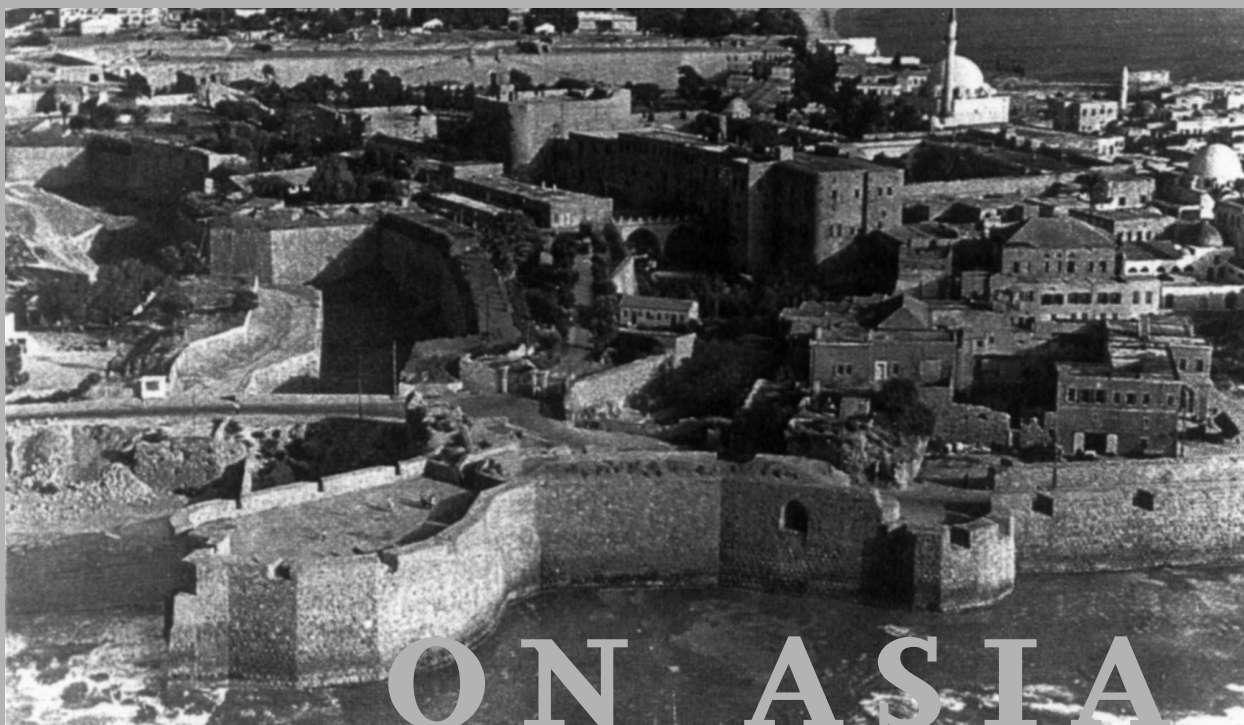




TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS



RISE OF THE TREKKING HOTEL

William Duncanson

AFGHAN COURTYARD AND AIWAN

*Bashir A. Kazimee and
James McQuillan*

DISMEMBERED GEOGRAPHIES

Mrinalini Rajagopalan

THE PROPENSITY OF CHINESE SPACE

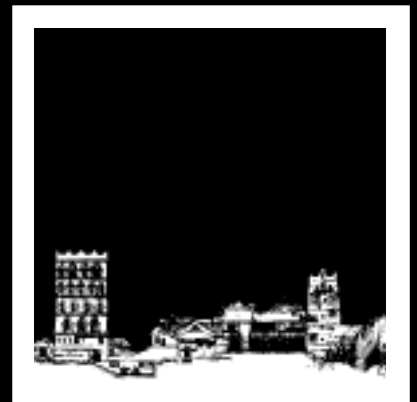
Li Xiaodong and Yeo Kang Shua

NEW YAODONG DWELLINGS

Liu Jiaping, David Wang, and Yang Liu

BOOK REVIEWS

*John S. Reynolds
Dora P. Crouch and June G. Johnson
Alexander Tzonis, Liane Lefaivre, and
Bruno Stagno
Levon Abrahamian and Nancy Sweezy*





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TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

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Editor's Note

This issue of *TDSR* is fully devoted to Asian topics. Although Asia is the most populous continent, it has not always received its fair share of attention from scholars of traditional dwellings and settlements. Perhaps this is because it is such a vast territory; or perhaps it is because Asia is so difficult to envision as a single cultural or geographical entity. No matter, this issue attempts to present new and innovative research on Asia — east and west, north and south. Yet precisely because of Asia's diversity, this coverage must remain selective, not representative.

We begin with William Duncanson's "Transformation in the Traditional Himalayan Landscape: The Rise of the Trekking Hotel in Nepal," which explores the role of tourism development in cultural persistence in the Nepal Himalayas. Duncanson suggests that despite the ostensible newness of "trekker hotels" as a typology, and despite their having resulted from the phenomenon of global tourism, their morphology is entirely local; in fact, they can best be understood as a product of individual invention and local creativity. Next, Bashir A. Kazimee and James McQuillan take us to the recently troubled region of Afghanistan. Their "Living Traditions of the Afghan Courtyard and *Aiwan*" builds on an analysis of domestic outdoor space from different regions at a variety of scales to understand "general principles of architecture in an Islamic tradition." Specifically, they propose that a pattern of "diurnal rotation" is key to the layout of domestic courtyards in the country, and that this pattern is embodied in more monumental Afghan structures as well.

Mrinalini Rajagopalan then takes us to west Asia, and to another troubled region — Israel/Palestine. Her article, "Dismembered Geographies: The Politics of Segregation in Three Mixed Cities in Israel," critiques the deeply contested nature of Acco, Ramle and Jaffa, three cities that are home to both Palestinian and Jewish Israelis. In particular, her essay examines the complicity of urban design and planning in processes of ethnic segregation, as it attempts to map a discourse by which principles of colonial planning have continued to survive and flourish well into postcolonial times. Our last feature article moves discussion to the far eastern end of Asia. In "The Propensity of Chinese Space: Architecture in the novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*," Li Xiaodong and Yeo Kang Shua attempt to account for some of the discursive practices of Chinese space, using an interpretation of the classic Chinese narrative work by Cao Xue-qin. Most importantly, they document how Chinese culture is distinguished by an interweaving of architectural and literary-narrative space: how Chinese literature often situates its narratives within architectural settings, while Chinese architecture often exemplifies experiences elucidated through literary texts.

In our FIELD REPORT/ON DESIGN section, the last article in this issue on Asian themes is also taken from China. "An Instance of Critical Regionalism: New *Yaodong* Dwellings in North-Central China" documents recent research and design concerning *yaodong* cave dwellings, still home to millions of people. Liu Jiaping, David Wang and Yang Liu describe work by the Green Architecture Research Center (GARC) of Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology to design and construct new *yaodong* units for the residents of historic Zao Yuan Village. As the title suggests, this effort is interpreted as an application of Kenneth Frampton's notions of "critical regionalism." As usual, we end with a book review section, which includes commentaries on some of the previous year's most important books.

We hope you enjoy this issue of *TDSR*. We look forward to seeing you at the IASTE 2002 Conference in Hong Kong in December.

Nezar AlSayyad

Transformation in the Traditional Himalayan Landscape: The Rise of the Trekking Hotel in Nepal

WILLIAM DUNCANSON

This article explores the role of tourism development in cultural persistence in the Nepal Himalayas. It documents recent transformations in the material landscape in the context of the burgeoning number of new “trekker” hotels. It suggests that despite the ostensible newness of such hotels as a typology, and despite their having resulted from the phenomenon of global tourism, their morphology is entirely local. As such, they may be seen as the product of individual invention and local creativity.

In May of 1995 I found myself in a dusty town toward the western end of a valley high in the Nepal Himalayas. Situated at 11,614 feet, Manang is an eight-day walk from the nearest vehicular transportation and the last major stop on the Annapurna circuit before Thorung La, a 17,769-foot mountain pass between the Manang and Kali Gandaki valleys. My privilege, as a *bideshi* (foreigner) who could speak Nepali, was to be invited to the bedroom of the proprietor of the Manaslu Guest House for a late-night screening on his most prized possession.

The shiny factory stickers were still affixed to the TV and VCR in a futile attempt to preserve their newness as we sat down to watch *Jindaar*, the latest action film from Bollywood — or at least the latest to make it to this supposedly “backward” corner of Nepal. Barely audible in the distance was the high-pitched chirp of the generator that “fueled” our media madness. Approximately ten of us were crowded into the bedroom: the proprietor, his wife, his three children, myself, my colleague Cesar (a Colombian often mistaken for a mute Nepali because of his features, dark complexion, and relative ineptitude at the language), and a handful of porters attempting to escape, if for only a moment, the constant nagging of their respective *sahibs* (bosses). It mattered little that few, if any, of us understood Hindi. The plot of the film was typical: two heroes (one “good,” one “bad”) were attempting to rescue a woman (their shared love) from a villain.

William Duncanson is an architect in California and a Ph.D. candidate in Architecture at the University of California at Berkeley.

Four short years later, when I returned to Manang in September 1999, “video night” had become a regular commercial enterprise. But the cost of admission to the evening’s offering, *Eyes Wide Shut*, was 40 Rns, a sum equivalent to the cost of my bed for the evening.¹ At that time, I joined twenty or so trekkers crammed onto makeshift bleachers in a tiny video hall in what had once been the house stable. The irony that we had become a better source of income and prestige than the family’s yaks was most certainly lost on my compatriots. After all, where better to see Hollywood’s famous (ex) couple, Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman, get it on than in a former stable at 12,000 feet in the shadow of the world’s tallest mountains, a week’s walk from “civilization”? Such is the current state of trekking in the Himalayas, where amenity has quickly become the main marketing tool, and where the “distance” between here and there is closing. Or is it?

The trajectories of development in the Nepal Himalayas reflect a complicated mix of local and global factors, and the video hall as a commercial enterprise is but one of many recent innovations. Yet, while the ubiquity of this and other hybrid cultural manifestations is no doubt significant, more profound, yet subtle, are the transformations taking place in local building practices. In fact, so-called “traditional” building practices are now in a profound state of flux, as construction is increasingly viewed as a means for improving the local quality of life in line with evolving trajectories of cultural understanding and shifts in the local micro-economy. The forces engaged in this development drama are many and varied: they include transnational tourists and their concomitant apparatus, national and international policies and organizations, geopolitical and economic pressures, and local entrepreneurs. In this article I will try to bring some of these dynamics to light, and show how development “happens,” sanctioned or not, in ways that often run counter to what logic would predict. In real-world contexts, policy is often only one component in a larger, more complex cultural negotiation characterized by a high degree of local agency.

As will be demonstrated, the case of Nepal problematizes the notion of “tourism as imperialism” championed by Dennison Nash.² Instead of representing the unwitting or unwelcome complicity of “local” populations engaged in economic exchange (at the mercy of a largely Western — and consequently imperial — tourism apparatus), I will show how such transformations as the mountain hotel constitute a kind of “imagination.” I take my sense of this word from the writings of Arjun Appadurai. Particularly, in *Modernity at Large*, he proposed a new conception of the agency of cultural production:

The image, the imagined, the imaginary — these cultural terms . . . direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: the imagination as a social practice. No longer mere fantasy (opium for the masses whose real work is elsewhere), no longer simple escape (from a world defined principally by more concrete structures), no longer

elite pastime (thus not relevant to the lives of ordinary people), and no longer mere contemplation (irrelevant for new forms of desire and subjectivity), the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice, and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility. . . . The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order.³

Appadurai has described such “imagination as social practice” as part of an updated “Modernization Theory,” where previous concern for the loss of “culture” and the need to “preserve” and “salvage” cultures is noticeably absent. Indeed, “culture” has become “cultural,” an adjective indicating its “contextual, heuristic, and comparative dimension [which] orients us to the idea of culture as difference.”⁴

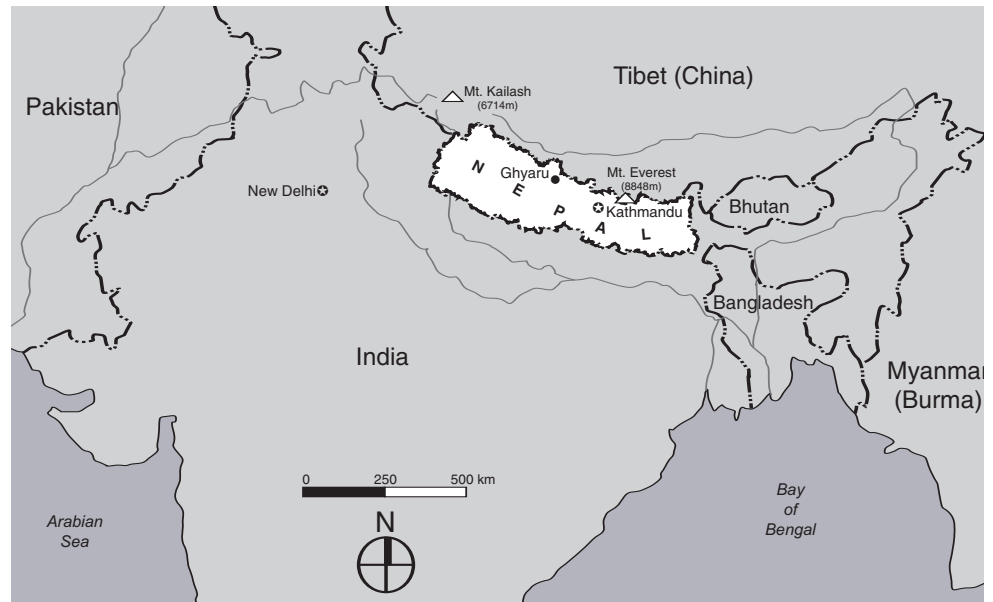
Appadurai’s notion of imagination is, of course, predicated on the divide between modern technologies of travel and the cultural practices of what Nelson Graburn has called “fourth-world” peoples.⁵ However (as will become evident below), the Himalayas, while only recently emerging as an international tourist destination, have long been a space of travel, trade and pilgrimage. The typically Buddhist peoples who inhabit these regions are also a minority in a predominantly Hindu country. Consequently, any conception of these sites as previously bounded or culturally static may be challenged by a longstanding proclivity among the inhabitants toward such “imaginings” as proposed by Appadurai.

In general, the intersection of these imaginings and the traditional landscape is my subject here, as I focus on one “hotel” in particular as a site of transformation within the broader context of Himalayan tourism development.

RECENT HISTORY OF THE HIMALAYAS

Before the eighteenth century, “Nepal” was the name of the rich fertile central valley inhabited by the three Malla kingdoms of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, and Patan. The surrounding areas could be characterized politically as being comprised of loosely organized petty kingdoms and regions of tribal control. In 1768 Pritvi Narayan Shah conquered the Nepal valley (now the greater Kathmandu area) and endeavored to unify what is today known as Nepal. In 1774 Shah described his newly consolidated land as a “garden” in which all castes, groups and peoples lived together in harmony and peace (FIG. 1).⁶ The remark reflected the fact that then, as now, the cultural diversity of Nepal is marked: it consists today of 63 recognized castes and ethnicities.⁷ But in 2002 the political landscape and state of affairs could hardly be characterized as “gardenlike.” Civil war and political intrigue are now rampant in Nepal, even if a few high-mountain areas have so far remained relatively isolated from such turmoil.⁸

FIGURE I. Map of South Asia.



For centuries the Himalayas have been home to a patchwork of ethnic minorities with varying degrees of Tibetan descent. Yet despite being Buddhists, Bhotiyas (the Nepali term for peoples of Tibetan descent) have experienced little persecution. Though ruled by a Hindu monarchy, Nepal has a particularly unorthodox caste structure. And because the Terai (Nepal's lowland area) is considered the birthplace of Buddha, and because the earliest kingdoms of the Kathmandu valley were generally recognized as Buddhist, the Hindu monarchy can be understood as a relatively recent phenomenon.⁹ Indeed, in many of Nepal's highland valleys petty kingdoms were more likely to have paid allegiance to the lamaist theocracy in Tibet, and to varying degrees to the Dalai Lama. And since these petty kingdoms administered the salt trade between Tibet and India, many were quite powerful and influential in their own right.

Therefore, despite annual migrations to the more temperate hill areas during the winter months, the life of the mountain people of Nepal remained relatively unaffected by royal machinations in Kathmandu. The mountains not only served as a de facto defensive buffer, but they remained relatively worthless to lowland Hindu regimes whose economies were based on agriculture. This meant the Bhotiya people largely escaped the exploitative practices of upper-caste Hindus in other parts of Nepal, which often included expropriation of land and concomitant indentured servitude. (Such practices have been particularly common with regard to "untouchables" in the lower valleys and the Terai.) And even when the peoples of the higher Himalayan valleys did come under the political domination of the Shah kings and Kathmandu, the degree of outside control over their affairs was often commensurate with their relative exposure and accessibility.¹⁰

Such a pattern of relative independence was dealt a severe blow by India's decision to begin commercial produc-

tion of iodized salt in the early twentieth century. A second major blow came when Tibet's borders were closed due to Chinese occupation in 1959. As a result, many of the mountain economies faltered severely in the mid-twentieth century. In fact, since many high valleys were not self-sufficient in the production of food, without exchange earnings to augment their subsistence, even the continued inhabitation of some areas became problematic. It was within such a historic context that certain communities welcomed first mountaineering, and later commercial tourism, as an alternative source of income. In others areas of Nepal, however, poverty, and more recently, civil unrest, have become the norm.

TOURISM IN NEPAL: THE RISE OF TREKKING

As mentioned above, tourism in Nepal has its roots in mountaineering.¹¹ Until the 1950s, the remote Hindu kingdom was closed to Westerners. This meant that early expeditions to Mount Everest were forced to set out from Darjeeling in India, traverse great distances through Tibet, and make their summit attempts from the north. However, the revolution in China, China's annexation of Tibet, and the subsequent closing of the international border forever shifted the attention of the mountaineering world to Nepal.

Nepal was first opened to foreigners in 1949.¹² In that year the Rana regime permitted two small parties — one American and one Swiss — to reconnoiter the Everest and Annapurna regions respectively.¹³ Subsequently, in 1950 Maurice Herzog reached the summit of Annapurna — the first mountain higher than 8,000 meters to be climbed. And in 1953 Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay reached the summit of Everest. These early successes spawned numerous

other mountaineering expeditions, and during the late 1950s as many as twenty Everest expeditions might be launched in a given year, flooding the tiny Khumbu (Everest) region with money and Western cultural influence.¹⁴

While mountaineering may have been the original source of Western interest in Nepal, the average visitor could hardly hope to attempt one of the country's 8,000-meter peaks. Instead, average Western tourists had to be satisfied with more modest goals. One of these was to approach as closely as possible to the great peaks — and, in the case of the peaks of the Annapurna massif, to walk all the way around them. Generally, tourists in Nepal during the late 1950s and early 60s stayed only a few days, and rarely left the Kathmandu valley. However, in 1964 Colonel Jimmy Roberts initiated the first “trek,” guiding a small group of Americans on a tour of the mountains.¹⁵ As the number of trekkers grew in the years that followed, so did the number of companies organizing such extended tours. Thus was the Western cultural practice of mountain trekking born. Today it is no mere coincidence that Nepal's two most popular trekking areas lie adjacent to seven of the world's fourteen 8,000-meter mountains.¹⁶ Combined, these two regions host more than 75 percent of all the trekkers who visit the country in a given year.

Though Western interest in such places was new, the trails traveled were the same local people had used for centuries to trade salt and other commodities. And eventually the existence of such already-established routes of travel facilitated a change in trekking practices, as organized treks were gradually surpassed in popularity by the “teahouse” trek. According to this now-ubiquitous practice, budget-minded trekkers carry only the bare essentials, and pay for food and lodging along the way at numerous local lodges modified to accommodate their needs. As the volume of trekkers has increased (along with the potential for revenue), so have the original teahouses given way in well-traveled locales to larger trekker hotels. The phenomenon is now so well established that in regions such as Khumbu and Annapurna the proliferation of full-service trekker hotels has transformed the traditional urban morphology.

As already mentioned, the inhabitants of the Himalayas have a long history of contact, migration and entrepreneurship. And with many traditional pursuits failing during the mid-twentieth century, trekking tourism was welcomed as a new source of income. This is clearly evident today in the “packaging” of “sites” in these areas. This packaging, a kind of “imagination,” represents a calculated play on the desires of the tourist, predicated in particular on what Victor Turner has called the “liminal space,” or the “ritual inversion” by which normality is forgone for the sacred, the phenomenal, etc. Such calculation is also involved in the way local people package themselves, for to maintain this liminal quality, the tourist must not be allowed to drift too far from what is comfortable. In this sense, two distinct marketing strategies may be found along the trail in Nepal: one focused on Tibet,

Tibetan Buddhism, and the Himalayas themselves; the other on seemingly anachronistic representations of “the West.” Together, these trajectories function in a complementary manner to appeal to a broad demographic of foreign visitors.

As noted, a certain familiarity with the techniques of economic extraction was already present in the Himalayas as a legacy of the historic use of its valleys as conduits for trade and pilgrimage. The *bhatti* (teahouse) as a commercial enterprise was equally as old, and merely needed to be adapted to a new clientele. Of course, the increase in volume (and potential for extraction) due to the advent of international tourism required certain cultural adjustments. And so today comfort and technology have become the mantras of such establishments. Thus, one may see signs for the “Hotel Bob Marley,” boasting a “real hot shower”; or for a bakery advertising the “Most Sophisticated Technique.” And in clear reflection of the new tourist imaginary, one may encounter numerous establishments named “Hotel Tibet,” “New Tibetan Hotel,” “Tibet Hotel,” or just plain “Tibetan” (FIG. 2). In Nepal a name is worth a thousand rupees (or more!) a night. And the primary goal of most lodges is to be listed in such tourist guides as Lonely Planet's *Nepal Handbook*, or the *Rough Guide*.

Accommodation has also not been the only space of imagination in the “new” Himalayas. For example, lodge owners have gone to great lengths to establish a suitable cuisine for tourists. Thus, pizza, apple pie, and chocolate cake became trail staples many years ago and are now being challenged by Mexican food and other “ethnic” delights. Moreover, tourism development has improved access to a wide range of consumer goods for consumption by tourists and the local population (FIG. 3). Today such “modern” elements minimize the degree to which tourists must “go native,” all the while underscoring the supposedly backward technologies they have come to see. Despite the ostensibly comical nature of development in the Himalayas, such development is serious business.



FIGURE 2. The Hotel Bob Marley in Muktinath.

FIGURE 3. *Window shopping in Chame.*



TREKKING IN THE ANNAPURNA REGION

The Mustang and Annapurna regions are located in the Himalayan chain of central Nepal near the border with the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) of the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC). First recognized as a potential site for conservation and tourism by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1973, the area was not opened to trekkers until 1977.¹⁷ The delay was partly caused by the political situation during the 1960s and 70s, when the Annapurna region — and, more specifically, the area of Mustang to its north — was used by the National Volunteer Defense Army of Tibet (NVDA — popularly called the *Chushi Gangdruk*) as a staging ground for cross-border forays. The area was first occupied by the NVDA in 1959, after Tibet was seized by China's Peoples Liberation Army (PLA). And the NVDA was not alone on this wild frontier: at the time the American CIA was training Tibetans in the United States and supplying the NVDA in hopes of mounting an adequate resistance to communism in Asia.¹⁸ Thus, despite being singled out as a site for cultural tourism, the UNDP's development goals clashed with the local reality of war. The situation in the Annapurna and Mustang area also conflicted with Nepal's desire to provide more diverse locations for tourists, and so elicit increased spending and longer stays in the country.

In 1973 the PRC issued Nepal's King Mahendra a strong warning, asking him to disband the guerilla units within Nepal's borders. China even suggested that its troops might need to enter Nepal if Nepal could not resolve the problem on its own. Having long looked the other way, Nepal successfully (and peacefully) disbanded and imprisoned the

guerillas (with the unwitting help of the Dalai Lama) in 1974. And the country immediately engaged in a process of expropriation of land and imprisonment of all suspected of being allied with the NVDA. After sufficient pacification, the Annapurna region was opened for tourists in 1977. The Mustang area, which still demonstrated a degree of recalcitrance, remained closed to all foreigners and development until 1991. Despite the violent history of the region, once it was opened to foreigners, tourism was quickly embraced. And it soon became clear that an abrupt and uncontrolled influx of trekkers had the potential to cause serious environmental and social damage.

THE ANNAPURNA CONSERVATION AREA PROJECT

Despite years of development efforts, Nepal is still characterized by extremely poor internal transportation. As a result, very few areas actually receive tourists, and those that do are inundated with them. For example, the Annapurna region receives 58 percent of all trekking tourists in a given year.¹⁹ Thus, one would expect (and rightly so) that the region is under great environmental pressure.

Throughout the twentieth century increases in population and a series of droughts had already combined with the lack of indigenous mitigation technologies to cause severe environmental degradation in highland areas. Among other things, this had contributed to the mass migration from the mountains to the Terai.²⁰ But it was not until 1972, at the behest of the UNDP, that Nepal began to consider an organized effort to protect its natural resources. His Majesty's Government (HMG) soon concluded that poverty and population pressure were the root causes of such environmental degradation. And it proposed that sustainable solutions could be found by combining tourism with development in affected regions.²¹

In 1986 the King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation initiated the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) in association with the World Wildlife Fund. Together, these two organizations now fund a range of supposedly "sustainable" development, conservation, and/or rehabilitation projects. A primary and ongoing concern in the Annapurna area (and throughout Nepal) is deforestation and the consequent erosion and depletion of soil for agricultural uses. The ACAP program has been unique because instead of declaring the Annapurna region to be a "national park," it has classified it as a "conservation area," thus allowing local inhabitants to continue to practice agro-pastoral lifestyles. This has meant, however, that at the same time that major efforts are underway to increase tourist revenues, ACAP has had to find ways to mitigate the environmental impacts of both the tourists and the local inhabitants. There are approximately 100,000 inhabitants in the Annapurna region. However, during the five months of September, October, February, March and April, with the arrival of trekkers, sup-

port staff, and Indian pilgrims, the total number of people in the region nearly doubles.²² Clearly, the impact of this cyclical population increase is very significant. In response, the ACAP management plan has focused on initiatives in the several important areas: alternative energy sources, economic development, and environmental protection.

By contrast to such “technological” campaigns, the ACAP management plan is selective in its cultural-heritage goals. In fact, concern for “culture” is primarily limited to bodies of local practice that might be deemed useful in coping with changes to the environment.²³ When material “heritage” is considered at all, it normally has to do with such practices as maintaining and preserving “idol-making” and “traditional” painting.²⁴ Such a focus clearly displays a bias toward arts and crafts that are symbolic of institutional “culture.” In short, ACAP is interested in preserving only those practices and technologies most capable of reproducing the anachronism thought to be central to the tourist’s desires. For example, no mention is made regarding the aesthetic quality or functional adequacy of the traditional dwelling and/or village morphology. Indeed, this (intentional?) oversight on the part of the ACAP plan has made possible the proliferation of hotels in the region.

One particularly significant ACAP program has been the Lodge Management Committee (LMC). Among other responsibilities, LMC is responsible for standardizing prices and initiating toilet construction and alternative energy schemes.²⁵ Another of LMC’s goals is to limit economic leakage. A study in 1984 found that tourists spent US\$3 per day in the region, but that only 6.7 percent of that was retained in the local economy. By contrast, a study in 1994 found that tourists spent US\$5 per day, and that 50 percent was being retained.²⁶ Clearly, despite a persisting low level of overall expenditure, economic leakage is now being curtailed. In part, success can be attributed to the increased level of service provided by local entrepreneurs, which has cut into the previous reliance of trekkers on outside agencies. Among its initiatives in this direction, ACAP, through the auspices of LMC, has directly encouraged certain best practices in running a “hotel” by offering courses in cooking and lodge management. As a sign of the success of these programs today, it is common to see “certificates of participation” from LMC proudly displayed on the walls of many establishments (FIG. 4).

Independent trekking results in a more substantial and even distribution of capital to the hinterlands. Success in this activity, however, can only be facilitated by sufficient and acceptable accommodations.

THE YAK RYU HOTEL

The Manang valley is situated along the northern border of Nepal between the Kali Gandaki and Marsyandi river valleys and behind the Annapurna massif (FIG. 5). Since the



FIGURE 4. Annapurna Conservation Area “Certificate of Participation” for Lodge Management.

late eighteenth century, Kathmandu has afforded its inhabitants special dispensation as international traders, presumably in return for their acquiescence to rule by the Shah King. The cosmopolitan disposition of the Manangis makes their region ripe for “imagination.” Indeed, hotels in the



FIGURE 5. Annapurna Conservation area and vicinity map.

Manang valley constitute the largest and most elaborate along the eastern half of the Annapurna circuit. Some of the issues surrounding their development can be better understood through a case study of one such hotel.

Ghyaru, a village in the Manang Valley, is somewhat off the beaten track of the Annapurna circuit. This trip involves a three-week, 150-mile trek along two river valleys and over a high mountain pass, thus circling the Annapurna Himal. In 1995 Ghyaru stood apart as an anachronistic hiccup in a region marked by an otherwise burgeoning tourist economy. It boasted none of the amenities that the trail was quickly becoming famous for. However, Cesar and I would not have ventured there were it not for this enticing description in a guidebook (FIG. 6):

The extra effort and time involved in taking the high route [to Manang] is more than worthwhile: the views from this route are some of the best on the whole trek and combine with the altitude (you climb about 500m/1640ft. above lower Pisang) to really take your breath away. "Climb high, sleep low" is part of the advice given to guard against altitude sickness, so taking the high route will help you acclimatise better than following the low one. The high route is also far more interesting, passing through the ancient villages of Ghyaru and Ngawal and past the ruins of and old fort.²⁷

In 1995 there were no hotels in "ancient" Ghyaru, only one teahouse. Yet by 1999 all that had changed. Most importantly the Yak Ryu Mount View Resort opened there in 1997. Owned by Lamkey Gurung and managed by his son and eldest daughter, the Yak Ryu provides a paradoxical example of development and continuity. In this sense it is typical of the new breed of guesthouses in the mountains of Nepal that reflect the latest iteration of some thirty years of adaptation and local creativity.

Unlike most Bhotiya dwellings, the Yak Ryu is bilaterally symmetrical (FIG. 7). It has two floors, and the entrance faces



FIGURE 6. View of the Annapurna Himal from Ghyaru.

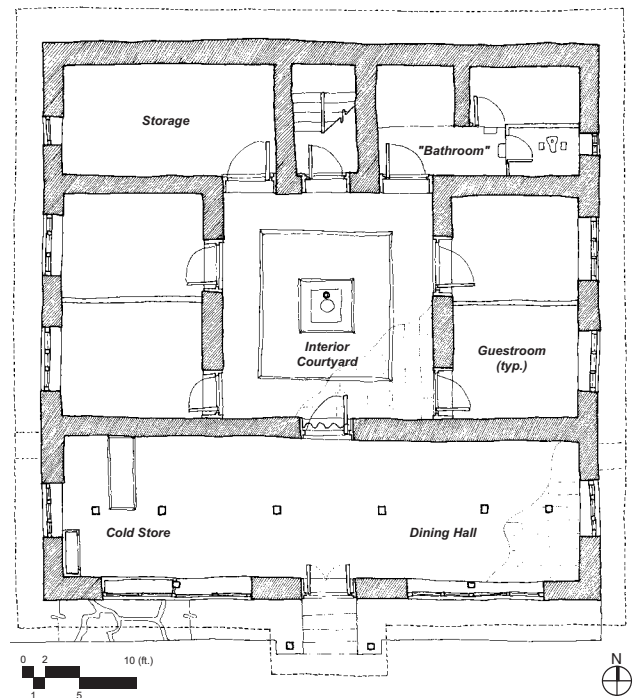


FIGURE 7. Yak Ryu Mount View Resort: first-floor plan.

south. Immediately inside the front door one finds the dining hall/"cold store," and from there one may pass through a second door on axis with the main entrance and into the lodging area. The dining hall is equipped with tables and chairs, and the significant amount of glazing along its southern wall affords good views of Lamjung Himal (6986 m.), Annapurna II (7937 m.), and up the Manang valley toward Annapurna III (7555 m.) and Gangapurna (7455 m.). The cold store sells candy bars, film, batteries, and cigarettes — basic necessities for the trail-weary trekker. At the time of my visit in 1999 there was a Yak head hanging in the dining hall and a modern mountain bike leaning against one wall (which seemed altogether out of place, since trails in the area are too steep for biking).²⁸

The Yak Ryu's lodge area consists of guestrooms around a covered, double-height court. In the center of the court is a stove surrounded by benches, and in the northeastern corner of the first floor is a toilet room and shower (called the bathroom). The shower consists of a raised concrete platform with a drain; one uses a bucket of hot water (heated in the kitchen) and a ladle to wash. Likewise, the toilet, a vitreous-china squat fixture, is "flushed" by a scoop of water from an adjacent bucket. There are four guestrooms on the ground level — each a double-occupancy room with two single beds and a small table and stool. Each also has at least one window, some of which offer mountain views. The second-floor guestrooms are reached by means of a stair and a loggia cantilevered all the way around the wall of the interior courtyard.

There are six guestrooms on this floor: four are double occupancy, and two are dormitories that accommodate four to five individuals each. At the southern end of the second floor, opposite the stair, a door opens onto a roof patio above the dining hall. The patio is of sufficient slope to drain both east and west. From this vantage point there is an exceptional view across the Manang Valley to the Annapurna Himal.

The Yak Ryu was designed by Lamkey's brother, and was constructed, as is often the case now, by paid labor.²⁹ One of its most noticeable features is its detached kitchen. This is uncharacteristic of dwellings in the area (and of older hotels and teahouses), but it is demonstrative of some of the latest thinking in the hotel design. Most importantly, a detached kitchen mitigates the formerly chronic problem of smoky guestrooms in poorly ventilated lodges. In fact, guidebooks and ACAP literature suggest that trekkers look for such “developments” as a way to promote sustainable tourism. The belief is that as proprietors become aware of such recommendations, there will be additional pressure to incorporate such technologies as backboilers and solar heaters. A detached kitchen, often located in the courtyard, is one particularly noticeable way to display such a progressive awareness.

Another such “development” is the internal bathroom and shower. The “traditional” guesthouse bathroom was a detached outhouse — in effect, a privatization of the local practice of using the fields. However, a public-awareness campaign sponsored by UNESCO and other international aid agencies has now focused increased attention on the issue of sanitation. Waterborne diseases such as dysentery have long been linked to poor sanitation practices. And with village populations sometimes swelling by nearly 300 persons a night during the high trekking season, the waste problem may become substantial, to say the least. Indeed, better sanitation is one of the more successful new technologies introduced to rural Nepal. It can clearly be seen in the burgeoning of new “private” outhouses (FIG. 8).

