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THE BUREAUCRATIC ARCADIA
SOVEREIGNTY

- The exercise of supreme and absolute power over a delimitated territory.
It belongeth therefore to the Sovereign to praescribe the Rules of discerning Good and Evil and therefore in him is the Legislative Power.

(Hobbes, Leviathan, ii. xx. 106.)
Painted on 1651 in a geometrico style by Abraham Bosse, the front piece for Hobbes’ Leviathan treaty exemplifies perfectly the idea of the sovereign power. The Masterpiece is compound of two main elements; in the upper part the Leviathan is holding a sword (the civil power) in one hand, and a crosier (the ecclesiastical power) in the other. Beneath the quote “Non est potestas Super Terram quae Comparetur ei. Iob. 41 . 24” (“There is no power on earth to be compared to him. Job 41 . 24”). The Leviathan figure is shaped by over 300 human figures, all of them facing inwards to him in a submissive gesture exposing the idea of a supreme entity with an absolute and sovereign power. The lower part of the painting is a wooden triptych containing the title of the book in the center, whereas the outer sides represent the sword and the crosier of the Leviathan. Underneath the arm holding the sword is the representation of the political power while the other arm holding the crosier, represents the religious one. Each one of the sides has an equivalent or a simulacrum corresponding to them; the castle to the church, the crown to the miter (the Papal headgear), the canyon to the excommunication, weapons to logic, and the battlefield to the religious courts. The Leviathan figure holding both symbols represents the unification of the political and the religious under the sovereign power. Under his domain and looking for protection from the uncertain dangers of the Natural Law, (1) people are giving on exchange unconditional submission.

Sovereignty deriving from the Vulgar Latin superanus and from the Latin super which means above; is understood then as the complete monopoly of power over any institution or person within a certain territory. In order to define its limits, architecture has always been its tool par excellence on this field. The mere action of delimitation and exclusion creates per se a friend-enemy condition as Carl Schmitt defines on his Four Chapters on
the Concept of The Political. (2) On it, Schmitt describes sovereign as "he who decides on the exception", hence the sovereign state is the only entity able to distinguish the friend from the enemy and thereby it has the authority to demand of its constituents the readiness to die. (3) In this context, the sovereign state is only powerful as long as it has an enemy; without something to confront, the sovereign state simply does not exist.

Architecture thus, constitutes an act of exclusion turning space into territory, a controllable and manageable perimeter where the sovereign power can be exercised. In doing so, architecture also recognizes the allied from the intruder and hence the separation of these two creates the possibility of confrontation. It is precisely this constant tension and the ever-present possibility of conflict what govern the state according to Schmitt for whom the main role of the state is, the securing of conditions under which citizens could pursue their private wills. (4)

Within this theoretical framework, the wall can be understood as the purest reduction of architecture as an exclusion tool and therefore as the materialization of the sovereign power. The archetype of the wall represents the private domain that should be protected from intruders who see on it, the element to conquer. The square on the other hand constitutes the antithesis of the wall, and its confronting concept. If the wall belongs the private interest, the square belongs to the public one. The square is an open space always in direct tension but also in a constant dialogue with its surroundings, which as an imperative rule it should be the opposite. The square is a blank space, and non-programed element with the potentiality of addressing any program and thereby to be used by any person. The square doesn’t distinguish the friend from the enemy; in fact it neutralizes these concepts. The square is the space of the many, and it is always, as Pier Vittorio Aureli describes, inserted into the institution of politics precisely because the existence of the space in between that presupposes potential conflict among the parts that form it. (5) We can conclude that both, the wall and the square are the architectural and spatial representations of the act of exclusion and therefore of the concept of sovereignty.
1. Natural Law definition.
2. See Carl Schmitt, "he who decides on the exception.
3. Ibid Schmitt.
Towards a stronger European economic governance
This thesis takes a critical position towards the power practicing of The European Union in Brussels that has emulated theological concepts and practices of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome during the XVI century; and how this, in both cases led to a confrontational scenario for bottom-up revolutions.

