reconfiguring Regions Papers in this track will focus on the tensions between historically and politically defined regions and their complementary traditions. Particularly encouraged are papers that present innovative reconfigurations of regions based on the new traditions of space and place and the impact of new media in the era of globalization.

2. The Space of Borders Papers in this track will examine borders as regions in and of themselves. Papers are encouraged on the built tradition of borderlands and border zones. Also encouraged are imaginative approaches that explore the real and imagined traditions of the border: those that exceed the limitations of what lies on either side.

3. The Tensions of Hybridity Papers in this track will examine the impact of migration and the traditions of diaspora communities. Papers are encouraged that explore the notion of hybridity in the built environment and the new tradition of hybrid place, as well as those that explore the often equally stifling limitations and liberating possibilities of the new spaces and places of hybridity.

4. The Place of Ethnicity Papers in this track will examine relationships between ethnicity and traditional settlements and the ways through which people of different ethnic groups, minorities or majorities, negotiate space and articulate the making of place. Papers are encouraged which examine ethnicity at the border.

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 attachments. 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 $350, and prepare a full-length paper of 20-25 double-spaced pages. Please note that hotel accommodations, travel and additional excursions are not covered by the registration fees and have to be paid directly to the confirmed travel agent. Registration fees cover conference program, conference abstracts and access to all conference activities including receptions, keynote panels, and a half-day tour of nearby Hong-Kong sites.

Conference Schedule

February 15, 2002:	Deadline for receipt of abstracts and CVs.
May 1, 2002:	E-mail notification of accepted abstracts for Conference Presentation.
July 15, 2002:	Deadline for pre-registration and for receipt of papers for possible publication in the Working Paper Series.
October 1, 2002:	Notification of accepted papers for the Working Paper Series.
December 12-15, 2002:	Conference presentations.

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Conference Site

The conference will be held at the Regal Kowloon Hotel in the Tsimshatsui East district of Hong Kong. In order to obtain special conference room rates at the hotel, reservations, accompanied by full payment, will have to be made by September 15, 2002. Hotel and travel arrangements should be made directly with the designated travel agency.

Optional Excursions

A number of one-day and half-day trips to nearby sites will also be available to conference participants for an additional fee. These include one-day, three-day and five-day excursions that will take place after the conference.

Please contact the Conference Travel Agent directly, for hotel and travel arrangements as well as for excursions.

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Please use the following information when making inquiries regarding the conference.

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Guide for Preparation of Manuscripts

1. GENERAL

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.

2 LENGTH AND FORMAT

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.

5. SUBHEADINGS

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 Stirs 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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