Of the many “transformations” of the hotel as a typology, however, possibly the most radical has been the introduction of large glass windows. In a traditional Bhotiya dwelling windows were small openings with operable wooden shutters (FIG. 9). Their purpose was more environmental than aesthetic, since they primarily facilitated cross-ventilation and admitted small amounts of light into interior spaces. The primary source of light and ventilation, however, was the door. For this reason Bhotiya houses were traditionally oriented inward, toward the court, and to the south. As Katherine Blair has noted, this was primarily an adjustment to the extreme winds and cold of the Himalayan winter. But it also served to provide protected horizontal surfaces with southern exposure for the drying of grain.³⁰ The relative dearth of windows (and the modest size of those present) also reflected defensive considerations, for Bhotiya peoples once engaged in significant amounts of war. In modern hotels, however, the new availability of glass has combined

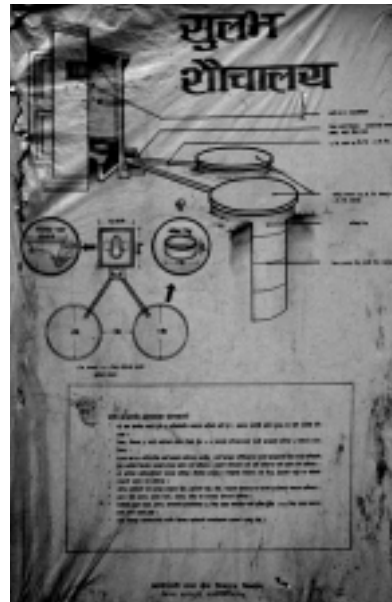


FIGURE 8. Public Service Announcement: Toilet construction instructions.

with the cultural impact of tourism to privilege the “view.” Such new emphasis on seeing out has also created a building typology that often contrasts with traditional dwellings (FIG. 10). Views are, of course, an amenity that trekkers take seriously when choosing a hotel, and their desire to experience the environment, even when at rest, is not lost on the hoteliers. Thus, the Yak Ryu not only features large areas of glass in its dining hall, but the superior quality of its views is trumpeted on its signs (FIG. 11).

The above “developments” constitute a general trend toward improving the “comfort” of travelers. In this regard, the “hot shower” (often advertised — rarely realized) is a perennial benchmark of quality. In fact, discerning just what



FIGURE 9. A “traditional” window in Ghyaru.



FIGURE 10. A window at the Yak Ryu.

kind of shower a hotel provides — cold, hot, bucket, outdoor, indoor (drafty,) indoor (not drafty,) dirt floor, wood floor, concrete floor, tile floor, solar, backboiler, electric, etc. — may be of utmost importance to the weary and/or environmentally conscious trekker. The Yak Ryu's shower, a bucket and a ladle, is modest by current standards, but its location makes it a comfortable experience (FIG. 12). By contrast, running water will do little good if it is only provided in a drafty, wood-slat outhouse that doubles as a bathroom. Running water alone does not a comfortable shower make! The Yak Ryu bathroom, conveniently located inside the hotel and surrounded by thick masonry walls, is not drafty. Moreover, its concrete floor and drain presumably make for a more hygienic surface than perpetually damp wood or dirt.

Ironically, however, the simple shower is a serious offender when it comes to the ultimately paradoxical effort to preserve the natural environment for adventure tourism. For despite being new, the Yak Ryu does not employ the latest technologies encouraged by ACAP: the backboiler or the solar water heater.



FIGURE 11. "Best mountain view point to capture photo." The sign on the Yak Ryu Mount View Resort.

The demands of trekkers for hot water are significant, and ACAP has long recognized the need for a more efficient, environmentally benign fuel source than firewood. Indeed, developing a sustainable hot water supply is one of the technological advances that will be most needed if volumes of tourists are to continue to increase while minimizing environmental damage. In general, guidebooks and ACAP literature encourage trekkers to patronize only environmentally conscious establishments, and many trekkers dutifully check levels of compliance before agreeing to stay for the night. Such a system does help ensure that hotels will be continually upgraded to reflect new conservation technologies. Indeed, in the Himalayas it is good business to be environmentally conscious — or at least to market environmental consciousness, regardless of actual practice.

Another important area where the "comfort" factor is manifested in the packaging of hotels is in the creation of idyllic landscapes for visual consumption. Great emphasis is now placed on beautifying hotel grounds with flowers and artwork. To be sure, an interest in flowers is not an imported institution; Tibetans and Bhotiya alike are famous for their interest in horticulture. However, the siting of a garden or patio for sedentary occupation and meditation is a new phenomenon. Before tourism, it would have been considered wasteful to allocate outdoor space for such a non-flexibly programmed use, since arable land was in short supply. However, such a garden for dining and/or sitting is now a key attribute in the war for paying customers. If it can provide a mountain view, as does the patio at the Yak Ryu, all the better (FIG. 13).

Indoors, other attractive features of the new hotels include decorative elements that suggest the agro-pastoral life of the villagers. For example, wood carvings and column capitals may allude to vernacular detailing. But such "treatments" are often not derivative of local building practices. Instead, they may be rooted in an individual hotelier's or builder's "imagination" of

FIGURE 12. The Yak Ryu's "bathroom."



FIGURE 13. *Yak Ryu's "garden."*

the pastoral. Also in this regard, full-height doorways, “Western” stairs, sit-down flush toilets, and comical faux finishes may either mitigate or exacerbate the sense of cultural “difference,” depending on the particulars of installation and context.

The above descriptions serve to emphasize that the degree of “going native” that a trekker chooses to engage in represents a constant negotiation between the disjuncted trajectories of development and progress. Within such a context of packaged ethnographic pasts, however, it would be a mistake to assume the new hotels are aberrations in an otherwise homogeneous material landscape. The Yak Ryu and other hotels are the conscious product of analysis, consideration and design by their owners. As such, their cultural details, programmatic innovations, and technological improvements are all rooted in the local dwelling. Typologically, the hotel can thus be conceived of as a large house, in which certain programs and detailing have been modified to accommodate a newer and more transient occupancy.

It may help at this point to note that the hotels of the Thakuri (hill peoples) of Nepal’s lower elevations are quite different in terms of their design. Thakuri hotels are structured around single- or double-loaded corridors, and follow the linear pattern and cardinal orientation of Thakuri dwellings. Thakuri hotels also rarely exceed two stories, and they exhibit gables and/or hipped roof assemblies in keeping with the local idiom. It has often been pointed out that such hotels represent a logical progression from the original tea-houses, which were merely houses opened up to trekkers. That one such hotel (or many) may be called the “Tibet Hotel” does not make it any less a product of traditional building practices or local typology.

In contradistinction are the hotels of the upper Himalayas (such as the Yak Ryu). These structures typically make use of a courtyard typology for internal circulation, are three or more stories tall, and are constructed of dry stone masonry and timber, much like traditional Bhotiya dwellings. Certainly, these similarities are as much structural as cultural. Above all, it is the dearth of timber at high altitude that has forced Bhotiya hotels to be constructed of stone. For centuries dwellings in the region have been constructed this way, with timbers being employed only in roof and floor framing. However, today environmental determinants have become exacerbated to the point where they may seem as important as cultural ones. The point is that despite the newness of the hotel as a typology, and despite its having resulted from a global phenomenon, its morphology is entirely the product of individual invention and local creativity — “imagination” in the parlance of Appadurai.

THE BHOTIYA HOUSE TYPOLOGY

Lamkey Gurung’s own house can help elucidate the above assertion with regard to the design of the Yak Ryu. A few steps away from the Yak Ryu, it is typical of Ghyaru and Bhotiya dwellings in the Manang valley. The house is a three-story structure of dry-masonry perimeter and interior bearing walls, with an otherwise wood post-and-beam system of floor supports (FIG. 14). The first floor is used primarily to stable family animals and store firewood and agricultural implements. Its single entrance opens on the west to a vegetable garden.³¹ Inside, a traditional log ladder leads up to

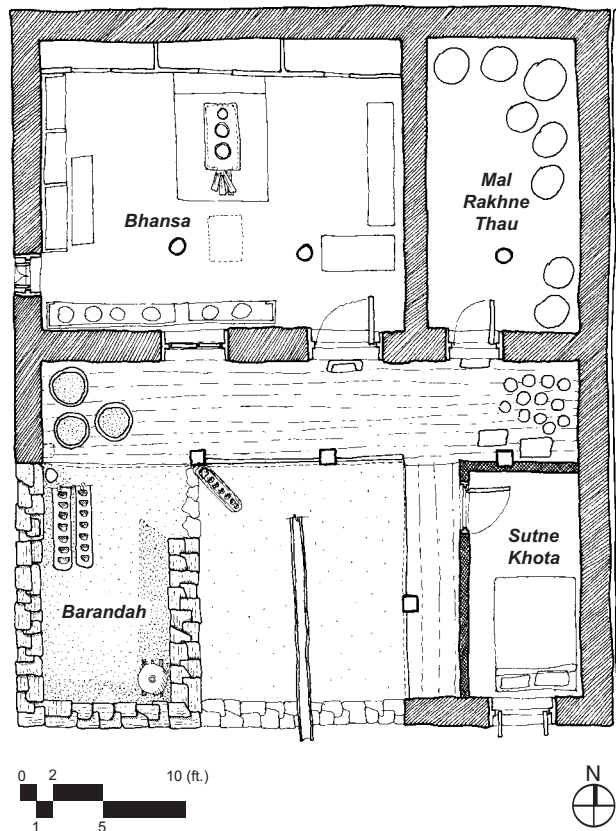


FIGURE 14. Lamkey's second-floor plan.

the second-floor living space, which takes an L-shape (oriented to the northeast) and includes a small outdoor patio with partial-height walls on the west.

At ground level, the house includes a court in the center open to the south, and there is another outdoor area with southern exposure used for bathing and cleaning vegetables. Southern exposure and orientation are critical for all outdoor surfaces so they may be used to dry grain and vegetables. The courtyard to the south is defined from the adjacent public walkway by a partial-height wall. This separation is a defensive attribute of the Bhotiya dwelling, and also helps maintain privacy.

The kitchen occupies the northwest corner of the second floor. Here one can find the few major changes in dwelling design that have emerged from recent development efforts: an electric light and a tin chimney (FIG. 15). All structures in Ghyaru have had access to electricity since 1996. A meter affixed to each is read twice yearly, and villagers pay according to their usage (FIG. 16). It is likely, however, that usage is modest by those not engaged in tourism, since they otherwise may have limited access to cash.

It is instructive to compare the image of Lamkey's kitchen to David Snellgrove's 1956 impression of a kitchen in Jomson:



FIGURE 15. Lamkey Gurung's kitchen.

This was the first Thakali house we had entered and I gazed astounded. We found ourselves in a bright kitchen, spotlessly clean. At the far side of the room was a stove and hearth of clay neatly coated with dull red wash. Upon the stove stood pots of solid brass, and other pots and dishes were placed on shelves against the wall. It was astounding because everything seemed arranged for show; one was reminded of similar arrays in some old English hotels.³²

Indeed, if kitchens are to be taken as a benchmark of wealth and fashion, the "difference" between 1956 and 1999, between domestic and commercial spaces, is rather minimal. A comparison between Snellgrove's account and present conditions might even indicate that tourism has served more to maintain standards of living than to bring great new wealth to the region (FIG. 17).

From the western patio of Lamkey's house, one can scale another set of ladders to the third and final floor. This level is solely used for the storage and working of grain. As



FIGURE 16. Lamkey's electric meter.



FIGURE 17. A typical “hotel” kitchen along the Annapurna circuit.

noted above, its orientation is toward the south, but it also includes covered areas to the north and east to protect the grain from rain and snow. These areas also serve as wind-breaks since the prevailing winds come from the east. Like other Bhotiya houses, Lamkey’s house is characterized by a clear emphasis on outdoor work surfaces with maximum exposure to sun and minimum exposure to wind. But the house must also include storage space for all food used in a typical year. Finally, where arable land is at a premium, traditional Bhotiya houses must have a modest footprint. Multistory, densely planned courtyard-type dwellings, therefore, are often built immediately next to one another, limiting front, rear and side yards to the minimum needed for intravillage circulation.

As the above description indicates, there are a number of similarities between Lamkey’s dwelling and the Yak Ryu (FIGS.18,19). Most noticeably, the courtyard is a persistent feature, as is the pattern of second-story circulation around the courtyard perimeter. In this regard, the main difference between dwelling and lodge, aside from scale, involves the

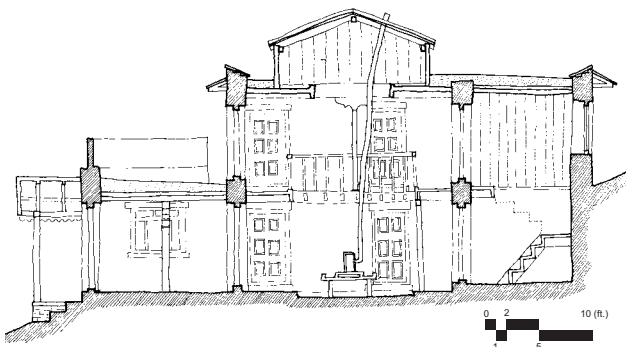


FIGURE 18. Yak Ryu hotel: longitudinal building section.

complete enclosure of the courtyard in the Yak Ryu from the elements. This no doubt resulted from a desire to provide additional “comfort” for trekkers. Indeed, the enclosed court with its central stove and benches was explicitly requested by the proprietor to improve the appeal of the Yak Ryu by creating a warm “public” space where trekkers could gather to chat.

While the location of the Yak Ryu’s dining hall as a ground-floor “addition” to the main structure may not have followed traditional prototypes, it represents more of a compromise with local building practice than an aberration. The designer wished to orient large amounts of glazing toward the view, yet he could not do so and provide support for a second-story masonry perimeter wall above.³³ In other hotels in the Manang valley the kitchen and dining hall are commonly located on the top floor. Such a solution is in keeping with the local cultural predilection toward eating above ground level. However, as noted above, hotels with indoor kitchens have been discouraged by guidebooks to cut down on smoke.³⁴ Consequently, the location of the Yak Ryu’s dining hall is a functional solution, even if it does stand out as rather curious from a cultural standpoint.

It is clear from the above discussion that the hotel is more a derivation of the traditional house than an altogether foreign typology. Diagrammatically, orientation and circulation within the house and hotel are similar; the typical hotel merely exhibits some necessary “imaginings” in detail and technology due to transformations in scale and program. And while occasional foreign elements may appear in such structures, they usually represent local interpretations rather than literal infiltrations. The trekker hotel, despite its various new technologies, is thus best thought of as an evolving local element in the Annapurna material landscape.

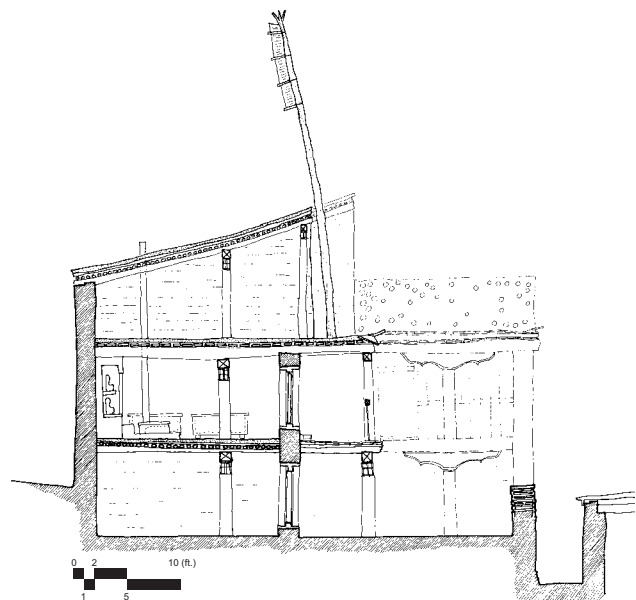


FIGURE 19. Lamkey Gुरुng’s house: longitudinal building section.

IMAGINATIONS IN THE GARDEN

Bryn Thomas has described the early “guided tours” in the Annapurna region as traveling bubbles of pampered splendor and catered food.³⁵ With the advent of the new hotels, the above characterization has changed little, save that the bubbles are now fixed, and the trekkers navigate between them. This, of course, was a necessary transformation if capital was to be successfully redistributed and economic leakage to Kathmandu and/or the West was to be limited.

However, perhaps a more important realization is that in the case of the Annapurna region, “tourism” is nothing new. It would be a mistake to view this region and its (many) culture(s) as hermetically sealed. For centuries there has been contact with visitors to the region. And the inhabitants, themselves, have even engaged in “touring.” Lamkey Gurung, the proprietor of the Yak Ryu Mountain View Resort, has been to Thailand, Vietnam, Burma, China, and Malaysia on “business,” and can communicate in several languages. Lamkey’s “travels” echo David Snellgrove’s findings in 1956:

*[The Manangis] are keen traders and travelers — Burma, Singapore and Hong Kong are all known to them.*³⁶

Surely one would be remiss (or patronizing) to assert that Lamkey needs “protection” from tourists as purveyors of Western materialism (de facto cultural imperialism). In his world, tourism has become the premier economic pursuit, and the entire regional economy is predicated on its success. Furthermore, tourism does not represent an alien economy degrading local cultures; in fact, it has allowed those cultures to persist and grow in their respective locales. The development of tourism helped stem mass migration to the lowlands following the demise of the Tibetan salt trade. Indeed, this article has been as much about tourists as it has been about “locals,” for tourism is now an integral part of local practice. Tourists have, in fact, become local, albeit transient, and their

presence is seen as ensuring the continued prosperity of the region. In this regard, the trekker hotel may be understood as a vehicle for the persistence of culture.

As a final note, one can point to examples of tourist hotels that have begun to blur the morphological link with local building patterns. In this regard, the village of Manang represents a sort of culmination of the hotel-centric development model (FIG. 20). There are, in fact, two Manangs: the traditional village, and the tourist resort. The latter has in part resulted from the immense size of some of the new hotels and their penchant for glazing on all sides. These characteristics have forced nouveau hoteliers to build on historically productive family agricultural land outside the village proper. And so such leviathans have given rise to an altogether different urban morphology, one based on objects in the open instead of the traditional practice of abutting buildings in dense, random agglomerations.

But the “cosmopolitan” character of the Manangis themselves has had much to do with the development of these hotels. As an ethnic group with special travel and trading privileges, they have engaged in commerce around the world for centuries. No doubt, the economic tools acquired in international commerce have helped them succeed in tourism-related development at home in the Himalayas. And in this sense the trekker hotel is no doubt a “new” typology that is a product of globalization. However, as I have tried to show, it also maintains significant links with traditional building patterns in both program and materials. Its “imaginations” are the product of calculated design on the part of individual proprietors and builders. In this regard, the really large hotels may be seen as constituting an evolving attraction in and of themselves. For as the example of Ghyaru has demonstrated, the concept of “attraction” in the Himalayas (aside from the mountains themselves) now involves the visceral experience of the impossibility of authenticity — the simultaneous presence of anachronism and cultural disjunction in the same space.



FIGURE 20. Hotel development in Manang.

REFERENCE NOTES

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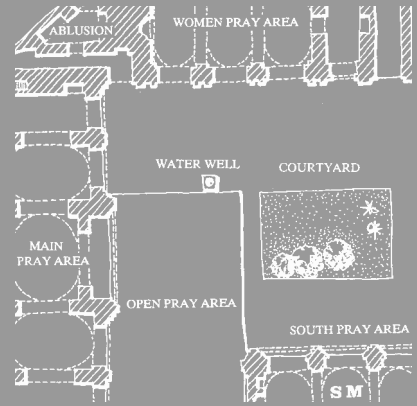
1. In 1999, the exchange rate was approximately 49 Nepali rupees to the U.S. dollar.
 2. See D. Nash's chapter "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism," in V.L. Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).
 3. A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p.31.
 4. *Ibid.*, p.13.
 5. The "fourth world" constitutes ethnic minorities within the borders of Third World nations. See Nelson Graburn's introduction to Graburn, ed., *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).
 6. L.F. Stiller, *Nepal: Growth of a Nation* (Kathmandu: Human Resources Development Research Center, 1993), pp.21–23.
 7. Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Pocket Book: Nepal* (Kathmandu: His Majesty's Government National Planning Commission Secretariat, 1998), p.25.
 8. While it is true that parts of Nepal are currently engaged in a "civil war" waged by the Nepal Communist Party (NCP), the degree to which regions are involved in the war has been correlated directly with their access to economic development and freedom from structural inequality. Consequently, areas involved in Himalayan tourism have been conspicuously uninvolved in the unrest. This principle, however, may be of decreasing veracity, since a recent (so far isolated) incident in Langtang (the third most traveled trekking region after Annapurna and Khumbu) may be indicative of a shift in NCP policy and/or public complicity.
 9. Both Dor Bahadur Bista and Louise Brown have argued that a high degree of Sanskritization has been used to justify the Hindu monarchy in an otherwise ethnically and religiously diverse land. See D.B. Bista, *Fatalism and Development: Nepal's Struggle for Modernization* (Kathmandu: Orient Longman, 1991); and T.L. Brown, *The Challenge to Democracy in Nepal: A Political History* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996).
 10. David Snellgrove wrote about the degree to which the Thakalis of the Kali Gandaki valley have abandoned Tibetan Buddhism and adopted only the most cursory accoutrements of devotional Hinduism. He attributed this shift to the relative efficacy of consolidation in the area by Kathmandu. Their case has, however, been an exception. Snellgrove also noted the great affinity he witnessed toward Tibetan Buddhism in 1956 during his "pilgrimage" through the region. See D. Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage* (Boston and Shaftesbury: Shambala, 1989), p.177.
 11. A less obvious but no less significant motivation for Himalayan tourism can be characterized as the trope of epiphany. For some time, the "West" has been fascinated with Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, and most Himalayan travel accounts (such as Heinrich Harrer's *Seven Years in Tibet*; Peter Matthiessen's *The Snow Leopard*; and David Snellgrove's quasi-academic *Himalayan Pilgrimage*) have offered descriptions of transcendental experiences. These and other travel accounts are readily available in Kathmandu, and rarely does one embark on a trek without one of them. See L.H. McMillin, "Enlightenment Travel: The Making of Epiphany in Tibet," in J. Duncan and D. Gregory, eds., *Writings of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999).
- "Pilgrimage" may, indeed, be an accurate description of Himalayan tourism in general, and trekking in particular. The expectation of enlightenment is often quite transparent. For example, in "Tourism: The Sacred Journey," his chapter in Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests*, Nelson Graburn called tourism "the modern equivalent for secular societies to the annual and lifelong sequences of festival for traditional god-fearing societies." It is likely that true transcendental moments may occur. And, through the trope of epiphany (as consumed in travel accounts, descriptions of returning "pilgrims," and the ubiquitous guidebooks), it cannot be denied that a desire for personal "change" may serve as a serious motivation for travel.
- Particular links between epiphany and trekking may be found in a rising belief that the experience of nature will bring spiritual growth. In this regard, David Matless has traced the birth of the "rambling" movement in Britain in the 1920s and 30s as a means of "imagining" a new national body. He explained how "open air leisure was [considered] a part of England advancing morally, spiritually, and physically." See Matless, "The Art of Right Living: Landscape and Citizenship, 1918–39," in S. Pile and N. Thrift, *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of Cultural Transformation* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).
12. Of course, Indians, Tibetans, Chinese, and other traders and pilgrims had actively traversed Nepal for centuries. Therefore, by "foreigners," I mean Westerners. Until 1948, no Westerners had been allowed in the country, with the exception of British "residents" who were only granted limited access to the Kathmandu valley. Today, Indian nationals (who come for vacation, business, and/or pilgrimage) still constitute 30 percent of official "tourists" in Nepal. This number is likely to be underestimated because of Nepal's notoriously porous border with India.
 13. S. Stevens, "Tourism and Development in Nepal," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, N.H.H. Graburn, ed., No.67–68 (1988) p.69.
 14. *Ibid.*, p.70.
 15. These "tourists" were actually three women from the American Midwest in their fifties. See Stevens, "Tourism and Development in Nepal," p.71.
 16. The Annapurna Region contains the following 8000-meter peaks: Annapurna (8090m), Dhauligiri (8137m), and Manaslu (8156m). The Solu Khumbu region contains Everest (8848m), Lhotse (8510m), Cho Oyo (8153m), and Makalu (8474m).
 17. S. Bezruchka, *Trekking in Nepal: A Traveler's Guide* (Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1991), p.36.
 18. For more on this subject, see J.F. Avedon, *In Exile From the Land of Snows* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); or J.K.

Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War: America and the Tibetan Struggle for Survival* (New York: BBS Public Affairs, 1999).

19. R.R. Kunwar, *Tourism and Development: Society and Industry Interface* (Kathmandu: Graphic Designers and Printers Cooperative Society, 1997), p.204.
20. Brown, *The Challenge to Democracy in Nepal*, p.56.
21. *Annapurna Conservation Area Management Plan* (Kathmandu: King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation, 1997), p.34.
22. In 1995 the Annapurna region saw 50,000 trekkers (excluding porters, other support staff, and Indian pilgrims). See Kumar, *Tourism and Development*, p.204.
23. *A New Approach in Protected Area Management* (Kathmandu: King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation, 1996), p.13.
24. *Annual Progress Report* (Kathmandu: King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation, 1995), p.21.
25. One of the most ubiquitous “inventions” of the past five years is the backboiler stove. A backboiler is a simple device wherein a reservoir of water continually cycles through

- the kitchen hearth. Heated water cycles up to a reservoir by convection, while cold water cycles down. This is a fuel-efficient means to heat water for cooking and tourist showers. Both the ACAP materials and guidebooks suggest patronizing only establishments that have such devices. For more on backboiler technology, see *A New Approach in Protected Area Management*, p.17.
26. *Ibid.*, p.29.
 27. B. Thomas, *Trekking in the Himalayas* (Surrey: Trailblazer Publications, 1993), p.215.
 28. Indeed, after some interrogation, the owner of the bike, the proprietor’s son, admitted he would only use it to go down to Pisang. He would then hire a porter to carry it back up for him.
 29. K.D. Blair, *4 Villages: Architecture in Nepal* (Los Angeles: Craft and Folk Art Museum, 1983), p.51.
 30. *Ibid.*, p.49
 31. In Ghyaru the kitchen garden is rarely located immediately adjacent to the house. I suspect that this was once the site of another house that was recently demolished. It is

- also possible that Lamkey’s family had a much larger house, and they consolidated it into the present house and the adjacent garden; however, this is less likely.
32. Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, p.174.
 33. This was not for want of technology. Large spans with bearing walls above are resolved on a regular basis in *gompas* (Buddhist assembly halls) and other important structures. The issue was cost. In order to resolve such a span, one needs rare, and expensive, large timbers. The solution, stepping the building back above the dining hall, was therefore really a result of “value engineering.”
 34. Across all cultures in Nepal, kitchens are rarely located on the ground floor (if a dwelling is multistory), based on the Hindu principle that the ground is profane.
 35. B. Thomas, *Trekking in the Annapurna Region* (Hindhead: Trailblazer Publications, 1993), pp.10–12.
 36. Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, p.207.
- All drawings and photographs are by the author.



Living Traditions of the Afghan Courtyard and *Aiwan*

BASHIR A. KAZIMEE
JAMES MCQUILLAN

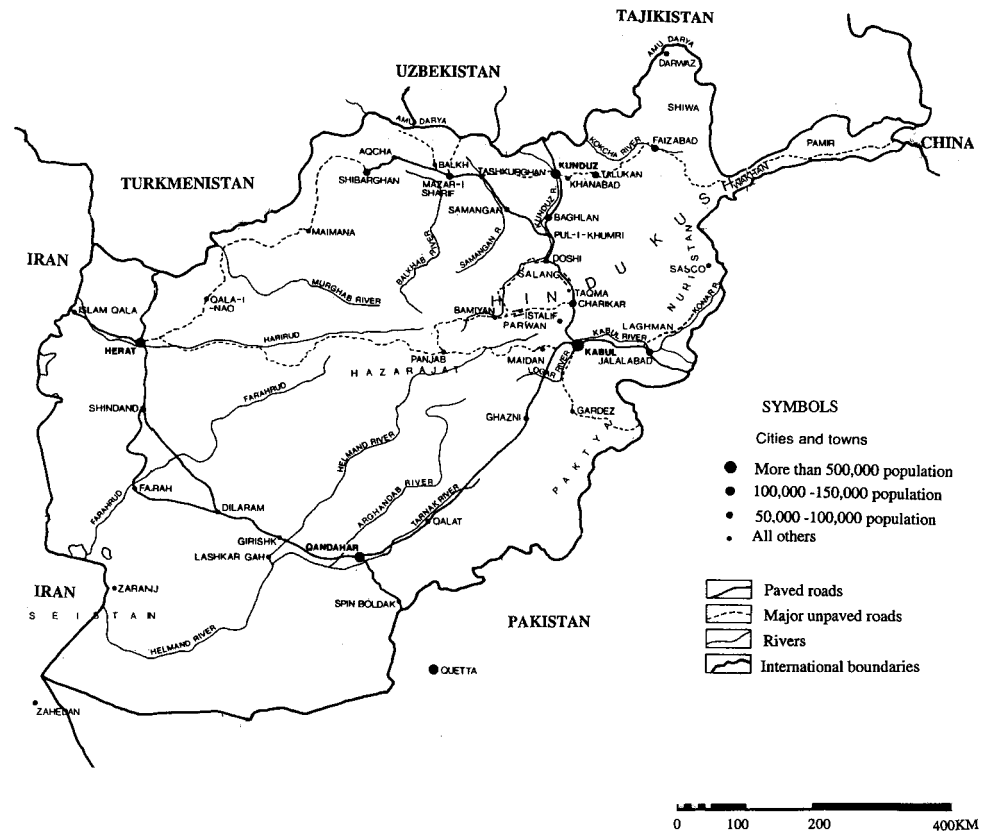
The article builds on an analysis of domestic outdoor space from different regions of Afghanistan at a variety of scales in an attempt to derive general principles of architecture in an Islamic tradition. It proposes that a principle of “diurnal rotation” is key to the layout of domestic courtyards in Afghanistan. According to this principle, activities naturally rotate around courtyard areas according to daily and seasonal cycles and in response to climatic factors. The article shows how such a practice of rotation is also evident in the layout of a typical neighborhood mosque, and it explores the cosmological significance of such ingrained spatial structuring. Finally, it proposes that such deeply embedded principles are a possible source for the enduring strength of Afghan building tradition, as evident in monumental structures such as Herat’s Masjid-i-Jami and the great palace complex of Lashkari-Bazaar.

Important commentators on Islamic architecture and art have, over the past forty years, called for deeper analysis of Islamic buildings. By moving beyond “archaeological” or “aesthetic” levels, works of architecture may be better understood within their social settings and/or according to a more profound philosophical and religious framework.¹ Of course, this can best be done where there exists a continuum of both building and socio-cultural vitality. With a comparatively undisturbed tradition of Islam for more than 1,100 years, Afghanistan offers such an opportunity. In Afghanistan it is still possible to study a living tradition of steadfast continuity and associated lifestyle — albeit one which is particularly threatened today.²

Apart from its highly varied climate and topography, Afghanistan possesses a distinctive building culture that is both ancient and enduring (FIG. 1). This culture is distinguished by two coexisting modes of living: agricultural settlements with towns and cities that date to at least the time when the region was part of the empire of Alexander the Great; and the vigorous Central Asian tradition of nomadism and transhumance, designed to take advantage of high-elevation grazing and unpredictable rainfall.

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FIGURE I. Map of Afghanistan and major settlement areas.
Courtesy of A. Szabo.



In reality, these two patterns of habitation have not always remained separate. A rich nomad and his extended family could sell their flocks, and buy arable land. And more recently, people have begun moving from rural regions to cities in search of work — squatting for a time in rudimentary settlements in peripheral areas, which are then improved if opportunity allows, in reflection of worldwide urbanization trends. Nonetheless, it is the age-old processes of settlement and evolving habitation in Afghanistan that provide observable patterns which are significant and traditional, and which, we believe, may be useful in understanding larger-scale historical forms.

TRADITIONAL LIFE IN THE COURTYARD

The religious, social and physical conditions outlined above set the scene for the constitution of living patterns in Afghanistan. In particular, the tendency of families to become extended (even to tribal units) and for women rarely to go out in public have led to the development of open-air courtyards wherein domestic activities may be pursued most of the year.

It is difficult to understate the importance of such spaces. The strength of family ties and traditional hospitality, not to mention interfamily socialization, have long been accommodated in open courtyards. One family may visit another and stay several days; neighbors and other relatives may be frequent

guests; and women of neighboring houses may gather in one house during daylight hours when male family members are absent in order to pursue crafts and communal cooking.

Further, the open court is the place for all cooking in a traditional household, with special ovens, or *tandoor*, built beneath ground level. And it serves as the workshop of the house, the place where traditional craft items (such as Afghanistan's famous carpets) are made, and where sewing and embroidery are taught to girls. Visiting teachers or older family members also provide education in the Koran to young people in the courtyard. Finally, since younger children are not allowed outside the house by themselves, the court serves as their supervised play area.

Within the traditional Afghan courtyard, the *sakooncha*, a solid platform half a meter high, allows people to sit above the level of circulation.³ And in certain instances, courtyards are also adorned by a well, tree, fountain, or ornamental pool.

The courtyard has long served as the setting for all the diversity of living in the traditional Afghan house, a fact borne out by the extension of the word *hawili* (court) to include both house and home.⁴ What, then, is the pattern or organization of the diverse activities in such spaces? We will begin our exploration by looking at the use of courtyards in the most rudimentary settlements, called *qawwal*.⁵ These are the typical habitations of migrant families in Afghanistan whose heritage stems from the Central Asian tradition of nomadism and transhumance, mentioned above.

THE QAWWAL

The *qawwal* shown here was surveyed outside the city of Kabul in 1972 (FIG. 2).⁶ Kabul is located at 1,820 meters above sea level, and is characterized by a cold winter and a hot, dry summer. This *qawwal* consists of eight family units of varying sizes, with a *sakooncha* in front of each unit of one or two huts. The dwellings form an approximate cluster, with a small *masjid*, or mosque, nearby.

A typical daily sequence of activity in the *qawwal* begins with an early, light breakfast for the adult males, after which they leave for work. Women, old people, and children of the cluster then gather in the eastern part of the open space, where they have their breakfast and make arrangements for the day's chores. During the summer months this is the starting point for a gradual rotation, or "migration," of the inhabitants around the edge of the enclosure in a clockwise direction, following the available shade provided by the huts and other screening features. Thus, at noon, lunch is eaten in the southern sector; and in the afternoon activity moves to the western areas, where the preparation of dinner commences. By late afternoon the males have returned home, and afterwards dinner is served, either individually by unit or collectively. When the evening meal is collective, it will be served in the northern area. But even when dinner is served separately, most residents of the *qawwal* will still gather in the northern area in the evening — especially men, the elderly, and the young. For this reason, the northern *sakooncha* is generally larger than the others. Finally, at night, if conditions dictate outdoor sleeping, arrangements will be made in the eastern and southern sectors, thus avoiding the strong morning sunshine.

In winter, the patterns described above are altered. While many activities are brought indoors, the remaining outdoor tasks follow a similar pattern — only now they take advantage of the warmth of the sun during the day. Thus, the morning is spent on the western side, noontime on the northern side, and afternoon on the eastern side. The summer preference for an end-of-day gathering in the northern sector carries over into winter, but takes place indoors to avoid the cold.