This intricate relation between power and theology has always been existed making from the political power the simulacrum of the divine one. On this subject of the Political Theology (6) Schmitt wrote:

"All significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts not only because of their historical development -in which they were transferred from theology to the theory of the state, whereby, for example, the omnipotent God became the omnipotent lawgiver- but also because of their systematic structure, the recognition of which is necessary for a sociological consideration of these concepts." (7)

The EU then, has been emerged as a new order, a new transnational form of power based on a common economical wealth among its members who had to surrender and cede sovereignty and autonomy on exchange for financial stability and economical protection. It is important to clarify that the adjective new, is not used here to describe an unprecedented practice; instead, it is used to describe the revival of some others of the same kind. In fact the concept of a group of European governmental entities unified through a common interest was originated with the arising in Germany of the Holy Roman Empire in the XI century. The King and later Emperor Otto III, began to implement bishoprics all over his territory as temporary seats of government in order to have a more presence and authority, facilitating in this way an easier to administrate and to control. He had the authority
to require from these ecclesiastical territories to
desire a locale at which he could hold a court
and dispense justice; while there, he could also live
at their expense, and keep potentially troublesome
or ambitious clerics under observation. Otto's
successors expanded the influence of his Empire
to the expense of local authorities and leaders of
different regions, granting them local sovereignty
and titles in exchange for military or political
support. This new decentralized form of authority
was divided into dozens and later hundreds of
autonomous secular and ecclesiastical entities
controlled by series of dynastic houses governed
by the kings, dukes, counts, barons and knights.
Almost thousand years after the creation of the
Holy Roman Empire, it seems that the story has
been repeated in the figure of the European Union
having its origins in the European Coal and Steel
Community (ECSC), and the European Economic
Community (EEC) integrated by six different
countries in 1958.8 Europe at that time was
practically devastated by the World War II and
opted towards the integration opposing the extreme
nationalism prevailing all over the continent. The
ECSC began by eliminating any possibility of further
wars between its member states supporting the
national heavy industries. As occurred with the Holy
Roman Empire, and after the original six members
of the ECSC signed the treaty of Rome in 1958,
the EU expanded its sovereignty and territory over
more countries offering economical wealth and
protection on exchange of sovereignty.

To conclude with this idea, both the Holy Roman
Empire and the European Union represents
a governmental figure whose authority goes
beyond the local sovereignty and autonomy
of its members. Both of them are based on a
hierarchical and paternalistic structure of power
where the unifying element represents the highest
authority and the lawgiver, which in the case of the
Holy Roman Empire is God who has the authority
to exercise the power, to punish or to give mercy;
whereas in the European Union, is the economic
wealth what govern and decide upon everything
else. To be part of any of both entities represents
to leave behind the previous condition to become
something else, to abnegate to an natural state and
appeal for the self-exile in pursue of the Promised
Land.
4. See Carl Schmitt.
5. The possibility of an absolute architecture Pier Vittorio Aureli.
6. See concept of Political Theology.
7. See Schmitt definition.
8. See Wikipedia for the EU definition.
GOD

POPE

KING

NOBLES

ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITIES

CITIZENS

CHURCH INFLUENCE IN EUROPE XVI
EUROPEAN UNION CONFIGURATION
CHURCH INFLUENCE IN EUROPE XVI
THE ENCLAVE
AND THE ARCHETYPES
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AND THE ARCHETYPES

It is not only in the theory but also in a more physical and palpable manner on how the European Union and the Catholic Religion, firstly in the figure of the Holy Roman Empire and later in the Vatican, has been exercising sovereignty with considerable similitudes. These practices were materialized in Rome, the city bastion of the Catholic Church and Brussels the Capital de facto of the European Union. The following is an analysis aiming to trace the scars and the still visible prosthesis left in both cities as heritage of the presence and of these two similar forms of power.
Vatican within Rome

By the year 1445 Rome was in clear decadence, what once was the capital of the most powerful Empire now was reduced to a population of less than 50,000 inhabitants. At that time the dwellers were originally located principally on the periphery of the city and the surrounding valleys but gradually they moved to what we now know as the center of the city next to the Tiber. Before the dwellers moved there, Campo Marzio was mainly occupied by large-scale buildings, which were literally squatted and transformed housing for the people. Across the Tiber was one of the most important spots of the city known as the Regione di Borgo, the ultimate tool and strategic location for the political control of the city.

After the exile of the Papacy in Avignon for 75 years, they decided to come back and make from Rome to be head of the entire world. This decision together with the displacement of the throne of the Church to the Vatican, established a clear and physical division between the Pope and the people, the Church versus the commune, the sacred versus the secular. This division led to important transformations baptized as Instauratio Urbis, which referred to the reconstruction of the city that goes beyond the simple improvement of miserable physical condition to aim at restating the importance of Rome as head of the Western Christianity.
EU within Brussels

Brussels, a medieval walled city and currently with a population around 1,120,000 inhabitants, is the capital of Belgium and at the same time capital of the European Union. Funded next to the Senne River, Brussels has always been a divided city, not only because of the river but also because of the clear division of power between the upper and the lower part of the city. After becoming official capital of Belgium in 1830, the walls surrounding the medieval city were demolished, allowing the horizontal expansion and the consecutive sprawl. The Leopold Quarter (the EU enclave) on the east part of the city was a main extension of the city promoted by Leopold II. Together with the industrialization, Brussels expansion reinforced even more the clear division between the upper and lower part of the city, while the bourgeois class colonized the upper part, the lower was in decadency. This division would never be erased in fact it would increase with passing of the years.