DIURNAL ROTATION

Although the *qawwal* is generally not a permanent settlement, its significance for this study rests in the dominance it expresses for open over closed space. Because of the small size of the constituent huts, inhabitants must take every advantage of the open court, and recurrent patterns of use are dramatically established. As described above, these take the form of a gradual circular migration — what we choose to call "diurnal rotation."

While this principle is clearly expressed in the *qawwal*, it is also typical to some degree of the use of all open domestic

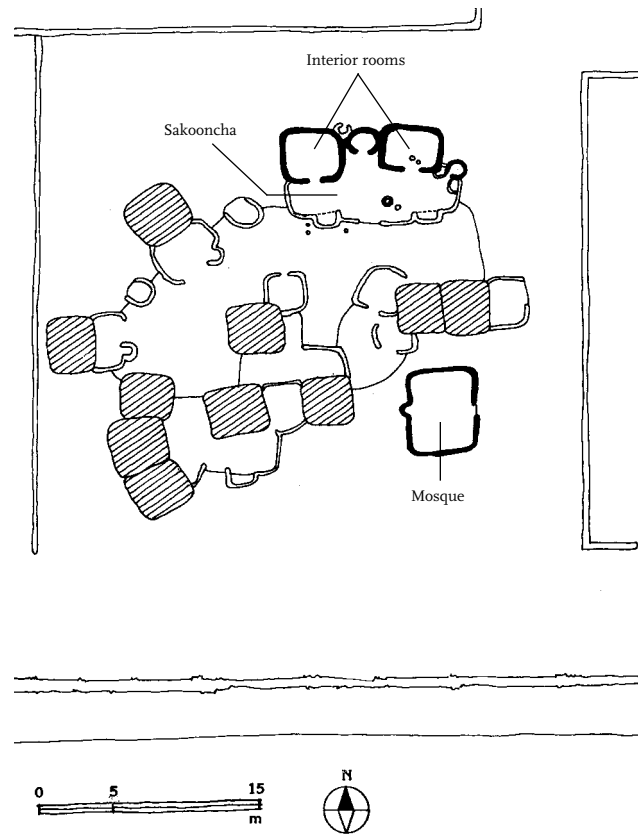


FIGURE 2. Plan of a *qawwal* camp. The heavy lines in the upper right indicate one of the family units. The *masjid* is shown in similar heavy lines on the lower right. The crosshatched areas represent the roof plan of the remaining family units. Courtesy of S. Hallet and R. Samizay.

courtyards in permanent Afghan houses. It is thus a pattern intimately bound to a traditional lifestyle, and to both daily and seasonal climatic variations. Among other things, the rotation generates a "topography" which gives primacy to the northern sector of the court, and apart from the purely practical advantages indicated, it also establishes a cosmological ordering in relation to the overall enclosed space. By this we mean an ordering of space and attendant forms in accordance with the meridional axis, with the major formal element to the north. However, this scheme is subordinate to the powerful force of rotation itself, which generates a vertical axis in the center, and confirms the nature of the house as microcosm.

Such cosmological ordering has become formalized in more elaborate and enduring examples of Afghan settlement. A major factor articulating this process was the introduction of the *aiwan*, generally accepted to have been a Persian form dating back to at least the great loggias of the Achaemenid period.⁷ However, in all these configurations, the principle of diurnal rotation provides an essential key to understanding the sequence of activities. This is as true of the simple *hawili* as it is of more complex *aiwan*-courts, which we shall now examine.

THE QALA

By far the most prevalent form of rural settlement on the arable plains of Afghanistan is the *qala*, a substantial adobe structure representing a more ordered form than the *qawwal*.⁸ The *qala* is normally established by a *khan*, a landlord or tribal headman, to accommodate his extended family and shareholders. It consists of a four-square enclosure with walls about eight meters high and two meters thick. Corner and median watchtowers allow it to act as a fortification protecting people and animals and providing a secure storage place for farm produce. The interior of the *qala* enclosure is generally subdivided using thinner mud walls to form a number of *hawili*, with a guestroom over the single gateway.

The example illustrated here was surveyed by Kazimee in 1976 (FIG. 3).⁹ Its northwestern *hawili*, shown here in greater detail, is surrounded by three building masses (the eastern one of which contains stables). The northern building mass facing onto this *hawili* has a *sakooncha* in front, with a second, smaller *sakooncha* located against the western building mass. In other *hawilis* in this *qala*, the northern *sakooncha* is replaced by a *baranda* (veranda), a narrow, covered platform that serves much the same purpose. Changes in the internal arrangement of the *qala* can easily be made by

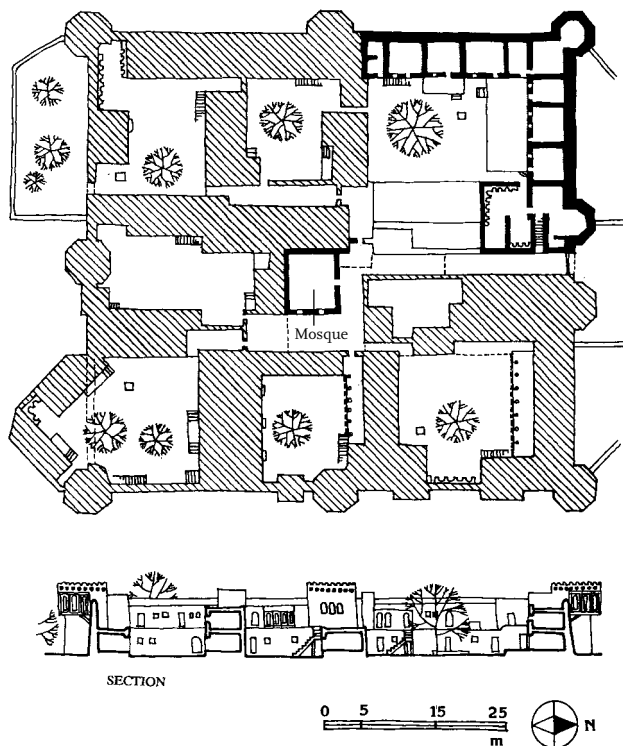


FIGURE 3. Plan of a *qala*. The heavy shaded lines in the northwest corner show the floor plan of the house there. The light shaded areas represent the roof plan of the rest of the *qala*. The mosque is shown with heavy shaded lines in the center.

removing and re-erecting the internal walls. This freedom is reflected by the “migration” of the inhabitants within the *qala* unit, resulting in a more complex form of diurnal rotation.

The *qala* is a most striking instance of rural settlement, and as Colucci has noted, similar inhabited walled villages were found in Khwarism in the first millennium B.C.¹⁰ Such continuity underlines the tenacity of Central Asian traditions in Afghanistan, and the antiquity of the living patterns of the region. In this instance, the roof of the *baranda* also anticipates the covering afforded by the *aiwan*. Such a higher degree of formalization can be found in the following example.

A VILLAGE HOUSE NEAR KANDAHAR

An *aiwan* is a room, three sides of which are closed and one side of which is open to a courtyard. Its integration into the Afghan housing tradition is shown in the next example of a *hawili*, located in a rural hamlet south of the city of Kandahar. At 1,067 meters above sea level, Kandahar has a hot, dry summer and mild winter.

This example shows a variety of enclosed spaces derived from a simple *aiwan*, laid out in overlapping building masses around a rectangular courtyard (FIG. 4). All the interior spaces are formed from mud-brick domical vaults. The larger *aiwans* have internal piers to support these vaults, and in many cases the *aiwans* feature enclosing screens, or even curtain walls, separating them from the court. The most complex aggregation is the building mass on the western side of the court. It has a rhythm of A:B:C:B:A, of which only the B sections now act as true *aiwans* — that is, being completely open to the court (FIG. 5). There are small rooms above the B sections, reached by staircases behind. By contrast, sections A and C represent larger, full-height chambers, with the piers supporting section C’s roof forming side “aisles,” or subsidiary spaces.

In addition to these basic spatial divisions, this house is characterized by thick walls that allow built-in alcoves with shelves, and all surfaces are plastered inside and out. In the courtyard, there is a long *sakooncha* in front of the western building mass. The northern building mass is also fronted by a large *sakooncha*, with an *aiwan* abutting it where it joins the eastern building mass. Finally, a *baranda* is included within the southern portion of this eastern mass.

In this example it is important to note how the *aiwan* enjoys a greater importance with relation to the court than any of the other outdoor elements. It is here that elders and guests are entertained at night, leaving the *sakooncha* for more informal socialization by other family members. Formal daytime gatherings of women and their neighbors may also take place in the *aiwan*. Because it is reserved for such higher-level social situations, the *aiwan* is always kept in formal readiness. Such clear recognition of its architectural significance reflects its long history in Asian lands.

FIGURE 4. Plan of village near Kandahar, showing representative hawili.

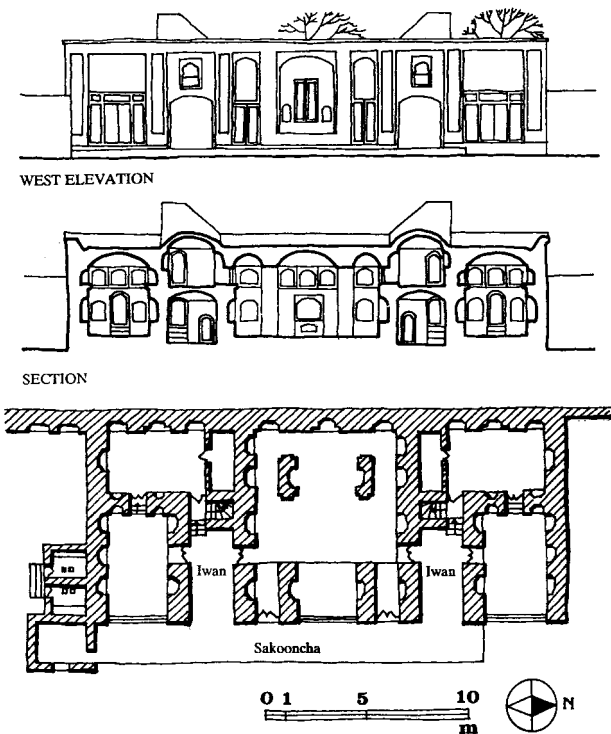
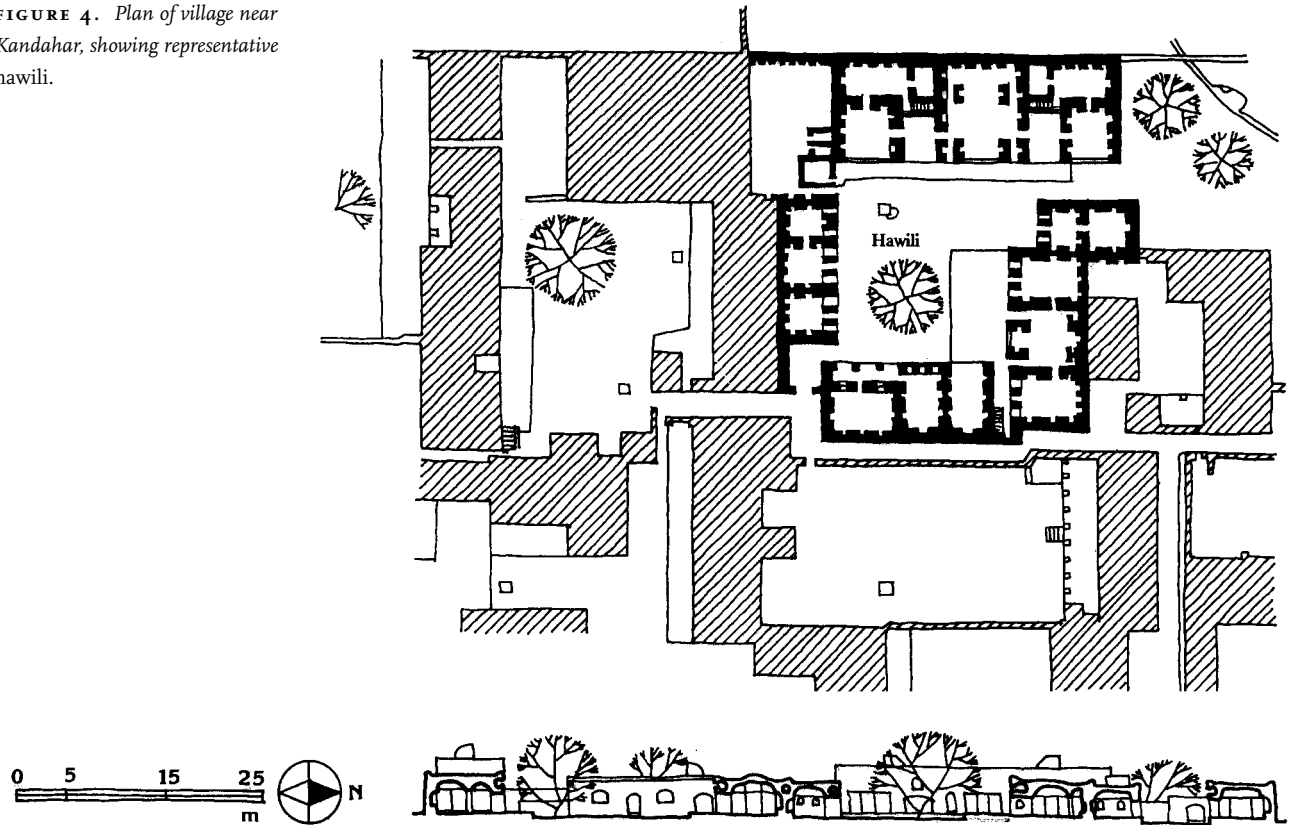


FIGURE 5. Detailed views of western building mass in hawili near Kandahar.

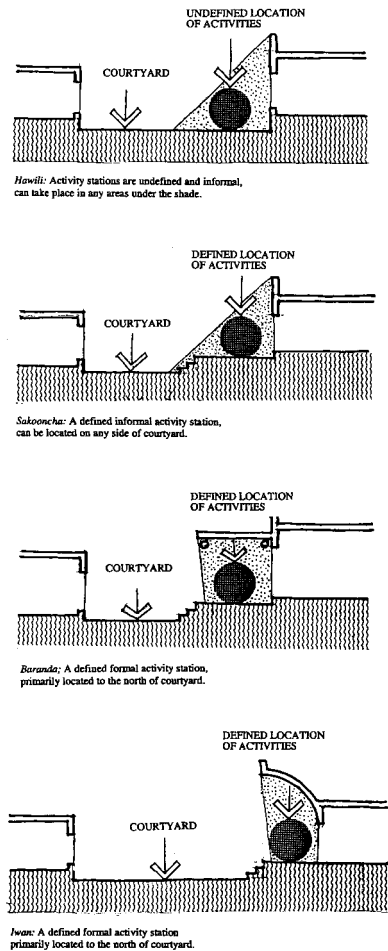
The accompanying illustration provides a schematic representation of the development of formal elements in or around such a courtyard (FIG. 6). It should be remembered that a *hawili* may be occupied by more than one family, so several *aiwans* may be occupied simultaneously. The southern building mass consists of three rooms that accommodate general gathering and cooking.

A HOUSE IN HERAT

Herat is an ancient city in western Afghanistan that dates to at least pre-Achaemenid times. Destroyed several times during the Middle Ages, it was known as Alexandria after the Macedonian's visit, and was the capital of the medieval state of Khorasan. Historically, Herat served as an important meeting point of the two branches of the Silk Route, which ran north and south, respectively, of the Hindu Kush Mountains to the west. Located at 930 meters above sea level, Herat's climate is largely arid, with a hot, dry summer and a mild winter.

The example we have chosen is a large, baked-brick house belonging to a rich merchant (FIG. 7).¹¹ Like the Kandahar house in the preceding example, it features four building masses disposed around an almost-square court, 17m x 18m. Here, however, the domed chambers of each flanking mass communicate internally — with the corners

FIGURE 6.
Development of formal
elements of courtyard.



taken up by storage spaces, an entrance lobby from the street, and a small yard containing a latrine. The large court is fully paved with square bricks, which lends more flexibility to its use. This court has only a well, but others like it may also contain a reflecting pool and accompanying flower beds, symmetrically arranged. Some courts also have trees.

Since the climate in summer is hot and dry, and since there is no mechanical air-conditioning, the south building mass is built over a half-basement, which is used as a place to take siestas. However, the north and east masses are also raised above the level of the court, with the chambers traditionally serving as *aiwans* through the opening of screens (most of which have now been replaced with brick infill walls). A narrow, deep *aiwan* in the center of the north building mass contains stairs that connect to the roof, allowing it to be used for sleeping in hot weather.

This house reveals a more articulated development of the basic form illustrated in the previous examples. Yet even though it makes use of a variety of floor levels, it still serves as the setting for the basic schema of diurnal rotation. For example, the kitchen is found on the west side, since cooking normally takes place in the afternoon.

Another important feature of the Herat house is the provision it makes for guests. To maintain complete privacy in the *hawili*, the guest passes through the domed entrance lobby and up a staircase leading to the roof. This stairway is joined halfway up by another set of stairs rising from the court. The last leg of the combined stairs then emerges in a long enclosure built on top of the eastern building mass, which incorporates two *aiwans* facing each other from its opposite ends.

As we have seen in the previous examples, the basic configuration of this house reflects the tradition of migrating to the optimum internal location, summer and winter, day and night. As such, the Herat house sums up the main features of the Afghan house in developed form: the dominance of the *hawili*, its orientation, and the rhythmic alignment of the *aiwans* and chambers tied together by diurnal rotation. In decorative terms, the facades of such richly constructed buildings usually also express their internal rhythm using flat bands to frame each frontal arch, and there may be a unifying cornice, composed of corbelled strips and occasional dog-tooth courses of brick work.

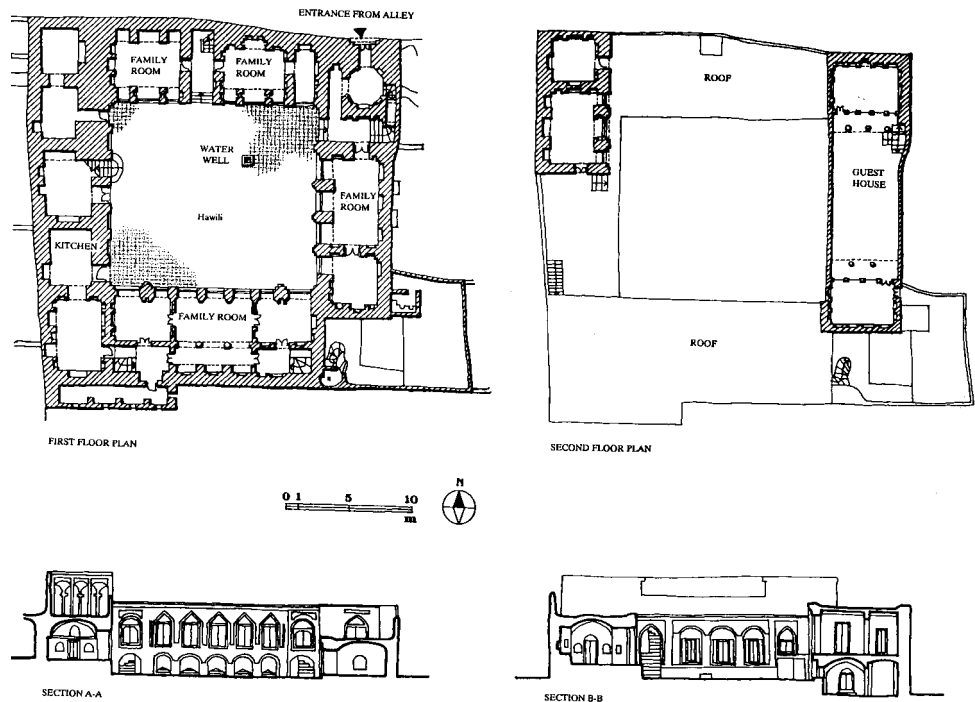
This discussion of dwellings, from the *qawwal* to the large Herat *hawili*, has served to establish our concept of diurnal rotation. But it also shows how there is an underlying principle, or habit, of social “migration” in Afghan domestic spaces — that is, the migration of episodic social groupings within a large general enclosure, roofed and unroofed. This is certainly a manifestation of the predominantly Afghan lifestyle of al-fresco habitation, made possible by the climate (or necessary in the absence of air-conditioning). However, it may also represent a memory or cultural trait tied to the spatial freedom and motility that only the nomad can enjoy — though such freedom is never absolute.

We now turn to other major urban built forms where the court form appears, to see if the pattern of diurnal rotation prevails there as well.

A LOCAL MOSQUE IN HERAT

Of the many kinds of public buildings common in the Islamic world — *caravansary*, *hammam*, and *bazaar* — the mosque and the shrine are the most important, both socially and architecturally. From its very beginnings in the city of Medina in Arabia, the Muslim place of public worship was modeled on the court of the Prophet’s house. It is not possible here to give a detailed discussion of the development of this paradigm. It is sufficient to say the large courtyard has remained, in many regions of the Islamic world, the dominant element of the mosque. Given the lifestyle of Afghanistan, it is not surprising, therefore, that the court-mosque is the norm. The example shown here of a neighborhood mosque in Herat further indicates how the court-mosque model has been complemented by the principles just discussed with relation to Afghan houses (FIG. 8).

FIGURE 7. Merchant's house in Herat. Courtesy of R. Samizay.



The Masjid-i-Haji Abdul Rashid is built on an irregular site, laid out between roughly parallel north and south boundary walls, with the *qibla* toward the west.¹² The building is entered from the north, leaving a small eastern portion, separated from the main court by a wall with its own *mihrab*, to serve as the mullah's quarters.¹³ There are three rooms for the mullah along the north wall of the small court, conforming to domestic usage. In addition, the mosque contains five identifiable prayer areas: (i) five *aiwans* along the main *qibla* wall, the central one of which is larger to indicate the location of the *mihrab*; (ii) a large *sakooncha* in front of these *aiwans*, separated from them by a level change and brick piers; (iii) a summer prayer area in the southeast corner, with its own *mihrab*; (iv) a women's mosque along the north wall, also with its own *mihrab*; and (v) the aforementioned court of the mullah, used by small groups in his company.

This wide diversity of spaces indicates a conscious response to all varieties of seasonal and diurnal conditions. Communal prayer can thus enjoy a fluidity of location within the confines of the enclosure. It should be remembered that the sacred quality of a mosque is essentially embodied in the prayer space it provides for each worshiper. It is not bound up in the form of the building itself, as is the case with Christian churches. Thus, a certain fluidity and "independence" of sacred locations is perhaps natural. But this mosque clearly also reflects the informality of layout described with reference to the Kandahar house. This close affinity with domestic tradition is evident, among other places, in the use of the *sakooncha* and in the similar design, scale and construction of the north and south building mass-

es, with their respective *aiwans*. In essence, the family group of the domestic *hawli* is here replaced by the group of believers, and the flexibility of design allows them to exercise the same choices for the location of their prayer as they would demand for any activity in their homes.

The carryover of spatial modes from the domestic *hawli* to the spatial configuration of the mosque may not be that surprising if one considers how closely integrated religious practices are with public life in Afghanistan. Such a carryover is strengthened by the day-long occupation of the mosque by old people engaged in religious exercises and pious conversation. As in the private residence, a pattern of diurnal rotation can make their sojourn more agreeable. The

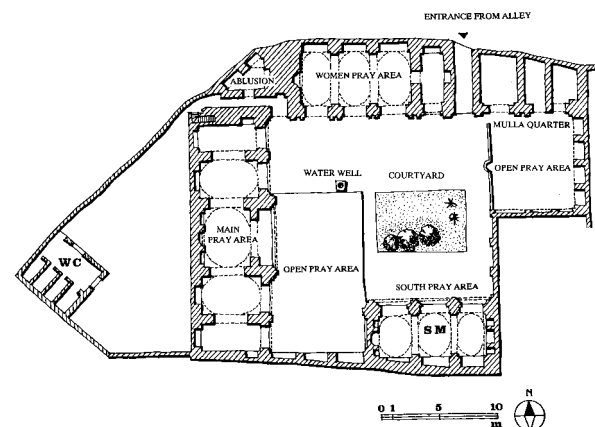


FIGURE 8. Plan of Masjid-i-Haji Abdul Rashid. Courtesy of R. Samizay.

mosque is also a scene for public teaching of the Koran to children, for which there is also ample accommodation.

Taken together, all these aspects of life in the Haji Abdul Mosque make it a revealing example of the intersection between the religious dimension of public social activity and architectural setting. This mosque also provides an important link when attempting to understand the connection between domestic architecture and larger-scale forms.

TRADITION: TIME AND SPACE

The examples of small-scale architecture discussed above are clearly, in construction and use, products of an ancient tradition. It is now necessary to expand on the nature of this tradition and how it should be understood.

Dalebor Veseley has written that in the Western intellectual tradition since the eighteenth century, “tradition is a dimension of culture which has not only been discredited . . . but has also been obscured beyond recognition.”¹⁴ Such a provocative view depends on a willingness to recognize the shortcomings of modern philosophies of history and interpretation, whereby the full historical reality of tradition has been deformed and suppressed by what Veseley has called the “imposed standards of scientific truth.” In fact, modern hermeneutics has shown that the Enlightenment’s desire to understand tradition correctly — that is, according to reason and without prejudice — is itself a form of prejudice.¹⁵ Among its other consequences, such an attitude has privileged individual judgement and reason as a source of truth over established systems of authority. In this way, for example, the Enlightenment endangered the foundations of such disciplines as Biblical criticism.

As for European architecture, Veseley has pointed out how the idealized theories of the Renaissance on Classical tradition collapsed before the Enlightenment’s inquisition; and further how the mythical, religious and ontological foundations of architectural order were pushed aside.¹⁶ Nevertheless, he claimed that certain traits of traditional knowledge still persist in discussions of architecture, “in terms of proportions, rules and other explicit principles, and how far the order of architecture is always part of the given order of culture.”¹⁷ In this sense, all architectural tradition is the equivalent of embodied memory, accessible in a latent way to the possibilities of reverie, imagination and creativity, and supported by the permanent presence of cultural meaning.

At its highest level, tradition has been identified with the *philosophia perennis* of Steuchus Eugubin (sixteenth century) and the neoscholastics.¹⁸ This term echoes the *philosophia prisca* or *prisca theologia* of Marcellio Ficino, who used these concepts to refer to a primordial tradition to which all religions are inwardly related.¹⁹ The term *philosophia perennis* was also employed by Leibniz, Aldous Huxley, and W.N. Perry, and has been defined by Frithjof Schuon as “that meta-

physical truth which has no beginning, and which remains the same in all expressions of wisdom.”²⁰ This, in turn, suggests the term *sophia perennis*.

This is not the place to dwell on the import of *sophia perennis* in its wider manifestations.²¹ But it is important to find out what it means in terms of Eastern Islam. Here the recent works of Seyyed Hossein Nasr are instructive, particularly those in which he has expounded a *cosmologia perennis*, in which the natural world is a theophany of divine qualities, seen “with the eye of the heart.”²² In Islamic thought, many such cosmological schemes have coexisted, some based on the text of the Koran and others descended from Hellenism. But there remains the constant theme of a hierarchic universe, manifested by the Divine Principle, and related intimately to the inner being of man. As distinct from the linear time of Christian and Western tradition, a cyclic view of time holds sway in Islam, reflecting the transhistorical nature of the Koran.

In this regard, Nasr has divided cosmic reality in its temporal order into two poles. One is “subjective,” relating to consciousness as past, present and future. The other is “objective,” involving cyclic time, with a quaternary structure. The latter may be identified on several levels as morning, midday, evening and night; the four seasons of the year; or the four ages of man — infancy, childhood, adolescence, and old age. These Nasr has linked as a *cosmologia perennis* to the four *yugas* of the Hindu cosmic cycle. Thus, the past of “objective” time is a reflection of the origin, the outward (*al-zahir*), and also a reminder of paradise lost, imperfection, and all that man leaves behind on his spiritual journey. Meanwhile, the future relates to the eternal world to come, the inward (*al-batin*), and the paradise of revealed promise. In between, the present moment is the gateway to eternity — according to Dante, “the point at which all times are present.”²³

Nasr has further written that the present moment “. . . is to time what the point is to space. To be at the central point here and now is to live in the Eternal which is always present.”²⁴ Thus, space is differentiated, imbued with the Divine Reality, and qualified by time as the presence of the sacred. “The orientation of cultic acts, the construction of traditional architecture, and many of the traditional sciences cannot be understood without grasping the significance of the traditional conception of qualified space.”²⁵ In Islam, all earthly space is polarized by the primordial temple, the Ka’ba; and in an analogous way, inhabited space is polarized by the center, the gateway to Eternity.

In terms of the Afghan houses described previously, the enclosing enceinte of the house — *qala* and *hawili* — defines *al-zahir*, outward, the past and all the other meanings described above. Meanwhile, it defines as *al-batin*, inward, the future and all its possibilities. There in the court, the cosmic cycles unfold in their four stages around the center, the stages precisely fixed by the sun’s movement. Entities such as cosmic rhythms, spatial polarization — as well as form, matter and number — are understood by the *scientia sacra* as the esoteric dimension, and not the exoteric of positive religious knowledge.

A similar condition obtains with regard to the foundations of Islamic art. According to Nasr, the failure to recognize the true nature of this sacred dimension has blinded Western scholars and art historians. “[They] insist on finding sources for the Islamic, or rather metaphysics, of art while they have been searching in treatises of theology and jurisprudence.”²⁶ Instead, Nasr has affirmed the continuity of a parallel oral tradition of cosmological principles pertaining to art in certain parts of the Islamic world.

This phenomenon is certainly to be found in Afghanistan. Here, Aflaton (Plato) remains the subject of anecdote by unlettered people. Likewise, the teachings of Sufism are still considered repositories of Islamic esotericism. In fact, Sufis are still counted among the master builders and craftsmen of living memory, and the appellation “Sufi” is still used as a courtesy title for master builders and respected craftsmen. Much other evidence exists of a link between the esoteric tradition of Sufism and building and craft activities in Afghanistan today.

WESTERN ISLAM: ARABIC SPACE

As an important, but limited, confirmation of the principle of rotation from another part of the Islamic world, we now turn to the observations of Bernard Huet concerning the traditional house and city in the Magreb (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia).²⁷ Based on conflicts that arose in his architectural teaching in North Africa, Huet contrasted the geometric and spatial attitudes of Europeans with his findings concerning the perceptions, codes and conventions of Arab builders.

Specifically, to the Arab conception of space, Huet attributed “global properties,” attached to the topological “quality” of a form rather than the geometric “quantity” of a shape.²⁸ Such properties are “founded on implicit circularity,” he wrote, a principle that exists in both courts and rooms — even T-shaped rooms. Huet believed such circularity might most clearly be detected through the use of repeated design motifs, such as always leaving the center empty. For example, “It is exceptional to find an object located at the center of courts,” he wrote.²⁹ In such design schemes, composition is additive, a juxtaposition of autonomous parts that is carried over even into the decoration. Thus, in habitable rooms, furniture and other fittings are not isolated things, but are situated in pairs and arranged according to a representational role in the living space.

“Explicit allusions to circularity as a geometrical shape are rather exceptional, which makes it all the more meaningful,” Huet wrote.³⁰ He found the roots of such meaning both in the radial (but static) disposition of the Islamic community, five times a day round the single center, Makkah, and in the circumambulating of the Ka’ba. Beyond such observations, however, he did not offer further interpretation of the circularity principle. In particular, he did not refer to any sense of either individual or group motility, or to the fixing of

qualitative stations in time and space, as we have described with regard to diurnal rotation in Afghan houses.³¹

Overall, the value of Huet’s work for our purposes lies in his general observation of circularity. Although he understood it to function in a much less dynamic and situational way than we have described, he claimed it pertained not only to open courts, but to each room of the house. Huet even applied his notion of circularity to the Arab city. Thus, the *medina* was not the result of a topographic division of surfaces, as in the West. In its labyrinthine continuity, it was impossible to understand the Arab city according to Euclidean typology. Most importantly, Huet’s observations, taken as a whole, underline the shared presence in historic Islamic peoples, of a common sensibility and a common order of culture that have contributed to the development of a distinctive Islamic architectural and artistic heritage.

SUMMARY: THE FOUR-AIWAN COURT

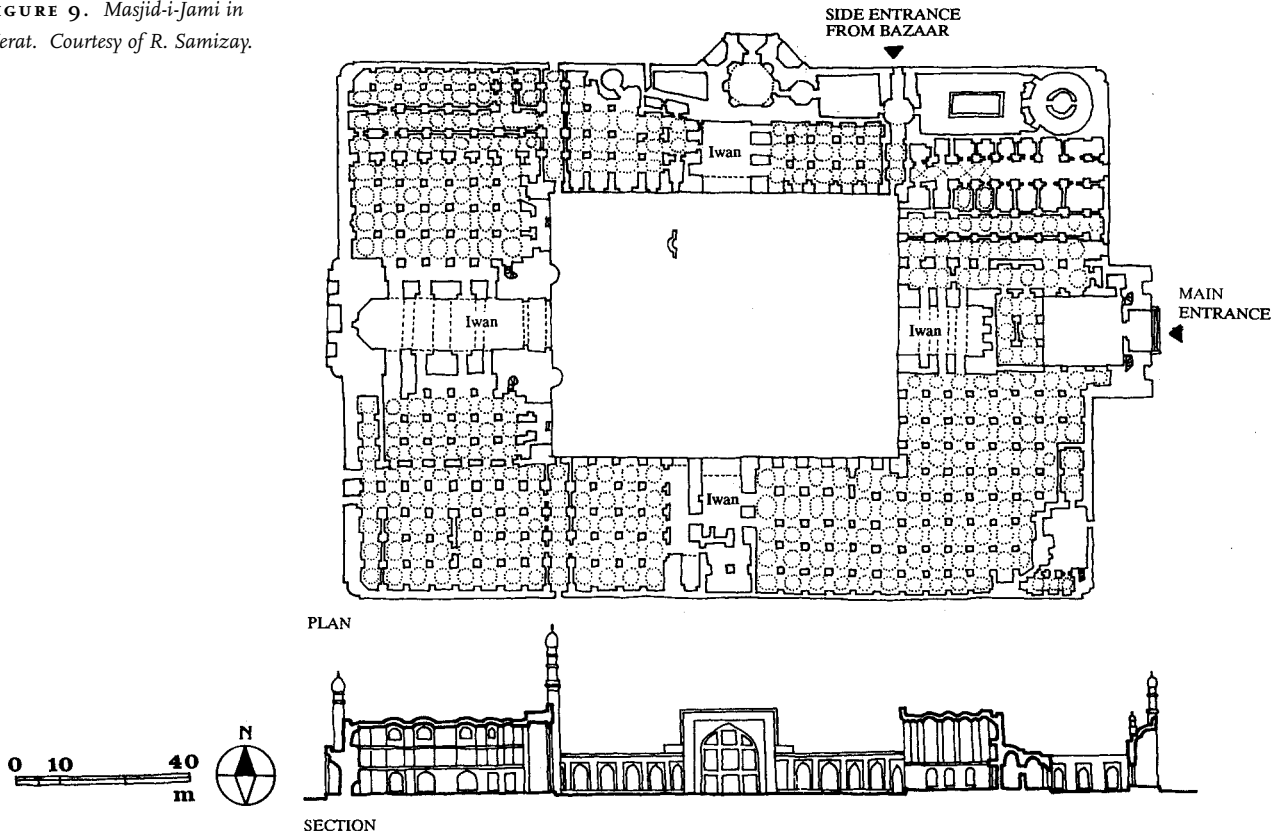
The traditional urban *hawili* in Afghanistan, as shown, is a four-sided complex of *aiwan*-ranges and rooms built in a relaxed composition around a court, regulated by the implicit principle of diurnal rotation. However, in keeping with the commentary above, we do not believe the cultural order and meaning of diurnal rotation lie in the imitation of nature. Rather, to borrow a phrase from Vesely, we regard the architecture of the *hawili* as the “mimesis of exemplary situations.”³²

In the cultural history of Afghanistan, these “exemplary situations” can assuredly also be found in the classic four-*aiwan* court. Here the primary role of architecture as a symbol of cosmic form is more transparent. And through history, its symbolic role as a privileged receptacle has been exploited in numerous large-scale representations. Two such building types where these issues are clearly illustrated in Afghanistan are the Friday mosque and the palace. We will end this article by discussing an important example of each.

Located in the northeast quarter of the city, Herat’s great mosque, the Masjid-i-Jami, is a major monument of Afghan culture (FIG. 9). Although its early history is unclear, it was first built in its present form under Sultan Ghiyasuddin-Ghori around 1200 A.D. Partly destroyed during the Mongol invasion of 1221, the Masjid-i-Jami was subsequently rebuilt and reclaimed in its early thirteenth-century form, and it has since been repaired and redecorated many times. The most recent restoration came in 1966, when arrangements were made for it to cater to 155 students, thus reinstating its educational and academic role.³³

The Masjid-i-Jami consists of a large court surrounded by a great forest of piers and domed vaults. The dominant spatial importance of its four *aiwans* is further reinforced by *pushtaks*, high frontal walls rising over each *aiwan* arch (with towers added at the main *aiwan*). These surfaces contrast with the deep *aiwan* recesses and provide a field for decoration and cal-

FIGURE 9. Masjid-i-Jami in Herat. Courtesy of R. Samizay.



ligraphy. Yet despite such imposing scale, the use of the Masjid-i-Jami is governed by the same principle of diurnal rotation as in the Hajji Abdul mosque. In particular, since the *qibla* faces almost due west, students, teachers, and the pious can use the court and its four *aiwans* throughout the day as a *hawili*. Such a flexible pattern of use is further indicated by the small *mihrab* and *qibla* wall in the northern part of the court.

If the present four-*aiwan* form of the Masjid-i-Jami is identical to the Ghiyasuddin rebuilding, this structure may be broadly representative of pre-Mongol mosque architecture from Iran to Central Asia. The historical significance here would be great, since there are literary references to ninety major foundations in these lands, which were destroyed during the invasion of the Mongols.

As important as the diurnal character of this great mosque may be, it is in the *Dar-al-imara*, the palace, that the truly habitational character of diurnal rotation may best be seen in monumental form. In Afghanistan, the great palace complex of Lashkari-Bazaar, built by the Ghaznavid Dynasty (Masaud I, 1030–1041), is of major importance in the area’s history (FIG. 10). Daniel Schlumberger’s discovery of the ruined palace in 1948 and his identification of it with literary references has led some to consider it the first example of the four-*aiwan* court in Islamic architecture. At any rate, it is most likely the earliest surviving datable representation of such a building form in Eastern Islam. In general terms, the classic form of the

four-*aiwan* court at Lashkari-Bazaar is a fitting representation of the glory of the Ghaznavid Dynasty, whose power extended across Central Asia, India and Iran, and the palace most certainly helped in the dissemination and preeminence of the form.

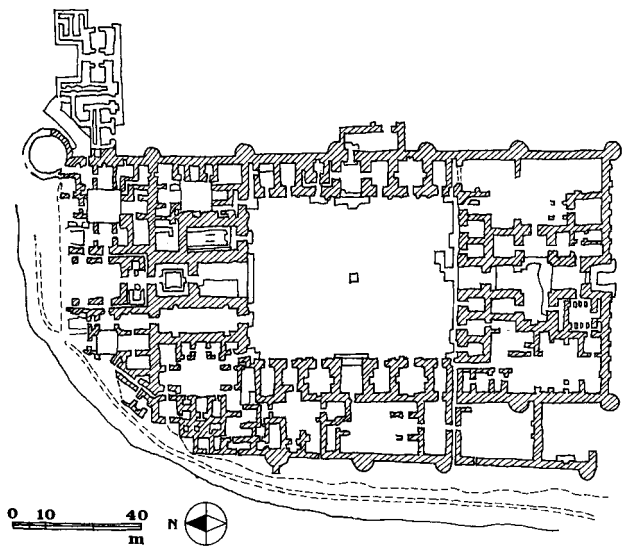


FIGURE 10. Plan of the palace in Lashkari Bazaar. Courtesy of Johan D. Hoag.

At Lashkari-Bazaar, the principal palatial entity is situated on a bluff on the eastern bank of the Helmand River. It is laid out in accordance with diurnal rotation, taking the form of a four-*aiwan* court on the meridional axis, with a larger north *aiwan*. The north and south parts of the palace, used for winter and summer habitation respectively, are penetrated by the main axis, which ends in external outward-facing *aiwans*. In addition, the room in the center of the north (winter) part features a platform for banquets, that would seem to confirm its use for gatherings on winter evenings. Water, an essential ingredient of such large-scale court architecture, was probably also present in the large *hawili*. Indeed, there are remains of elaborate staircases to the south, which may have been used to bring it up from the river.

Despite its ruined condition, the palace of Lashkari-Bazaar must be seen as a physical “exemplary situation” of the

classic four-*aiwan* court. The mimesis of this form extended for four hundreds of years, through the subsequent history of Islamic architecture, from India to Egypt. The principle of diurnal rotation was most assuredly employed here, given that the Ghaznavids were hitherto nomads of Turkic origin, and were well accustomed to outdoor living.

Afghanistan has harbored a long and rich architectural tradition. In many Islamic historical contexts, however, the meaning of such architectural history has remained opaque, as commentators have been unable to uncover deeper levels of reality. By setting forth the principle of diurnal rotation as found in Afghanistan, we have attempted to unfold a layer of meaning in the social and architectural order of an Islamic region. Apart from its intrinsic interest, we hope this may improve the understanding of educators and architects who find themselves engaged with this or similar traditions.

REFERENCES NOTES

1. This trend of scholarship began with S. Sauvaget’s search for a “practical order,” in his *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* (Paris: Vanoest, 1947), p.122. It was also cited by Alexandre Papadoupolu, in his *Islam and Muslim Art* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1979), p.28. Meanwhile, Oleg Grabar has pondered the general relationship of spaces and functions in Islamic architecture, and has called for further investigation, including taxonomic research. See his contribution to J. Schacht and C.E. Bosworth, ed., *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp.263–64.
2. The unique socio-spatial phenomenon found in Afghan courtyards, discussed in this paper, predates the difficult conflicts of the last two decades. Due to the plight of war and the continued destruction of towns and villages, along with subsequent mass migration, settlement patterns as illustrated here have undoubtedly been transformed in many parts of the country. As a result, this analysis may no longer completely reflect current conditions. Nevertheless, these findings should prove instrumental in reconstruction efforts in coming years. In particular, they may serve as a point of departure and a datum line against which to measure the merit of future building proposals.
3. The word *sakooncha* is common from the west to the southeast of Afghanistan, in both the Pashtun and Persian languages.
4. Use of the term *hawili* for “courtyard” is extensive throughout Afghanistan.
5. Qawwal is the name of a group of migrant workers (and thus their settlements), who originally came from the Ningrahur Province of eastern Afghanistan. Jats are similar migrants found in the west and southwest.
6. Kazimee was the leader of a group of architectural students from Kabul University who surveyed and prepared measured drawings under the guidance of Stanley I. Hallet and Rafi Samizay. These drawings were published in Hallet and Samizay, *Traditional Architecture of Afghanistan* (New York: Garland STPN Press, 1980).
7. The *aiwan* has been defined as an orthogonal three-sided roofed space, usually open to a court. The spelling “*aiwan*” is closest to Afghan usage. See O. Grabar, “Iwan,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol.IV (Leiden: Brill, 1978), pp.287–89.
8. *Qala* is an originally Arabic word used to describe a fortress, but it is now commonly used throughout Afghanistan. See B. Kazimee: “Qala: The Fortress Farmhouse of Afghanistan,” *74th Annual Proceedings of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture* (USA, 1986).
9. See B. Kazimee: “Urban/Rural Dwelling Environment: Kabul, Afghanistan,” Master of Architecture thesis, MIT, 1977, pp.42–47.
10. “Afghanistan,” in *Encyclopedia of World Art* (New York: McGraw Hill). See also C.S.A. Colucci, “Central Asia,” in M. Bussagli, ed., *Oriental Architecture* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1973).
11. As documented in R. Samizay, *Islamic Architecture in Herat* (Afghanistan: Ministry of Information and Culture, May 1981), pp.202–5.
12. *Ibid.*, pp.152–53. The *qibla* is the direction of Makkah at any given location.
13. In mosques, the *mihrab* is a niche rising from floor level and placed in the center of the *qibla* wall.
14. D. Vesely, “Introduction,” *Architecture and Continuity* (London: Architectural Association, 1982), p.8.
15. The establishment of hermeneutics as the future basis of the human sciences was the achievement of Hans-Georg Gadamar in his *Truth and Method* (New York: Continuum, 1993).
16. Vesely, *Architecture and Continuity*, pp.8–9.
17. *Ibid.*, p.9.
18. S.H. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), p.70.
19. *Ibid.*
20. See, for example, R.N.D. Martin and S. Brown, eds., *G.W. Leibniz: Discourse on Metaphysics and Related Writings* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, Classics of Philosophy and Science Series, 1988); A. Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy* (Freeport,

NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972); and F. Schuon, *To Have a Center* (Indiana: World Wisdom Books, 1990).

21. See A. Coomaraswamy, *Selected Papers, Metaphysics*, R. Ripsey, ed., Bollingen Series LXXXIV (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987). E.g., under “Philosophia Ferennis,” p.7: “The metaphysical ‘philosophy’ is called ‘perennial’ because of its eternity, universality, and immutability; it is Augustine’s ‘Wisdom uncreate, the same now as it ever was and ever will be’; the religion which, as he also says, only came to be called ‘Christianity’ after the coming of Christ.”

22. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred*. Also see S.H. Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993).

23. Dante Aligheri, “Paradiso 17,” in *The Divine Comedy* (Boulder, CO and Chamain, IL: Project Gutenberg).

24. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred*.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. B. Huet, “The Modernity in a Tradition: the Arab-Muslim Culture of North Africa,” *Mimar 10* (1983), pp.49–56.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Here we should also note that the circumambulation of the Ka’ba takes place in a counterclockwise direction, which might be interpreted as enhancing the unique and spiritually atemporal experience which the believer undergoes.

32. Vesely, *Architecture and Continuity*, p.12.

Mircea Eliade has also explained how man “cosmocizes” a territory through the use of symbols and provided many references to Asian (Hindu and Buddhist) experience.

See Eliade, “Sacred Architecture and Symbolism,” in D. Apostolos-Cappadona, ed., *Symbolism, the Sacred, and the Arts*, trans. from the French by Apostolos-Cappadona and F. Adelman (New York, Crossroad, 1985), pp.105–29. Eliade also used the term “exemplary situation” in *Ibid.*, p.122.

33. N.H. Wolfe, *Herat, Pictorial Guide* (Kabul: Education Press and Franklin Book Programs, 1966), p.12.

All drawings are by the authors unless otherwise indicated.

Dismembered Geographies: The Politics of Segregation in Three Mixed Cities in Israel

MRINALINI RAJAGOPALAN

This essay looks at aspects of the urban growth of three “mixed” cities in Israel — Acco, Ramle and Jaffa — from the period of the British Mandate in the early twentieth century to the present. It provides a critique of the deeply contested nature of these cities, home to both Palestinian and Jewish Israelis, and it examines how the fields of urban design and city planning have been complicit in processes of ethnic segregation and racialization of space. From a historical perspective, the essay attempts to map how an originally colonial discourse of segregation and exclusion has survived and flourished well into the postcolonial era. In the ongoing reconfiguration of the urban space of these mixed cities, a dominant Jewish population has been able to implement and make use of changes in planning ideology to continually reposition itself with respect to a minority Palestinian population. This has led to the further marginalization of Palestinian Israelis, most certainly within the city, but also within the larger national context.

It is the day before Yom Kippur, and we are in Ramle at about three in the afternoon, heading toward Tel Aviv.¹ Shops are beginning to close, and those of us who are not intending to fast the next day are desperate to find a grocery store where we can stock up on provisions. The local supermarket has just pulled down its shutters, and another little store is open but offers nothing in the way of food. The one Israeli in our group suggests that we try the “Arab” part of Ramle, where stores will stay open a little longer, trying to do some extra business before they close for the Jewish holiday. Since we have no idea how to get to this part of town, we ask two men sitting by the side of the road where we can find something to eat. One of them, who is Israeli and Jewish, answers matter-of-factly, “Go to the ‘ghetto.’”² He then gives us instructions how to get there.

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The “ghetto,” of course, is the part of Ramle that is home to Israelis who are also Palestinian. Ramle is what is commonly known in Israel as a “mixed city,” a place where Jews and Palestinians live together. As Peter Marcuse has written, such places reveal the complex character of the postmodern city.

To summarize the city as it has been in part for some time, and is increasingly becoming entirely: it appears chaotic and is fragmented, but underneath the chaos there are orders; the fragmentation is not random. It is divided, but not dual, or limitlessly plural. Quartered, or five-parted, better captures reality. Its quarters are both walled in and walled out, but walls do not play equal roles for all quarters. Each quarter is thus separated from all others, but each is nevertheless intimately related to all others; they are mutually dependent. While the quarters are hierarchical in the power and wealth of their residents, all are dependent on forces beyond their separate control.³

Throughout history, cities have been built on complex webs of personal life, economic exchange, transportation, and cultural display. But they have also served as landscapes of exclusion, segregation, and disenfranchisement. Thus, as Marcuse suggests, to look beyond a city’s thin veneer of chaos and inscrutability is to begin to uncover patterns of power. Walls that separate one quarter from another also etch deep lines between “us” and “them,” the “haves” and the “have-nots,” those who belong and those who don’t. This article explores the ethnically fragmented and segregated geographies of three mixed cities in the nation-state of Israel, and charts the changing nature of this urban segregation through time.

THE CONTESTED NATION AND THE MIXED CITY

Scholars such as Partha Chatterjee have written extensively on the exclusionary sense of “nation-ness” that emerged as a legacy of colonialism. However, as with all monolithic and hegemonic definitions, the idea of the nation continues to be challenged by its “fragments,” particularly those minority populations that stand in opposition to the imagined idea of an either ethnically or racially “pure” nation-state.⁴ In this regard, Israel defines itself as a Jewish nation — the homeland for Jewish people all over the world. However, it also continues to have within its physical boundaries and political geography, groups of non-Jewish people — fragments that challenge the dominant narrative of a Jewish nation.⁵ In fact, the very validity of the term nation-state is questionable when used in relation to Israel, because Israel defines itself first and foremost as Jewish, rather than simply sovereign and independent. The Israeli ideology of nationhood is further problematized by the fact that its borders remain contested, and that there are differing definitions of citizenship for its Palestinian and Jewish citizens.⁶

Above all, it is the dominant national desire of Israel to define and sustain itself as an ethnically pure Jewish state that is central to this article. This desire has very definite spatial and geographical manifestations, and in this sense, this article resonates with previous research carried out on mixed cities in Israel, especially the work of Ghazi Falah, who has maintained that national, social and religious ideologies play crucial roles in fostering the segregation of urban space in Israel.⁷ About 90 percent of the population, both Jewish and Palestinian, live in ethnically distinct spaces in Israel; only 10 percent live in what are known as mixed cities. According to Falah, “There is a fear in Israeli society of mixing with the ‘other’ community in the country: purified localities are preferred as a bulwark against erosion of the state’s special character.”⁸ In light of this argument, the mixed cities of Israel at first present themselves as hopeful anomalies of ethnic integration and coexistence. But, in fact, as this article will reveal, these cities simply present micro-geographies of segregation and exclusion.

Although the discourse of segregation may take various starting points — such as class struggle, gender, or racial conflict — in Israel segregation can best be understood as involving an ethnic minority, the Palestinians, “trapped” within an ethnocratic nation-state.⁹ According to this model, Israel’s “mixed cities” are microcosms of a national condition. At a micro-level, as landscapes, they reveal larger processes of segregation, exclusion, and power relations. In these cities, it is possible to see who lives where, how they perceive themselves within the urban sphere, and how they perceive others. Cities, in general, are also a main stage for the display of the idea of the nation-state, and a place where this idea may be challenged by its fragments. This paper studies the evolving condition within three mixed cities — Ramle, Jaffa and Acco — to understand the changing nature of urban segregation in Israel (FIG. 1).¹⁰

In Israeli parlance, mixed cities are those with sizeable resident Palestinian populations; they are generally identified as three different types. The first are Palestinian cities that existed before the establishment of the state of Israel, but which received a population of Jewish settlers as part of the Judaizing project of the Israeli government after 1948. The three cities studied here fall into this first category. The second type of mixed city are those that existed pre-1948 as mixed Palestinian-Jewish cities (for example, Haifa and Jerusalem). The third category includes cities established after 1948 as Israeli-Jewish cities but which have since experienced an influx of Palestinians (for example, Upper Nazareth and Beer-Sheva).

In all three types of cities the marginalization of Palestinian communities — through separation or exclusion, but also through calculated, strategic inclusion — is evident in the daily contestation of urban space. Such a phenomenon of ethnic segregation is actually a legacy of colonial urban planning (both British and Zionist). But it has persisted and evolved according to more recent discourses of moderniza-



FIGURE I. 1947 Map of Palestine. Acre is synonymous with Acco, and al-Ramla is synonymous with Ramle. See reference note 10. Courtesy of W. Khalidi, ed., *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).

tion, postmodern complexity, and the city as tourist spectacle. Once established, the “project” of segregation in these mixed cities has therefore not been static, but has become a “process.” And, as with all processes, its strength has lain in its constant renewal and modification.

In the following sections I will present this process of urban segregation between the Palestinian and Jewish communities of Ramle, Jaffa and Acco according to a framework of three loosely arranged time periods. With regard to the first (1917 to 1948), I will trace the growth of these cities from the establishment of the British Mandate to the conclusion of the Israeli War of Independence — or al-Nakba (The Catastrophe), as it is known by Palestinians. With regard to the second (1948 to 1973), I will examine the pattern of increasing urbanization between the establishment of the state of Israel and the Yom Kippur War between Israel and neighboring Arab countries. This includes discussion of the events of 1967, a year that saw the end of 29 years of military rule over Israeli Palestinians, but also Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, Golan

Heights, and Gaza Strip. My discussion of the last period (1973 to the present) charts the discourse of urbanization as it has reflected both the first and second *intifadas* and the optimism that surrounded the Oslo Peace Process before its collapse.

Although this work will be presented according to the above three time periods, it does not make the claim that each of these represents a distinct set of processes with neat ruptures between them. Rather, it proposes that ethnic segregation in the cities of Ramle, Jaffa and Acco can be seen as an instrument of more fundamental guiding ideologies, and that the processes of urban segregation have been deeply complicit with and continuously integrated within the political project of the Israeli nation-state.

1917–1948: FROM CITY TO GHETTO

... we will endeavour to do in Asia minor what the British did in India — I am referring to our cultural work and not rule by force. We intend to come to Palestine as the emissaries of culture and to expand the moral boundaries of Europe to the Euphrates.

— Max Nordau, Chief Public Orator of the Zionist Movement¹¹

The colonizing project in Palestine cannot be seen either as an exclusively British or Zionist enterprise, but needs to be studied as mutually beneficial to both powers.¹² Scott Atran has titled the process by which the British Mandate paved the way for the Zionist takeover of Palestine “the surrogate colonization of Palestine.” In the 1920s and 30s, he claimed, it was thought “the civilizing mission in Palestine might function better by a division of labor, with Britain providing the force and Zionism providing the *kultur*. . . .”¹³ Thus, Zionists equated their own *mission civilizatrice* in Palestine to the “cultural work” that the British had carried out in India, and they strove to bring first culture and by extension morality to the region. This ideology of a cultural and moral recovery presupposed two things: that the existing or indigenous culture in Palestine was retrograde or inferior; and that the Zionist culture that would replace it would be its complete antithesis.

Although Palestine’s status as a British Mandate territory spanned only 31 years, urbanization received a huge impetus during this time. With the establishment of the Mandate government, British town planners went to work with absolute urgency redeveloping existing Palestinian cities such as Jaffa, Haifa and Acco, or designing extensions to them. The Zionist goals of building a Jewish homeland and encouraging Jewish immigration to Palestine from Eastern Europe worked in tandem with the activities of British planners. As a result, several housing and town-planning schemes were set in motion and quickly realized.

The colonial reaction to existing Palestinian urban centers can be analyzed through two complementary and related

frameworks. The first involved the segregation of the indigenous city, by which its further growth could be contained on grounds of security or hygiene, and by which older indigenous areas could be excluded from the newer colonial areas around them. The second involved the use of the indigenous city as a referent for ethnic and racial stereotyping, a process that had its roots in Orientalist imaginations of the Other. The first framework of segregation has been well described by Anthony King. In *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy*, King argued that planning was used as a strategy of control within the larger project of colonial domination.

*The central social fact of colonial planning was segregation, principally, though not only on racial lines. The segregated city not only resulted from but in many cases created the segregated society.*¹⁴

King went on to describe how colonial planning strategies not only did not question basic divisions of society, as seen through the perspective of the colonizer, but worked to reinforce them. Thus, colonial cities subsumed the social cleavages of “European-native, Black and White, rich and poor . . . ,” and spatially animated them within the urban arena.¹⁵ King further proposed six general spatial models by which colonial cities were related to existing indigenous settlements. With regard to his system of classification, the formal arrangements of Jaffa and Acco would seem to follow his model of a new colonial settlement built separate from, but close to, an existing city. Meanwhile, Ramle would seem to follow the model where “the site and accommodation is occupied but modified and enlarged” (FIGS. 2, 3).¹⁶

The colonial project of segregation, however, did not rest merely on the absolute ideology of the above-mentioned

social divisions, but rather on specific attributes ascribed to less favorable “Others” — i.e., those who were black, native or poor. For example, it has been well documented that European colonizers were preoccupied with hygiene, and that the Oriental city was seen as polluted and contaminated. In fact, Europeans perceived disease, squalor, and lack of sanitation as a racial distinction, and colonial town planners often saw their Garden City additions as antidotes to the sanitary problems of the indigenous or traditional city.

A similar rhetoric of cultural salvation through colonization was evident in the rationale proposed by the Israeli geographer Elisha Efrat in his description of Tel Aviv.

*The city of Tel Aviv began with the founding of the neighborhood of Ahuzat Bayit in 1909 on the sand dunes just northeast of Jaffa. . . . Jews from European countries established Ahuzat Bayit to escape from the conditions of high density and low sanitation found in the oriental town of Jaffa. Their objective was the creation of a Garden City suburb, a concept then popular in Europe and the United States as a response to the polluted, dirty and noisy cities of the industrial revolution. The idea entailed the construction of quiet residential areas on the outskirts of the cities where urban dwellers could reside surrounded by well-tended vegetation. It was on this model that Ahuzat Bayit appears to have been created. It was built according to a grid system of parallel streets, forming rectangular land parcels on which small, generally single-storey houses were constructed.*¹⁷

As these comments indicate, the cultural mission of Zionist colonization entailed, first, the escape from the retrograde, indigenous city, and second, the establishment of a Jewish city that was physically, formally and conceptually the



FIGURE 2. *The walled city of Acco, pre-1948. Courtesy of W. Khalidi, ed., All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948 (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).*



FIGURE 3. *Aerial view of Jaffa, 1936. Courtesy of W. Khalidi, ed., All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948 (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).*



FIGURE 4. View of Herzl Street in Tel-Aviv, 1917. Courtesy of W. Khalidi, ed., *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).

antithesis of its “Oriental” predecessor (FIG. 4). Scholars such as Rebecca Torstrick, who has studied the mixed town of Acco, have also spoken of the disjuncture in form and ethos between the traditional core and its colonial extension. With reference to Acco, Torstrick has written that the general perception of the Old City was of “a traditional Middle Eastern city, with narrow streets and alleyways, a covered market . . . , houses that face inward to courtyards, and several caravanserais in an area of four hundred dunams.”¹⁸ By contrast, Mandate Acco, built by the British between 1919 and 1948 just north of the old city, was based on a gridiron scheme developed by town planner Gottlieb Schumacher.

The first framework for understanding the mechanisms of colonial planning thus involves disengagement with the traditional and Oriental city. The second framework involved seeing the indigenous city as an important tool for classifying the indigenous people as an essential Other. Edward Said’s explanation of the project of classification within the context of colonialism is useful here. Said proposed that, beyond the basic human need to classify vast amounts of information, Orientalism took on the project of classification in an intricate and painstaking manner. The goal of colonial officials was thus to assign a definite value to each element within the system. Said has termed this project the making of “imaginative geogra-

phies,” where the emotional and cultural attributes of a given geography were mapped onto the body of the native Other.

Bearing Said’s analysis in mind, one can return to Efrat’s comments, and see how the “Oriental” attributes of Jaffa, such as low sanitation, were ascribed to the Palestinian bodies that occupied the “Oriental” city. Segregation, when seen in this context, thus went beyond simply shunning or excluding the native city. It also involved inventing a labeling system, an ideological containment of sorts, and ultimately a way of knowing the Other. In Said’s words,

It is enough for “us” to set up these boundaries in our own minds; “they” become “they” accordingly, and both their territory and their mentality are designated as different from “ours”. . . . The geographic boundaries accompany the social, ethnic, and cultural ones in unexpected ways.¹⁹

Such a project of classification and the drawing of geographical boundaries to denote social, ethnic and cultural attributes can be better understood when the colonial urbanization of Palestine is placed within a global context. The investigation of colonial urbanization during the period often stresses the link between the core (i.e., the home metropolis) and the periphery (i.e., the colony), and the flow of ideas from former to latter. But as King has rightly indicated, where town planning was concerned, the colonies were more likely to be the location of experiments in the latest town-planning ideas. “In some places, the colonies were seen as virgin fields on which the new profession of architect-planners could fulfill their imperial dreams. . . .”²⁰ In such a situation, colonial connections could extend as easily between different peripheries as they could between core and periphery. Most importantly, ideas of classification and segregation developed in one colony could sometimes be carried without much change to other colonies.

Different colonies might also share the services of the same town planners. Thus, Patrick Geddes, who spent the major part of his career working in British India, also enjoyed a brief stint as consultant to the Tel Aviv City Council in 1925, designing the city’s first comprehensive town plan. It was Geddes, speaking in the context of India, who said: “The Muhammedan should not be isolated from his mosque nor the Brahmin from his temple, tank, or river, nor should we cease to plan spacious bungalow compounds for the Europeans, approached by wide avenues and surrounded by the gardens they love.”²¹ Having thus claimed that each ethnic and religious community in India needed its own place within the colonial city, Geddes wasted no time in expressing his enthusiasm at the chance of designing Tel Aviv, which he described as “the real live Jewish city. . . .”²² And just as Geddes envisioned that the “Mohammedans” and “Brahmins” of India must be assigned appropriate and distinct spaces within cities there, so he imagined that the Jewish residents of Tel Aviv would live separate from the Palestinians of Jaffa.

The year 1948 is today remembered by Jewish Israelis as the year of Israel's War of Independence; however, Palestinian Israelis remember it as the year of al-Nakba, The Catastrophe. 1948 was also a watershed year for the three cities under discussion here, the year during which their geographies were irrevocably changed in social, cultural and political terms. Before the events of 1948, Jaffa, Acco and Ramle had majority Palestinian populations, and the 1947 U.N. partition plan called for them to be integrated into a proposed Palestinian state (FIG. 5). However, by the end of the summer of 1948 all three cities had fallen to Israeli forces.

Armed struggle first broke out in Jaffa in December 1947, and it continued until the conquest of the city by Israeli forces in May 1948. Jaffa's population in 1947 had numbered around 110,000, of whom some 35,000 were Jews.²³ But by the end of the hostilities, some 35,000 Palestinians had either been forced out or had voluntarily fled from the city proper or the neighboring village of Salama. Some 18,000 Jewish residents had also left Jaffa, but most were eventually resettled in Tel Aviv.²⁴ Most significantly for the future of the city, after Jaffa was conquered

by Jewish forces in 1948, 2,800 vacant or "abandoned" buildings, which had once belonged to Palestinians, were quickly allotted to new Jewish immigrants through a resettlement program that began just one week after the conquest of the city.²⁵

The situation was much the same to the north. After Haifa was conquered by Jewish forces in April 1948, thousands of Palestinian refugees crossed the bay to Acco. However, only a month after Haifa was taken, Acco too was captured by the Jewish Hagganah in Operation Ben-Ami. In early 1948 Acco had been a thriving, almost completely Palestinian city, with a negligible Jewish population. But following a mass exodus, its population, numbering 13,000 in 1947, fell to about 5,000 by November 1948, when the first Israeli census was carried out.²⁶

Inland, the city of Ramle was also taken by Jewish forces in Operation Dani in July 1948. And it was subsequently to suffer the worst population expulsion of any city in Palestine. The combined native Arab population of Ramle and its sister city Lydda, which numbered 50,000 on the eve of their conquest, fell to only 500 people thereafter.²⁷

Thus, by July 1948, all three cities, which had only a year previously been proposed for inclusion in a new Palestinian state, had now been annexed to the new state of Israel. The few Palestinians who remained in Jaffa, Acco and Ramle were placed under Israeli military rule. Furthermore, under the Absentee Property Regulations of 1948, the thousands of Palestinians who had either fled or been forced out were deemed ineligible to reclaim their houses and other property. Instead, these houses passed into the hands of the Custodian for Absentee Property, who then used them to settle new Jewish immigrants. The process of Judaizing the cities of Jaffa, Acco and Ramle had begun.

1948–1973: DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES AND THE FRAGMENTING OF THE GHETTO

My husband and I moved here [to Jaffa] in the seventies because it was cheap to live here. We thought it would become a small, nice city, but they built these extravagant palaces on small pieces of land and the prices went up. . . . We've never had good schools in Jaffa. Those who can afford it still send their kids to school in Tel Aviv. I did too, but we could afford it. We were privileged.

— Jewish-Israeli artist and photographer who has lived in Jaffa since the 1970s²⁸

If the Mandate period had been marked by an attempt to contain and isolate the indigenous city through urban planning policies, the period that followed saw the settler-colonial city attempt to re-engage the indigenous city in an attempt to fragment its social and spatial fabric. With the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, official planning strategies changed drastically in relation to conquered cities such as Jaffa, Acco and Ramle. Specifically, the former ideology of



FIGURE 5. The partition plan proposed by the United Nations in 1947. Courtesy of W. Khalidi, ed., *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).

exclusion and segregation between Arab and Jewish areas was replaced almost overnight with a feverish urgency not only to reclaim these cities for Israel, but to subject them to an intense process of Judaization.

The reversal was particularly evident in the case of Tel Aviv and Jaffa. From its founding, Tel Aviv had been conceived of as autonomous from “Oriental” Jaffa. Thus, in 1921 Tel Aviv succeeded in declaring itself an independent municipality, and in 1934 an ordinance was passed declaring it independent, and “no longer in any relation of subordination to the municipality of Jaffa.”²⁹ It was most curious then, when in 1950 Tel Aviv’s leaders sought to include Jaffa within Tel Aviv’s greater metropolitan region. Arnon Golan, an Israeli geographer, has presented the situation as follows.

These two cities that were separated by a colonial regime, were reunited due to the outcome of a rapid political, economic and demographic transformation, occurring in a post-colonial situation. The colonial Arab city was incorporated into the Jewish settler city, becoming an impoverished urban suburb of the newly formed post-colonial Israeli metropolis [emphasis my own].³⁰

“Reunification” would seem an inappropriate word to describe the joining of two cities that had not only never been united, but which had struggled until very recently to establish themselves as separate entities. Thus, from a previous goal of ideological, formal and physical segregation, town planning in many mixed cities now emphasized the “inclusion” of Palestinian enclaves within the larger metropolitan boundaries of Jewish cities — even if these enclaves continued to be segregated as urban ghettos. Inclusion, in this context, was simply a strategic move, one that allowed Israeli town-planning commissions and municipal boards to use the laws of city planning and urban governance to exercise control over those Palestinians still living in Israel. As Golan himself has mentioned, the desire to “reunite” Jaffa and Tel Aviv was partly justified on grounds that the annexation of Jaffa in 1948 had elicited anger from Arab states and authorities, and “the eradication of the separate existence of Jaffa was considered essential for defusing the protest.”³¹

Acco, on the other hand, was Judaized by the settling of a Jewish population within its city limits. Thus, by August 1949, 4,200 new Jewish immigrants had been settled in the uninhabited houses of the New City, and an additional 100–150 families — mostly those of soldiers discharged from the Israeli army — had been settled within the walls of the Old City for “security reasons.” It was thought the Israeli soldiers and their families would serve as a means of controlling the Palestinian residents who remained there.³² But even as Jaffa and Acco were opening their doors to a new Jewish population, they were being turned into something of a prison for their remaining Palestinian residents. Under military rule Palestinian citizens of Israel were prohibited from purchasing or selling land, and severe restrictions were placed on their freedom. In Acco this meant that longtime resi-

dents were restricted in their movements within the city, and prohibited from leaving the city limits. Thus, while the shift from British Mandate to Israeli statehood had been marked by a shift from exclusion to “reunification,” the new rhetoric was driven by an old desire to contain and control what was seen as the dangerous and incendiary Palestinian city and its residents. There would be no real reconciliation either in terms of space or society.

In terms of the working apparatus of city planning and architecture as well, little change was experienced between the colonial and postcolonial context in Israel. Until 1966 the foundation of town planning continued to be the basic Mandatory Town Planning Ordinance, with only a minimal amendment. In 1966, however, city planning laws were changed drastically in Israel.³³ And at about the same time military rule over Palestinian Israelis was finally lifted. Such changes did not reflect change in sentiment toward Palestinian Israelis, however. They were still seen as a potential “fifth column,” a “security problem” that needed to be contained in the interests of the state. In fact, the “coincidence” that national planning laws should receive a major overhaul in the same year that military rule was lifted is telling. It was certainly no accident that one year later the Agricultural Settlement Law was also established, which prohibited non-Jews from leasing state lands (which now comprise 93 percent of the total land in Israel). Thus, planning laws stepped in as a new system of control, replacing military rule.