The presence of the EU in Brussels has always been discreet with punctual but effective interventions monopolizing the whole Leopold Quarter. The massive expansion of office spaces in Brussels gradually prepared the field for the arrival of the glass and steel bureaucratic palaces. Without any contextual consideration, what once was a bourgeois 19th century neighborhood was wiped out from the urban fabric. As if Brussels itself was not already fragmented enough the Leopold Quarter was "squatted" by the EU and turned into a new centrality within the city. Paradoxically its presence is quite indifferent for the rest, but it has an enormous influence in the whole continent. The whole Leopold Quarter has been transformed into a machine where out of office hours and during weekends the whole place is desetric, a theatrical stage for the performance power. If the Leopold Quarter is then a performing stage, thus the main actors are the thousands of Bureaucrats lobbing for particular interests of the European ruling elite. Within the 4 square kilometer area of the Leopold Quarter only 15,000 people lives there and more than 85,000 are working everyday. This condition makes from Brussels the second biggest center of corporate lobbying power, after Washington DC.
THE ARCHETYPES
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THE EU HEADQUARTERS
The conquest of the Rione di Borgo or the Vatican Hill represented for the church the strategic victory over the people of Rome. Surrounded by medieval walls this fortress was an invulnerable apparatus of sovereignty. This outstanding new location allowed the Pope to have a panoramic view over the whole city strengthening its presence not only in the conscious but also in the subconscious of the people.
In the case of Brussels, the establishment of the EU in the Leopold Quarter also follows the same nature of the Vatican; located outside the existing city, this location makes it less vulnerable and facilitates the control and management of the city. Although the Vatican is an official city state with its own laws and government, the EU bastion behaves in a very similar way; it is completely detached and independent from the rest of Brussels following a different dynamics than the rest of the city.
Commissioned by the Pope Paul III in 1536 the Campidoglio was the first time that a public project was made with the people’s money and with the Pope as a client. This was the confirmation of the power and the control of the Church over the commune of Rome. The Campidoglio works as a focal point at the end of the Via del Corso, the main entrance to the city. The project was implemented as an artifact claiming control along the Via del Corso and as visual reference for anyone who entered to Rome showing that the city was under the Papacy control.
Once the Leopold Quarter was invaded by office spaces, the EU decided to locate some of its more representative buildings at the end of the Rue de la Loi axis. This important street runs perpendicular to the Parc Cinquantenaire to the Royal Road and connects the city center to the periphery. Claiming such an important street made official the presence of the EU in the city and confirmed its power.
THE RENAISSANCE PALAZZO

The Renaissance Palazzo was an expanding apparatus of conquest established by the Popes whom after being ascended to the throne built their family houses from scratch. One of the main examples of this is the Palazzo Farnese, which after Paul III was elected Pope decided to build. This orthogonal artifact, completely different in scale and form to any existing medieval dwelling in the city, forced to reconfigure its surroundings making plazas in the front and the back to make it somehow fit into the ancient medieval city fabric. This punctual interventions triggered a whole urban renewal, expanding the Papal control and creating new centralities.
The equivalent elements to the Renaissance Palazzo in the Leopold Quarter are clearly the European Commissions. A series of glass and steel artifacts completely out of any scale for a XIX century bourgeoisie neighborhood. These objects were inserted in a traumatic way into the urban fabric, forcing the buildings around to be reshaped and expanded making space for these Renaissance revivals.
After Leo X was elected Pope, he not only renewed his family house in the city creating a new centrality within Rome, but he also decided to make a new straight street running from his house to The Piazza del Popolo. This new street cut the existing medieval city, bulldozing an enormous amount of houses without any consideration building instead dwelling rentals along this new axis baptized as Strada di Ripetta. Through the rental and taxation of these properties the Popes accumulated important sums of money becoming landlords of a big part of the city. This was the way on how the Popes started to administer the city.
Except for the EU institutions, the Leopold Quarter is infested with rental offices buildings. The office space demand within the Quarter is never ending and therefore a very profitable business for the Leopold Quarter developers.
During his Papacy, Julius II formalized the use of architecture and city planning as political tools for domination. He built a couple of straight streets, connecting a series of buildings dedicated to the implementation and administration of justice. The most important of these streets was Via Giulia, an axis stepping over existing urban fabric, cutting through the middle of it and connecting the Vatican with the Campidoglio.
The corresponding emulation in Brussels of Julius II implementation, are the interconnecting streets within the Leopold Quarter. This institutionalizes and gives a specific character as an important centrality and capital of the EU as a whole.
Pope Sixtus V was without any doubt the Pope with more awareness of the urban planning as a tool to control and conquer the city. He created an extensive infrastructural network connecting the seven main Basilicas through a series of straight street axes that always ended up with one of these sanctuaries as visual reference and as surveillance method of control. Sixtus V prioritized more than any other Pope before, the importance of infrastructure and the transportation as the main elements to manage and control the city. This was then the first vision of the city as a whole network of flows interconnected by referential points.
The EU is not only interconnected within the Leopold Quarter, it is also connected directly to the buildings representing the power of the Belgium Government. The Royal Palace of Brussels is directly connected with the European Parliament through the Rue du Luxembourg, whereas the Rue de la Loi is connecting the European Commission building and the Council (Justus Lipsius) also in straight line to the with Palace of the Nation and the Parliament of the Belgium Federation. The system’s loop is closed with the Palace of Justice, creating a network of power and governance.
ICON OF CONQUEST