The planning apparatus that continued to operate in the mixed cities and its similarity to a colonial model of domination can be analyzed through a theoretical framework proposed by Iris Marion Young:

. . . theorists often treat power as a dyadic relation on the model of ruler and subject. This dyadic modeling of power misses the larger structure of agents and actions that mediates between two agents in a power relation. . . . One agent can have institutionalized power over another only if the actions of many third agents support and execute the will of the powerful.³⁴

This notion of institutional agency is helpful in understanding how laws of planning and land distribution became key implements of segregation. Furthermore, although military rule was lifted in 1966 (and Palestinians began to form coalitions and activist groups to demand land rights), the Six Day War in 1967, ending in the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, resulted in increased political tension within mixed cities. Eventually, anti-Palestinian sentiment in cities like Acco even caused an “inward” migration of Palestinians back to “Arab” parts of the Old City.³⁵ And over the next several years these Arab parts evolved into centers of anti-Israeli sentiment. Segregation could thus no longer produce the formerly clean exclusion of the Other that had once allowed the discursive erasure of the colonized. It was also no longer either useful or practical to believe that Palestinians would continue to live contentedly in their ghettos. The very ghetto that had been creat-

ed by colonial designs was, in fact, turning out to be a site of armed struggle, the crucible in which Palestinian-Israeli identity was being forged. In this sense, segregation at its most absolute had backfired, and something had to be done to re-instate it in a more effective manner.

In 1969, after several Palestinian residents of Acco had been arrested and charged with terrorism, Jewish residents of the city demonstrated in its streets demanding that military rule be reimposed over Palestinian citizens.³⁶ Military government was not brought back to contain the Palestinians, but another and perhaps equally powerful strategy was set in motion to achieve the same ends. In 1970 Acco's Mayor Israel Doron published a report which concluded that ". . . without assistance, Acre could turn into a city with a large Arab population and a weak and poor Jewish one." It recommended immediate action to prevent this from happening; among the steps it proposed were "preferential development status, increased private construction, special grants to young couples for housing, and construction of better quality housing," mostly aimed toward the Jewish residents of Acco.³⁷ Such fear and suspicion continued to worsen after the Yom Kippur War in 1973. And within Acco, a concentrated effort was made to disperse the Palestinian population by establishing an "Arab development town" — Makr — four kilometers outside the city to house 5,000 Palestinian families.³⁸

Similarly, years after Jaffa's "incorporation" into the greater municipal boundaries of Tel Aviv, an aggressive development project called Jaffa Slopes was started in the mid-1960s. To create more valuable coastal land for sale, the project aimed to reclaim land from the sea. The rubble needed to create the new coastal areas, however, came from the demolition of several thousand houses in an area of southern Jaffa called Ajami, a part of the city that was largely Palestinian.³⁹ Jaffa Slopes continued for the next twenty years without much success, after which it was halted by the authorities in the mid-1980s (FIG. 6).

During the period 1948–1973 the strategic inclusion of Palestinian populations into larger metropolitan schemes and town-planning boundaries of Israeli cities actively aided the fragmentation and dispersal of Palestinian Israelis. Indeed, the double-edged rhetoric of modernism and development popular at the time was reminiscent of Napoleon III's decision in the mid-nineteenth century to blast boulevards through the center of Paris — an act of modernization that simultaneously broke up the slums that housed thousands of the city's poorest denizens. In the cases of Acco and Jaffa, the Palestinian presence was similarly eroded under the guise of development.

1973–PRESENT: RECONSTRUCTING THE GHETTO AS SPECTACLE

There is a huge move to redevelop the Old City of Jaffa, but it doesn't affect the everyday life of people here. I mean look at the infrastructure around you. It looks like India.

— Former Jewish-Israeli resident of Jaffa who now lives in Tel Aviv but continues to work in the tourist industry in Jaffa⁴⁰

In the last section I indicated how town planning was used in the decades following the establishment of the state of Israel to manage the social and geographical fragmentation of Palestinian Israelis. To understand how such processes of segregation have continued from the mid-1970s to the present one must reference other important influences, among which are globalization and the urban effects of the world system of capitalism. Thus, even as colonial and post-colonial methods of social control have persisted in the mixed cities, they have also intersected with such new phenomena as gated communities, gentrification and tourism. In particular, both Jaffa and Acco demonstrate how the



FIGURE 6. View of Ajami from Old Jaffa Hill. The piece of land to the left jutting into the sea is part of the incomplete reclamation of the Jaffa Slopes project.



FIGURE 7. East facade of Andromeda Hill, seen from Yefet Street.



FIGURE 8. West facade of Andromeda Hill.

processes of gentrification and tourism have been used as a means of control in the contemporary mixed Israeli city.

Of the three cities under study here, Jaffa has seen the most aggressive process of gentrification, partly due to its aesthetic value as a historic port, but mostly because of its proximity to Tel Aviv, Israel's commercial hub. Jaffa's biggest, most exclusive and expensive urban addition in recent times is a luxury housing project on Yefet Street called Givat Andromeda (Andromeda Hill) (FIGS. 7, 8). A visit to the project's Website describes it as "the new old Jaffa," with all the picturesque virtues of the old Jaffa served up in a conveniently modern residential environment. The project is named after Jaffa's most famous myth — that of the beautiful Andromeda, who was chained to a rock off the coast as a sacrifice to a vicious sea monster, but who was conveniently rescued by Perseus, who then married her. But even as Andromeda Hill implores prospective customers to "come live in a legend," it reassures them on other grounds:

Andromeda Hill is a virtual "city within a city" surrounded by a wall and secured 24 hours a day. The open spaces and alleys are paved in natural stone, dappled in authentic Israeli vegetation and ornamented with elements of water and authentic, original lighting. . . . Andromeda Hill has been planned for you to sit at home, view the sea, enjoy the beauty and hear . . . only the waves.⁴¹

As far as prices go, the cost of living in a housing project that is at once a gated community and a habitable legend is not cheap. In 1998 and 1999 prices in Andromeda Hill ranged from US\$720,000 for a 140-sq.m. apartment to US\$500,000 for a 120-sq.m. apartment. Most of the units within the project were purchased by Israeli citizens from outside Jaffa, or by foreign residents as summer or vacation homes.⁴² The historian Mark LeVine has compared the extravagance of Andromeda Hill, and the surrounding poverty of Ajami, with the image of Disneyland.

Like Disneyland for most of the world's poor, the virtual reality that increasingly cohabits the space of contemporary Jaffa can only be viewed from beyond a "secured gate" by most residents of Ajami. In Isra-Disney, Jaffa, as symbolized by Andromeda Hill, becomes an "urban masterpiece," a site of "artistic renaissance," and "a museum of magnificent architecturally designed buildings" — a carnival of sites, sights, and sounds that excludes those who cannot afford the entrance fee.⁴³

Andromeda's coastal neighbor and partner in gentrification is Old Jaffa Hill, which has been developed and managed by the Old Jaffa Development Company, a partnership of the Israeli Lands Authority, the Government Tourism Company, the State of Israel, and the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality (FIG. 9). Once the main residential quarter for the Palestinians of Jaffa, Old Jaffa Hill was first taken over as an archaeological reserve; then, under the pretext of preservation, its indigenous Palestinian population was replaced by an artists colony. Today Old Jaffa Hill is the epicenter of tourist traffic to Jaffa, revamped with designer boutiques, art galleries and museums (FIGS. 10, 11). Its population is now mostly Jewish, and the Old Jaffa Development Company restricts the sale or leasing of property there to artists or writers. Unlike Andromeda Hill, Old Jaffa Hill is not fenced off or guarded as a gated community. But in more ways than one it signals itself as an enclave of exclusivity from the rest of Jaffa, one that welcomes only tourists or wealthy shoppers.

In 1987, through an urban renewal project called Project Renewal, some parts of Jaffa such as Ajami and Jabaliyya with large resident Palestinian populations were chosen for an urban makeover. However, the Palestinians who lived in these areas were not blind to why what had previously been a white patch on the map of Israel had now been deemed a national historic treasure. Rema Hammami, a Palestinian scholar whose family comes from Jaffa, described the inanity of gentrification thus:

FIGURE 9.
 "Ancient Jaffa" – a
 street sign in the area
 of Old Jaffa Hill.



A few years ago the New Israel Fund had decided to start doing projects in the Arab sector. Jaffa, as the metaphor for Arab communities in need of rehabilitation (read: drug addicts, thieves, prostitutes), was taken on as the showcase project. Money provided largely by the Los Angeles Jewish community went into "urban renewal". . . . But the people living in the houses selected for rehabilitation were the poor remnants of a community that had been literally destroyed and all of their attempts at civic control over their own lives had been quickly and systematically neutralized. . . . So it was not long before the pink stucco was either soiled or splattered with graffiti, the houses and park now standing as eloquent reminders of the futility of prettifying the environments of fundamentally marginalized and oppressed people — at least when the prettifying is undertaken by the same forces that marginalize and oppress them.⁴⁴

FIGURE 10. Art
 gallery and studio in the
 Old Jaffa Hill area.



The cycles of production and consumption with respect to tourism in the mixed cities of Israel present a much more complicated scenario. Given the ethnically divided nature of the country, cities such as Jaffa and Acco have now become important tourist destinations and economic resources. But what is to be done when tourism is incumbent upon the manufacture or production of heritage, yet this heritage belongs to the very "fragments" that the nation-state refuses to recognize? Today, the "old" or "traditional" cities of Jaffa and Acco, both of which are Arab, play a strategic role in the historical narrative of Israel — as a nation with a unique heritage and a claim to an antique and glorious past. Yet the Palestinian presence in these cities, and their claim to them, continues to be erased by projects such as Jaffa Slopes and Andromeda Hill.

One could claim that the manufacture of "the Old Arab city" as a tourist attraction is ultimately beneficial to its Arab residents in economic, social and political terms. But there still needs to be a critical examination of what it means for a politically marginalized group such as the Palestinian citizens of Israel to be suddenly drawn into the spectacle of tourism as actors in the historical staging of a country that explicitly excludes them. Does this present an opportunity for social or political emancipation? Certainly, tourism brings jobs and economic growth to the "older," more traditional areas. But does it also mean that Palestinian Israelis will share equally in the fruits of this growth? Most importantly, what does it mean when Palestinian Israelis are cast as actors in the historical narrative of the nation-state of Israel, yet are denied a role in its present? The strategic positioning of an already-marginalized people as the rightful inhabitants of "Crusader cities" such as Acco, or "Ottoman port cities" such as Jaffa, would only seem to further isolate them in time as well as space. Tourism thus presents a particularly problematic image in a country deeply divided by religious and ethnic conflict. Segregation in this sense would seem related to the very idea of cultural production. As part of the management of cultural difference, the Other has now been set apart as a historical

FIGURE 11. The
 Ilana Goor Museum in
 the Old Jaffa Hill area.





FIGURE 12. *The Old City of Acco.*

artifact. Thus, Palestinian Israelis are Orientalized by the type of streets they inhabit and ossified in time by their carefully recreated “traditional” environments (FIGS. 12–14).

Equally problematic in cities such as Jaffa and Acco is the question of who has the power or authority to determine the official tourist narrative. Take, for example, how the redevelopment of Old Jaffa Hill as an artists colony is presented at the Visitor’s Center of the Old Jaffa Development Company:

With the coming of the massive waves of immigration during the 1950’s, many new immigrant families, most of them from Bulgaria, settled in that part of Jaffa just outside the Old City, while within Old Jaffa, most of the new settlers belonged to the poorer and more primitive socio-economic levels. Because of the squalid conditions of their surroundings and their problematic social fabric, Old Jaffa

very quickly became a retrogressive high crime area which earned the nickname, “The Big Wasteland” — an endorsement which brought it no great respect. . . . In 1964 the first rental contracts were signed, which indicated the beginning of the Company’s activities. The sphere of its activities was limited to Old Jaffa Hill — “The Big Wasteland” — and in accordance with the Antiquities Law, the site was declared an archaeological reserve, with the intention of preserving the past for the benefit of the future. . . . The Company set itself the goal of developing Old Jaffa as a center of art, tourism and entertainment, and undertook extensive infrastructure tasks, while at the same time seeing to it that the original construction styles were preserved. In addition, the Company worked toward vacating “The Big Wasteland,” providing its inhabitants, by mutual agreement, with new accommodations in Greater Tel Aviv.⁴⁵

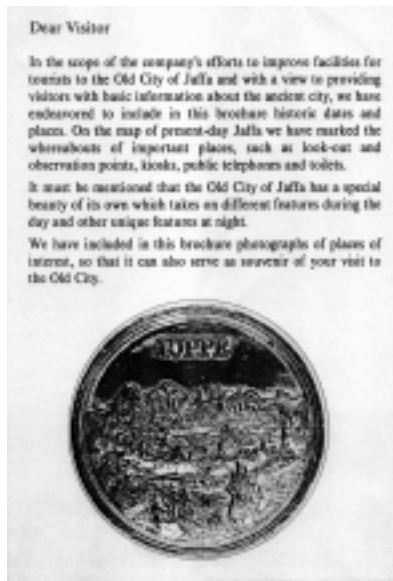


FIGURE 13. *Inside the Old City of Acco, with the dome of the al-Meina Mosque in the background.*



FIGURE 14. *Inside the Old City of Acco signs direct tourists and visitors to museums.*

FIGURE 15. Detail from a tourist brochure of Jaffa. Distributed by the Old Jaffa Development Corporation, Kikar Kedumim, Jaffa.



In this description, the indigenous population that was displaced to make way for the resident artists of the Old Hill of Jaffa is neither named nor identified. It is enough that tourists be told they were poor and primitive — that they constituted a “problematic social fabric.” Thus, the tourist narrative does not stop with the fabrication of a legendary and glorious history, but it seeks to erase Jaffa’s Palestinian history and replace it with a narrative of recovery or emancipation from decay by the timely intervention of the state (FIG.15).

The examples above show how segregation, in the post-modern sense, exists today at the knotty intersection of global capital, partisan politics, and disempowerment. As cities, the artifacts of Acco and Jaffa — the former with its wealth of museums, the latter with its bustling *shouk* and cultural warehouses — have been re-created as cosmetic and superficial representations of an imposed ideology. But ultimately their makeovers fail to hide the power disparities at play between the two ethnic groups that inhabit their streets and houses. Peter Marcuse has written eloquently of such postmodern segregation:

... what is happening today maybe considered the attempt to impose chaos on order, an attempt to cover with a cloak of visible (and visual) anarchy an increasingly pervasive and obtrusive order — to be more specific, to cover an increasingly pervasive pattern of hierarchical relationships among people and orderings of city space reflecting and reinforcing that hierarchical pattern with a cloak of calculated randomness.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

We need cultural conversation not war.

— Palestinian resident of the mixed city of Ramle⁴⁷

After my first visit to Ramle, I returned a couple of months later to interview a young Palestinian-Israeli resident of the “ghetto,” whose family had lived in Ramle at least three generations. She spoke frankly, and during the course of our conversation she said, “the identity of the city is my identity, but we [the Palestinians] are made to feel as if we are not welcome here.”⁴⁸ Perhaps there is no more damning testimony than this with regard to the deeply racialized and segregated geography of a city that dares to call itself mixed.

Even a brief examination such as this of the processes of segregation in Israeli mixed cities reveals a clear geography of dominant and peripheral spaces. The Israeli term “mixing” clearly refers only to demographics, rather than to any true interaction or coexistence between Palestinian Israelis and the rest of the city. Thus, while the Jews and Palestinians of Jaffa, Ramle and Acco may be actors within the same urban arena, they have been set in diametrically opposite positions on the stage. Economically, socially, ideologically and politically, they are of the same space, yet they remain worlds apart (FIG.16).



FIGURE 16. Ramle’s housing projects for new Jewish immigrants, called Ha-Holand Ha-Katanah, or Little Holland.

Within this dismembered geography of Jewish Israeli vs. Palestinian Israeli, old city vs. new city, tradition vs. modern, the mixed city is continuously produced as a signifier of the Other. If one returns to Falah's quote, it is possible to see how the mixed city has become one of the primary sites where "purified localities" have been created specifically to safeguard "against erosion of the state's special character."⁴⁹

A study such as this not only implicates the racial policies of the nation-state and their urban spatial manifestations, it also reveals the complicity of the planning and urban-design professions in the process. Indeed, these supposedly neutral activities have served as handmaidens to a nation-state and its

xenophobic drive to reclaim and homogenize its existing urban geographies. More than half a century after the Mandate and the departure of the colonizer, the inherited apparatus of city planning continues to draw lines within the city, erasing some parts of it while privileging others, maintaining the walls that keep some in and others out. While the colonial power has officially left, its legacy persists; in fact, it has been strengthened by an intersection with the more recent cultural practices of gentrification and tourism. This essay has attempted to critique, and perhaps replace, the simplistic discursive construction of Acco, Ramle and Jaffa as Israeli mixed cities, choosing instead to rechristen them as dismembered geographies.

REFERENCE NOTES

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1. Yom Kippur is the Jewish holiday of atonement. It entails abstaining from food and drink for one day. In Israel, during the holiday, besides public and government offices, all shops and restaurants remain closed and there is no public transportation. On Yom Kippur most people in the country also refrain from using their own vehicles and eating or smoking in public.

2. He speaks to us in Hebrew, but uses the English word "ghetto" in the conversation.

3. P. Marcuse, "Not Chaos But Walls: Postmodernism and the Partitioned City," in S. Watson and K. Gibson, eds., *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), p.243.

4. P. Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

5. In this article the term Israel, or the nation-state of Israel, refers to the country's pre-1967 borders. It does not include the occupied territories of Gaza, the West Bank, or the Golan Heights.

6. N. Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1997).

7. G. Falah, "Living Together Apart: Residential Segregation in Mixed Arab-Jewish Cities in Israel," *Urban Studies*, Vol.33 No.6 (1996), pp.823-857.

8. *Ibid.*, p.827.

9. O. Yiftachel, "Planning as Control: Policy and Resistance in Deeply Divided Societies," *Progress in Planning*, Vol.44 (1995).

10. The process of Judaization also manifests itself in the politics of naming, as the Arabic names of several Palestinian cities and towns have been replaced with Hebrew ones. For a more thorough discussion on this subject, see R. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); and S. Slyomovics, *The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Palestinian Village* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998). Ramle's original Arabic name is al-Ramla, and it continues to be called Ramla by its Palestinian inhabitants. Jaffa is the more Anglicized version of the Arabic Yaffa or the Hebrew Yafo. Acco is also known as Acre or Akka. I have chosen to use the most colloquial names in use among Jewish Israelis and Palestinian Israelis at the time of my fieldwork.

11. M. Nordau, as cited in S. Atran, "The Surrogate Colonization of Palestine: 1917-1939," *American Ethnologist*, Vol.16 No.4 (1989), pp.719-44.

12. Although in this essay I have presented the colonization of Palestine only with regard to the British Mandate and the Zionist occupation, I do not mean to disregard the effects of Ottoman colonization. The rural areas and organization of agricultural land in Palestine underwent significant changes during Ottoman times (especially during the second phase of the *tanzimat* in 1870). But Palestinian urban areas experienced their most drastic changes with the establishment of the British Mandate and the concurrent escalation of Zionist pressure.

13. Atran, "Surrogate Colonization," p.720.

14. A.D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundation of the World Urban System* (London: Routledge, 1990), p.57.

15. *Ibid.*, p.54.

16. *Ibid.*, p.22.

17. E. Efrat, *Urbanization in Israel* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), p.57.

18. R. Torstrick, *The Limits of Coexistence: Identity Politics in Israel* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p.57.

19. E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p.54.

20. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy*, p.42.

21. J. Tyrwhitt, ed., *Patrick Geddes in India* (London: Lund Humphries, 1947).

22. Letter to M. Eder from Patrick Geddes, cited in N. Payton, "The Machine in the Garden City: Patrick Geddes' Plan for Tel Aviv," *Planning Perspectives*, Vol.10 No.4 (October 1995), p.364.

23. A. Golan, "The Demarcation of Tel Aviv-Jaffa's Municipal Boundaries Following the 1948 War: Political Conflicts and Spatial Outcome," *Planning Perspectives*, Vol.10 No.4 (October 1995).
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30. Golan, "Tel Aviv-Jaffa's Municipal Boundaries," p.395.
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35. Torstrick, *Limits of Coexistence*.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., p.76.
38. Ibid., p.78.
39. Personal interview with Dr. Amalia Sa'ar, January 2002. Also see A. Sa'ar, "'Girls' and 'Women': Femininity and Social Adulthood among Unmarried Israeli-Palestinian Women," Ph.D. Diss., Boston University, Department of Anthropology, 2000.
40. Personal interview with author, January 2001.
41. Andromeda's official Website is <http://www.andromeda.co.il/>. The site was visited January 16, 2002.
42. Sa'ar, "'Girls' and 'women.'"
43. M. LeVine, "The New-Old Jaffa," in N. AlSayyad, ed., *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp.257-58.
44. S. Tamari and R. Hammami, "Virtual Returns to Jaffa," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.27 No.4 (Summer 1998), p.75.
45. From a panel hung in the Visitor's Center of the Old Jaffa Development Company in Kedumim Square, Jaffa.
46. Marcuse, "Not Chaos But Walls," p.243.
47. Personal interview with author, November 2001.
48. Personal interview with Palestinian-Israeli resident of Ramle, November 2001.
49. Falah, *Urban Studies*, 1996.

All illustrations are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

The Propensity of Chinese Space: Architecture in the Novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*

LI XIAODONG AND YEO KANG SHUA

This article attempts to give an account of some of the discursive practices of Chinese space. It begins and ends with the interpretation of a single classic Chinese narrative work, *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou Meng*), by Cao Xue-qin. However, its scope also includes side-ventures into such diverse fields as garden aesthetics, allegory, and cosmology. Chinese culture is distinguished by an interweaving of architectural and literary-narrative space. Thus, Chinese literature often situates its narratives within architectural settings, while Chinese architecture often exemplifies experiences elucidated through literary texts. Our supposition here is that a text like *Dream of the Red Chamber* may be used to reveal the unseen workings of Chinese architecture, and so shed light on the way Chinese culture in general conceives of space.

This study begins with a conscious, strategic reading of the novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou Meng* — hereafter *HLM*), also known in English translation as *The Story of the Stone* (*SS*), by Cao Xue-qin.¹ The novel was written during the early Qing dynasty, circa the mid-eighteenth century.² *HLM* is today considered one of China's most prized novels, and scholars have classified it as part of the critical-realism movement in Chinese literature.³

HLM provides an impressive account of the daily affairs of the Jia family, including the love story of two protagonists, Jia Bao-yu and Lin Dai-yu. It follows the family's glory days through their final decline, all the while immersing the reader in an abundance of detail concerning daily life in China during the period. Descriptions of setting are particularly detailed, principally of the family's mansions and gardens, especially its Garden of Total Vision. Indeed, a startling number and variety of buildings are portrayed in *HLM* — along with such related aspects of traditional Chinese culture as manners, religion, philosophy, entertainment, medicine, and family values — all in an attempt to faithfully depict a microcosm of society.

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Meanwhile, through allegories, metaphors, dreams, poems, and other literary devices, the book relates itself to other important moments in Chinese literature and history.

On many levels, Cao Xue-qin wanted his text to be read as “a true record of real events” (*HLM* 1.1.6; *SS* 1.1.51). However, in the context of everyday life, such a simple proposition is ultimately quite complex. It implies that literature may serve as the vehicle for the revelation of architectural settings, and that architecture may exemplify experiences first elucidated in literature. As the reader discovers the architecture of *HLM*, he or she comes face to face with the many problems attached to this desire to transplant narrative into reality. Nevertheless, this intermingling of narrative and spatial principles does shed light on the way Chinese culture conceives of space, in particular how transformations of space may be tied to social meanings. This article uses an analysis of *HLM* to investigate characteristic qualities of the Chinese conception of space. And since the fictional spaces in *HLM* embody social and cultural phenomena, our investigation will also touch on other aspects of Chinese thought. For example, in Chinese culture, what determines the beauty of a piece of calligraphy, a painting, or a landscape?

Before we begin, we would like to stress that internal divisions of space and time are culture specific. Hence, the perceived relationship between space and time is not the same in every culture.⁴ Indeed, there may be as many forms of space as there are cultures. Multicultural consciousness, coupled with the erosion of disciplinary boundaries and the increased interest in cultural and aesthetic theories, has engendered new areas of research on the built environment. The proposition here is that each culture embodies an

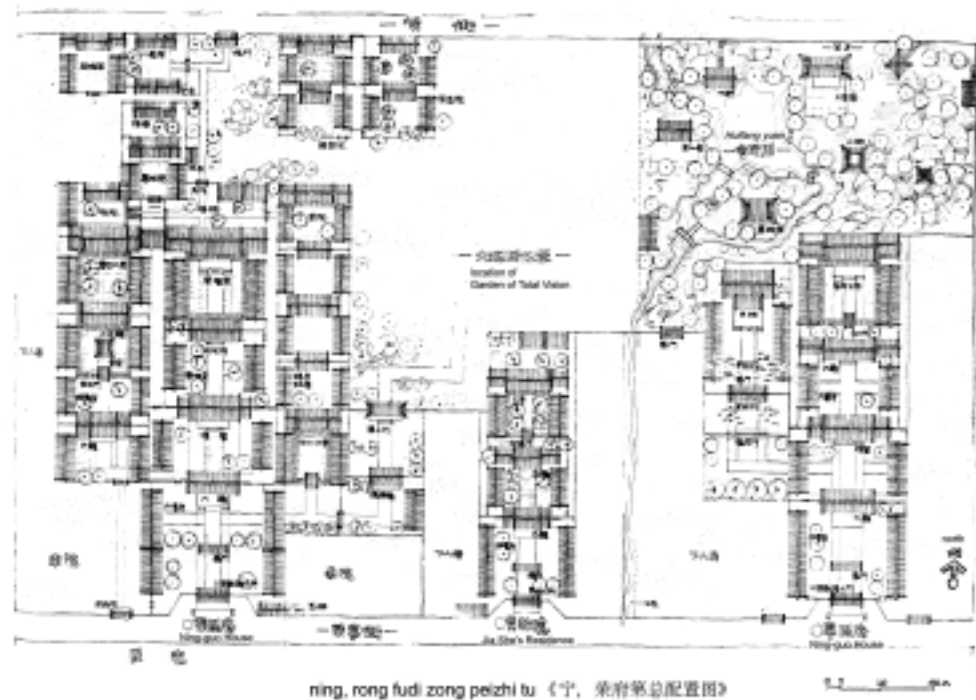
untapped spatial conception — moreover, that a significant share of this understanding has to do with “fictions.”⁵ It was this awareness of cultural difference that first led us to identify a certain fluid quality to the Chinese conception of space. And it is this propensity for spatial change that we hope to investigate through a careful rereading of *HLM*. In the process, we hope to arrive at a better understanding of the general relationship between perception and space, and of the consequences of this relationship for patterns of thought.

ARCHITECTURE IN *DREAM OF THE RED CHAMBER*

We launch directly into our analysis of *HLM*, attempting to be *au fait* with its spatial meanings, while remaining vigilant to what has been written in general about the Chinese sense of space, especially garden space.

One of the book’s most important settings is its Garden of Total Vision (*Daguan yuan*), a component of the Jia family’s mansion complex. The Garden of Total Vision is both an imperial garden built for the visit of the Royal Concubine, Yuan-chun, and a private garden. As one of the main activity spaces in the book, it is developed as a dominant image in the reader’s mind. The reader is given three different “tours” through the garden. In chapter 3, the garden is first encountered through the eyes of Dai-yu, its structure revealed slowly within the progression of narrative time as part of the entire spatial layout of the Jia mansion complex (FIG. 1). Such a treatment amalgamates architecture, characters and culture into a single scene expressing a total experience of space. The garden is then revisited in chapter 17, this time as part of an

FIGURE 1. Overall plan of the Jia mansions (Ning-guo and Rong-guo houses). Courtesy of Guan Huashan, *Honglou Meng zhong de jianzhu yanjiu* [Investigation into the Architecture of Dream of the Red Chamber] (Taipei: Jing yu xiang chuban she, 1984).



ning, rong fudi zong peizhi tu 《宁、荣府总配置图》

inspection tour by its owner, Jia Zheng.⁶ Here it is evaluated more as an ideal embodiment of the Qing garden, with reference to specific paradigms. In this sense, it is not only understood as a pleasure garden, but as a microcosm of nature, just as a landscape painting. Finally, in chapters 40 and 41, the garden is seen through the eyes of Grannie Liu, an uneducated peasant. Her visit enables Cao Xue-qin to describe its “superfluous” and ornate character further.

In keeping with the critical-realist style of the book, even though the garden is entirely imaginary and composed of fictional structures, actual principles of garden building have been followed in its design.⁷ For example, its datum stems from a stream that animates its spatial layout. The stream flows in a generally northeast to southwest direction after branching off from the stream that flows through the older *Huifang yuan* garden (FIG. 2). However, the reader’s encounter with the space through multiple narrations serves to emphasize its fluid spatial quality. In fact, descriptions of the entire Jia mansion complex oscillate between static and dynamic points of view.

In this regard, each “tour” of the garden may be seen to have its own emphasis. As an “outsider” (not a family member), Dai-yu’s early narration is objective and sober. Meanwhile, as the garden’s owner, Jia Zheng’s visit is one of inspection and appraisal. Grannie Liu, curious about almost everything, informs the reader of the character of the residents of the garden via a superficial yet insightful appraisal of its architecture and ornament. Through these three complementary perspectives/views, *HLM* establishes a comprehensive framework of narrative space. This, in turn, allows the imagined space and architecture to influence the time structure/sequence of the narrative.

THE KALEIDOSCOPE SPACE

One may gain a better appreciation of the use of space in the novel if one understands how *HLM* fits within broader traditions of Chinese thought. From the beginning of Chinese history, artistic pursuits have been viewed as a route to self-actualization.⁸ Thus, Chinese reasoning may appear to “weave” along horizontally, from one case to another — each case eventually leading to and merging with the next. Unlike Western logic, which seeks to establish a single commanding theoretical perspective, Chinese logic more closely resembles a journey. Thus, stages in the development of an idea may be linked in ways that do not exclude other possibilities. In fact, alternative worlds may temporarily run alongside the path one is following, or even intersect with it. Nevertheless, by the end of the journey, experience is gained, and an impression of the mental landscape is made. Along the way, not everything is visible and clear; rather, the view unfolds like the painted image on a Chinese hand-scroll, and is meant to be appreciated in a linear sequence over time.

Such a habit of mind tends to conceive of human experience in terms broader than the particular configuration of the proceedings at hand. Furthermore, everything involved in this unfolding process is permeated by a tendency toward renewal. Thus, in *HLM*, an illusory, ideal world is projected within the walls of the “kaleidoscope” garden (the Garden of Total Vision). And through contrast with its surroundings, the garden is shown to reveal the burdens of the idealized image, likened to a reduction of the cosmos.

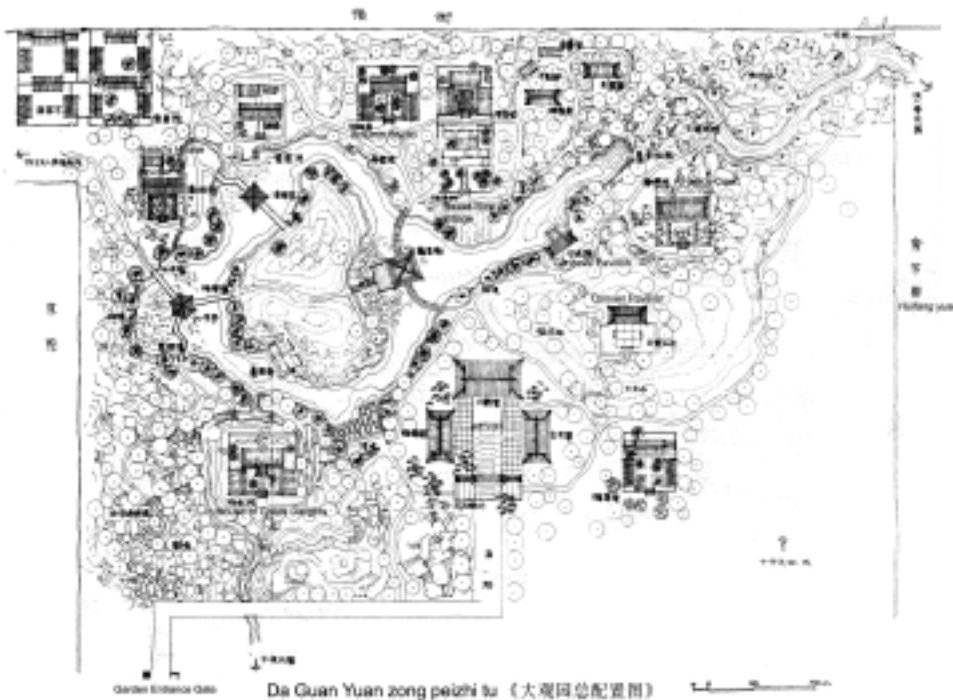


FIGURE 2. Plan of Garden of Total Vision. Courtesy of Guan Huashan, *Honglou Meng zhong de jianzhu yanjiu* [Investigation into the Architecture of Dream of the Red Chamber] (Taipei: Jing yu xiang chuban she, 1984).

TIME AND THE ABSTRACTION OF SPACE

As an expression of the above principles, the story of *HLM* takes place according to a temporal sequence that not only informs and supports the novel's spatial structure, but also stands apart as a relatively independent factor. This manifold significance of time allows the imaginary constructions of architecture in *HLM*, which pertain to space, to be distinguished from the narrative structure, which pertains to time.⁹

In general terms, spatial arts deal with entities and elements that are present simultaneously, while temporal arts deal with sequences or factors running in succession.¹⁰ However, in the case of *HLM*, objective time also acts as a spatial "stage" against which the complex narrative proceedings take place. Thus, even though the entire *HLM* is written based on a time sequence, there are only seven chapters in which time is clearly depicted. The architecture of *HLM* not only provides a backdrop to this complex narrative structure, but more importantly, it becomes the principal "image" of the narrated space. In other words, the subject matter of the novel seems to be taken over by its architecture.

Ultimately, this interrelation of time and space means that the treatment and sequencing of scenes is dictated in part by the novel's imagined spatial structures.¹¹ Within a Chinese garden, the sense of spatial structure depends to a great extent on one's route and the sequence of views it affords. In general terms, a route may be either direct or indirect, depending on the choices one makes. In this regard, the narrative of *HLM* provides two main paths of spatial interpretation: Jia Zheng's inspection visit in chapter 17 using indirect routes, and Yuan-Chun's grand visit in chapter 18 using formal pathways.¹² In a garden, a number of devices may be used to imbue such sequences of experience with resonance and rhythm: paths may deliberately wind to limit views; they may play on a sense of reality and illusion; or they may contrast such qualities as openness and enclosure. Experience of garden space may further be altered by distortions of scale, including distortions caused by the time it takes to move from one vantage point to another.

One of Cao Xue-qin's strategies in *HLM* is to set a procession of architectural images, a sort of movie presentation, before the reader. Through images, one understands. But such total immersion in architectural images also determines in part the reader's sense of narrative development. Thus, space not only forms the platform of the story, but it influences its very workings. Vice-versa, as events move from one place to another, they constantly transform space.

Such a typically Chinese perspective involves an ongoing dialogue between zones of the visible and invisible. In *HLM*, Cao Xue-qin uses this dialogue to formulate specific narrative elements and create tensions between them. Such linkages also allow the narrative to make use of the propensity of represented places for spatial change. In the Chinese conception of reality, space circulates, bestowing a particular

orientation to any composition, breathing vitality into it. This principle is here used to animate narrative references, much as garden space is animated by changing viewpoints. Cao Xue-qin can thus endow narrative elements with greater effectiveness, allowing the story to achieve maximum impact.