After Rome and the commune surrendered to the sovereign power of the Papacy and the Catholic Church, Sixtus V implemented a series of obelisks placed in front of the connected Basilicas rendering Rome as a connected system and as a single entity. Without doubts the jewel of the crown was the erection of the obelisk on St Peter's square; it is important to emphasize that it was not a brand new obelisk, in fact its original location was besides the square and it was dismantle and erected again in the center of St Peter’s square confirming the power of the Church over the people.
ARCHETYPE SEVEN
“The crisis is more interesting than the rule because it confirms not only the rules but also its existence, which derives only from the exception.”

Carl Schmitt

Following the story line of the comparison between the power of Catholic Church and the economy-based power of the European Union, it is important not only to compare but also to analyze both of them during a crisis scenario. On one hand The Protestant Revolution in 1517 leaded by Martin Luther against for the monopoly of power and information of the Catholic Church; while in the other a series of protests that has been taking place across Europe over the last year that will either confirm economy as the sovereign power over the common interest or either will become a failed state.
Plan, devastating consequences affected the less protected sector of the society: the working class. The economical problems were translated into a social instability atmosphere and in the present possibility of revolts led by working class against the bureaucratic elite demanding more presence and to be taken into account. Contrary to what happened during the Protestantism were the revolution had a clear leading figure (Martin Luther), this apparent arising movement did not adopt a single character, instead protests are orchestrated through the mass as organization instead of a single person, a force that because of its collectiveness is capable to confront the sovereign power of the economic system of the European Union.

Information network

We can state that one of the main elements that made possible the Protestant Revolution was the invention of the printed press. This, opened the path not only for the sharing of knowledge through an easier access to information, but also as the main tool to spread the propaganda and pamphlets encouraging the people to protest against the power monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church.

Regarding to the current context, it is one cannot deny that the main tool that has made possible
Johannes Tezelius Dominicaner Münch mit sei-
en Königlichen Abibbranden welchen er im Jahr Christi 1517, in Deutsch-
landen zu machen gebracht wie er in der Kirchen zu Pren in seinem
Vaterland abgebracht ist.

Ich heut einen merket recht
Das heiligen Vaters Papstes Knecht
Erst ich und die ruch unt allein
Johannes Tausend und neun hundert carolin
Und das Abib von einer Sünde
War auch einer Einer und Weib und Kind
Sol ein jeder geworden sein
So viel sie legt das Kästlein
So bald er geiben im Becken klingt
Im hup die Seele im Himmel springt
the coordination protests was the Internet and specifically the social media such as Twitter or Facebook. The access for people to unlimited information has no precedent on history, facilitating also the synchronization and organization of groups with common interests, giving them a place for self-expression and discussion. The usage of the social media has an incredible and untested potential for collectiveness, allowing a direct confrontation between different forms of power.

The Riots

Encouraged, people around Europe joined Luther's cause protesting and confronting the ecclesiastical authorities deriving on violent riots such as the ones occurred in 1562 in Toulouse France and the massacre of St. Bartholomew on 1572 where around 5,000 to 30,000 people were killed. These violent events spread also to The Netherlands, England, Scotland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Germany among others with tragic consequences.

Regarding to the current crisis situation on the European Union, the riots appeared firstly on May 15th 2011 when thousands of young people marched to Madrid’s Puerta del Sol Plaza. Frustrated by the unemployment and the lack of opportunities of the young Spanish generation
The man who screwed an entire country

A 14-PAGE SPECIAL REPORT ON
SILVIO BERLUSCONI'S ITALY
they baptized themselves as "los indignados" the outraged, who with slogans like "We are not goods in the hands of politicians and bankers" confronted the Spanish authorities and triggered almost in a viral way of protests on different parts of Europe translated later on a huge international movement called "occupy". Ten days after the Indignados March also called 15-M, the protests were spread to Greece where during two consecutive Sundays 500,000 people joined. Later, August of the same year, the riots spread to London and instantly to the whole England, what started with a black man who was shot and killed by the London's Police, triggered a huge wave of vandal acts.

Legacy

After years of violent confrontations, The Protestant Revolution led to drastic changes not only on the geographical configuration of the territory under the power of the Church but also within the structure of the Church itself. Europe was fragmented and new religions and governments emerged becoming again a plural continent. Nevertheless, it is interesting to analyze that Europe has always been in a constant conflict towards its unification but it seems that nature of the continent resides completely in the opposite, questioning the feasibility of the concept of a European Union.

We are witnessing now an interesting moment of confrontation in the history of Europe where the economic-driven power of the European Union is claiming supremacy over the political one and hence over the citizens, whereas on the contrary, the people is fighting back and a collective power seems to emerge. What is truth however, is that in the specific case of the Leopold Quarter in Brussels capital of the EU, the city’s configuration does not allows this possibility of confrontation. The Quarter is totally monopolized by European Institutions and the endless office spaces for the thousands of lobbies and the bureaucratic elite. In such context the possibilities of a conflict or agreements between different parties are just simply vanishing away. The European Union opted to deny the context and to exclude itself from it, abducting a part of city from the rest of Brussels and its citizens. Therefore is crucial to reinsert back a piece of city one within the Leopold Quarter, allowing the possibility either confrontation and dialogue.
View of London riots from Egypt
twitter.com/#!/moftasa/stat...
THE BUREAUCRATIC ARCADIA
The aim of the project is not to deny the nature of the European bureaucratic elite in Brussels but to make it explicit. As the Vatican was for the Catholic Church, the Leopold Quarter is for the European Union. Both enclaves represent the sanctuary for the sovereign power, an arcadia with a parallel but different reality than the rest of the city. The word arcadia is used here to describe a sacred place, an idyllic vision of unspoiled wilderness only possible in the collective imaginary. The arcadia is just an illusion precisely because within its boundaries has denied the existence of an external reality.

Inserted in the heart of the Leopold Quarter, the project has appropriated two existing blocks that from now on will be destined one for the bureaucrats and one for the people as tribute for the piece of city that the European Union stole from Brussels. The block destined for the people will become a public forum opening the possibility for confrontation and dialogue, whereas the other one, belonging to the bureaucrats will become an exclusive sanctuary for lobbies. While the people’s block is completely open, with the potential to address any public program, the other one is its antithesis, an enclosed space with a hierarchical and clear program only accessible for the bureaucratic elite. One represents the wall and the other the square, confronted face to face always in tension but also in constant dialogue.

The existing buildings of these two blocks will be demolished, wiping out the history and the legacy of the site emulating the practice that the
European Union utilized previously in the Leopold Quarter. The only building to be kept located in the bureaucrat's block is the L'église Saint-Joseph (St Joseph's Church), a Catholic temple built in 1842 and 1849 that will act as a memorial of the similitudes of power practicing between the European Union and the Catholic Church. Although the building will remain, the interior of the church will be transformed addressing the new program dedicated to bureaucracy.

The blocks, divided by the Rue Belliard, will be connected under the ground working as a single entity but simulating two different ones at the street level. Under the bureaucrat's block the foundation of the church will be also maintained. Here, contrary to the street level, the new program will be placed around the perimeter. Underneath the people's block, the space will host all the archives of the history of the European Union, a monotonous and repetitive spatial configuration holding this treasure that will be abruptly interrupted by a monolithic marble strip. The interior of the marble strip, only accessible for the bureaucrats with the highest hierarchy is divided into two parts; one part contains an enormous hall with four Doric marble columns in the center supporting the roof, while in the other, a secret garden of mirrors is located. Within the garden, the building disappears becoming an artificial forest of an endless repetition of trees accessible not only to bureaucrats, but also to any person who can afford to pay the entrance fee.

The mirrors of the secret garden reproducing infinitely the grid of trees, alludes to the concept of the arcadia as an illusion, a naive conception of an enclave; a delusional space and the only place where both, bureaucrats and people co-exist together as equals.