Another way of conceiving of the above relationship is that the narrative oscillates between "seeing" and "going," which aims to make the reader "see." However, this narrative mapping of space sometimes makes the physical space difficult to understand. A good example occurs in chapter 3:

After being carried for what seemed a very great length of time . . . the chair proceeded some distance more down the street . . . after traversing the distance of a bow-shot inside, half turned a corner and set the chair down.

(SS 1.3.87–88, HLM 1.3.37)

Such descriptions of narrative space reveal an inherent dynamism. This is further exacerbated with cartographic direction markers such as front, back, left, right, *yin* and *yang*. This sort of narration appears to describe the space with topological precision, but in effect, it makes it difficult to grasp the real physical space involved. Such a false sense of precision has led to many differences of opinion regarding the actual constructed plan of the Garden of Total Vision.

Such descriptions may be likened to a calligraphic ideogram or the spatial character of a landscape painting, especially one presented on a hand scroll. Indeed, it is quite accurate to correlate the Chinese perception of space as expressed in a garden with the shifting perspective of a Chinese landscape painting. In Chinese painting, a strictly optical perspective is rejected as a means of simulating nature, in favor of a more literary pursuit of meaning.¹³ However, unlike time-based narratives, which bring the reader from one place to another, taking account of the space between, the Chinese landscape painting may be understood to do the opposite (FIG. 3). It presents a discrete viewpoint without giving any sense of how the represented elements are joined to one another. One can make an arresting comparison here between the Chinese tradition and the work of Paul Cézanne.¹⁴ Unlike works of art based on perspectival representation (limited to presenting one moment in time from one viewpoint), the Chinese landscape painting is concerned with temporal as well as spatial relationships.

In the overall system of Chinese art, gardens may thus be understood as being designed to resemble paintings, whereas paintings are made to evoke the disposition of gardens. This reciprocal relationship highlights the discursive nature of Chinese conceptions of space. The central point, however, is that a similar conception of space impinges on all three fields of representation: literature, painting and architecture. Thus, in chapter 42 Xue Bao-chai dispenses these instructions to Xi-chun, who is charged with representing the garden in painting:



FIGURE 3. Painting of the Garden of Total Vision. Courtesy of Zengping butu shitou ji, Shanghai Library Collection, Shanghai tushu guan cang.

... the Garden itself was designed rather like a painting, with every rock, every tree, every building in it carefully and precisely placed in order to produce a particular scenic effect; ... to make them into a composition. You have to decide which to bring into the foreground and which to push into the background, which to leave out altogether, and which to show only in glimpses.

(SS 11.42.337–338, HLM 1.42.571)

PERCEPTION AND ORIENTATION OF SPACE

As already mentioned, the Chinese understand all space to be an expression of the original vitality of nature, known as *qi*. *Qi* explains how the world functions and is animated. In this way, everything in a landscape is endowed with a particular, ever-renewing propensity for change. For the Chinese, this sense of space (as forever circulating) flows through all existing things, continuously transforming the “cosmos.”

Every space may also be understood as a reflection of the culture that construes it through its interpretation and reworking of nature. One way cultures do this is by establishing boundaries to satisfy the human requirement for order. Unlike Western gardens, Chinese gardens place great emphasis on such expressions of enclosure — in essence, the physical separation of particular space from general space. In Chinese culture it is important to be able to grasp one’s position in space, time and society, and the establishment of a structure of tangible spatial references greatly facilitates this process of orientation.

In the macro view, cosmic orientation, the most primary conceptual opposition is between heaven and earth, creating the primitive experience of *being* on the earth. Understanding the paths of the sun and stars further offers a sense of direction. Meanwhile, understanding the rhythm of the seasons, of dusk and dawn, enables a differentiation of temporal experience within the same space, contrasting today’s events with “tangible” memories of the past.

A sense of orientation may also be derived from perceptible topography, the coincident sense of being in relation to near and far. In the Chinese garden, such references may be created through the use of “borrowed” scenery (FIG. 4).¹⁵ Alternatively, they may emerge from the expression of dualities, such as between center and boundary, inside and outside.¹⁶ Chinese garden design employs all these orientation strategies to establish the sense of tangible spatial form within indeterminate “natural space.” It thus makes the world comprehensible, enabling meaningful human interrelation with it, and providing an important tool to understand the concept of *qi*.

ANALYSIS OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL SPACES

As described above, since “natural space” is infinite, clear divisions and boundaries are needed to make it visible. Thus, when an interior is separated from an exterior, an abstract threshold is engendered between two worlds, which is made discernible by a physical boundary. In this regard, Guan Huashan has identified four architectural levels in the

FIGURE 4. The pagoda in the distance forms part of the composition of the garden, a typical example of “borrowed scenery.” Due to its siting, however, the Garden of Total Vision did not have this luxury. Image from the authors’ private collection (Suzhou, Zhuozheng yuan).



spatial order of *HLM*: mansion, court, room, and bay.¹⁷ This spatial order is strictly hierarchical, stemming from the teachings of Confucianism. In fact, the bay (*jian*), is the basic unit of space in Chinese architecture, defined as the space between columns.¹⁸ And the Chinese word for space, itself, *kongjian*, represents the creation and ordering of empty volumes as a result of the “enclosure,” or bounding, of three-dimensional space by architectonic elements — windows, thresholds, screens, roofs, etc.

Within the austere ceremonial atmosphere of the mansions of *HLM*, the act of entering doors or crossing thresholds is further meant to convey a sense of place with reference to an abstract matrix of family, society and country. Each such crossing reveals distinctions between layers of space, between inside and outside, reality and illusion.¹⁹ Of course, walls most clearly define the distinction between inside and outside, since they manage transitions across a threshold by means of openings that can be consciously experienced. And within a walled enclosure the tangible presence and solidity of the walls and the balance between space and mass also impart a sense of security (FIG. 5). However, not all boundaries are as clear, and in a world such as that of *HLM* one must remain always oriented to the periphery of the space one occupies.

The demarcation of inner and outer space in the world of *HLM* also separates male and female realms. Thus, the inner domain contains the living quarters of the owners, which is also the activity space of its women, who may not violate an imaginary line symbolized by the “threshold.”²⁰ Outside the imaginary line gentlemen conduct themselves in their affairs; but outsiders, especially males, are not granted access to the inner domain. Servants act as messengers between the inner and outer domain, zealously guarding this sanctified boundary.

The importance of this sense of threshold and order, and of the layering of spaces in *HLM*, is demonstrated in the narration of New Year’s Eve celebration in the Ning and Rong mansions.

... the central doors of the main outer gate, of the ornamental gate, of the outer reception hall, of the pavilion-gate, of the inner reception hall, of the triple gate dividing the inner from the outer parts of the mansion, and of the inner ornamental gate were all thrown open, so that a way was opened up from the street right through into the family hall inside.

(SS 11.63.667, HLM 1.63.724)

In *HLM* there are also a number of key terms used to describe the spatial character of rooms. Among these are “inner realm,” “outer realm,” and “hall.” The difference expressed by these terms is quite precise. For example, if a room is divided into three areas, the middle area will be known as its outer realm. If it is a main room, this central space will be known as a hall, while the side areas will be known as its inner realm (or the side spaces of the room). If a room has five bays and the middle three are joined, the central area will also be known as a hall. Such a method of spatial categorization is further determined by the way the space is being used. But the principal distinction is that the outer realm faces outside while the inner realm represents personal space.

As is evident in *HLM*, the most esteemed space within the outer realm of a room is located in its innermost area, followed by the space to its left, and then the space to the right of the original space, and so on alternating, with the space closest to the door being the least esteemed. Similarly, when seated around a table, the order of relative value starts from the left of the most esteemed space. This most



FIGURE 5. A white-washed wall may provide a blank canvas against which to contrast elements and define space. Image from the authors’ private collection (Suzhou, Liuyuan).

esteemed space is normally occupied by a guest of high social standing or an esteemed family member.²¹ Furthermore, in the novel if the social status of a seated person is venerated, daughters-in-law are expected to stand in attendance.²² There are exceptions to this rule, however, as when male family members join in for meals; at such times, daughters-in-law may partake in the feast.²³

We have already taken note of the deliberate manipulation of entry and exit in *HLM* — the notion of threshold. As the above discussion reveals, social status within *HLM* is also signaled by stylized forms of reception, seating arrangements, and a host of other matters bounded by formal rules.²⁴ In fact, daily life in the novel revolves around the punctilious observance of etiquette. One consequence is that Cao Xue-qin may use the position of characters in the fictional space of the novel to denote their status. This is especially evident with relation to the structure of the mansion complex, composed of a series of courtyards ordered through an abstract notion of hierarchy, so that small changes in position — top, bottom, left, right, inner and outer — may determine their function. Such spaces also have a propensity for linear order, reflecting differences in status from top to bottom, outer to inner realm (FIGS. 6,7).

As the basic spatial unit of the mansion complex, the courtyard establishes the order of adjacent buildings (main, side) and open spaces. And when a series of courtyards is arranged linearly, doors or gates may replace buildings. In this way the various spaces of the mansion complex express a great variety of social distinctions. An order of cartographic directions is also created, connecting the social order to the order to cosmology. Buildings thus help define areas as sacred and the profane, while changes in their patterns of use may endow them with qualities of sun or moon, giving them further philosophic meaning (FIG. 8). As courtyards are thus

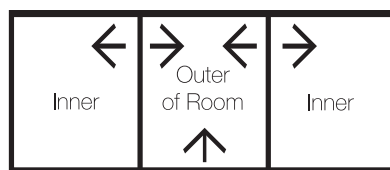
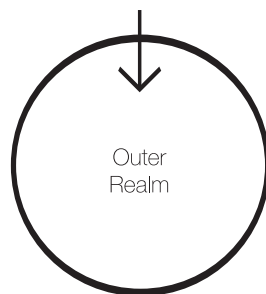
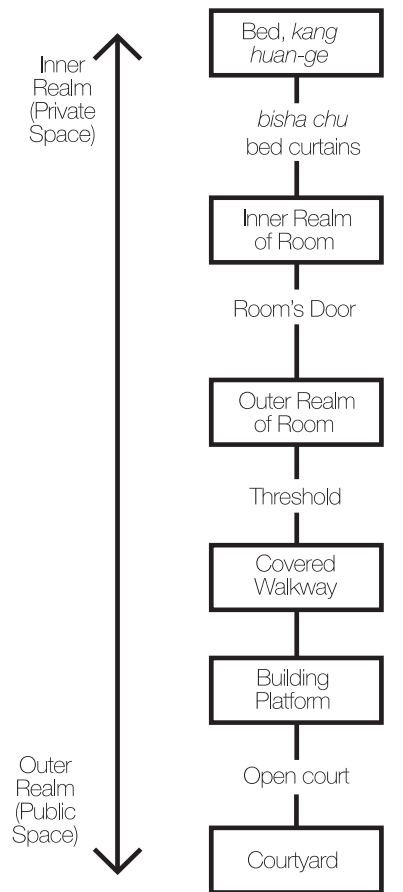


FIGURE 6. Inner and outer realm. Courtesy of Guan Huashan, Honglou Meng zhong de jianzhu yanjiu [Investigation into the Architecture of Dream of the Red Chamber] (Taipei: Jing yu xiang chuban she, 1984).



Inner and Outer Realm



Order of *jian* within space

FIGURE 7. Order of *jian* within space. Courtesy of Guan Huashan, Honglou Meng zhong de jianzhu yanjiu [Investigation into the Architecture of Dream of the Red Chamber] (Taipei: Jing yu xiang chuban she, 1984).

linked together to create a complex, they become increasingly proscribed by social conventions. This raises the social status of a mansion above that of a common person's house or that of an official. But such a mansion complex will always remain subordinate to a palace. The stability of such a social construction is ensured by the ability of its enclosing walls to maintain the sense of opposition between inner and outer worlds. In *HLM* Cao Xue-qin capitalizes on this distinction to create an allegory of the real and illusory world.

While a strict sense of order and formal spatial relationship prevails in the mansions of *HLM*, one is largely emancipated from such imperatives of formality in its gardens.²⁵ In this sense, Cao Xue-qin has inherited the literary legacy of the "traditional" romantic garden from earlier Chinese works such as *The Romance of the West Chamber*, *The Peony Pavilion*, and *The Golden Lotus*. His use of the garden topos is also similar to the centrality of the *locus amoenus* in many great passages of European allegory.²⁶ In both traditions, an enclosed landscape of secular pleasure serves as the tangible representation of the cornucopia of human experience. However, Chinese culture varies the significance it attaches to the allegorical garden by infusing it with a universality of

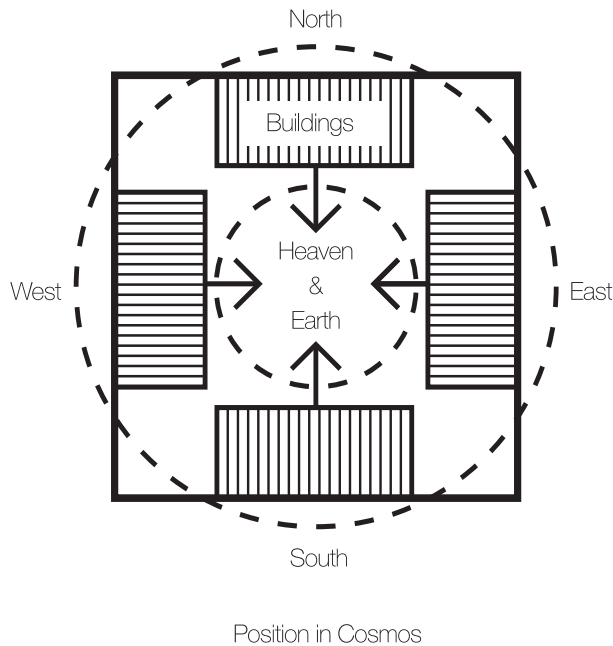


FIGURE 8. *Position in cosmos*. Courtesy of Guan Huashan, Honglou Meng zhong de jianzhu yanjiu [Investigation into the Architecture of Dream of the Red Chamber] (Taipei: Jing yu xiang chuban she, 1984).

desire and emotion. Thus, on the one hand, Cao Xue-qin uses enclosure walls, embedded with layers of symbolic meanings, to point out how the relationship between Bao-yu and Dai-yu is similar to that of Du Li-niang in *The Peony Pavilion*. Yet he also subjects the Garden to the narrative structure of *The Golden Lotus*, so alluding to love and desire. Nevertheless, the central fact is that the regulations and hierarchies of society outside are suspended once inside the garden's "safe" walls. However, Cao Xue-qin does draw a line between the innocent love within the Garden of Total Vision and the incestuous love in *The Golden Lotus* — and in the *Huifang yuan*, the older garden of *HLM*'s Rong Mansion.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GARDEN IN THE NOVEL

The Garden of Total Vision is an imaginary garden. Why did Cao Xue-qin create this literary space, and what role does it play? Yu Yingshi has proposed that the garden in *HLM* symbolizes an ideal of duality in the relationship between reality and imagination.²⁷

Two underlying themes run throughout the novel: the rise and fall to disgrace of the family; and Bao-yu's complex love relationships. In relation to the former, the visit of the Imperial Concubine represents the pinnacle of the family's rise. The family's decay is later symbolized by the confiscation of its properties and the solitary atmosphere of its gathering in the garden's convex pavilion, *Tubi tang*. By contrast, Bao-yu's story

involves his growth in emotion and body, his knowledge of lust, his sensuous attachment, setbacks in love, self-deception, and realization and rejection of love. His story fundamentally serves as an avenue for an expression of opposition to the repression of love, and of its allegory in politics, the morals code.

It is significant that one of these narratives involves social order, the other sentimental principles. In fact, the ability of the two themes to complement and reinforce each other engenders much of the tragic aspect of *HLM*. Such a sense of opposition and complementarity is essential to the thinking of Cao Xue-qin. Throughout the novel the dualism of worlds takes many forms: Dream and Illusion; Garden and Reality; Love and Lust.²⁸ However, it is important to understand how in the world of the novel such opposed qualities may exist harmoniously and simultaneously, both in opposition and correlation. We will discuss the importance of this phenomenon of complementary bipolarity below. First, we will examine some additional ways that Cao Xue-qin uses spatial and architectural order to advance the narrative of *HLM*, and how its Garden of Total vision comments on larger issues of Chinese garden design.

ORDERING OF SPACE THROUGH SOCIAL LOGIC

A work of architecture not only produces a physical entity with a definite form, but also orders space into a social pattern. In fact, Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson have argued that the ordering of space is as much a purpose of architecture as the construction of buildings themselves.²⁹ In this regard, garden architecture has contributed greatly to Chinese ideas of how a sense of reality emerges from a the cultural transformation of space to reflect social meanings.³⁰

Such a social conception of space underlies the imperative within the Chinese garden-design tradition to adorn major features with inscriptions that impart literary meanings. This practice has its origin in the close relationship between scholarship and architecture at aesthetic sites in China.³¹ In this way the "text" may become an integral part of a garden's visual composition, providing literary interpretation of the physical environment. As Jia Zhen says to Jia Zheng in chapter 17 of *HLM*:

All these prospects and flowers — even the rocks and trees and flowers will seem somehow incomplete without that touch of poetry which only the written word can lend a scene.
(SS 1.17.320325, *HLM* 1.17.217)

In this sense, no Chinese garden would be complete without calligraphic inscriptions to express the essence of particular scenes. Such inscriptions serve to remind viewers that the "natural" landscape owes both its existence and meaning to human consciousness. In *HLM* they further serve to carry the main message of the garden's program.

In the Chinese tradition, the pleasure garden also served as a vessel for interaction between elite members of a community. Often such visitors were engaged to memorialize the garden in verses, which might then be printed and circulated. Jia Zheng is following such a tradition when he asks his entourage of literary gentlemen and Bao-yu to compose poems, couplets or colophons on particular scenes in the Garden of Total Vision. As owner, this offers a platform for each contributor to showcase his talents, as well pay tribute to Jia Zheng.³² But the act of naming may also be seen as creating a world in which both the named and those who are able to identify with it are able differentiate their relationships. Such harmonious patterning may already be embedded in the system of language from which given names are selected.³³

As the creator of a fictional garden, however, Cao Xue-qin is able to go beyond even this relational process of naming. Throughout *HLM* he attempts to correlate certain of archetypal aspects of his characters to aspects of the environments in which they are presented. The subjective emotions and objective mannerisms of each character are thus correlated with discreet and independent views of space.

In *HLM* the reader's comprehension of the Garden of Total Vision is also affected by the nature and function of its buildings — which are either simple, elegant abodes for personal residence or enjoyment, or grand, ornamented structures for ceremonies. Especially in the case of the former, character is used to inform architecture and architecture is used to inform character.³⁴ For example, the House of Green Delights is designated for a passionate protagonist, Jia Bao-yu. It is described as a

... roofed gallery . . . in which a few rocks were scattered; . . . some green plantains were growing and . . . a weeping variety of Szechwan (Sichuan) crab, whose pendant clusters of double-flowering carmine blossoms hung by stems as delicate as golden wires on the umbrella-shaped canopy of its boughs. . . . [The] interior turned out to be all corridors and alcoves and galleries. . . . [Its] wooden paneling [was] exquisitely carved . . . [and] the overall effect was at once richly colorful . . . airy and graceful.

(SS 1.17.344–346, HLM 1.17.230–231)

The character of this place, like its owner, is shown to be opulent and imposing, contrasting red and green in its courtyard, containing lavish carvings in its interiors, and including *trompe l'oeil* doors and windows. Furthermore, its gigantic mirror and false openings allude to the mind's ability to delude itself. And its obscure and circuitous entrances transport residents and visitors alike to a realm where boundaries are intended to define rather than segregate. The extensive use of the color red is also analogous to a lady's room — an allusion to Bao-yu's affinity for ladies. Thus the ordering of space in buildings is really about the ordering of relations between people. According to Hillier and Hanson: "spatial organization is

a function of the form of social solidarity; and different forms of social solidarity are themselves built on the foundations of a society as both a spatial and a transpatial system."³⁵

This process of allegory extends to the plants of the garden. Thus, the bamboos in Naiad's House, the plantains in House of Green Delights, and the spices in All-Spice Court all exhibit the characteristics of their inhabitants. The allegory of plants within the garden is particularly poignant with respect to the bamboos of the Naiad's house. Bamboos were traditionally used to describe lofty aspirations and character. But the name Xaoxiang in Naiad's House reminds the reader of the allegory of Naiad's Tears, *Xiangfei zhu*, conveyed through Tan-chun:

When the Emperor Shun died, his two queens are supposed to have gone along the banks of the river Xiang looking for him. According to the legend, the two queens turned into river goddesses and grow along the banks of the river. That's why there's a kind of bamboo called "Naiad's Tears." Well now, Cousin Dai lives in the Naiad's House, and she cries so much that I shouldn't be surprised if one of these days the bamboos in her courtyard all turned out to have spots on them. . . ."

(SS 1.37.217, HLM 1.37.489)

The allegory articulated by Tan-chun has a profound significance in terms of the "affinity of stone and flower" relationship between Dai-yu and Bao-yu, her only confidant.³⁶ Such subtle allegory foretells the future of Dai-yu, through the building and environment of her residence.

PHILOSOPHY OF GARDEN ART EMBODIED IN THE NOVEL

In chapter 3, Bao-yu presents an appraisal of the Sweet-Rice Village which provides an insightful critique of trends in Chinese landscape design since the Six Dynasties period.³⁷ Like Jia Zheng, he argues, most people consider landscape design as no different from stage setting, meant only to invoke certain literary references. Hence, a portion of a mud wall, some branches from an apricot tree, and a flag fashioned like that of an inn would be sufficient to represent the famous Apricot Flower Village from the poem, "Qingming."³⁸ At one point in *HLM* Jia Zhen even suggests that some poultry should be kept to "complement" the scene — providing, in essence, stage props.

Bao-yu disagrees with such superficiality. Instead, he subscribes to the rationalistic principles of the Ming-era Neo-Confucianist Wang Yang-ming, who maintained that exquisiteness in garden design should be secondary to a holistic sense of appropriateness and harmony. According to this view, the disposition of elements in a garden must come from a feeling of natural reason. Such a view, in fact, may be the

origin of the expression *daguan*, or “total vision,” to describe the garden in *HLM*. It implies a criticism of Jia Zheng’s excessively literal interpretations as “somehow not in keeping with the broader view” (*SS* 1.17.192, *HLM* 1.17.225). Bao-yu’s assertion, that each individual scene must be named in harmony with its function and relation to the total concept of the garden would also seem to distinguish between true and false art.

Because landscape design is an imposition of human activity upon the land, the ultimate triumph of Chinese garden design was thought to be proficiency at making gardens appear “natural.” This would imply a need to be contextual and relate to the local environment. Bao-yu insinuates that the device of “following and borrowing” might be adequate to produce such a relationship. And he faults the Garden of Total vision for failing to use it. Through Bao-yu’s comments in *HLM*, however, Cao Xue-qin seems to be indicating that Chinese landscape design has always presented a “strained” interpretation of nature, and has never been “absolutely” natural. Thus, he implies that Bao-yu’s ideals are so high that they could not be met even by the theories of Ji Cheng — not to mention a design methodology such as that of Li Yu based on “visuals.”³⁹ Craig Clunas has written that such a discrepancy is partially the result of the treatment of “inner and outer, between garden and the natural landscape,” in regard to which emphasis has been placed on the former since the Ming Dynasty.⁴⁰ To be “natural,” the Chinese penchant is to seek out the *genius* of a place. The desire is to follow the *Tao* of nature, in tune with the rhythms of seasons, plants and universe, so there will be no discrepancy between inner being and outer reality.

However, simply emancipating one’s efforts from artificiality does not ensure the creation of good architecture. Feeling also must have a bearing on form. And this is the essence of Bao-yu’s critique. The aim of landscape design should then be to emulate the laws of nature, putting the *qi* of nature to work in the design of the garden. That way, even if one cannot achieve totality, one can still have exquisite architecture through prudent siting.⁴¹

COMPLEMENTARY BI-POLAR RELATIONSHIP

The story in *HLM* takes some of its cues from Chinese mythology.⁴² But the story is also influenced by issues central to the Neo-Confucian school’s attempt to integrate Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism during the Song Dynasty.⁴³ As such, *HLM* reflects more general patterns of conceptualization within Chinese literature. One example is the belief that the patterns of flux that make up the existential cosmos rely profoundly on the principles of *yin-yang* and *wu-xing*.⁴⁴ These principles are present in one form or another in most of Confucian canon, most evidently in *The Book of Changes*, also known as *I-ching* or *Yi-jing*. In general, these principles indicate how Chinese cosmology has evolved into a representation of abstract patterns of dual interrelationship. Thus, day alter-

nates with night according to a gradual change from light to darkness, a constant transmutation between states of opposition and correlation. Andrew Plaks has used the term “complementary bi-polarity” to describe the rational relationships inherent in the *yin-yang* and *wu-xing* systems of cosmological thought.⁴⁵ Such notions of dualism should, of course, be distinguished from the Western sense, according to which oppositions may be transcended through a dialectical method.

Such complementary bi-polarity is manifested in *HLM* by means of pairs of opposing yet corresponding phenomena. Thus, the events, characters and qualities of the book are delineated and harmonized with one another, shifting the sense of inquiry to the manifold relationships between *yin* and *yang*, inner and outer, temporal and eternal, fact and fiction. Often narratives structured by bi-polar complementarity attempt to express an idealized world in which complementary actions take place at the same time. Such narratives may even be constructed of more than two intricately interwoven trajectories. Thus the idea of multiplicity, the modern concept of multiple use of space, may be understood as having long been intrinsic to traditional Chinese architecture.

OPPOSITION AND CORRELATION

For the Chinese, such formal patterns of complementary bi-polarity are more than theoretical; they are actively manifest in many facets of society, including architecture. One may find here the origin of the complementary relation between the Buddhist correlatives *se* and *kong*, which play a central role in the allegorical structure of *HLM* — for example, in the contrast between Reality and Illusion, Love and Lust, evident in the garden’s architecture. On the one hand, the Garden of Total Vision is an idealized pure world; yet on the other, it is closely related to *Huifang yuan*, that older garden space which clearly represented a tainted humanity.⁴⁶ How does one reconcile the contradiction inherent in the fact that the Garden of Total Vision is built upon *Huifang yuan*? The allusion here is to its hidden impureness. Thus, the allegory of the two gardens is not simply one of opposition, but also of correlation. The same can be said for the relationship of the Convex Pavilion and the Concave Pavilion within the Garden. Both structures were designed to view/appreciate the moon, but the convex pavilion was placed on a ridge while the concave pavilion was located within a small gorge. The experiences they provide are thus almost diametrically opposed: the former commands a breathtaking view of the surroundings, with the moon in the far distance; the latter is dominated by the sense of intimate enclosure of space by the walls of a gorge, bringing the moon closer to the viewer and distorting its scale.

In this way polarity engenders reciprocity and conversion of space: the concept of *yin-yang*. Such polarity also creates the harmonious relationship between buildings and topography in the garden. In this way the garden reflects the subtle

order and harmony of the larger cosmos, wherein the austere symmetries of Confucian society are subsumed by Taoist ideology in support of larger harmonies.⁴⁷ The opposite would seem to be true within the mansions. Here, fixity preserves social order. In garden design, *Tao* (the Way, the Order of Nature) inspires its followers to be profoundly conscious of the process of change in nature.⁴⁸ Thus, nature is clearly expressed through landscape designs that adapt buildings to their sites, with the unifying sense of contrast articulated through the interplay of light and shadow, solid and void.⁴⁹ In this way, spaces interact through contrast rather than separation. Hence, space is created by the relationship between enclosure and openness, “with a view to create a sense of infinite space within a limited area.”⁵⁰ Thus, the conscious restriction of view, through walls, screens, tracery windows, and even plants is used to distort the sense of spatial depth. And the wall may become a canvas against which to create a composition of plants and rockery, of which the latter might be intricately eroded and arranged to mimic mountains, and therefore create the effect of distance.⁵¹ Consequently, size does not really matter in architectural space; what is vital is the growth of space size.⁵² Instead of proceeding from established logical distinctions, it frequently conveyed its meanings through the interplay of parallelisms and correlations made possible by the infinitely rich evocative power of abstraction.

To the Chinese, the wall is not dominated by its periphery but by its center. Such a conception involves a set of foci which extend space ever outward from the center, allowing the wall to serve as an abstract form, an indefinable position of indefinite solidity. As with the calligraphic ideogram, the logic of this dynamic space is one of contrast and reciprocity. Of course, the principle behind all these contrasts is the opposition of emptiness and fullness. This principle is as central to Chinese aesthetics as it is to the Chinese vision of the world. According to Shi-tao: “To bring into play this opposition between emptiness and fullness will be enough to achieve *shi* . . .” (FIG. 9).⁵³

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, Chinese rarely discuss space and time in abstract terms. Instead, they utilize realistic temporal and spatial concepts close to everyday life to portray the comprehensiveness of contrasting qualities within a person, family or social division. Consequently, space cannot be delineated according to a strict linear progression of narrated events. This allows contrasting events to be observable at the same time. When progression is thus deferred, static descriptions of setting gain prominence. In this way Chinese narratives often take place simultaneously in two or more different positions in space. Such a doubling and redoubling of space replaces a strict linear progression in time, endowing space with a propensity of change. As in *HLM*, this may be realized



FIGURE 9. A tracery window used to physically delineate inner and outer space nevertheless does not limit visual interaction between these spaces. Image from the authors' private collection (Suzhou, Wangshi yuan).

through the assemblage of images into a “filmic” narrative that attempts to reveal other plausible worlds behind everyday reality. Such alternative realities are not intended to be thought of as illusions, but as a challenge to see the world differently.

In a similar way the seemingly invariable form of Chinese architecture allows contingencies and ambiguities to arise which stimulate the imagination. Thus, built form creates a stable structure within the complexity of the world, which may be used to articulate a world that is dynamic, interdependent, and open to change. No doubt, there is a specific modular order to Chinese architecture and associated spaces.⁵⁴ But through a balancing and judicious manipulation of such basic geometry, a designer might achieve the sense of poetic and free-flowing natural space. Furthermore, ordering strategies that emerge through this interplay of stability and flux may create the possibility for a pluralistic reading of space. In holistic terms, such order is not imposed during the process of creation, but is inherent in the process itself. In one way or another, the purpose of architecture arrived at in this manner is to negate the materiality of space. Thus, physical objects in one space may link with other representations from different times and spaces, depending on the input of the beholder.⁵⁵ More specifically, when internal boundaries are vague or ambiguous, time is made to stop, and space becomes limitless. In so doing, meanings emerge from a process of association, whose emphasis is on the ephemeral and transient, and on the propensity of space rather than the space itself.

The above analysis, of course, may suffer from a tendency to view Chinese culture as monolithic and timeless. No doubt, such a unified notion of heritage has been used extensively here as a basis of analysis. We acknowledge that it may not be entirely accurate to classify Chinese culture or perception in such reductive terms. And Chinese architecture today is certainly different from what it was in the eigh-

teenth century. However, we believe such an analytic posture may be justified to rediscover that era's emphasis on process rather than specific aesthetic manifestation.

However limited this article may be, the authors' intentions have been to provide a holistic understanding of the Chinese conception of space. Above all, we have tried to show how that conception embodies a sense of creation as a means to an end, not an end in itself. In that regard, we have attempted to advocate for the process of creation. In seeking to understand contemporary architecture, we suggest

it is imperative to reflect on our presuppositions, and reject a logos-centric view of cultural progress.⁵⁶ This is not to say that outcomes should be totally disregarded, but that they might be improved by better understanding the process by which they are achieved. The inherent meanings of a space emerge from the act of creating and regenerating that space. What is represented "visually" is the outcome of a creative process. Hence, invariably, "space" means cosmic space in its entirety: it actualizes itself from the depths of the void, and so opens out into infinity.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. The main reference text used in this paper is Cao Xue-qin, *Honglou Meng* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1998), annotated by Feng Qiyong, based on *Zhiyan zhai zhongping shitou ji [gengchen (1760)] qiuyue dingben (1760)*. There are a number of translations available, which are generally abridged. The standard English translation is *The Story of the Stone*, 5 vols., D. Hawkes and J. Minford, trans. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1979, 1987).
2. The Qing dynasty lasted from 1644 to 1911.
3. For example, see Li Zehou, *The Path of Beauty: A Study of Chinese Aesthetics*, Gong Lizeng, trans. (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1988).
4. W.L. Idema, "Time and Space in Traditional Chinese Historical Fiction," *Sinica Leidensia*, Vol. XXXIII, p.362.
5. K. Shonfield, "The Use of Fiction to Interpret Architecture and Urban Space," *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.5 (Winter 2000), pp.369-89.
6. This tour mainly depicts eight major sites in the garden: the main entrance, the Pathway to Mysteries, the Drenched Blossoms Pavilion, the Phoenix Dance (Naiad's House), the Sweet Rice Village, the Garden of Spice (All-Spice Court), *Daguan lou*, and Fragrant Red and Lucent Green (House of Green Delights). The brackets indicate places whose names are changed during the course of the novel.
7. See Wu Shichang (Wu Shih-Ch'ang), *On the Red Chamber Dream: A Critical Study of the Annotated Manuscripts of the XVIIIth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961). This depiction is similar to Li Yu's description of the rules of building. See Li Yu (Qing), *Xianqing Ouji [Occasional Footnotes to Life's Quiet Moments]* (Zhejiang: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1999; first published in 1671).
8. The dislocation of the Han Dynasty (c. 220 A.D.) and the fragmentation of China over the next few centuries expedited the collapse of the unified system of thought that had prevailed in terms of logical, moral and political ideologies. In its place, an autonomous aesthetic mindset emerged which had been hidden in the former system. Refer to F. Jullien, *The Propensity of Things: Toward a History of Efficacy in China*, J. Lloyd, trans. (New York: Zone Books, 1995), p.75.
9. This is likened to the space-time concept as expounded by Sigfried Giedion with relation to Le Corbusier's Villa Savoie. See S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967; reprinted 1982), p.525.
10. The notion of the manifold significance of time may not only be used to distinguish between architecture and the novel, but between all branches of art that pertain to space (painting, sculpture, etc.) and all that pertain to time (narrative, epos, drama, music, etc.). See W. Beemel, "On the Manifold Significance of Time in the Novel," *Analecta Husserliana* (Phenomenology and Aesthetics: Approaches to Comparative Literature and the other Arts), Vol. XXXII, pp.17-19.
11. According to R. Stewart Johnston, there are a number of typical ways such structuring may be achieved in a Chinese garden. Among these are the siting of objects; the arrangement of enclosures and walled areas; and the organization of pathways to determine possible patterns of movement and act as a structural spine, linking and penetrating all parts of the garden. R.S. Johnston, *Scholar Gardens of China: A Study and Analysis of the Spatial Design of the Chinese Private Garden* (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.74-93.
12. See Wu Shichang, *On the Red Chamber Dream*.
13. Painting is not the only art form closely linked to the art of garden design. Nonetheless, the garden is both an art form in itself and a setting for participation in, or the display of, other art forms. Among these are poetry, music, and the archetypal Chinese arts of calligraphy and painting, which express the artist's personal idiosyncrasies and experiences in a direct and unfettered way.
14. Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), Impressionist painter. His series of still-life "inverted perspectives" challenged the notion of optical perspective. Cézanne's technique of painting variations of a landscape as he slightly changed his viewpoint was later developed by the Cubists. Sigfried Giedion has suggested that this principle of simultaneous, multiple viewpoints now allows us to explore aspects of spatial representation other than perspective. In particular, the modern dissolution or rejection of perspective has challenged the notion of space as "limited and one-sided." Things may now be viewed relatively from many viewpoints. See Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, pp.434-39.

15. To “borrow” scenery means to incorporate features external to the garden in the garden’s design. In its simplest form, this may involve puncturing the walls of the garden with open tracery windows to fragment and enhance individual aspects of the view. But the idea may also be taken further, to where the window itself becomes a primary scene within the garden, making the real (surrounding) landscape visible. Li Yu conceived this as “borrowing” the view from the outside landscape, and called it an “unintentional painting,” or a “landscape window.” In this way, one space could be connected to another with mutual advantage. For example, if there was a view available of mountains in the distance, one might wish to structure a garden to frame them at the end of an open vista. Alternatively, if there was a particularly fine garden next to one’s own, a low fence rather than a high wall might be erected between them to merge views from the two gardens. See Li Yu (Qing), *Xianqing Ouji [Occasional Footnotes to Life’s Quiet Moments]*.
16. See R. Aben and S. de Wit, *The Enclosed Garden: History and Development of the Hortus Conclusus and its Reintroduction into the Present-day Urban Landscape* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999).
17. The mansion complexes, *fudi*, are divided according to units of mansion (*fu*), court (*yuan*), room (*fang*), and bay (*jian*). See Guan Huashan, *Honglou Meng zhong de jianzhu yanjiu [Investigation into the Architecture of Dream of the Red Chamber]* (Taipei: Jing yu xiang chuban she, 1984), pp.177–208.
18. The notion of bay may also be thought of as span.
19. The conception of the inner and outer is deeply entrenched in Chinese culture, going back to the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – 220 A.D.). For example, it is manifested in the five-zone model of political order (*wufu*), which is really a focus/field distinction that delineates the relative focus of an inner-outer periphery. See D.L. Hall and R.T. Ames, *Anticipating China: Thinking through the Narratives of Chinese and Western Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), p.242.
20. Although women were confined to the inner realm of the house, they were allowed restricted access to a house’s gardens. See Yi Jinsheng, *Honglou Meng: Ai de yuyan [The Dream of the Red Chamber: The Allegory of Love]* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chuban shee, 2000), p.117.
21. For example, as a guest of the Jia family, Aunt Xue shares the position of honor with Grandmother Jia. However, since Aunt Xue is from the same generation as Wang Fu-ren, her space is shifted slightly to the left. By contrast, because of her humble background, Grannie Liu, also a guest, is positioned in space after Aunt Xue’s but before Wang Fu-ren.
22. This is a custom of the Manchus. Although the Jia family is portrayed as Chinese, they inherited some Manchurian customs from the background of Cao Xue-qin, whose family were bondservants of the Qing emperor. See Hawkes and Minford, trans., *SS*, p.25. Also, see J. Spence, *Ts’ao Yin and the K’ang-hsi Emperor* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966). In addition, see Guan Huashan, *Honglou Meng zhong de jianzhu yanjiu*, pp.152–66.
23. In the case of the Autumn Feast at the Lotus Pavilion in chapter 38, a table is also set for Li Wan and Xi-feng, but since it is there for formality, both were compelled by customs not to sit at it.
24. Ranks were also distinguishable by styles of clothing, objects for everyday use, and standard forms of address between superiors and subordinates.
25. In the seventeenth century Ji Cheng pointed out the contrast between mansion and garden: “All family seats and mansions . . . should be built in accordance with the accepted conventions. Only studios set in gardens . . . are most exquisite when built to take advantage of the seasonal scenery. . . . Family mansions are bound to be subject to general discussion, but the outlying buildings will only be right if they harmonize with the landscape.” See Ji Cheng, *Yuan Ye [The Craft of Gardens]*, first published in 1634, annotated by Huang Changmei (Taipei: Jinfeng chuban she, 1999), pp.32–37.
26. For example, Dante Alighieri’s *Inferno* and *The Divine Comedy*, Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*, Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun’s *Roman de la Rose*, and John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*.
27. Yu Yingshi, *Honglou Meng de liang ge shijie [Duality of Dream of the Red Chamber]*, 1973; and *Lishi yu sixiang [History and Philosophy]*, (Taipei: Lianjing, 1976; reprinted 1999).
28. In *Honglou Meng: Ai de yuya*, Yi Jinsheng probed the inseparability of the concept of the garden setting and the dualism of love-lust.
29. B. Hillier and J. Hanson. *The Social Logic of Space* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp.1–3.
30. *Ibid.*, pp.176–97. This is a trans-cultural concept.
31. As Craig Clunas explained, this practice is not unique to China. In the West, garden inscriptions were often drawn from allusions to Roman writers like Columella or Varro. Inscriptions were also part of the Italian Renaissance landscape practice, as well as that of gardens in eighteenth-century England. C. Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), p.144.
32. See J.F.H. Smith, “Gardens in Ch’i Piao-chia’s Social World: Wealth and Values in Late Ming Kjangnan,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.51, No.1 (February 1992), pp.55–81.
33. All societies that place importance on the act of naming have shared this characteristic. See Hall and Ames, *Anticipating China*, p.125.
34. For example, the dignified entrance of the Garden of Total Vision, the grandeur of *Daguan lou*, the bustle of House of Green Delights (*Yihong yuan*), the tranquility of Naiaid’s House (*Xaoxiang guan*), the greenery of All-spice Court (*Hengwu yuan*), the capaciousness of Autumn Studio (*Qiushuang zhai*), etc.
35. *Ibid.*, p.142.
36. Accordingly, Bao-yu is understood as the transformation of a magical stone into *Tongling Baoyu*, the Precious Jade of Spiritual Enlightenment — manifest as *Shenyong shezhe*, Spiritual Stone Page. Meanwhile, Dai-yu is the transformation of a flower fairy — manifest as the *Jiangzhu cao*, the Crimson Pearl Sylph Herb.
37. This is the period of Chinese history between the fall of the Han dynasty (A.D. 220) and the unification of China under the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581). It is named for the

six successive dynasties that appeared in Southern China during the period: the Wu (222–280), the Eastern Jin (317–420), the Song (420–479), the Qi (479–502), the Liang (502–557), and the Chen (557–589). Although a time of severe political turbulence, the period was marked by much originality in art, literature, and thought.

38. The allegory of Apricot Flower Village (*Xinghua cun*) to a rustic countryside inn that sells wine comes from a famous Tang poem by Du Mu (SS 1.17.334).

‘Where’s the tavern?’ I cry,

And a lad points the way;

To a village far off in the apricot trees.

39. Li Yu was preoccupied with detailed description of nature and the slow revealing of picturesque visual scenes, denoting literary and visual references. See Li Yu (Qing), *Xianqing Ouji* [Occasional Footnotes to Life’s Quiet Moments].

40. Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, p.161.

41. See Ji Cheng, *Yuan Ye* [The Craft of Gardens], pp.38–57.

42. One source of allegory in *HLM* is the mythic marriage of Nü wa, a Chinese goddess who, according to legend, created human beings and patched up the sky with many-colored stones, and Fu xi, a legendary Chinese ruler who taught people to fish, hunt, and raise livestock (for example, Bao-yu as one of the many-colored stones). See A.H. Plaks, *Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp.27–42.

43. Neo-Confucianism is the synthesis of Taoist cosmology and Buddhist spirituality. It emerged around a core of Confucian concerns over the state of society and government during the Song dynasty (c. 960–1279 A.D.). Historically, it represented a creative reinterpretation of the traditional Confucian canon to meet the new intellectual and spiri-

tual expectations of the time. It attempted to respond to the Buddhist notion of transcendence over mundane qualities of the world by uniting human interpersonal relationships and concern for society and government with intensified ascetic practice. There were two schools of Song Neo-Confucianism: the Cheng-Zhu School, which emphasized diligent study or “the investigation of things”; and the Lu-Wang School, which equated the mind with *li*, or “principle” (i.e., its approach was based on direct intuitive comprehension of the proper way).

44. *Yin-yang* is the union of two polarities commonly known as the masculine and the feminine. *Wu-xing*, or five-elements terminology, is based on the five basic elements of the universe, believed to be gold, wood, water, fire and earth.

45. According to Plaks: “The polarities of Chinese thought remain forever distinct, producing and destroying each other in a ceaseless process of mutual displacement.” His comments refer in particular to a passage from the *I-Ching* (*Book of Changes*): “Heaven and Earth are opposites, but their action is concerted. Man and woman are opposites, but they strive for union. All being stand in opposition to one another: what they do takes on order thereby.” See Plaks, *Archetype and Allegory*, pp.43–53.

46. One might note, for example, Jia Rui’s lust for Xi-feng in *Huifang yuan* in Chapter 11 of *HLM*. Also note Qin Ke-qing’s amorous death in *Tianxiang lou* within *Huifang yuan*, and later, her funeral ceremony held in *Huifang yuan*, and the altar set up in *Tianxiang lou*.

47. In the Confucian tradition, rules were held up as a “solution” for individual confession. Thus, Zhuxi explains, “It is only because there are times when man’s mind becomes distracted that we set up the many rules to regulate it.” See Zhuxi (Chu Hsi),

Learning to be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically by Chu Hsi, D.K. Gardner, trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p.164.

48. It has been said that Confucianism is the dogma of the scholar when in office, and Taoism the attitude of the scholar when out of office. When out of office, or in retirement, the preferred form of escape from the mundane world for the scholar-official was the cultivation of a garden. See J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China. Volume 4: The Grand Titration: Science and Society in East and West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p.165.

49. Expressions of complementary bi-polar pairs (such as *yin-yang*, *tiandi*, *shanshui*, etc.) are part of a greater ideological thought of harmony.

50. See Chen Congzhou, *Yuan Yun* (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 1999), p.13.

51. See Ji Cheng (Ming), *Yuan Ye* [The Craft of Gardens], p.168.

52. See A. Ih Tiao Chang, *The Tao of Architecture* (Princeton University Press, 1981), p.53.

53. Shi-tao (1641–1717) was an outstanding literati painter, essayist, and a famous builder of rockeries. See Jullien, *The Propensity of Things*, pp.11–13, 267.

54. For example, the modular measurements of *jian* and *jin* were translated into buildings and courtyards, forming the basic unit of courtyard mansions.

55. See Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p.239.

56. Logos-centricism conceives there is only one ultimate truth for the universe, and that it can only be discovered and demonstrated with human intelligence.

On Design: Field Report

An Instance of Critical Regionalism: New *Yaodong* Dwellings in North-Central China

LIU JIAPING, DAVID WANG, AND YANG LIU

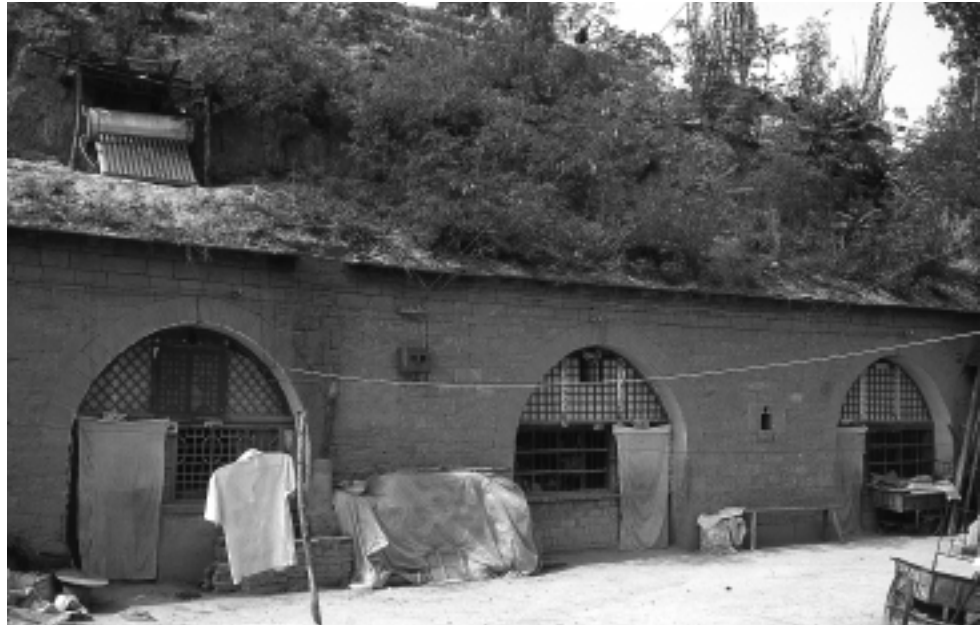
For the last six years, China's historic *yaodong* cave dwellings, still home to millions of people, have been a focus of work by the Green Architecture Research Center (GARC) of Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology. To date, the GARC, working intimately with the local people of Zao Yuan Village outside of Yan'an in Shaanxi Province, has designed and constructed more than one hundred new *yaodong* units using the principles of "green architecture." This report suggests that these efforts represent an exemplary application of Kenneth Frampton's notion of "critical regionalism." Specifically, in contrast to the rampant and largely unreflective importation of Western architectural styles common to new construction in many of China's urban centers, the new *yaodong* units result from a sensitive effort to merge the old with the new and maintain vernacular values.

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The *yaodong* cave dwelling is a form of vernacular housing found across six provinces, covering some 400,000 km², in north-central China (FIG. 1). The term (pronounced *yow-DOAN*) means an arched tunnel or cave. In China the *yaodong* is one of the earliest housing types, dating back at least to the Qin dynasty (c. 221 B.C.). Today, the six-province region boasts a population of some 40 million people, and outside of the urban areas more than 80 percent of rural residences are *yaodongs* or derivatives thereof.¹ In other words, a staggering number of people, easily numbering in the millions, live in *yaodongs*.

This report describes the efforts of the Green Architecture Research Center (GARC) of the Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology to design a new generation of sustainable

FIGURE 1. A yaodong cave dwelling. This is an older unit. It is quite typical for one family to live in a unit with three arched openings.



yaodong dwelling units. As of this writing, some 100 such units had been built in Zao Yuan Village — the site of the team’s design intervention, located immediately outside Yan’an City, Shaanxi Province, some 350 kilometers north of Xi’an. The work has been in progress since 1996. This report evaluates the efforts of the GARC through the lens of Kenneth Frampton’s call for a “critical regionalism” in architectural design in the face of an advancing “world culture.”² It suggests that the new *yaodongs* represent a tangible instance of Frampton’s theory.

THE GARC APPROACH

One of the most distinctive aspects of the GARC program is its combination of traditional vernacular elements with reflective external intervention. As such, it would seem to embody conflicting priorities. On the one hand, the GARC approach is based on recognition of the value of dwellings made by a local population without input from external “design professionals.” Many commentators, such as Adolf Loos, Bernard Rudofsky, and Amos Rapaport, have noted how such vernacular production is often distinguished in terms of aesthetic honesty and geo-climatic appropriateness.³ On the other hand, the GARC approach clearly entails intervention into vernacular processes. In this regard, GARC holds that sensitive input from external experts may not necessarily be detrimental to native processes; indeed, it can be beneficial.

Such a tension between lay veracity and expert knowledge raises important questions for the discourse on sustainable design. For instance, it may indicate a need to re-examine Rapaport’s notion that cultural forces motivate

vernacular forms in addition to (or perhaps in spite of) climate and geological considerations.⁴ Such an effort should take specific note of the emerging reality that most cultures are now enmeshed to some degree with “world” culture, and can no longer be said to derive solely from local roots. This is certainly the case with *yaodong* villages, where many products of universal technology — concrete planks, ceramic floor tiles, Sony televisions, etc. — have already been fully integrated. In light of this, one might ask whether informed external input might not actually be a “conservative” rather than a disruptive strategy — especially when its aim is to help harness such products within a larger desire to retain, and perhaps even enhance, original vernacular tendencies toward sustainable design.

Elsewhere, Rapaport has suggested that a useful measure of what constitutes a primitive or vernacular architecture is the presence of a high level of congruence between physical forms and the cultural values of a native community (what he calls “schemata”).⁵ Such a notion is particularly helpful here, since it avoids any rigid requirement that vernacular expression be devoid of input from outside experts. In fact, the new *yaodongs* described in this report offer a perfect illustration of Rapaport’s point, in that they preserve a high congruence between cultural meaning and built form, even though they involve external intervention.

In addition to the philosophical basis described above, the GARC approach involves a concerted effort to not only maintain a high level of communal involvement, but to understand current cultural priorities and values. Toward this end, it makes use of a range of tools, such as ethnographic engagement, participant design, questionnaires, and surveys. For instance, the fact that the new “caves” are largely free-

standing (as opposed to embedded in the mountainside) did not result from the imposition of foreign concepts. Rather, it reflected autochthonous values arising out of the community. Indeed, it represented the type of outgrowth of the cave tradition that is necessary if *yaodong* culture is to continue into the future in an organic — and hence, “vernacular” — way.

Somewhat lost in the English translation is also the fact that the very notion of a freestanding “*yao-dong*” (again, meaning “tunneled cave”) has been received by the local community as a totally sensible proposition. This alone is a fascinating example of how “high congruence” between form and meaning can be expressed. We will return to this point shortly, since it provides an instance of the historical element of Frampton’s theory. The accompanying image provides a diagram of the GARC intervention strategy (FIG. 2).

To best apply the tools listed above, the GARC team has made a point of living in the *yaodong* community for significant periods of time at key points in the design process (the team traveled several times a year from Xi’an to Zao Yuan Village to do this). While there, the team, sometimes comprising as many as fourteen people, has held meetings with both the village leadership and *lao biaxing* (citizens) with the aim of generating designs that bear the imprint of the residents. It is in this context that participant design sessions have been held.

One particularly important aspect of this process has been the ability of local residents to overrule design suggestions made by the team. In one memorable instance, a greenhouse front, proposed by GARC as a means of improving thermal performance, was rejected by the residents. Their reason? The structure did not “look like a cave.” From exchanges like this, the team has come to appreciate the high symbolic value of the arched cave front for the community. In fact, the team has learned the arched front is an even more critical factor within the indigenous value system than that the “cave” actually be embedded in the mountain — which has not been the case for generations. (The historical emergence of the cave from the mountain will be explained below.)

One final feature of the GARC approach has been the use of questionnaires at the beginning and end of the design and construction process for each new cluster of *yaodong* units. Findings from these questionnaires have been used both to inform this process and evaluate its results. In addition, experiments have also been conducted to measure the

performance of the new units in terms of such environmental factors as ventilation, humidity, noise, and interior temperature. It is not the intent here to review this technical data in detail. Suffice it to say that GARC’s interventions have resulted in a continuance of all the positive attributes of older, in-mountain units, while improving on ventilation and light quality. The only reduction in resident satisfaction has concerned a slight increase in noise level (FIG. 3).⁶

We believe that this type of sensitive expert intervention represents a positive force in the struggle to maintain vernacular housing forms, even as globalization makes purely local expressions of housing culture less and less common. We further suggest that Frampton’s notion of a critical regionalism may be used to assess this admixture of expert advice and local value. The *yaodong* project described here may serve as an illustration of this theory put into practice.

CRITICAL REGIONALISM AS APPLIED TO THE GARC APPROACH

Frampton coined his term “critical regionalism” to describe design approaches that would defend regional meaning from a “world culture” that threatens to replace regional distinctiveness with a globalized sameness of form and technological excess. He wrote that the rise of this world culture was bringing about a clash between “universal civilization” and “the peculiarities of a particular place.” And he followed Paul Ricoeur in lamenting that a common result of this clash would be the emergence of a “subcultural” mediocrity, expressing itself everywhere in “the same bad movie, the same slot machines, the same plastic or aluminum atrocities. . . .”⁷ In architectural terms, one could add “the same tract house” to this list. For example, the accompanying image of a detached Western house, complete with shutters and a sign proclaiming “family” placed in the lawn, was taken from an advertising placard on a Beijing taxi (FIG. 4). The image is an expression both of the power of Western values and the rejection of attempts to uphold particularly Chinese meanings of house and home.

In contrast to such cultural forces, Frampton called for “an architecture of resistance” by means of critical regionalism.⁸ Taking the term from Tzonis and Lefaivre, he argued that the design of built forms should be approached with criti-

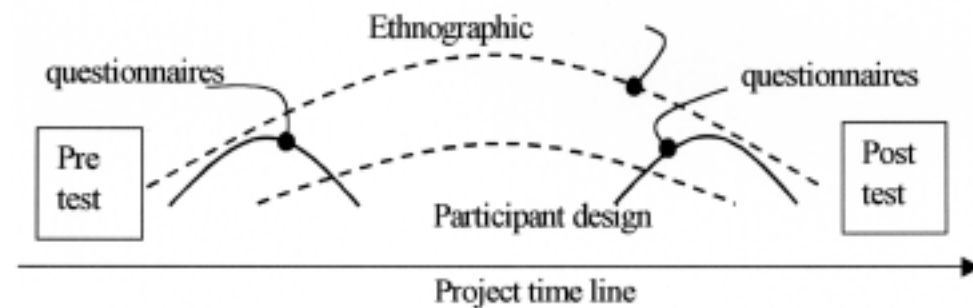


FIGURE 2. A diagram of the GARC approach to involving local residents in the design of new *yaodong* units.

FIGURE 3. One of many drawings of new yaodong design concepts generated by the GARC.



cal self-consciousness.⁹ He had two tactics in mind. One was to “deconstruct the overall spectrum of world culture” — that is, for the designer to detach him- or herself from the tendency to employ universalized forms that have little connection to regional agendas. The other was to “mediate universal technique” — by which he meant to self-consciously place limitations on the use of all industrial and postindustrial materials and methods in order to achieve a more regional expression.¹⁰ According to Frampton, adopting such an approach would not require designers to turn their backs on all that world culture or universal civilization could offer (he was not exactly clear as to the difference between “world culture” and “universal civilization,” but his thrust was clear). Rather, he intended that



FIGURE 4. An advertising poster for a Western-style house. The image was affixed on the back of the driver's seat in a Beijing taxi.

the designer should translate that material into expressions of bounded space and form, light and tectonics, that were regionally meaningful — in other words, that were locally defined in terms of native history and culture.

Such an approach clearly fits with the theoretical underpinnings of the Green Architecture Research Center and its sustainable *yaodong* work. Early on, the GARC recognized that many of the principles of “green” design were inherent in the traditional *yaodong*. For instance, the cave interiors were thermally stable, and the land of the Loess Plateau (the geologic region where the *yaodongs* are located) was high in clay content, providing an ideal natural structural element. Also in place was a tradition of (lay) community effort at construction; that is, residents traditionally “pitched in” to help neighbors construct *yaodongs*. In short, the autochthonous reality of the *yaodong* type already resonated with criteria that Brenda and Robert Vale, for instance, have outlined as descriptors of “green design.” In fact, the Vales’ six principles [1) conserving energy, 2) working with climate, 3) minimizing new resources, 4) respect for users, 5) respect for the site, and 6) holism] were explicitly used by the GARC as a guide so as not to overstep its role as a sensitive intervenor in the design of the new *yaodong* units.”

On the other hand, the GARC team had identified several deficiencies with traditional *yaodongs*. In particular, older *yaodong* units had no cross ventilation, no means of discharging unpleasant air from cooking and waste, and were often damp. Thus, the aim of the GARC intervention was to develop a more robust, sustainable *yaodong* prototype that could enhance the

positive, sustainable qualities of the old *yaodong* typology, but which would eliminate these negative qualities. In doing so, the hope was to produce new designs that could further the *yaodong* tradition as a vital solution to China's rural housing needs, thus keeping the *yaodong* from becoming obsolete.

This goal was not as simple as it first may have seemed, because, among other things, “the past” has never been a static condition. For example, the *yaodong* type had already evolved over the centuries from being embedded in the mountainside to being comprised of freestanding walls abutting a mountainside (called *kao shan yao*, or literally “leaning against the mountain caves”). The change had been tied to such factors as increased building know-how and/or priorities for expressing economic standing. Furthermore, in the twentieth century, the *yaodong* had acquired important political connotations, having been adopted as a refuge by the young Mao Zedong prior to his rise to power. This occurred when the Yan'an area was the terminus of the Long March of 1935. In fact, Zao Yuan Village, itself, had served as the de facto seat of Communist power into the late 1940s. Today, the *yaodongs* in which Mao and his associates lived have been made into museums. But the more important result is that the *yaodong* type has become a symbol of the peasant roots of Communism. This populist theme is embedded in the awareness of the local people — even though, prior to the Communist revolution, no such symbolic value would have been attached to the cave dwellings.

Finally, “preserving the past” has meant addressing the *yaodong*'s traditional agricultural roots in light of the new realities of village life. This is particularly important in the face of the trend among the younger generation today to leave the community to find work in more Western venues in the city. In this regard, with the full support of village leaders, the GARC was attempting to design *yaodongs* that would appeal to “upwardly mobile” young people. While 70 percent of the population of Zao Yuan Village (680 persons) are still farmers, this design goal reflected the perceived threat to the continuity of the community from within due to modernization.

It was precisely within the parameters of these challenges that Frampton's argument for a “critical” regionalism took on such relevance and energy. Many of the forces of change described above are indigenous forces, which were bringing pressure on the culture of the *yaodong* to meet the conditions of the present world. To again use Rapaport's term, these challenges were located precisely at the level of “cultural schema.” And responses to them needed to be inscribed in new physical forms if a high congruence was to continue to be maintained between the *yaodong* and communal meaning.

In Frampton's terms, it is in the very answering of these challenges that the opportunity to exercise an architecture of resistance emerges — that is, to practice a critical regionalism. On the other hand, to fail to meet these challenges competently would be to open the door to “mediocrity” and the sameness of world culture. According to the GARC phi-

losophy, one way of failing to meet these challenges would be to fail to intervene. Another way would be to apply “expert” intervention only in a negative sense, by imposing formal vocabularies that were not indexed to autochthonous factors in the region. In the *yaodong* project's case, however, sensitivity to the regional agenda, along with moderation in blending universal technology with local materials and methods, has yielded a better result.

THREE SPECIFIC FACTORS: HISTORY, LIGHT/TECTONICS, AND TACTILITY

Frampton cited three specific factors with which a critical regionalist process must engage.¹³ First, the process must inscribe the history of the region in its built forms. Second, it must allow a sensitive handling of the light and tectonic qualities of the region (here he seems to be saying it is the light of the region that lends quality to its tectonics of form). Third, a critical regionalist process must retain the region's “tactile” attributes — the importance of which will be explained shortly. In discussing these three attributes, Frampton recalled Heidegger's emphasis upon boundedness, a quality of place that allows “something (to) begin its presencing.”¹³ Clearly, this refers to more than just physical boundaries — although it includes that consideration. We suggest that a key to reifying Heidegger's cryptic formulation lies in achieving Rapaport's “high congruence” between cultural values and built form.

In the case of the *yaodongs*, as alluded to earlier, one element of “presencing” was surely the signature arched cave entrance, a feature that has stayed the same through many centuries of *yaodongs*. The distinctiveness of the form, as well as the situation of the units within a confined stretch of land at the base as well as on the slope of the mountain, clearly fits with Frampton's emphasis upon built form and topographical fit (REFER TO FIG. 3).¹⁴ For the people of the village, the arched front not only transmits the symbolic sense of continuity with past generations, but it expresses the essence of the *yaodong* as fundamentally “of the earth,” an archetype of primordial shelter (FIG. 5).

Each of Frampton's three factors is fulfilled in its own way by reflectively responding to the arched frontal openings. Consider the historical factor. We have already mentioned that the GARC *yaodong* unit is largely free-standing, and that this seemingly contradictory characteristic did not disrupt the communal sense of what a *yaodong* should be. The reason is the historical process which, in Frampton's words, “has a capacity to embody, in built form, the prehistory of the place, its archeological past and its subsequent cultivation and transformation across time.”¹⁵

In fact, the GARC research identified five stages in the development of the *yaodong* through history. The first was the original cave dug into the mountainside (these we must



FIGURE 5. *New yaodongs under construction. This view emphasizes connectedness with the land. In the foreground is farmland tended by the community.*

presume were the result of necessity). The second was the same cave, but now with a masonry front (a development presumably reflecting increased prosperity). In the third stage, the *yaodong* became semi-detached from the mountain, and began to have a three-dimensional presence of its own. The fourth stage was a more or less fully detached “cave,” constructed of masonry. Finally, the fifth stage is the new sustainable *yaodong* dwelling, the fruit of “critical self-conscious” collaboration between the GARC team and the native Zao Yuan population. It is essential to appreciate this progression if one is to understand both how the current freestanding *yaodongs* may be considered an organic outgrowth of a long tradition, and how the new structures may still be considered “caves” by the local residents.

Frampton’s second factor involves respect for the local “climate, light and tectonic form.” According to Frampton: “fenestration (has) an innate capacity to inscribe architecture with the character of a region and hence to express the place in which the work is situated. . . .”¹⁶ What Frampton has in mind here is that a region’s tectonic qualities can be highlighted by strategic handling of the local natural light; such an approach stresses a tectonic rather than scenographic use of light. Again, the arched front is key to fulfilling this requirement in the *yaodong*. Even though the new units are largely freestanding, their sole source of light remains their front arched openings (the masonry side walls — and, of course, their party walls — are not fenestrated, although a small rear window is added in the new units for ventilation). By means

of the light through the arched front, the physical settings are highlighted for their true-to-place nature, rather than lit in such a way that make them amount to being stage sets.

Here, Kimberly Dovey’s notion of authenticity can help enhance Frampton’s point. Dovey posited three requirements for authenticity in terms of built form. First is undisputed origin: the thing and the process that produced it should be a natural operation (this has to do with a form’s connectedness with the past). Second, the form must be genuine — that is, it must have depth of material (e.g., wood should be wood, not veneer made to look like wood). Third, the form must be reliable and trustworthy, and this quality should emerge not out of mechanical cleverness but because its origin is undisputed and its makeup is genuine.¹⁷ The *yaodong* arched front meets these criteria. The light it allows into the interior is a diffuse and muted light that gives the spaces and surfaces a timeless quality (FIG. 6).

Frampton’s third factor is “tactile sensitivity.” Here he argued essentially that a sense of place emerges not only as a result of visual awareness but through whole-body engagement with the environment. “One has in mind a whole range of complementary sensory perceptions which are registered by the labile body: the intensity of light, darkness, heat and cold . . . the aroma of material; the almost palpable pres-



FIGURE 6. *This image shows the muted quality of light that typical of a traditional yaodong, lit only through the arched front opening.*

ence of masonry as the body senses its own confinement.”⁸ In this regard, it is remarkable how the new *yaodong* units preserve many of the sensual-tactile attributes of the original dwellings, even though they are freestanding and two stories high. The series of arched-front bays retains the same formal typology as the older *yaodongs*. In the older units, a one-family unit was typically comprised of three bays, each with an arched front, and this theme of multiple-bayed units was carried on in the new units. Furthermore, the interiors of the new units retain some of the signature formal traits of the older units. For example, they retain the traditional built-in elevated sleeping area, beneath which heat from the kitchen cooking unit is still piped for warmth.

In open-ended questioning during post-occupancy interviews, new residents rated the “historic continuity” between the new and the old *yaodongs* very highly.⁹ At the same time, they conveyed a sense of excitement because the new units brought a “contemporary tempo” to their village. Such a result affirmed Rapaport’s “high congruity” between built form and cultural meaning. (On the other hand, stairs in the two-story units were viewed negatively, since they were “inconvenient.”) Additionally, the GARC team questioned thirty young people who were no longer living in the village about the new *yaodongs*. They responded that the new units were more comfortable than apartments in the city. This result was very important to local leaders (not to mention the GARC) because of their concern to attract some of the younger generation back to the village. Such an appeal has been framed as a “return to nature” by the mayor of Zao Yuan Village, Cheng Wei, himself a thirty-year-old native of Zao Yuan. At the time this report was being prepared, he and his family were readying themselves to move into one of the new *yaodongs* developed with the help of the GARC.

THREE LESSONS IN THE GARC APPROACH

It is true that the very principles of sustainable design are themselves becoming increasingly embedded in the “inherited” way of design thinking worldwide. In this sense, they are themselves taking on “universal” attributes. This result has emerged thanks in part to a host of “pro-green” policy positions issued in recent years by a variety of international agencies (UN, UIA, UNESCO, NSTA, AIA, and so on). Such views have also been promoted at the academic level worldwide. For instance, the recent (1999) student design competition sponsored by the twentieth UIA Congress held in Beijing emphasized sustainable housing, and faculty at the Xi’an University of Architecture and Technology were actively involved in this effort.

On the other hand, even as the awareness of sustainability becomes more universal, concern for it can act as a safeguard against kitsch expressions of universal culture. Respect for local geo-climatic factors, promotion of natural modes of ener-

gy, and emphasis upon the use of cultural precedents are all aspects of the ethic of sustainability that may lead to regional expressions of built form. Green design inherently discourages efforts such as shown in Figure 4. In other words, it seems that at least some of Frampton’s requirements for critical-regional design are, by force of logic, comfortably included within the generic framework of sustainable design. This is well illustrated in the GARC *yaodong* project, where the principles of sustainability frame an approach to design that ensures vernacular veracity even with external intervention.

There are perhaps three important aspects of the GARC philosophy that can be highlighted by way of conclusion. One is the notion that true sustainable design must venture beyond numerical considerations (heating/cooling factors, air and noise quality, ventilation, etc.) to include a subjective sense of identity with place. As explained, such an outcome emerged in the *yaodong* work as the result of close collaboration between the design team (comprised of professionals, academics and students) and the local population. In other words, the methods used by the GARC are not only methods of design in the abstract, but arise from an explicit theoretical position that embedded collaboration into the very spirit of sustainable design. For example, the case in which the residents rejected the greenhouse front illustrated that true critical regionalism must accommodate the lived wisdom of the vernacular life-world of the users, even when “experts” stimulate design thinking that may not otherwise emerge. The rejection of the greenhouse not only informed the work of the experts, but it revealed cultural priorities among the local residents that may otherwise have remained unconscious.

The example therefore reveals how there is an educative element in the approach of the GARC. In this sense the very process of critical regionalism not only embodies a reflective reality for the external team, but for the local population as well. In fact, such a level of local engagement is necessary if the process will really ensure that the historic and symbolic meanings of a local culture will be transmitted to a new generation of built forms. In this regard, it was instructive to see how the young mayor of Zao Yuan Village was able to appreciate the issues at stake and formulate a response to them through his conviction that the younger generation had to be lured back by a “return to nature” argument. Whether or not he fully succeeds in doing this, that he framed such an argument in the first place is evidence of the educative role embedded within the GARC approach.

Third, the GARC approach not only has a goal of creating sustainable *objects*, but it instructs by demonstrating what a sustainable *process* of design can be. It suggests that “sustainable design” must be more than just the use of indigenous materials, natural energy resources, recycling, and what not. Such ideas have, after all, already become part of the “universal culture” of green design. What needs to be added is the unique contribution of local wisdom arising out of the lived-world experiences of the local populations for whom

new built environments are ultimately intended. Such a view adds collaboration and participant design more explicitly into the scope of what should be considered sustainable design. As mentioned above, the intent is to shift the emphasis from sustainable objects to sustainable processes. Ultimately, however, the latter may lead to better expressions of the former.

In conclusion, we return to the view that a “critical regionalism” can encompass (or perhaps should encompass) both a respect for *in situ* means, methods and ways of think-

ing, along with expert critical reflection in the design and construction of built environments. In the case of the new *yaodongs*, the GARC team provided the latter component of this formula, with the explicit goal of assuring the possibility of the former. To put it another way, the native population alone could not have realized the new *yaodong* units. But with the help of outside experts, the new *yaodong* units have enriched the community’s sense of historic continuity and symbolic meaning — in short, its “sense of place.”

REFERENCE NOTES

1. *Yaodongs* are found in Shaanxi, Henan, Shanxi, Gansu, Ninsha, and Inner Mongolia. Of these, more than 50 percent of *yaodongs* are in Shaanxi Province, which is where Zao Yuan Village, the site of the work to be discussed in this paper, is located.
2. K. Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance,” in H. Foster, ed., *Postmodern Culture* (London: Pluto Press, 1983).
3. Joseph Rykwert quotes Adolf Loos’s hostility toward architecture by professional architects in this way: “. . . why is it that every architect, whether he is good or bad, harms the lakeside . . . ?” See J. Rykwert, *On Adam’s House in Paradise* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), p.27. B. Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), pp.2–6. A. Rapaport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969). According to Rapaport, “Building of this type tends toward a state of balance with nature rather than dominating it, which further reinforces its superiority over the grand design tradition. . . .” p.13.
4. Rapaport, *House Form and Culture*, pp.18–45.
5. A. Rapaport, “Cultural Determinants of Form,” in A.D. King, ed., *Buildings and Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp.289–90.
6. The technological agenda can be summarized here as follows. First, retain the excellent thermal qualities of the original dwellings; this is accomplished by the use of masonry exterior walls, and through arrangements that allow a series of units to share “party walls” (resonant with the in-series nature of the older, three-cave family units which were tunneled into the hillsides). Second, solve ventilation and humidity problems by means of fenestration and by use of buried tubes to exhaust heat and improve indoor air quality. (For instance, in the summer months, hot fresh air may be made to pass through the tube into a pebble bed to decrease its relative humidity.) Third, utilize both active and passive solar methods for heating and cooking. Fourth, in order to save land and adapt to the hilly terrain, the new *yaodongs* are two stories; this also increases the ability to bring light into the interior. Flowers and vegetables are planted on the top of the *yaodong* units to adjust the microclimate.
7. Frampton, “Critical Regionalism,” pp.16–30.
8. *Ibid.*, p.25
9. *Ibid.*, p.20. In his endnotes, Frampton lists the citation in question as from Alex Tzonis and Lillian Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway: An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis,” in *Architecture in Greece*, 15 (Athens: 1981), p.178.
10. Frampton, “Critical Regionalism,” pp.21–23.
11. B. and R. Vale, *Green Architecture: Design for a Sustainable Future* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), pp.70–150.
12. Frampton, “Critical Regionalism,” pp.26–29.
13. *Ibid.*, p.24.
14. *Ibid.*, p.21. Sensitivity to topography is contrasted elsewhere in Frampton’s article with modernization’s tendency to bulldoze a site to make it flat for construction. He calls such gestures “technocratic” and suggests that they are one cause of “placelessness” (p.26).
15. *Ibid.*, p.26. Italics added.
16. *Ibid.*, p.26.
17. K. Dovey, “The Quest for Authenticity and the Replication of Environmental Meaning,” in D. Seamons and R. Mugerauer, eds., *Dwelling Place and Environment* (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2000), pp.33–49.
18. Frampton, “Critical Regionalism,” p.28.
19. Due in part to the passage of time between when these interviews were done, pre-design and post-occupancy questioning did not involve exactly the same people. On the other hand, the population of Zao Yuan Village remained largely the same. And, as explained, the villagers largely share an agrarian lifestyle. These factors render differences in sample of limited consequence. The aim of the questionnaires was to supplement the experimental data by trying to capture affective reactions, such as levels of preference. Forty families were surveyed using pre-design questionnaires, with the gender distribution being 40 percent male and 60 percent female. Ages of the respondents ranged from the teens to 77 years old (5 percent teens, 50 percent in their twenties and thirties, 37.5 percent in their forties to sixties, and 7.5 percent in their seventies). A total of 41 individuals from the original group participated in the post-occupancy questionnaires.

All illustrations are by the authors.

Book Reviews



Courtyards: Aesthetic, Social, and Thermal Delight. John S. Reynolds. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2002. 243 pp., illus.

John Reynolds's latest book, *Courtyards*, presents a survey of examples, contemporary design guidelines, and detailed case studies. It begins with a brief history of enclosed courtyards (discussing such characteristics as placement, orientation, degree of exposure, activities, and temperature considerations). Then a long section presents numerous examples, primarily from Spain and Latin America. Several examples were surveyed in detail by the author himself and include drawings, and climatic data (sun-path diagrams, temperature and humidity charts, and solar shadow indices). Finally, and most importantly, there is an extensive section containing 44 explicit planning and design guidelines, with the rationale underlying each.

Not only does this book provide a wealth of information about this building type, but it provides a visual feast. It includes more than fifty color photos and numerous plan/section/axonometric and unfolded elevational drawings that clearly illustrate the complex spatial relationships of this building type. *Courtyards* emphasizes Hispanic examples, which typically include a "show window" to the street, providing a glimpse of the inner sanctum. However, for comparison, there is considerable discussion of Islamic designs, which completely isolate the courtyard from the street, reinforcing the privacy of the family and allowing the concealment of the women inhabitants.

Reynolds classifies courtyards in several ways. "Entry sequence" describes the transition between the public street and the courtyard. In this regard, the "axial" path from the street to the courtyard is typical of courtyards found north of the Mediterranean and throughout the Hispanic world. "Bent" entry paths, which are more private, characterize Islamic examples. Chinese examples include a semi-public courtyard separating the more private family courtyard from the street. Another of Reynolds's classifications is "Orientation." He explains that this is often determined by the layout of streets outside (typical of rectilinear designs), and may affect interior microclimate and comfort. In some cultures, orientation may be determined by religious considerations. Also in terms of geometry, he discusses how the "formality and symmetry" of a courtyard may range from situations of complete formality, where all four sides are identical, to an informal extreme where no two sides are alike.

Among Reynolds's other classifications, "exposure" concerns the degree of connection to the sky. It may be quantified according to two indices: aspect ratio (which relates the area of the courtyard floor to the average height of surrounding walls), and solar shadow index (which relates south wall height to north-south floor width). The latter is an important design parameter in colder climates. Reynolds further uses the criterion "plants" to characterize courtyards on a continuum from lush to barren, and Appendix A makes specific recommendations for courtyard plants. Another classification, "facade openness" expresses the visual, circulatory, and ventilative connection between the courtyard and surrounding rooms; elements under review here include arcades, doors, windows, and solid

walls. Finally, Reynolds's discussion of "vertical circulation" covers the topic of stairs, at least one of which is normally found in every courtyard building (even single-story houses often have stair access to roof terraces).

Examples of the application of passive cooling and heating methods in the design of courtyards abound in Reynolds's book. Beyond technique, he convincingly discusses how the lives of occupants are enriched by daily and seasonal rituals, involving occupants in the adjustment and maintenance of the courtyard elements. Described as "thermal sailing," this occupant participation is a familiar concept in passive-solar buildings, and it is particularly appropriate to courtyards. One adjustable device Reynolds describes, the *toldo*, a movable canvas covering over the courtyard, is literally suggestive of a sailboat. During the day it can be adjusted to admit or shield the warming effects of the sun, and at night it can be adjusted to regulate radiative cooling to the sky. The measured improvement in temperature control possible using the *toldo* is remarkable.

While the numerous case studies here are fascinating and valuable, the most significant and useful part of Reynolds's book is Chapter 12, "Guidelines for Planning and Design." These 44 guidelines are divided into eight groups: City and Courtyard, Cars and Courtyards, Courtyards and Neighborhoods, Courtyards and their Buildings, Courtyards, Daylight and Aspect Ratio, Courtyards and Cooling, Courtyards and Winter Sun, and Courtyards and Arcades. Each group begins with a discussion of the design issues involved, followed by the specific design guidelines and an explanation. In appropriate cases this is followed by a design example to illustrate how the guideline is applied.

Reynolds is an excellent writer. His highly readable text is clear and concise, and his descriptions are vividly evocative. The color (and black-and-white) photos are technically, compositionally, and communicatively superb. The drawings (especially the plan/section/axons) clearly convey the complex designs with a minimum of explanation.

Courtyards is a major contribution to the literature on this subject. It is recommended for all who are interested in the design of livable, energy-responsive buildings. ■

Fuller Moore
Miami University

Traditions in Architecture: Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania.

Dora P. Crouch and June G. Johnson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Xiii + 433 pp., illus.

This book by two architectural historians is intended to be a new kind of survey of architecture outside European traditions. According to its Introduction, it provides a first step toward "a comparative and comprehensive study that will finally lay . . . Banister-Fletcher's tome to rest." The reference is, of course, to Banister-Fletcher's *A History of Architecture: On the Comparative Method*, long considered an authoritative textbook on the major works of Western architecture. This venerable work has, however, been criticized for singling out certain works as canonical. And the primacy of such a canon, which has underlain most teaching of architectural history, has been challenged in the last few decades by views which recognize the importance of the vernacular, the need to teach cultural diversity, the significant interaction between Western and non-Western architectures, and the multiple forces which shape buildings.

Traditions in Architecture is therefore a welcome book, and it does an admirable job of dealing with an ambitious agenda. Most importantly, it uses the richness and diversity of world building to offer a wide survey, focusing on themes rather than historical periods. The authors properly recognize that the problem of much architectural-history teaching today is only partly one of content — i.e., that by concentrating on the West, it leaves out most of the world, and by concentrating on monuments, it leaves out most buildings. Equally problematic is that architectural history suffers from a lack of interdisciplinarity. Toward this end, the authors do a fine job of placing their subject within such related contexts as building technology, agricultural systems, water distribution, materials, and construction methods. Furthermore, not only are their examples largely taken from outside the Western canon, but they include the vernacular as well as the monumental; they demonstrate how meaning may transcend scale; they deal with buildings as well as landscapes; and to a large extent, they discuss works that are still extant and in use.

For example, the discussion in chapter 7, "Religious Architecture," provides a refreshing contrast to what one finds in most books on Western architectural history. Employing descriptions of the Japanese *tokonoma* and the altar of the

dead in Mexican houses, the authors begin by illustrating how religious expression may be tied to the house itself. This deftly and immediately connects the study of vernacular architecture to the religious themes so prominent in standard architectural histories. Then, to connect religious themes to civic life, the authors discuss street shrines and mobile temples in Nepal and India. They conclude by examining three large structures: the north African mosque, the ceremonial district at Teotihuacan, and Mount Taylor in New Mexico (which, although “unbuilt,” forms a physical focus of the religious world of Native American peoples, connecting religious architecture with urban form and the landscape).

Other chapters similarly use ideas to develop thematic connections among buildings of different scales, purposes and cultures. Among them are “Climate and Ecology,” “Spaces for Daily Life,” “Land Use,” “Building Types and Uses,” “Land Use,” and “The Economics of Building.” Such a survey cannot possibly be comprehensive, but this one greatly broadens the scope of relevant issues, and it demonstrates how similar issues may be dealt with in different places. The book ranges widely over geography and type: among its examples are houseboats in Kashmir, water distribution systems in Sri Lanka, Inca roads and woven bridges, Tibetan houses, the Taj Mahal, and Japanese farmhouses. Throughout, the authors choose their themes and examples carefully and weave secondary sources effectively into the narrative. Thus, each chapter ends with a list of suggested readings, and the book includes a useful glossary and bibliography.

In their Introduction, the authors write that “although we have adopted a thematic format, as historians we are a bit sorry that it precludes a chronological survey. In most cases, we use the ‘historical present’ tense, sidestepping the thorny issues of how much modernization has taken place in a traditional culture or whether modernism in architecture became dominant. . . .” Unfortunately, this all-too-familiar dichotomy between “traditional culture” and “modernism in architecture,” set up on page 1, is largely false. Indeed, it may be argued that one principal difficulty with the standard historical approach is not that it is chronological, but that standard chronologies tend to document the transformation of architectural style to the exclusion of other attributes. One has only to look at such relatively recent books as Thomas Markus’s *Buildings and Power* to see deep analysis of the social content

of building development over time. Likewise, Linda Clarke’s *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment* has successfully examined the historical process of urban development as a result of the concentration of capital. Both books describe buildings that are firmly within the Western canon; yet both also show the importance of chronology as a tool of analysis.

There are only a few places in this book where historical development is connected with other themes. One is the section “Use and Re-use of Architectural Forms,” which describes the persistence and transformation of the portico, and its ultimately hybrid nature. But this is an exception in a book where virtually all the environments are described in the “historical present.” Clearly, the difficulty is that very few cultures are static. And through history, “modernization” has existed alongside such other agents of transformation as colonialism, migration, technological/agricultural innovation, and internal social change. All these forces have affected the built environment over time — sometimes rapidly, sometimes very slowly.

By eliminating chronology as a major analytical category, the authors have de-emphasized a critical factor in the production of the built world — the transformation of building traditions over time. Thus, the book would benefit from one further principal category: the idea of historical continuity itself, and the balance between what is static and what changes, and why.

In the end, this is an important book, and one which needed to be written; there are no textbooks which do what this one does. It will be enormously useful to professors and students who recognize that the world is much larger than Europe and the places dominated by its architectural traditions, and who recognize the need for approaches to architectural history not centered on style. The enormous diversity of material represented here, along with its variety of approaches to understanding that material, further hints that the book which will finally put Banister-Fletcher’s “to rest” will not be one which attempts to canonize individual buildings, but one which will focus, as this one does, on the principles and themes that underlie architecture and its place in the world. ■

Howard Davis
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Tropical Architecture: Critical Regionalism in the Age of Globalization. Edited by Alexander Tzonis, Liane Lefaivre, and Bruno Stagno. West Sussex, U.K.: John Wiley and Sons, 2001. 312 pp., illus.

The different chapters in this book consist of edited versions of papers originally presented at a conference at the Institute of Tropical Architecture, Costa Rica, in November 1998. The conference was supported by the Prince Claus Fund from the Netherlands and convened by architect Bruno Stagno. The various contributors here are architects and academics from India, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, Brazil, Panama, Costa Rica, Cuba, and the Netherlands. Two more essays by Singapore architects Philip Bay and Tay Kheng Soon have been added to complete a thirteen-part discussion of the subject.

While unstated in the book, the conference as a gathering of international commentators recalled earlier cross-national discussions of tropical architecture and building held in the post-World War II period. Such conferences were held in the early 1950s in the Western metropolises of Lisbon, Washington D.C., and London, but expressions of interest in the subject also appeared in Paris and Amsterdam. However, unlike those conferences in the 1950s, where presenters comprised mainly Western administrators and expatriate architects or engineers, this book (and the conference from which it was drawn) features many more presentations by local practicing architects in tropical countries. The context of the discussion has also moved from the prospects of postwar tropical building, to broader concern for social and cultural issues in the twenty-first century, in both their local and global manifestations.

The use of the term “critical regionalism” in the title is an attempt to place tropical architecture within the theoretical and historical framework previously set out by the book’s two main editors, Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre (pp.1–2). The difficulty of this exercise is apparent in the interchangeability of adjectival descriptors for such an architecture (critical regionalism/critical tropicalism); in the variant uses by other contributors (bio-technic regionalism, bioclimatic design); and in the descriptions of hybrid forms (fusionism, modern-tropical-Baroque). Still, the editors admit that the book is “a manifesto for difference” and a reflection of “individual contexts in the framework of interconnections and dialogue” (p.12).

Well-illustrated with drawings and photographs, the chapters by the various authors discuss the complexity of tropical architecture with regard to a variety of theoretical distinctions: north-south relationships, visual vs. experiential qualities of buildings, the concept of urbanity vs. that of nature/paradise, tradition/modernity, and the local as opposed to the global. One of my attempts to weave threads through the various contributions involved perceiving them as discussions of related issues: colonialism/national identities (Eduardo Tejeira-Davis, Severiano Porto, Gerardo Mosquera); uses of tradition/traditional models (Tan Hock Beng, Roberto Segre, Eduardo Tejeira-Davis); urban development (Roberto Segre, Tay Kheng Soon); architectural responses (Rahul Mehrotra, Ken Yeang, Tay Kheng Soon); green/sustainability issues (Ken Yeang, Tay Kheng Soon); and globalization (Gerardo Mosquera).

For me, two essays are particularly important in that they express primary conditions for the current and future practice of architectural design in the tropics. One is “Tropicality” by Bruno Stagno (the other editor, and whose work graces the book cover). The other is “Rethinking the City in the Tropics: The Tropical City Concept” by Tay Kheng Soon. Amid the rhetoric about nature/paradise in the tropics, Stagno’s point in “Tropicality” is that a designer needs to experience living in the tropics so that his/her designs can be mediated by “psychological, sentimental and sensual aspects” (p.73). Proclaiming “We feel therefore we exist,” Stagno uses his own encounters with practice in Costa Rica after a Chilean/French architectural education as an example. His essay reminded me in particular of the difference in positions between practitioner and commentator. Thus, Fry and Drew may warn in the introduction to their “textbook” that tropical design may serve as a highly stimulating intellectual exercise — a point expressed earlier by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, when he wrote about the acclimatization of modern architecture to tropical countries. By contrast, Stagno’s essay highlights the omission by most writers of any debate on tropical architecture as aesthetic expression as opposed to building science. Thus, designers may become obsessed with ways to deal with sun, rain and wind, and with the attainment of ideal internal environments, without recognizing the adequacy of “well-tempered environments.”

Tay’s theories and work as related to tropical architecture in his own country of Singapore have been sustained and labored. His contribution presents a worthy final chap-

ter, focusing on the city in the tropics. He writes that architecture should be considered only a constituent part of the total process of designing cities in the tropics, and that individual buildings are not necessarily deserving of isolated, haloed exaltation. This essay elucidates the challenges faced by rapidly urbanizing areas of the tropics, which even in the postcolonial era remain in the grapplehold of global economics and Western hegemonic cultures. Tay emphasizes that a rethinking must take place if the requisite architectural and urban strategies are to be developed to deal with complex present and future challenges. Tay offers his own processes and solutions for both architectural and urban design, albeit through an “. . . attempt to replicate tropical forest conditions” (p.272) in urban situations, but dealing with crucial issues of density and the prospect of living in such cities as communally-habitable and poetic experiences.

As a representation of work from tropical zones, this collection would have been more complete if it had included the views of contemporary architects or academics working in Africa. Early work there was significant, and many calls for suitable architecture and planning models have also emerged from there. The book is evidence that the subject of “tropical architecture” is, metaphorically, both a mine and minefield for continuing work, especially under the presently differentiated conditions of critical discourse and practice. ■

Lai Chee Kien

National University of Singapore

Armenian Folk Arts, Culture, and Identity. Edited by Levon Abrahamian and Nancy Sweezy; photography editor, Sam Sweezy. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001. Xi + 312 pp., ca. 60 color plates and 200 black-and-white figures.

Ethnography had a tumultuous history in Soviet times. Expelled officially from Marxism in 1932 as a fake science that separated and aggrandized cultures (thus serving the interests of bourgeois opportunism), it almost disappeared from Soviet academia in the 1930s and 1940s, at the same time that many of its practitioners fell victim to Stalin’s purges. However, ethnography re-emerged as a significant discipline at the end of the 1940s, once Stalin had clarified his own views about ethnic groups and nations. Ethnic identities were then said to have unique internal qualities, essentially stable and existing continuously since the distant genesis of groups in question. Language was seen as a main distinctive characteristic, and — perhaps as a corollary — a key element of separate cultures. In turn, culture was expressed, among other things, in the particular self-consciousness of its carriers. Stalin further believed that languages could develop from clan languages to national languages through various stages of social evolution. But while the stages he mentioned in a seminal essay “Marxism and Problems of Linguistics” (1950) were based on Marxist historical materialism, they did not conform fully to it. Thus, Soviet ethnography had to rely both on Stalin’s essentialist understanding of ethnicity and his idiosyncratic view of these stages.

It was in this context that ethnography became an auxiliary branch of the “historical sciences” in the Soviet Union, its task (in the absence of anthropology and sociology) being to study the evolution of societies from prehistory to the present. Such ethnology emphasized both material culture and what could be called “spiritual culture” — that is, folklore, self-consciousness, belief systems, etc. Most importantly, works in the discipline would generally stress a dichotomy between the traditional, backward life of pre-Socialist times and the beneficial transformations of the Socialist era. Soviet ethnography was also dualistic in its radical rejection of the Western anthropological approaches of bourgeois societies.

This excellent book clearly originates in such a late-Soviet school of ethnography. The imprint is evident in its emphasis on material and spiritual culture, its reliance on extensive

fieldwork, and its overall diachronic approach. But the book largely avoids the old Soviet school's distortions and pitfalls. Thus, even though all of its contributors were trained in Soviet times, it is quite remarkable that this volume is free of the typical value-laden dualisms and the no-less-typical division of social evolution into various stages. It also avoids essentialism, showing that Armenian culture was not purely "Armenian" from the beginning of time, but emerged out of the common stock of Indo-European and Near Eastern cultures, and added its own specific features to them.

In the words of one of the editors, "this book presents Armenian culture through the work of its artisans, who have been both a product of the culture and some of its principal creators" (p.vii). Indeed, it is the material culture of historic Armenia, an area much broader than the present-day republic, that constitutes a major focus of this volume. And some of its main sub-divisions give a sense of the breadth of its coverage. They include "Settlements, Dwellings, and Inhabitants," "Artifacts and Artisans," and "Personal Adornment." Each such major section is in turn made up of a number of chapters written by various scholars. For instance, "Artifacts and Artisans" is divided into chapters dealing with "Wood," "Clay," "Copper," "Carpets," and "Needle Arts." A second major focus is the "spiritual culture" of the Armenian people, focusing in particular on the "Symbols of Armenian Identity" and "Fight, Feast, and Festival." Each section here is also made up of a number of pertinent chapters.

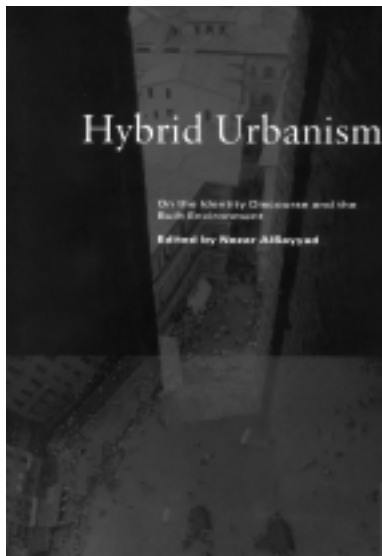
The book opens with a chapter surveying Armenian history, and concludes with an afterword touching more specifically on the craftsman as demiurge, and on the transformations ushered in by the post-Soviet transition to something like a market economy. Besides their reliance on fieldwork (ethnographic data and archaeological findings), the authors have used an impressive array of written sources, including medieval historical sources, theological writings, ancient and medieval lapidary inscriptions, and travel books.

Soviet ethnography helped create distinct nations in areas such as Soviet Central Asia and Azerbaijan, where national identities were either nonexistent, or very weak, at the time these areas were conquered by the Bolsheviks. Its goal, according to O. Roy in *La nouvelle Asie Centrale ou la fabrication des nations* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1997, p.188), was "to define a catalogue [*répertoire*] of the national culture made up solely of fossilized material elements and segments of the literary corpus. . . ." These Soviet policies resulted in somewhat folkloric versions of national cultures where states were carved, often quite artificially, out of populations sharing a common Turkic-Persian Islamic culture. But in other areas, where histories of statehood dated back to antiquity or the Middle Ages, and where centuries-old written cultures existed, Soviet ethnography ended up reinforcing, ironically enough, a pre-existing sense of national distinctiveness — if not nationalist feelings. This was particularly true of Armenians and Georgians.

To their credit, the contributors to this volume have avoided a similarly fossilized or "folkloric" presentation of their diverse topics, as well as the all-too-common nationalist drift of "scholarly" writings in the present post-Soviet republics. Furthermore, most of the crafts and practices they dwell upon come alive, from the depths of their history, because the authors have succeeded in stressing the meaning of these activities within the social organization of the Armenian people. The key symbols of Armenian identity they identify — "the world as a garden," "the sacred mountain," "the temple," "writing and the book," and "the *khachkar* or cross-stone" — all go back at least to the early Middle Ages. In the debate on national identity, the Armenian case as documented in this volume provides solid support for the views propounded by Anthony D. Smith. This book also suggests that material culture and the folk arts associated with it have something to do with the construction and perpetuation of national groups, even though it does not address this issue directly.

This beautifully produced volume broadens significantly the scope of Armenology in the West, all too often preoccupied only with medieval literary, theological, and historical texts, and with the issue of Greek or Persian influence. It will be of interest to Indo-Europeanists, students of the Caucasus, anthropologists, and all those interested in traditional cultures and environments. ■

Stephan Astourian
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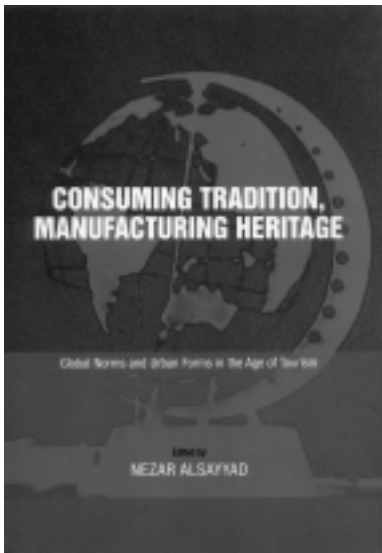
Hybrid Urbanism On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment

Edited by Nezar AlSayyad

Despite strong forces toward globalization, much of late twentieth-century urbanism demonstrates a movement toward cultural differentiation. Such factors as ethnicity and religious and cultural heritages have led to the concept of hybridity as a shaper of identity. Challenging the common assumption that hybrid peoples create hybrid places and hybrid places house hybrid people, this book suggests that hybrid environments do not always accommodate pluralistic tendencies or multicultural practices. In contrast to the standard position that hybrid space results from the merger of two cultures, the book introduces the concept of a “third place” and argues for a more sophisticated understanding of the principal but unequal components contributing to the making of an urban identity.

In contributed chapters, part one of the the book provides historic case studies of the third place, enabling a comparative and transnational examination of the places that capture the intersection of modernity and hybridity. Part two considers equivalent sites in the late twentieth century, demonstrating how hybridity has been a central feature of globalization.

Place orders through: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 88 Post Road West, P.O. Box 5007, Westport, CT, 06881-5007. Telephone: (203) 226-3571. FAX: (203) 222-1502. Web: <http://www.greenwood.com>.



Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism

Edited by Nezar AlSayyad

From the Grand Tour to today's package holidays, the last two centuries have witnessed an exponential growth in travel and tourism. As the twenty-first century unfolds, people of every class and from every country will be wandering to every part of the planet. Meanwhile, tourist destinations throughout the world find themselves in ever more fierce competition — those places marginalized in today's global industrial and information economy perceiving tourism as perhaps the only means of surviving. But mass tourism has also raised the local and international passions, as people decry the irreversible destruction of traditional places and historic sites. Against these trends and at a time when standardized products and services are marketed worldwide, there is an increasing demand for built environments that promise unique cultural experiences. This has led many nations and groups to engage in the parallel processes of facilitating the consumption of tradition and of manufacturing tradition. The contributors to this volume — drawn from a wide range of disciplines — address these themes within the following sections: Traditions and Tourism: Rethinking the “Other”; Imaging and Manufacturing Heritage; and Manufacturing and Consuming: Global and Local. Their studies, dealing with very different times, environments and geographic locales, shed new light on how the tourist “gaze” transforms the reality of built spaces.

This book reintroduces the idea of the city as a territorial concept. The use of the built environment as a lens places globalization debates in the specific context of national regional and local expression. This focus on the built environment provides a study of the city infrastructure in terms of economic, social and political issues, as well as questions concerning identity.

Place orders through: Taylor and Francis, ITP Book Distribution Center, 7325 Empire Drive, Florence, KY, 41042. Telephone: 1-800-634-7064. FAX: 1-800-248-4724. Email: bkorders@taylorandfrancis.com.



Announcement

World Atlas of Vernacular Architecture

At the Centre for Vernacular Architecture Studies at Oxford Brookes University, a *World Atlas of Vernacular Architecture (WAVA)* is presently being compiled. Planned to augment the award-winning *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World (EVAW)* (edited by Paul Oliver, Cambridge University Press, 1997), *WAVA* will be both cross-cultural and thematic in its contents.

EVAW presents the living traditions in vernacular building of over two thousand cultures throughout the world in two volumes, while an introductory volume examines the principles, both theoretical and technological, which explain them. The diversity of these traditions is evident in the buildings of many cultures, but different resources, economies, beliefs, and ways of life mean that other peoples have developed a great variety of alternative architectural types, forms, and details. These are among the aspects of global vernacular architecture that will be demonstrated in *WAVA*.

For instance, maps will indicate the availability and use of materials (e.g., bamboo, adobe), the distribution of building types (e.g., watermills, cave dwellings), responses to climate conditions (e.g., wind-scoops, hypocausts), dwellings of nomadic peoples (e.g., yurt, black tent), and so on.

Contributors to *EVAW* and others who are engaged in research in vernacular architecture are invited to participate. Observations on proposed maps; information related to the subjects or regions which they cover; and suggestions for maps which may be appropriate to include in *WAVA* would be very welcome. All assistance in the preparation will be fully credited with the maps concerned.

For those interested, a fuller statement concerning the intentions and structure of *WAVA* is available on request. Please contact:

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Conferences and Events

UPCOMING CONFERENCES

The International Federation of Housing and Planning International Spring Conference, "Remaking Cities: Preservation and Creation," Ljubljana, Slovenia: May 19–22, 2002. For more information contact: Joke Bierhuys, Conference Coordinator, 43, Wassenaarseweg, NL-2596 CG The Hague. Tel.: +31 70 328 1504; Fax: +31 70 328 2085; E-mail: IFHP.NL@inter.NL.net; Web: <http://www.urbinstitut.si/IFHP-LjubljanaConf2002>.

The Tenth Annual Congress for the New Urbanism, "Reflect, Recharge Strategize," Miami Beach, Florida: June 13–16, 2002. For more information contact: Congress for New Urbanism, The Hearst Building, 5 Third Street, Suite 725, San Francisco, CA 94103. Tel.: (415) 495 2255; Fax: (415) 495 1731; E-mail: cnuinfo@cnu.org; Web: <http://www.cnu.org>.

The International Research Conference 2002 "Housing Cultures – Convergence and Diversity," Vienna: July 1–5, 2002, City Campus of the University of Vienna, Austria. Organized by Europaforum Wien–Centre for Urban Dialogue and European Policy and the European Network for Housing Research (ENHR). For more information, contact: Europaforum Wien, Rahlgasse 3/2, A-1060 Wien. Tel.: +43 58 585 1024; Fax: +43 58 585 1030; E-mail: enhr2002@europaforum.or.at; Web: <http://www.europaforum.or.at/HomepageENHR2002/index.htm>.

The 46th International Federation of Housing and Planning World Congress, "Urban Development in the 21st Century," Tianjin, China: September 8–12, 2002. For more information contact: IFHP Secretariat, Wassenaarseweg 43, 2596 CG The Hague, The Netherlands. Tel.: +31 70 324 4557; Fax: +31 70 328 2085; E-mail: IFHP.NL@inter.NL.net; Web: <http://www.ifhp.org>.

The XXX IAHS World Congress on Housing, "Housing Construction: An Interdisciplinary Task," Coimbra, Portugal: September 9–13, 2002. Organized by IAHS, USA, Florida International University, University of Coimbra, Department of Civil Engineering, and the Portuguese Engineering Association. For more information contact: IAHS Headquarters, P.O. Box 340254, Coral Gables, Florida 33114. Web: http://www.iahs30.com/pages/home_flash.htm.

The 34th International Conference on Making Cities Livable, Alpbach and Salzburg, Austria: September 15–19, 2002. For more information contact: Suzanne H. Crowhurst Lennard, 34th IMCL Conference, P.O. Box 7586, Carmel, CA 93921. Tel.: (831) 626 9080; Fax: (831) 624 5126; E-mail: Suzanne.lennard@livablecities.org; Web: <http://www.livablecities.org>.

The Third International Sustainable Building Conference, Oslo, Norway: September 23–25, 2002. Organized by the Norwegian Ecobuild Programme and the Municipality of Oslo. For more information contact: PLUS Convention, Norway, P.O. Box 1646 Vika, N-0119 Oslo, Norway. Tel.: +47 22 96 5541; E-mail: okobygg@grip.no; Web: <http://www.sbo2.com>.

The Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture, 2002 "Groundwork: The Reversal of Figure and Ground," Syracuse, New York: September 25–28, 2002. Organized by the Faculty of Landscape Architecture, State University of New York. For more information contact: SUNY ESF, One Forestry Drive, Syracuse, New York 13210. Tel.: (315) 470 6541; Fax: (315) 470 6540; E-mail: cela2002@lamail.esf.edu; Web: <http://cela2002.esf.edu/>.

The National Preservation Conference, "Cities, Suburbs and Countryside," Cleveland, Ohio: October 8–13, 2002. For more information contact: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Tel.: (202) 588 6100/ (800) 944 6847; Fax: (202) 588 6223; E-mail: conference@nthp.org; Web: <http://www.nthpconference.org/>.

"Seascapes, Littoral Cultures and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges", Washington, D.C.: February 13–15, 2003. Organized by the American Historical Association, the World History Association, the Middle East Studies Association, the African Studies Association, the Latin American Studies Association, the Conference on Latin American History, the Association for Asian Studies, the Community College Humanities Association, and the Library of Congress. For more information, contact: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, D.C., 20003-3889; Tel: (202) 544 2022; Fax: (202) 544 8307; E-mail: aha@theaha.org; Web: <http://www.theaha.org>.

RECENT CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

The Fifth US/ICOMOS Symposium, Santa Fe, New Mexico: April 17–20, 2002. Organized by the U.S. Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites. For more information, contact: US/ICOMOS, 401 F Street NW, Room 331, Washington, DC 20001-2728. Tel.: (202) 842 1866; Web: www.icomos.org/usicomos.

The 2002 EURA Conference, "Urban and Spatial European Policies: Levels of Territorial Government," Turin, Italy: April 18–20, 2002. For more information contact: EU-POLIS Sistemi Urbani Europei, Dipartimento Interateneo Territorio, Politecnico e Università di Torino, Viale Mattioli, 39, 10125 Torino, Italy. Tel.: +39 011 564 7202; Fax: +39 011 564 7499; E-mail: eupolis@archi.polito.it; Web: <http://www.eu-polis.polito.it>.

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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?

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6. REFERENCES

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

A condensed section of text might read as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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